The Myth of the Big Swede Logger:
An *Arbetskarl* in the Vancouver Island Forests, 1920-1948

by

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Abstract

This thesis studies the union involvement of Swedish and Scandinavian loggers on Vancouver Island, 1920-1948. Pointing to the Swedish labour movement, historians have mythologized Swedes in B.C. as the archetypal logger and radical union supporter. Research on the Swedish forest industry, however, indicates that many loggers viewed themselves as independent producers rather than proletarians. Swedish immigration to British Columbia peaked in the 1920s, but Swedes were less concentrated in logging than commonly believed. Neither does evidence suggest that Swedes in Canada were radicals who dominated in forest unions. A Norwegian and a Swede-Finnish union leader were conspicuous activists, and helped create the illusion that loggers' unions were Scandinavian led. Sources are Swedish research, interviews, Census of Canada, employment records from logging companies, and the Harold Pritchett Papers. Scandinavians and Swedes were important in the logging industry, but never dominated the workforce, and were often underrepresented in union membership lists.

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Abbreviations

Attorney General Correspondence.....AttG

British Columbia Archives.....BCA

Congress of Industrial Organizations.....CIO

Courtenay Museum and Archives.....CMA

Campbell River Museum and Archives.....CRMA

Department of Immigration.....DImm

Elk River Timber.....ERT

Harold Pritchett Papers.....H.P.

International Order of Goodtemplars.....IOGT

International Woodworkers of America.....IWA

Industrial Workers of the World.....IWW

Landsorganisationen.....LO

Lumber Workers Industrial Union.....LWIU

Port Alberni Museum and Archives.....PAMA

Svenska arbetsgivareföreningen.....SAF

Sveriges arbetares centralorganisation.....SAC

Socialdemokratiska arbetarpartiet.....SAP

University of British Columbia — Special Collection.....UBC-SC

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.....UBCJ

Woodworkers Industrial union of Canada.....WIUC

Workers Unity League.....WUL

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Dedication

To my first priorities: Gerard, Liz, and Dave. Your love and support transcend all expectations. Without you none of this would have been possible.

Introduction

I first became interested in Swedish loggers in Canada after meeting and talking with retired loggers in Lake Cowichan. These informal discussions and some subsequent readings suggested that Swedes had played a major role in the unionization of the British Columbia forest industry. As my research progressed, it became evident that the argument had serious flaws: Swedes proved to be more politically diverse than sources suggested. With considerable regret I was forced to rethink my premise. I came to believe that although working-class myths may be flattering they simplify the history and the ideological standpoints of the Swedish immigrants by ignoring their diversity and versatility. Moreover, when ethnic celebration becomes blind to negative attributes of the group the result becomes a mirror image of prejudice and racism. Just as one ethnicity cannot be labeled as "lazy" or "fainthearted" neither is another wholly "industrious" or "courageous." While this thesis argues against writers who emphasize Swedish radicalism, it does not suggest that Swedes were conservative or reactionary influences in the union movement. It simply shows that Swedish immigrants were heterogeneous, representing more than one ideological standpoint.

Historical research on Swedish Canadians is almost non-existent. David Delafenêtre suggests that the Canadian vision on multiculturalism has hampered Scandinavian research, and that recent emphasis on ethnic tolerance has lowered scholars' appreciation for groups whose ethnicity is difficult to measure.[1] As long as Canadian scholars use language retention, religious affiliation, and membership in cultural associations to measure ethnic consciousness, Scandinavians, who score poorly in these categories, are less interesting from an academic standpoint.[2] Clearly there is a danger of historians with limited understanding of Scandinavian assimilation using inaccurate measurements when judging Swedish ethnic viability in Canada.[3]

Likewise, Swedish historians have shown little interest in their compatriots in Canada.[4] In a study that represents the compilation of several years of research on Swedish emigration, Canada does not even merit a separate chapter; in fact, except as an emigration alternative to the United States, Canada is barely mentioned.[5] Similar neglect occurs in other texts that ostensibly discuss Swedish immigration to *North America* rather than just to the United States.[6] Because Swedish Canadians have largely escaped notice from both Canadian and Swedish scholars, myths concerning them remain unchallenged.[7]

One group that has received attention are the Swedish loggers in British Columbia. According to some scholarly and popular sources, Swedes in B.C. were radical union supporters who swarmed into the province to make their fortune as loggers, a skill many Canadians believed Swedes acquired at birth.[8] Although Swedes constituted a significant portion of the B.C.'s forest industry workforce between the 1920s and 1940s, their numerical proportion, union activity, and political radicalism have been distorted to suggest a social and political uniformity. Like most other ethnic groups in

Canada, Swedish immigrants exhibited both occupational and political diversity. Certainly, while there is evidence that Swedes were important workers and union organizers in the forest industry, their role has been overemphasized and oversimplified.

The first two chapters of this thesis provide the background for later discussions on Swedish radicalism and union activities in the B.C. forest industry. Chapter One discusses significant terms, explains the methodology that guided the research, and analyzes the historiography and mythology concerning Swedish loggers. Chapter Two presents the social and political history of loggers in Sweden. It shows that although Sweden was ethnically homogeneous, its logging workforce was a social, political, and intellectual kaleidoscope. This chapter also discusses the history of the forest unions in British Columbia, the leadership's impact on union members, and the rank and file's reaction to the 1948 communist "purge" in the International Woodworkers of America, (IWA).

Chapter Three delineates Swedish immigration patterns into Canada and B.C., and attempts to situate Swedes both geographically and numerically within the logging industry. It shows that they were less numerous than some sources indicate, that they were not always confined to certain aspects of the labour process, and that the assumption that Swedes were "born loggers" is largely a myth.

Chapters Four discusses the political involvement and views of the Swedish immigrants, making extensive use of interviews. It also touches on their involvement in the 1948 crisis of IWA, and presents their reasons for and against joining the new Canadian union, the Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada (WIUC). The chapter points to an overall conservative heritage of the Swedish immigrants in North America,

and shows that many Swedes in Canada avoided political radicalism. It introduces strong Swedish union members, who nevertheless firmly refute being radical, thereby pointing to a difference between militancy and radicalism. Finally, Chapter Four describes Swedes who worked actively both in the union and for radical socialism. It notes that Swedish research shows that Swedish radicals often found it difficult to engage politically after emigrating to North America and explores the possibility that radicalization occurred *after* an introduction to the Canadian workplace.

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[1] David Delafenêtre, "The Scandinavian Presence in Canada: Emerging Perspective," Canadian Ethnic Studies 27.2 (1995): 35.

[2] Delafenêtre, "The Scandinavian Presence," 36 and 40. Examples of studies that deny Swedes an ethnic consciousness based on these measures are Madeline A. Kalbach and Warren E. Kalbach, "The Importance of Ethnic-Connectedness for Canada's Post-War Immigrants," Canadian Ethnic Studies 27.2 (1995): 16-33, and Manoly R. Lupul, "Multiculturalism and Canada's White Ethnics," Canadian Ethnic Studies 15.1 (1983): 99-107. Inga Holmberg suggests that a similar confusion exist in Swedish-American research. She warns of the danger of neglecting to define "ethnicity," since it is constructed in a similar fashion as "race," a term which interpretation has changed through time. See Inga Holmberg, "Swedish Immigrants and the American Society: Problems of Ethnicity, Ethnic Pluralism and Assimilation," in Encounters with Strangers: Aspects of the American Experience, Göran Rystad ed. (Lund, Sweden: Lund University Press, 1995), 12-13

[3] Similarly, a study by Lars Ljungmark points out that a shallow analysis of the Swedes in Winnipeg might indicate low ethnic consciousness. This, however, would ignore that a deep interest in Swedish history and strife between Swedes, Galatians, Jews, and English immigrants were signs "of rising ethnic feelings in an offensive [and defensive] cultural warfare." Lars Ljungmark, "Swedes in Winnipeg up to 1940s. Inter-Ethnic Relations," Swedish Life in American Cities, eds. Dag Blanck and Harald Runblom (Uppsala, Sweden: Centre for Multiethnic Research, 1991), 65.

[4] Harald Runblom and Hans Norman suggest that "the interest among Swedes [in Canada] to collect documentation and knowledge about their own ethnic group has so far been rather weak." Harald Runblom and Hans Norman, From Sweden to America: A History of the Migration (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 333. The authors express similar sentiments in Harald Runblom and Hans Norman, "The Swedes in Canada: A Study of Low Ethnic Consciousness," The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly 33.1 (Jan. 1982): 4-20.

[5] See Runblom and Norman, From Sweden to America. According to the index, Canada appears on 19 scattered pages out of a total of 334. The text does not include even a brief discussion on Swedes in Canada.

[6] See for instance Sten Carlsson, Swedes in North America 1638-1988: Technical, Cultural, and Political Achievements, (Stockholm: Streiffert & Co Bokförlag HB, 1988). Note, however, that Helge Nelson's The

Swedes and the Swedish Settlements in North America, (New York; Arno Press, 1979) contains a short chapter on the settlement pattern of Swedes in Canada.

[7] William Wonders urges historians to research Scandinavian issues soon while there still is anything left to research. "From the viewpoint of culture," he paraphrases an unnamed source, "there is, strictly speaking, very seldom any second Scandinavian generation." Despite this depressing verdict, Wonders states that the "contributions of Scandinavians to the entire spectrum of economic and cultural life in Alberta have been . . . beyond what might be expected." William C. Wonders, "Scandinavian Homesteaders," Alberta History, 24.3 (Summer 1976): 2 and 4.

[8] For examples, see Jerry Lembcke, "The International Woodworkers of America: An Internal Comparative Study of Two Regions," (Ph. D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1978); Myrtle Bergren, Tough Timber: The Loggers of British Columbia. Their Story (Toronto: Progress Books, 1966); and Irene Howard, Vancouver's *Svenskar*: A History of the Swedish Community in Vancouver (Vancouver: Vancouver Historical Society, 1970).

Chapter One:

Definitions, Historiography, and Oral History Today

This thesis attempts to define the political and ideological positions of the Swedish loggers on Vancouver Island. It confronts the myth of the "Swedish Logger," who, according to legend, was the key figure in British Columbia forest unions. The thesis will present new evidence on individuals and groups who left behind little written documentation and resided outside larger, established communities where official records are more comprehensive.[1] Although the geographical focus is limited to Vancouver Island, the purpose is to contribute something new to our understanding of the broader history of immigrant groups in Canada.

Some terms need clarification. "Swede" might seem a straightforward denotation of nationality, but since the purpose is to define an ethnic group and judge if radical attitudes were imported or the results of native B.C. labour conditions, the reader needs to be aware how this thesis interprets these concepts.[2] For many Canadians, ethnic roots play an important role several generations after the original immigration. Nevertheless, there is a point when values and traditions of the origin country become less important than values learned in Canada. Inga Holmberg warns that while some Swedish communities in the United States indicate a survival of Swedish values they are examples

of a new culture that is neither Swedish nor American but constructed by the immigrant community. As an example, she argues that rather than proclaiming Swedish consciousness the display of Swedish trinkets is anachronistic and suggests the development of an American phenomenon that distinguishes Americans who call themselves Swedish-Americans from other Americans.[3] These observations raise questions regarding the viability of all ethnic cultures since they argue that rather than being merely static, a transplanted community mutates into an unique expression that is removed both from the original and the adopted nation. With that in mind, I distinguished between the Swedish-born and the Swedish or Scandinavian-origin logger. I also interviewed mainly first and second generation Swedes where the latter typically emigrated as children from Sweden or were born shortly after arrival in Canada.[4] In this case, when the family was recently removed from the mother country, it seems reasonable to assume that the second generation, although not raised in Sweden, adopted enough cultural values from its parents to reflect a Swedish point of view.

Related problematic terms are "Scandinavian" and "Swede-Finn." For six and a half centuries Sweden dominated Finland, and the Swede-Finns are the descendants of Swedish imperial bureaucrats. They left behind people with Swedish origin and language who, through time, perceived their loyalties to be with Finland rather than Sweden.[5] The Swede-Finns proved particularly difficult to slot in suitable holes considering my attempt to separate Finland from Scandinavia. When they appear in interviews and secondary sources I indicate this in the text or in the footnotes. As for Scandinavia, many texts consider Finland under this heading, but for practical reasons I follow the Canadian census definition which only includes Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland.

Other expressions that need clarification are more problematic. Militancy and radicalism, for instance, are closely connected concepts that nevertheless do not necessarily occur simultaneously. David Bercuson attempts to separate the two terms, suggesting that radicalism indicates a desire for a fundamental change in the existing social structure, while militancy indicates a willingness to fight for one's rights.[6] He argues that "western workers were more radical than those of other regions though they were, perhaps, no more militant."[7] Hence, Bercuson suggests that although B.C.'s workers were radically inclined, circumstances inhibited militant responses to abuses in the workplace.

While Bercuson concentrated on non-militant radicals, my interviews suggest that some loggers were militant without being radical. I have been guided by Mark Leier's adaptation of John Bodner's suggestion that "militancy is a measure of the lengths workers will go to in order to win their demands, while radicalism is a measure of how deeply the demands challenge the existing state of affairs."[8] Leier, however, cautions that it is difficult to draw a clean line between militancy and radicalism since workers who start out demanding economic improvements without social upheaval may become radicalized by the process itself.[9]

While I acknowledge Leier's reservation, in the instance of the B.C. forest industry, some Swedish and other union leaders espoused militant actions without radical politics. These workers saw little reason to alter the existing social and political system in British Columbia, but perceived a need for a better policing of the existing system to prevent unscrupulous companies from usurping earnings and benefits that rightfully belonged to the workers. They wanted fair pay for honest work and did not hesitate to

use their labour as a power leverage to force companies into complying with existing rules.

The final definition needing clarification is that of "lumberman," a term that under different circumstances can indicate either a worker or an owner-operator in the forest industry. The Western Lumberman, for instance, was aimed at managers and owners. The Canadian census, which provides several entries under "Logging," distinguishes between owners and managers, foremen and overseers, foresters and timber cruisers, and lumbermen. The grouping "lumbermen" is by far the largest, and considering that each individual defined his own standing in the industry, it is unlikely that a logging operator, at least in the census, would list himself as lumberman rather than owner. Thus, this thesis considers lumbermen as workers in the forest industry, holding positions of varying capacities from whistlepunk to high rigger.

Historiography covering the political experience of immigrants is also contradictory. In one of the earlier American works, Oscar Handlin labels immigrants as politically conservative since the traumatic immigration experience left them "uprooted" and in a state of crisis.[10] In British Columbia, on the other hand, several labour history studies claim that radical immigrants introduced an exceptional degree of socialism in the province. Ross McCormack and David Bercuson forward the argument of Western Exceptionalism, claiming that immigrants in B.C. pushed the labour movement to the left. McCormack assumes that radicalism was a political anomaly that emerged from special frontier conditions, and that radical British immigrants fueled discontent among western workers.[11] David Bercuson argues that the immigrants' radical ideologies erupted when B.C.'s particular frontier society trapped workers in closed, polarized

societies.[12] Thus, these authors believe the western labour movement in the early twentieth century was composed mainly of immigrants who arrived well versed in socialism, and who were guided by this ideology when confronted with B.C.'s distinctive labour market.[13]

There is a tendency in the historiography of the Canadian forest unions to lean on this theory, and present a stereotypical image of the Swedish immigrant as one who arrived in B.C. laden with radical baggage and predisposed to encourage unionism. This not only underestimates the true impact of the Canadian labour conditions both on immigrant as well as on Canadian-born workers, but it also simplifies immigrant groups in general by ignoring the fact that their political allegiances were as diverse as those of most other Canadians.[14] In several otherwise comprehensive and important studies of the International Woodworkers of America, Jerry Lembcke attaches great significance to the role of Scandinavian loggers in the forest unions of the Pacific Coast, and singles out Swedes both politically and numerically. He emphasizes that ideologies of immigrant families guided labour radicals in the 1930s[15] and refutes claims that immigrants had a conservative influence. By referring to a 1930 text, Lembcke suggests that Swedes in particular arrived in British Columbia with a radical background:

> After 1890, Swedish immigrants were increasingly from industrial origins. The Swedish working class movement was influenced by Marxist theory and 'displayed a corresponding aversion to the capitalistic form of society.' Swedish capitalism, like capitalism everywhere in the late nineteenth century, was seeking expansion through imperialism, placing demands for compulsory military service on its working class. This, coupled with the general social instability inherent in capitalism, encouraged the emigration of class conscious Swedish workers.[16]

Since Swedish immigration to British Columbia mostly occurred after 1900, it follows that they, too, were largely "class conscious."[17]

Lembcke uses John Lindberg's Background of Swedish Emigration[18] to support his contention that Swedish immigrants were radically inclined. It is nevertheless possible to interpret Lindberg's argument differently. Even the sentence that Lembcke quotes and paraphrases is cast in a different light when read in its entirety. Lindberg notes, "The labor movement was *at least theoretically* under the influence of the doctrines of Marx, and displayed a corresponding aversion to the capitalistic form of society, of which America was considered the prototype" (my emphasis).[19] The author thus instills a suspicion that the Swedish labour movement was less influenced by Marxism than what was believed, but that even a minimal Marxist influence resulted in an aversion towards America.[20] In fact, the sentence leads to a more developed argument, suggesting socialists avoided emigrating, since "conditions in America" were not especially attractive to them.[21] Furthermore, Lindberg maintains that despite a sometimes expressed belief that Swedish emigrants displayed "general 'socialistic' or 'radical' leanings," the workers who *disliked* trade unionism were most likely to emigrate:

> For the most part the present [1920s] emigration is composed of youths with a certain amount of education, who often are out of sympathy with the trades-union movement. In proportion as these general observations are correct, they should tend to prove that at present emigration affects persons not affiliated with the labor movement, and only to a minor degree influences members of the trades unions.[22]

This passage suggests that Lindberg believed that class conscious Swedes remained in Sweden, while those who emigrated did so at least partly to avoid trade unionism.[23] Certainly, Lindberg believed that only a minority of Swedish emigrants adhered to a Marxist theory.

Although Lembcke taps in to the Western Exceptionalism theory to explain the Scandinavian influence in the B.C. loggers' union, Swedish immigrants in North America

generally avoided radical organizations. Swedish historians agree that most of their countrymen in the United States supported conventional American parties. The majority of the otherwise sober and pious Swedes in Worcester, for instance, resented the International Order of the Good Templars (IOGT), a temperance movement with deep roots in the social democratic movement in Sweden.[24] These Worcester Swedes emigrated from politically active areas in Sweden, but were unresponsive to politics in the United States, and there are no signs this Swedish settlement created any viable working class organizations.[25]

Even studies that focus on leftwing Swedish Americans usually note that the radicals were a minority.[26] In a sweeping study of Swedish radicals in Chicago, Per Nordahl admits that it is "fair to say that the Republican Party represented the political perspective of the majority of the Swedes."[27] Likewise, the Swedish socialist, Henry Bengston, noted dryly that "the Swedish-American worker . . . was not particularly prone to digesting commentaries on the classic tenets of the socialist movement." Therefore, as editor of *Svenska Socialisten* (1912-20) Bengston avoided commentaries that might offend a large number of conservative readers. Despite criticism from hard-liners on the left, he limited his polemic to "discussion-oriented articles and advisory pieces on issues that dealt with [the workers'] own daily struggle for existence."[28]

Lembcke is not alone in exaggerating socialist tendencies among Swedish immigrants and neglecting the implications of the research on Swedish Americans. Myrtle Bergren, for instance, writes convincingly of the radical influence of the Scandinavian loggers from the Lake Cowichan area and their role in the Lumber Workers Industrial Union, (LWIU). It is difficult, however, to get a clear sense of the proportion

of Swedes versus other ethnic groups in the embryonic union. Bergren takes a communist standpoint, but minimizes the role of the Communist Party during the early years when the LWIU, or, later, the International Woodworkers of America, fought for recognition.[29] Instead, she suggests that radical loggers spontaneously started a union in 1928. Although she acknowledges that the Communist Party influenced many of these men and women, she downplays any outside political influence on the burgeoning union and implies its origin was unpremeditated — and Scandinavian led.[30]

Irene Howard also presents vivid and intimate portraits of Swedish loggers and union activists. Nonetheless, her account is anecdotal and lightly documented, making sweeping statements regarding Scandinavian union activism and political ideologies.[31] In a separate article, however, she includes explanatory footnotes but does not show how many Swedes logged in B.C., or how active they were in the union in comparison with other ethnic groups.[32] Howard's work is a valuable reference to Swedish activists in the budding union, but it does not help in ascertaining if Swedes and Scandinavians were over- or underrepresented as an ethnic group in the days of union formation in the B.C. forest industry.

While Lembcke, Bergren and Howard stress Swedish radicalism, others simply presuppose a Swedish numerical dominance in the logging industry and forward the myth that Swedes were "born to log." Popular literature often uses the Swedes and the wider group of Scandinavians to symbolize B.C. loggers, thus implying that most lumbermen were Scandinavians. For instance, the Superintendent of logging at Youbou, J. W. Whittaker, claimed that the "logging camps in those days [the 1930s] were strong on Swedes, Norwegians, and Finns: fallers and buckers. English and Scots in the logging

camps were out of the question. They weren't loggers, that's all."[33] Other writers, such as Donald MacKay, celebrated the preponderance and natural ability of the Scandinavian logger. "Scandinavians . . . particularly the Finns and the Swedes, took to the work as if they had been born to it, as indeed many of them were." He pointed out that by 1934, "a forester at Camp 6 on Lake Cowichan, Vancouver Island, estimated that more than half the loggers there were Finns and Swedes."[34] Art Ives, in a manuscript that glorifies the old-time loggers of Campbell River, situated the true period of the Swedish logger in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. "The real breed of loggers," he claimed, "started when the Swedes came over (Norway and Sweden were one country then)."[35] Ives' identification of the Swedish logger era prior to 1905, the year when Norway dissolved the union with Sweden, thus ignored statistical evidence that the vast majority of Swedes did not arrive in British Columbia until the 1920s.[36]

Newspaper columnists, as well, often used "Swede" in a burlesque fashion to symbolize "logger." In "The Forest Mummery," the author described the basics of logging: "Once a tree has been found, a man with a Swedish accent is sent out to cut it down. The man, known as a 'faller,' can easily be identified by the fact that he yells 'timber!' just before the tree falls down."[37] While its tone is more serious, the British Columbia Lumber Journal revealed that employers also considered the prototypical logger to be Scandinavian. Although the journal quoted statistics showing that only 542 of 3 374 employed forest workers in 1919 were Scandinavians, it persisted in enforcing the myth of the Scandinavian logger.[38] "The average man cannot stand up under the strain and that is why the Swedes, Norwegians and other foreigners, born and bred to this kind of work, are so numerous in the logging camp."[39] While 16 percent is hardly a

majority, the figures of the Provincial Department of Labour indicate that a much higher ratio, 35.9 percent, were British or Canadian citizens.[40]

It is, however, possible to determine the proportion of the Swedes both in the B.C. logging industry and in the union by consulting the Canadian census, various employment ledgers, and union membership lists. Clearly, the census is too flawed to suffice on its own. It notes the number of *Scandinavian* loggers in B.C., but does not specify the Swedish segment, nor does it show if loggers were concentrated in certain areas or dispersed equally throughout the province. Since many of these men lived in camps it is even more difficult to place them geographically. Therefore, I used union and company records to compare the percentage of Swedish or Scandinavian workers on Vancouver Island with their involvement in the union, either as "foot soldiers" or higher officials. For example, if company records suggest 25 percent of the loggers were Swedes or Scandinavians while union documents show a 30 percent Scandinavian proportion of the membership, they were over-represented in union matters. Vice-versa, if they constituted less than 25 percent of the union they were under-represented. Moreover, considering suggestions that Swedes tended to be inarticulate and thus seldom involved in the higher echelon of the union structure,[41] I compared district executive lists with those of the rank-and-file in order to determine the Swedish influence in various levels of the union hierarchy.

Since only a few of these documents note the nationality of the loggers, I located Scandinavian sounding names, a rather complicated procedure. Considering that most Swedish names are either derived from a "son," such as Eriks[son], Anders[son], Karls[son] etc., or by an easily translated descriptive such as Berggren [the branching of

the mountain], Hägg [bird-cherry], Uggla [Owl], or Dalskog [the forest in the valley] the majority of names are easily recognizable. Complications occur, however, since persons with Swedish-sounding names may be of other nationalities, or those with non-traditional Scandinavian names may still be of Scandinavian heritage. An example of the former is Anderson, which may also be English, as was the case with Sir Kenneth Anderson who operated the Alberni Land Co. early in the twentieth century.[42] Similarly, Swanson may be the anglicized form of a very common Swedish name, Svensson, or it may denote an equally common British name, such as the English poet, Robert Swanson. One can also find examples of Swedes who do not have traditional Swedish names. One interviewee explained that his distinctly Germanic name originated in the Swedish army.[43] Other Scandinavian immigrants anglicized their names, and as a result Pärson became Pearson, which confuses Swedes with immigrants from British countries, such as the Irish descendant, Lester B. Pearson. Others yet again picked new more easily pronounceable names: a Swedish-born lumber contractor, Bengt Rubin, was known as Ben Roberts in Canada.[44] Moreover, although in theory it is possible to distinguish between Norwegians and Swedes, the bastardization of spelling that frequently occurred after arrival in Canada and the similarity between both surnames and given names makes this process difficult. Therefore, the search was limited to Scandinavian rather than to Swedish names. For example, I included names such as Pearson but ignored the similar sounding Pease and Pierce. Likewise, Johnson is sufficiently close to Johansson to deserve inclusion, while I excluded that of Johnston. However, the majority of Scandinavian names are easily recognizable, and although the occasional mistake may have crept in, the lists are invaluable tools when investigating the Scandinavian loggers.

While union membership lists and company records provide statistical hints about the Swedish level of union activity, oral interviews offer much needed insight into the loggers' justification for accepting or rejecting the union. Derek Reimer argues that "oral history's most important feature is its ability to create source material where none now exists,"[45] Alice Hoffman claims that it "facilitates a new kind of history—a history not of the captains, kings, and presidents, but of farmers, workers, immigrants, and the like."[46] For this thesis, the interviews allow an insight, not into how labour leaders and commentators interpreted the actions of the rank and file, but how the loggers, in retrospect, viewed their own participation.

Oral history, however, has its pitfalls. Hoffman, for example, points out the need to assess the reliability and validity of the interview: the informant should be able to tell the same story of the same event several times, and the information must correspond with other sources.[47] Louis Starr warns that oral history may be "hazardous" since "memory is fallible, ego distorts, and contradictions sometimes go unresolved."[48] External events are likely to be remembered with a higher degree of accuracy than past internal emotions.[49] As an example, in studying the logging industry in Sweden, Jonny Hjelm found interviews most useful when dealing with memories relating to the labour process and less valuable when considering political and social values.[50] Since my interest centered on these latter values, I employed caution when choosing questions and analyzing the results of the interviews.

To be sure, the interviews proved unreliable when determining dates in the union history. One interviewee, for instance, remembers that all the camps in B.C. were unionized in the early 1930s, while another thought that forest unions did not exist until

the mid-1940s.[51] Considering that the interviewees were asked questions regarding a period sixty years back this understandable confusion signifies that such questions were not useful to verify the time of a particular event. Consequently, rather than relying on my informants for information that secondary literature and archived documents can more readily supply, I allowed their answers to guide me as to how the informant perceived certain events. As William Cutler III notes, "oral history is valuable chiefly because of the light it can shed on a respondent's past state of mind and thereby on the milieu of an era in history, and not because of any facts which might be derived."[52]

Sixteen subjects were interviewed, two in Sweden, two in Vancouver, and the remainder in various places on Vancouver Island. Each interview lasted from two to three hours. One participant was a Swedish-born woman who helped her husband manage a small logging operation on Vancouver Island from 1935 to 1965, two were of English-Canadian heritage, three were Swede-Finns, and the rest were Swedish. The majority of the interviewed Swedes and Swede-Finns arrived as adults, although some left Sweden in childhood or were born shortly after their parents' arrival to Canada. In two cases, when third generation Swedes were interviewed, I only asked questions that related to their fathers' and grandfathers' experiences. Five subjects contacted me after finding out about the study from newspaper advertisements placed in two Vancouver Island local papers; others were reached by word of mouth or through recommendations from I.W.A. officers. Thus, the interviews represent a mixture of those who sought me out and those whom I contacted.

Although the initial contacts were by telephone, all of the interviews were conducted in the subjects' homes in order to create an informal and non-threatening

atmosphere. The Swedish and Swede-Finnish interviewees were asked twenty-four prepared questions, and, with a slight twist, so were non-Swedish subjects. That is, while a Swedish interviewee was asked how he remembered the break-up of the I.W.A. in 1948, the English-Canadians were asked how they perceived the Swedish reaction to this event. All were encouraged to speak freely without interruptions, and follow-up or new questions were only offered when a longer pause indicated that the interviewee had completed his or her train of thought. At times it became necessary to be more direct in order to maintain clarity, but if the participant did not accept the implications of the question, he or she never hesitated to set the interviewer straight. In that sense, while the questions led the direction of the interview, they seemed to have had no influence on the answers. Clearly, the interviews were in accordance to a student-teacher relationship where both partners knew beyond doubt that the interviewer's role was that of the former.

To ensure the anonymity of the interviewees, I provided new names and avoided identifying the place where they now reside, as some are still conspicuous members of their communities and therefore recognizable. In order to preserve the Swedish flavour of their real names, I provided them with Swedish aliases starting with the first letter of the alphabet according to the order by which they were interviewed. To eliminate confusion, I recorded a list that matches the correct name with the alias, and to comply with regulations, I have locked this key in a safe place. Nonetheless, although they are listed in alphabetical order in the key, the pseudonyms appear randomly in the text; the alias "Erik Eklöv," for instance, precedes "Anders Anderson." Since Swede-Finns also have Swedish sounding names, I identify them clearly in the text; the English-origin subjects have English aliases according to their alphabetical appearance. These

transcripts represent the spoken, and often unguarded, words of the interviewees, and therefore differ in structure and syntax from a written text.[53] Since hesitations and repetitions, however, at times reveal a state of mind I decided to quote the taped interviews as closely as possible.

Finally, this essay makes use of an extensive number of Swedish sources. All translations from the Swedish texts are my own. Although I have endeavored to stay as close to the original phrasing as possible, at times, for linguistic clarity, I have translated the idea rather than the exact wording. The original text appears as footnotes, but since some Swedish scholarly texts contain an extensive English abstract I quote this whenever possible. In this case, of course, the footnote lacks a translation.

To sum up, B.C. historiography contains several unverified assumptions regarding Swedes in British Columbia, both regarding their occupations and political tendencies. Swedes proved to be more diversified than the myths suggest, and just as B.C. is not a homogenous place, neither is Sweden. Historians must therefore use a variety of sources and methods in order to understand Swedish immigrants in British Columbia.

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[1] An exception is Emil Engstrom's The Vanishing Logger (New York: Vantage Press, 1956). Although Emil worked mostly in the Oregon and Washington states, he also writes about a sojourn into a Vancouver Island logging camp.

[2] Mark Leier, for instance, complains that historians, such as A. Ross McCormack, refer vaguely to "ethnicity" when arguing that British immigrants initiated the B.C. union movement. "Nowhere," Leier argues, "is ethnicity clearly defined by these authors; they do not distinguish between place of birth, culture, upbringing, work experience, or initial union activity." See Mark Leier, "Ethnicity, Urbanism, and the Labour Aristocracy: Rethinking Vancouver Trade Unionism, 1889-1909," Canadian Historical Review 74.4 (1993): 515, note # 8.

[3] Holmberg, "Swedish Immigrants and the American Society," 32 and 73. Likewise, Dag Blanck suggests the Augustana School in Chicago created a Swedish-American ethnic consciousness that deviated from a pure Swedish culture. See Dag Blanck, "An Invented Tradition: The Creation of a Swedish-American Ethnic Consciousness at Augustana College," Scandianavia Overseas: Patterns of Cultural Transformation in North America and Australia, eds. Harald Runblom and Dag Blanck (Uppsala, Sweden: Centre for Multiethnic Research, 1990), 85. Alan Anderson in Canada, however, reached a contrary conclusion. He suggests that the prevalence of Swedish trinkets in Swedish-Canadian homes expresses ethnic

consciousness. Alan B. Anderson "Scandinavian Settlements in Saskatchewan: Migration History and Changing Ethnocultural Identity," Scandinavian-Canadian Studies, 2 (1986): 103.

[4] Thus, although those arriving in Canada as children may be defined as first generation, I consider all who spent their formative years in Canada as second generation immigrants.

[5] Fred Singleton, A Short History of Finland (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 19-50, and 163-164.

[6] For a criticism of Bercuson, see Jeremy Mouat, "The Genesis of Western Exceptionalism: British Columbia's Hard-Rock Miners, 1895-1903," The Canadian Historical Review 71.3 (1990): 317.

[7] David Bercuson, "Labour Radicalism and the Western Industrial Frontier: 1897-1919," The Canadian Historical Review, 63.2 (June 1977): 155.

[8] Mark Leier, Where the Fraser River Flows:The Industrial Workers of the World in British Columbia (Vancouver, BC: New Star Books, 1990), 112-113.

[9] Note, though, that some B.C. historians have much broader definition of radicalism. James Conley suggests that radical means a "support for socialist objectives, whether reformist or revolutionary, and support for the mobilization and collective action of workers as a class." James R. Conley, "Frontier Labourers, Crafts in Crisis and the Western Labour Revolt: The Case of Vancouver, 1900-1919," Labour/Le Travail, 23 (Spring 1989): 10.

[10] Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted, second ed. (Boston, 1973), 5.

[11] A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 15. One of the great weaknesses with this theory is the insistence that immigrant workers arrived in Canada already influenced by a socialist ideology. As Dorothy Steeves points out, some British-born radicals, such as Ernest Winch, became influenced by socialism only after immigrating to Canada. Dorothy G. Steeves, The Compassionate Rebel: Ernest E. Winch and His Times (Vancouver, B.C.: Evergreen Press Ltd., 1960), 8-11.

[12] Nevertheless, Gordon Hak and Allan Seager claim that socialism made deep impressions in small towns with diverse economies. Hak also argues that the small-town middle class played a significant role in the socialist movement. Thus, people turned to socialism for more complex reasons than what the western exceptionalism theory allows. See Allen Seager, "Socialists and Workers: The Western Canadian Coal Miners, 1900-21," Labour/Le Travail, 16 (Fall 1985): 52, and Gordon Hak, "The Socialist and Labourist Impulse in Small-Town British Columbia: Port Alberni and Prince George, 1911-33," Canadian Historical Review, 70.4 (1989): 519-542.

[13] Bercuson, "Labour Radicalism," 154-175.

[14] John Belshaw warns, "in overplaying the hand of 'cultural baggage,' scholars have undervalued the impact of local conditions and developments." See John Douglas Belshaw, "The British Collier in British Columbia: Another Archetype Reconsidered," Labour/Le Travail 34 (Fall 1994): 13.

[15] Lembcke, "The International Woodworkers of America: An Internal Comparative Study," 23.

[16] Lembcke, "The International Woodworkers of America: An Internal Comparative Study," 249.

[17] Lembcke extends his dissertation argument regarding the Swedish influence in at least two published works. See Jerry Lembcke, "The International Woodworkers of America in British Columbia, 1942-1951," Labour/Le Travail, 6 (Autumn 1980): 115, and Jerry Lembcke and William M. Tattam, One Union in

Wood: A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America (Madeira Park, B.C.: Harbour Publishing co. Ltd., 1984), 6-11.

[18] John Lindberg, Background of Swedish Emigration in the United States (1930, reprint, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1971).

[19] Lindberg, Background of Swedish Emigration, 207.

[20] Later historians believe Lindberg exaggerated the trade union's aversion against emigration. Fred Nilsson, for example, suggests that although the Swedish labour movement never viewed the United States as a "promised land" for workers, its leaders were pragmatic and recognized that economic necessity forced some Swedes to emigrate. See Fred Nilsson, Emigrationen från Stockholm till Nordamerika 1880-1893. En studie i urban utvandring (Stockholm: Svenska bokförlaget, 1970), 230-232. [Emigration from Stockholm to North America, 1880-1893. A study in urban emigration.] Lars-Göran Tedebrand points out that although Swedish socialists disliked the American social system, they viewed its work situation as "a realistic and attractive alternative to a depressed Swedish labor market. Lars-Göran Tedebrand, "Strikes and Political Radicalism in Sweden and Emigration to the United States," Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly (1983): 201.

[21] Lindberg, Background of Swedish Emigration, 210.

[22] Lindberg, Background of Swedish Emigration, 210-211, footnote #11.

[23] He cautions, however, against concluding that most Swedes emigrated because of disenchantment with the labour movement. "Although it is not uncommon to meet emigrants who allege the 'tyranny' of the trades unions as the cause of their emigration, it is not advisable to generalize, either as to the prevalence of this oppression as a cause of emigration, or as to the extent to which it is merely a rationalization arrived at after subsequent reflection." Lindberg, Background of Swedish Emigration, 210.

[24] Roy Rosenzweig, Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 114-115. See also pp. 19-20 and 88.

[25] Sune Åkerman and Hans Norman, "Political Mobilization of the Workers: The Case of the Worcester Swedes," in American Labor and Immigration History 1877-1920s, ed. Dirk Hoerder (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 235-258.

[26] Accounts of Swedish radicals in America are typically defensive, proclaiming that not all Swedes were conservative. For such an account see, Nels Hokanson, "Swedes and the I.W.W.," Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly 23 (1972): 25-35.

[27] Per Nordahl, Weaving the Ethnic Fabric: Social Networks Among Swedish-American Radicals in Chicago, 1890-1940 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1994), 67. For an example of an article on the non-socialist Swedes in Chicago, see Eric. R. Lund, "Swedish-American Politics and Press Response: The Chicago Mayoral Election of 1915," in Swedish-American Life in Chicago: Cultural and Urban Aspects of an Immigrant People, 1850-1930, ed. Harald Runblom (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 296-306.

[28] Kermit B. Westerberg, "Henry Bengston and Swedish-American Socialism in Chicago," in Swedish-American Life in Chicago Cultural and Urban Aspects of an Immigrant People, 1850-1930, ed. Harald Runblom (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 229

[29] Bergren, Tough Timber.

[30] Bergren, Tough Timber, 26.

[31] Howard, Vancouver's *Svenskar*.

[32] It is important to note that Howard wrote for the general public. Nevertheless, unverifiable statements such as "the Scandinavians . . . were a prominent element, the Swedes especially," or "there would not have been a loggers' union without the rank and file Scandinavians and especially the Swedes," are unhelpful for academic historians who desire detailed information. Irene Howard, "Vancouver Swedes and the Loggers," The Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly, 21.3 (July, 1970): 169 and 172.

[33] Sue Baptie, First Growth: The Story of British Columbia Forest Products Ltd (Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1975), 144.

[34] Donald McKay, The Lumberjacks (Toronto: McGrawHill Ryerson Ltd, 1978), 221. Likewise, Richard Rajala claims that "logging engineer Jim Crickmay recalled that Finns and Scandinavians comprised about half the population" in the Cowichan Lake logging camps in 1934. See Richard Rajala, The Legacy and the Challenge: A Century of the Forest Industry at Cowichan Lake, (Victoria, B.C.: Lake Cowichan Heritage Advisory Committee, 1993), 59.

[35] Art Ives, "Timber -r-r! A Glossary of Logging," A self-published manuscript acquired by the Campbell River archives in May 1998. He voiced a similar belief in an earlier newspaper article. See Arthur Ives, "The raze and fell of a way of life," Victoria Times-Colonist, "Islander," (Sunday, Nov. 16, 1986).

[36] See Census of Canada, Vol. 7, Table 45, Immigrant males, gainfully occupied, 10 years of age and over, by occupation, racial origin, and, for immigrants since 1910, period of arrival, 1931. Robert McDonald, without offering any kind of statistical evidence, also identifies turn-of-the-century Swedes and Norwegians with logging. See Robert A. J. McDonald, Making Vancouver 1863-1913, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996), 213 and footnote #22. A fictional account that is touted as a realistic depiction of the early logging industry, does not mention any Swedish or Scandinavian loggers. In fact, the only Swedes noted are a silent gang of railroad workers. See M. Allerdale Grainger, Woodsmen of the West (Victoria, BC: Horsdal & Schubart Publishers Ltd., 1994), 205; and Peter Murray, "Afterword," in Woodsmen of the West, (Victoria, BC: Horsdal & Schubart Publishers Ltd., 1994), 41.

[37] Jabez, "The Forest Mummery," Unidentified clipping, Vertical Files, Campbell River Museum and Archives.

[38] The figures from the Department of Labour only refer to employees from eighty-eight firms in British Columbia. See "Report of the Deputy Minister of Labour for the year ending December 31st, 1919," B.C. Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, Vol. 1, 1920. In 1921, B.C. employed 12 635 persons in logging, out of which 3 431 were European, 1 197 Asian, 1 643 American, 1 872 British, and 4 312 were listed as Canadians. See Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 2, Occupations of the population 10 years of age and over, classified by birthplace for provinces, 1921. Although the 1921 census does not list the Scandinavians separately, the 1931 census had a table of occupation by racial origin for Canada that lists 2 181 Scandinavians as logging in Canada. Unfortunately, the 1931 census does not break this figure down to provinces. See Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. 7, Table 29, Gainfully occupied, 10 years of age and over, by occupation, racial origin, and sex, for Canada, 1921.

[39] "The Alien Logger," British Columbia Lumber Journal, Vol. 4 (1920).

[40] The myth that Scandinavians dominated the workforce in B.C.'s forests has survived, and in 1983, again lacking supporting figures, Arthur Mayse suggests that loggers were most likely to be of "Baltic stock." Arthur Mayse, "Oldtime logger was mighty man," Courier Islander (Oct 19, 1983).

[41] Howard, "Vancouver Swedes and the Loggers," 172.

[42] See Jan Peterson, The Albernis 1860-1922 (Lantzville, BC: Oolichan Books, 1992), 27-37.

[43] Carl Carlson [pseud.], interview by author, transcript, Vancouver Island, p. 1. Apparently a staff sergeant ordered a number of recruits with identical surnames, among them the interviewee's grandfather, to pick new names to facilitate identification.

[44] Hans Bergman, British Columbia och Dess Svenska Nybyggare (Victoria, BC, 1923), 208. Copy held by the Swedish Institute for Emigration, Växjö, Sweden.

[45] Derek Reimer, "The Challenge of Oral History," Voices: A Guide to Oral History, ed. Derek Reimer (Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1984), 1-2.

[46] Alice Hoffman, "Reliability and Validity in Oral History," Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology, eds. David K. Dunaway and Willa K. Baum, Second edition (Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, 1996), 92.

[47] Hoffman 89.

[48] Louis Starr, "Oral History," Oral History, eds. Dunaway and Baum, 40.

[49] See for instance, James Hoopes, Oral History: An Introduction for Students (Chapel Hill: the University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 15.

[50] Jonny Hjelm, "Taylor i skogen. Skogsarbetets förändring under 1900-talet," in Dagsarbeten: 13 essäer i arbetets historia, eds. Alf O. Johansson et al. (Lund, Sweden: Historiskt Media, 1994), 176. [*"Taylor in the Woods. Changes in forestwork in the 1900s."*]

[51] Doris Dahlgren [pseud.], interview by author, tape recording, and Erik Eklöv [pseud.] interview by author, tape recording.

[52] William Cutler III, "Accuracy in Oral History Interviewing," Oral History, eds. Dunaway and Baum, 104.

[53] While most taped interviews have been recorded into transcripts, some remain as taped interviews.

Chapter 2:

The Making of Loggers' Unions in Sweden and British Columbia

Jerry Lembcke's claim that after the 1890s Swedish emigrants were particularly class conscious and "influenced by Marxist theory"[1] ignores the social and political diversity that hampered union development in the Swedish logging industry. In order to judge the Swedish immigrant loggers' involvement in the B.C. woodworkers' union and determine whether a political education at home resulted in radicalism abroad, it is necessary to understand the political and social climate of the Swedish forest industry. Moreover, just as one cannot presume that loggers in Sweden were progressive, so is it dangerous to assume that loggers in British Columbia were radically inclined because forest unions had syndicalist and communist leaders. The radical organizations in British Columbia became attractive because they were the only ones to offer to assist the loggers' struggle against a forest industry that held little regard for the safety and wellbeing of its workers. Therefore, this chapter examines various aspects of the development of forest unions in Sweden and in British Columbia.

Swedish historians have produced several detailed studies of various aspects of the Swedish logging industry from the years of union formation. Bo Persson and Torvald Karlbom describe the development of the Forest Workers and River Drivers' Union,

Jonny Hjelm looks at changes in the labour process,[2] and Ella Johansson studies social and cultural variances within an ethnically homogeneous workforce.[3]

Bo Persson's text is particularly significant since it details political dissension among Swedish loggers shortly prior to and during the heaviest emigration period to British Columbia. Persson notes that the union had limited success during the first couple of decades after its inception in 1918, due partly to its own organizational weakness and partly to the structure and character of the forest industry. He suggests that all actors of this era, loggers and large companies, possessed a degree of autonomy and used various organizations to aid their causes. Equally important is Persson's assumption that union conditions in the forest industry differed from those in other Swedish industries. Capitalism, he claims, developed unevenly in phases, causing different sectors of society to experience different stages of development. As for the forest industry, it remained in a pre-industrial phase for a longer period than other Swedish industries, which had a conservative effect on both the management and the work force.[4] Certainly Persson shows that radicalism was hardly endemic or universal among Swedish loggers in the 1910s and 1920s. Hence, his findings imply that Swedish immigrants imported a similar blend of warring ideologies to British Columbia.

Ella Johansson also studies their formative period. Rather than concentrating on politics, she looks at the social and cultural aspects of the logging industry, and, to an even greater degree than Persson, emphasizes the heterogeneity of the workforce.[5] She avoids elite stories and the history of ideas and bases her conclusions on 200 loggers' autobiographies that were collected in the 1940s. Johansson looks at perceptions of masculinity, individuality, and freedom in logging camps where socially opposing groups

lived in close proximity during the winter months. These major historical studies on the Swedish forest industry indicate that several different movements and unions courted the undecided Swedish loggers.

Clearly, labour in the forest industry was out of step with developments in mainstream Swedish industry. To better understand the extent of this variance it is helpful to know some of the history of the Swedish labour movement.[6] Supported by militant Swedish union organizers, the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party (SAP)[7] initially functioned as a federation whose main task was to supervise union activities.[8] In time, however, some national unions bristled over having a political party coordinating their affairs. As a result, in 1898, the SDP founded the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions[9] (LO) to function as a Swedish union congress.[10] Although Swedish unions initially organized mostly along craft lines, the LO soon developed industrial unions and strongly encouraged unskilled workers to organize.[11] The labour movement felt it was particularly important to unionize industries that covered large spatial areas; the threat of a general strike became one of LO's most effective weapons.[12]

As a countermeasure to LO, Swedish employers organized into various confederations, the most important being the highly centralized Swedish Employers' Confederation[13] (SAF).[14] The LO, however, forced the SAF to recognize the workers' right to organize in 1906 and collective bargaining became a common means of negotiation.[15] The balance of power in Sweden depended on this close collaboration between the LO and the SAF, and unions and employers' associations generally adhered to a centralized federation that coordinated activities and assisted their members during labour disputes.[16]

The Swedish forest industry differed from this pattern since both workers and large companies resisted joining forces with their respective federations. Traditional logging practices, combined with complicated social divisions among the workers, delayed union development in the Swedish forests. Still, unions were active in the logging industry after the turn of the century, and the Swedish Sawmill-Industry Workers' Association[17] was the first to organize the loggers.[18] This union developed slowly, it grew strong among sawmill workers but gradually disappeared in the logging industry.[19] Other organizations, such as the syndicalist Swedish Workers Central Organization (SAC, 1910) and the Swedish Union of Forest Workers and River Drivers (1918) gained wider support among the forest workers.[20] The latter prevailed as the loggers' union but waited until 1921 to join the powerful Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions, LO. Even after this merger, the union struggled equally against internal dissension and resistance from the companies.[21]

Similarly, although several lumber-connected employer associations belonged to their central organization, logging companies resisted amalgamation with the SAF until 1928.[22] Their determination to remain independent was in part a remnant of an old patriarchal philosophy, but the main resistance emanated from an aversion to the SAF's acceptance of collective bargaining. This form of labour agreement diverged from traditional practices in the logging industry and both employers and many workers were loath to change.[23]

Even if outdated feudal agreements had not been an issue, class and ideological divisions among the workers counteracted both union organization and a transition from individual contracts to collective bargaining.[24] Before large companies bought up much

of Sweden's northern forests, independent farmers had owned and logged most of the timber.[25] Long into the twentieth century farmers remained as subcontractors who hired, fired, and paid the fallers.[26] The farmers typically ran modest operations, seldom hiring more than two or three fallers who worked small areas during the four-month season.[27] Since only farmers could afford to own horses, they assumed a prestigious role as drivers who negotiated contracts with the companies and often hired sons, neighbours or landless migrant workers to fall the timber. Their responsibilities for building and maintaining logging roads and supplying housing for the crew required a large spectrum of skills that fostered pride and independence among contractors.[28] The farmers, Johansson claims, were entrepreneurs, chance-takers, workers, and planners in the forest industry. Moreover, they risked public censure if they negotiated a poor contract for the tight-knit community in which they lived.[29] A wide social gulf separated these better-off farmers from the landless and often indigent men who cut the trees.

Despite the social differences between fallers and farmers, open conflicts were rare perhaps because fallers also felt removed from the mainstream Swedish working-class society.[30] Although logging cabins generally were dark, filthy, unheated shacks where men crowded together, their domestic lives obscured by complex rules of masculinity,[31] most loggers took pride in their profession. Unlike industrial workers, loggers owned their own tools and viewed themselves as independently employed. Rather than feeling beholden to a boss, a respect for their own skill as cutters encouraged them to have the required number of logs ready when the horse and driver returned to load.[32] Loggers placed a high value on the ability to work fast and well. Both farmers and fallers internalized the term *arbetskarl* — 'workman.' Because this term only

applied to strong and skillful workers who did not shun hard work, not all labourers were *arbetskarlar*.[33] Thus, farmers and fallers had many similar grievances and demands. Both took pride in their independent production and seemingly mostly benefited from their symbiotic relationship. Nevertheless, to a great degree the similarities were illusionary and a hindrance to union formation. They robbed workers of a collective identity, causing them to place too much trust in their individual strength.[34]

In retrospect it is difficult to understand how the romanticized image of logging became so widespread considering the hardships the loggers endured. Torvald Karlbom argues that the celebrated loggers' freedom was far removed from the reality of work without respite in an industry where few men lasted more than ten years without contracting lasting and serious health effects.[35] Likewise, according to Gottfrid Wikgren, living and working conditions more closely approximated slave labor than independent enterprise. He recalled an exhausted crew walking back to their cabin after a day's work river driving in the northern county of *Norrbotten*, when one of the men suddenly drove his axe into the unpaved road. He had fallen asleep as he walked and was dreaming or hallucinating of the river, believing himself to be surrounded by logs. When they arrived at their bunks, exhausted from work and in a state of near unconsciousness, they were forced to live in what Wikgren described as "unspeakable conditions." When the wood fire died, the drafty cabin turned the same frigid temperature as the outside air. A straw-covered dirt floor collected all manner of filth from chewed tobacco to food droppings. Wikgren concluded, "the memory from the life in the cabin was not a romantic experience to enjoy during old age."[36]

Considering these hardships, one might expect loggers to embrace any hope of improvement but a deep sense of frustration over difficulties in reaching the workers physically and intellectually plagued the union movement. Climate and geography isolated loggers who worked far from populated areas during the season of deepest snow cover and lowest temperatures. This made it nearly impossible for organizers to reach the men with the message to unite. Moreover, the loggers were not always willing to listen to struggling organizers who arrived in camp. When Fredrik Wilhelm Thorsson, later the finance minister for the first Social Democratic government, traveled 2 792 kilometers in a 42-day organizing tour, he despaired both over the physical difficulties involved and over the apathy he encountered:

> These workers stay in one district one year and the next year they might reside a hundred kilometers away. It is not the easiest task, either for great or small generals in our army, to try and unite these people. The worker from the north has a difficult time comprehending new ideas that are offered him. I declare that of all workers among whom I have agitated there are few as conscience ridden as the northerners. The religious sects here are so well represented that for every workplace with three to four hundred workers there are a Waldenströmsk, a Baptist, and a Methodist church, not to mention the establishment of the Salvation Army. . . . . Thus, when the workers' bellies are burning they read their Lord's Prayer and wait patiently for deliverance. The capitalists delight over these religious workers' obliging nature, and harness them together with unbelievers to the same wagon so that they pull the same load while the fruits of their struggles go to the capitalists' coffers.[37]

Thorson's lament indicates the difficulties involved in combating old traditions and ingrained religious fears and beliefs. He found the workers did not fear retaliation from the company so much as they distrusted the new ideology the union espoused. Gottfrid Wikgren suggests that even in the late 1920s the organizers had difficulty overcoming these obstacles. Even if they reached the camp, the Lutheran church's defense of a hierarchical social system caused many *Norrbotten* workers to distrust the

union.[38] Moreover, while Thorson spoke of the large workplaces, many sons worked and lived with their parents until they were 25-30 years of age, at times even remaining in the childhood home for most of their adult lives. Aging parents often treated these adult sons as minors[39] and such parental dominance may have marred the kind of independent thinking necessary for union development. Clearly, cultural values and internal structure of the workforce deterred union development, and long distances in a harsh climate complicated the organizers' already onerous task of uniting the Swedish loggers.[40]

A social and intellectual distance between professional agitators and conservative farmers also acted as a deterrent against an effective union. Johansson maintains that Swedish industrial workers in general nursed a well-articulated hatred towards farmers whom they considered ignorant, arrogant, and politically retrogressive. The intellectual unionists in particular railed against the "endless stupidity of the uneducated farmers." One remembered angrily that these tillers of the soil "had no other thought than to sow and harvest. Socially they were analphabets. They could not imagine that there existed people who were worse off than they were. Who had nothing to eat, nowhere to sleep. No, socially the farmers were illiterate, they were social analphabets."[41] In another instance a farmer responded to a journalist's question about union organization by indicating that he saw himself as an independent businessman not a team worker in a common labour force. "What good would such an organization do? . . . Does anyone believe that they can all of a sudden change the situation? I don't think so. . . . We farmers can never stick together as workers, but perhaps as businessmen, and then it will not be the little guys whose word will be heard."[42] This is the rhetoric of an independent commodity producer, not that of a person viewing himself as a proletarian.[43] Clearly, the

union's difficulties in trying to organize the loggers were by no means limited to actions by logging companies, but also stemmed from a political stagnation among those who for ideological or religious reasons resisted the advance of the union movement.

Besides the cultural differences, a fundamental political division among the loggers stumped and delayed the union. Although some farmers did join the Forest Workers and River Drivers,[44] many others resisted, and in 1923 a few farmers created the Central Organization for Freedom of Work.[45] This peculiar group united and aided strikebreakers in the Swedish logging industry and organized into local, district, and national assemblies. Believing that no one had the right to interfere in workers' or employers' freedom to work, they actively resisted the syndicalists and the Forest Workers and River Drivers' union. Not surprisingly, both employers and the Conservative Party supported the Freedom of Work, and right-wing parliamentarians claimed it defended an ancient Swedish freedom to work which was threatened by "anti-freedom socialistic dogmas" that were foreign to Swedish thinking.[46] The association reached its peak in the mid-twenties with 10 000 members among the loggers,[47] but although it was active into the 1930's, the Freedom of Work steadily lost members, and, after 1938, disappeared.[48] Nevertheless, it was in its most active phase at the height of Swedish emigration to British Columbia and it probably influenced at least some emigrants.

As the Freedom of Work combated the Forest Workers from without, the syndicalists undermined the working-class movement from within. Created in 1910, the Swedish Workers' Central Organization appealed both to a radical and a pragmatic aspect, especially among the landless loggers. At its height in the 1920s, it had a

membership of 10 500.[49] Like the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in Canada, the highly decentralized SAC believed in local autonomy. Furthermore, since it reached beyond forestry and concentrated on a diverse local economy, it attracted loggers who worked in two or three different industries throughout the year and felt a need for an all-encompassing organization.[50] Therefore, the syndicalists competed directly with the Forest Workers and River Drivers, especially in *Norrbotten.* To defuse its threat to the union, locals attempted to cooperate with the SAC.[51] Nonetheless, even though the syndicalists had signed collective agreements for the river drivers in 1922, they often disregarded the Forest Workers' actions and frequently undermined strikes by working as scabs.[52] Yet, despite their success in attracting certain workers, loggers were generally more supportive of the reformist union than they were of the SAC. The syndicalists' actions nevertheless added to the division in the workforce and helped delay breakthrough for the Forest Workers and River Drivers.[53]

Evidently, the Swedish forest industry diverged from both the mainstream labour movement and from the established employers' federations. Since farmers had traditionally owned and logged the Swedish forests they saw themselves as independent producers and generally resisted socialist influences from labour organizations. Workers and employers did not agree to national collective bargaining until the 1940s. Regional agreements, however, first appeared in 1916[54] and were common in the 1920s, but workers also used cooperative contracts, sometimes ignoring existing regional union agreements. The Swedish forests, then, contained a socially and politically diverse work force with the radical faction split internally between syndicalism and industrial unionism.[55] Hence, the strong labour movement for which Sweden was known

internationally contrasted sharply with the conservative agricultural forces at large in the Swedish forest.

Of this diverse group of syndicalists, socialists, apolitical union members, and organized strikebreakers, many emigrated to North America during the 1920's. Sweden experienced a peak in emigration during the 1920s when 109 000 registered persons left for America; of them, 11 858 reported Canada as the place of destination.[56] These emigrants included a disproportionate number of single men, largely from an agricultural background of limited means.[57] In 1929, when the Swedish reporter Per Nilsson-Tannér interviewed loggers in a small Swedish community they claimed to be tired of high Swedish unemployment. Thus, they emigrated to "America, particularly Canada and Vancouver, where larger forests promised higher wages and a better work opportunity for the surplus Swedish labourer."[58] According to Nilsson-Tannér, young men spent much of their spare time either actively planning emigration, or indulging in such daydreams. "Over there at least you don't have to sit like a fool and watch while others work."[59]

The Canadian reality, however, did not fulfil all their expectations. Poor wages, indiscriminate firings, and dangerous working conditions plagued B.C. loggers. Partly because of the structure of the B.C. forest industry and partly because of attitudes within the labour movement, the organization of forest workers in British Columbia developed differently than in Sweden. Furthermore, just as one cannot judge the ideologies of Swedish loggers based on the mainstream Swedish labour movement, it is dangerous to judge the political inclinations of B.C. loggers based on the degree of radicalism of its unions. Clearly, B.C. forest workers had no opportunity to choose between reformism

and radicalism since Canadian trade unions and labour-friendly political parties mostly ignored the loggers.

Structural differences between interior and coastal logging in British Columbia affected the unions. Geographical and climatic circumstances of coastal logging produced a gigantic high-quality timber that logging companies harvested nearly year around. The timber was transported by water rather than by horses thus eliminating the need of a snow-cover to facilitate hauling. Since a worker could log up to 250 days in a good year, the coastal industry developed a largely permanent workforce who saw logging as a livelihood rather than as a complementary income. In the interior, however, logging occurred during the winter when horse-drawn sleds hauled the load. As in Sweden, many interior workers were farmers who logged during the agricultural off-season merely to secure some cash for their farms. Union organizers in Prince George accused these farmers of being conservative influences on the workforce, holding down wages, and delaying improvement of the workplace by accepting abject conditions in the logging camps.[60] Therefore, as in Sweden, tension existed between the union and conservative farmers in the interior of British Columbia.

Coastal logging proved more resistant to economic fluctuations thereby removing some of the concerns that aggressive action on part of the union might result in an industrial decline with the ensuing layoffs of workers. The camps contained an ethnic mix of Canadian and non-Canadian workers. Loggers often used Vancouver as a home base while moving as far as between the Queen Charlotte Islands and various camps on the Vancouver Island.[61] The coastal forest industry, therefore, developed a transient but

also more permanent labour force. It was here that union initiatives would first gain ground.

Although logging in British Columbia commenced in the 1860's,[62] workers were slow to organize effective unions. Mark Leier suggests that this tardiness grew from an unwillingness of the trade union movement to extend any substantial help to unskilled workers. Indeed, he argues that a weak organizational effort on the part of the American Federation of Labor during the 1910s only reflected a desire to undermine the Industrial Workers of the World, the first group to unite the B.C. woodworkers.[63] In addition, the nature of the logging industry encouraged transient unfranchised immigrant workers whose plight fueled little interest among political parties.[64]

The IWW was an all-inclusive industrial union that many loggers readily supported in the 1910s.[65] Its organizers looked beyond structures governing party politics and traditional craft unions, and willingly supported transient workers. The IWW members, nicknamed the Wobblies, accomplished some improvements of camp conditions,[66] but their main accomplishment may have been functioning as a training ground for future union activists.[67]

The 1919 Red Scare, however, seriously weakened the Wobblies, although some individual members continued to campaign both in B.C. and in Ontario.[68] Peter Campbell suggests they were a "key element" in Ontario in the late 1920s, and still active in the 1930s.[69] As in Sweden, the syndicalists competed against other left-wing groups for the lumbermen's support. The foremost rival was the Communist-led Lumber Workers Industrial Union. At a 1929 LWIU convention in Ontario, the communists "denounced the syndicalist tactics of the IWW" and in 1932 they accused the Wobblies

of engaging in strikebreaking.[70] The Norwegian union organizer, Arne Johnson, remembered similar discord between the two groups in British Columbia in the early 1920s, claiming that "the Wobblies, they did their darndest . . . to discredit the [Lumber Workers Industrial] union."[71] Although less pronounced, the relationship between the IWW and the LWIU in Canada was thus akin to that between the Swedish syndicalists and the Forest Workers and River Drivers, and, as in Sweden, this competition may have impeded the growth of a forest union.

When the Lumber Workers Industrial Union[72] emerged in 1919 it contained many former IWW members.[73] Although it quickly gained seventy-percent support from forest workers, the proud trunk of the LWIU toppled just as fast, axed down by anti-union activities from both the employers and the state, and de-branched by an economic decline that weakened all union activities.[74] Moreover, internal strife and a lack of discipline among the rank and file helped undermine the union's credibility.[75] It disappeared in the mid-twenties, but the enthusiasm it had raised among workers convinced employers to improve camp conditions to avoid similar future movements. At least indirectly, then, the LWIU helped B.C. loggers.[76] Furthermore, it sowed a seed that would sprout in the labour strife of the1930s, when the B.C. lumber workers finally established a lasting union.

The second Lumber Workers Industrial Union appeared in 1928; this time it was led by communists and proved to be more enduring than its namesake.[77] It originated in Ontario and was tied to the Workers' Unity League, a national communist labour congress.[78] The LWIU won its first major battle in B.C. with the 1934 Vancouver Island strike, after which — at least for a time — 3 000 loggers paid the 25c monthly

membership fee.[79] In 1936, the LWIU believed that presenting a united front with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (UBCJ) would increase its credibility so members voted for a merger.[80] This consolidation brought friction on both sides, and in 1937 the woodworkers broke free, named their union the International Woodworkers of America, and signed up with the new American-based Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).[81]

Bolstered by an increasing demand for labour in the late 1930s, the B.C. IWA section strengthened its hold in the industry. By the end of the Second World War the union was well entrenched in British Columbia.[82] Still, all was not well between the American and the Canadian districts, and B.C. union leaders and part of the rank and file began to regret the marriage to their powerful American cousin.[83] While many members on both sides of the border supported the Communist President, Harold Pritchett of District One, anticommunist circles both inside and outside of the IWA soon waged a campaign to oust the "Red Bloc" on both sides of the border. With the help of the American government's Taft-Hartley Act,which prevented union leaders from being members of the Communist party, the "White Bloc" prevailed, and the IWA barred Communist party members and known sympathizers from membership in the union.[84] Concerned with this development and confident with the support of the B.C. rank and file, on October 3, 1948, District One voted to secede from the IWA and to create a new independent all-Canadian union, the Woodworkers' Industrial Union of Canada.

Despite an initial flurry of anxiety among IWA loyalists, the WIUC was never a real threat to the IWA.[85] Accounts vary over the wisdom in the decision to break away from the International and the reasons for the failure of the new Canadian union to attract

a majority of the rank and file. Not surprisingly, Grant MacNeil's official IWA account fiercely condemns the communist leaders and suggests that the breakaway was a "flagrant and dictatorial violation of membership rights."[86] Lembcke and Tattam maintain the White Bloc succeeded because of undemocratic maneuvering by the state and the CIO, without which the members would have remained loyal to their communist leaders.[87] In an account sympathetic to the Red Bloc in B.C., Stephen Gray argues that the Communists realized the difficulties involved in creating a new union, and were closer to succeeding than what the end results indicate.[88] Still, he suggests that although they recognized a need to reassert their connection to the rank and file, the Red Bloc confused the membership's interest in bread-and-butter issues with support for the Communist Party program. Gray maintains that the "communist connection of District One's leaders had not been the reason that woodworkers originally chose to follow them, nor was it now the main reason they chose not to."[89]

Despite the history of the B.C. woodworkers, Gray's thesis seems reasonable. It is difficult to label loggers as historically radical simply by pointing to the political agenda of their various unions. Neither can we but guess as to where they would have turned had the choice between a moderate and a radical union presented itself earlier in the game. The IWW, both LWIU movements, and the IWA all offered to support the loggers' concrete demands, and the political agenda of radical leaders had secondary importance in the rank and file's constant struggle to improve on stingy wages and eliminate hazardous work conditions. One union organizer indicates the contradictions that sometimes existed between the political message the Communist leaders sought to impart and the economic promises the rank and file wished to hear:

> They [the union organizers] introduced themselves, tell you a little on how regional council was going and then — whammo — they'd swing right off into a theory of how things were going in Russia. This was always a problem. A lot of people would have joined the union if it hadn't been for this. The union executive at that time was pretty well dominated by the Communists. We didn't want to know about Russia, we were just interested in our own activities.[90]

This comment serves to caution against drawing hasty conclusions of the political adherence of the membership, no matter how the workers celebrated the radical leaders. The geographical isolation and transiency of workers without a union tradition, combined with conflicting interests especially among the interior workers certainly retarded union development in British Columbia's forest industry.[91] It is fair to add that a limited interest among the mainstream craft unions and political parties also impeded union development in the B.C. forest industry. This is a fundamental difference between the unions in Sweden and British Columbia, since the Swedish trade union organization and the Social Democratic party both actively supported the forest union. In Canada, voting privileges meant political clout even within the labor movement, but many immigrant and migrant workers stood outside of the electoral process. Clearly, working-class political parties, desperately scrambling for every vote they could secure, had little energy left to pursue the interests of the loggers.[92]

Hence, there are parallels and differences between the Swedish and the British Columbia logging industry. While at first, the Swedish loggers might appear homogenous a closer look reveals a workforce that was sharply divided into opposing social and economic groups, and these boundaries included competing political ideologies among the workers. It is hazardous to judge how significant the political ideology of the union was for the loggers either in Sweden or in British Columbia. Even if historians have emphasized radical elements, it is clear that ideological diversity and

flexibility — even ideological pragmatism —was widespread. By economic necessity, many loggers turned to the organization that offered help and seemed best equipped to serve their material needs. In Sweden, this could mean switching between the syndicalist Swedish Workers Central Organization, the reformist Forest Workers and River Drivers Union, or the ultra-right strikebreaking organization, Freedom of Work, all in one year. As for British Columbia, it was not inconceivable that a logger could first embrace radical organizations such as the Wobblies and the LWIU and later virtuously reject the communist-led WIUC and settle down for a long-term relationship with the International Woodworkers of America. Thus, both countries show ideological differences in the workforce, and these inconsistencies were equally notable among the Swedish loggers in British Columbia.

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[1] Lembcke, "The International Woodworkers of America: An Internal Comparative Study," 249.

[2] Although Hjelm started from a Braverman perspective he found it an awkward theoretical instrument when studying the labour process in the forest industry. Loggers owned their own tools and were active agents in the transition from the crosscut saw to the chain saw. They did not perceive mechanization as a threat to their skills as workmen. In retrospect, however, they felt vaguely tricked by the technological process, cheated by the union, the companies, and the society, but most of all cheated by themselves by helping transforming the industry until one machine could replace ten loggers. As a consequence, unemployment in the logging industry rose and the countryside became depopulated. Jonny Hjelm, Skogsarbetarna och motorsågen. En studie av arbetsliv och teknisk förändring (Lund, Sweden: Arkiv avhandlingsserie 35, 1991), 11. [Translated title: *The Forest Workers and the Power Saw: A Study of Labourlife and Technical Changes*] For a comparative study of the labour process in the forest industry in Sweden and Ontario, Canada, See Jonny Hjelm, "Forest Work and Mechanization — Changes in Sweden and Canada During the Post-War Period," Polhem: Tidskrift för teknikhistoria 12.3 (1994): 260-288.

[3] Torvald Karlbom, Skogens arbetare. Till minnet av Svenska skogsarbetarförbundets 50-åriga verksamhet 1918-1968 (Stockholm: Tiden-Barnängen Tryckerier AB, 1968). [Translated title: *The Workers of the Forest: Commemoration of 50 Years Activity of the Swedish Forest Workers Union, 1918-1968*]

[4] Bo Persson, Skogens skördemän. Skogs- och flottningsarbetareförbundets kamp för arbete och kollektivavtal 1918-1927 (Lund, Sweden: Arkiv, 1991), 13-21, and 222-223. [Translated title: *The Harvesters of the Forest. The Forest Workers and River Drivers Union's Struggle for Work and Collective Bargaining 1918-1927*]

[5] Ella Johansson, Skogarnas fria söner. Maskulinitet och modernitet i norrländskt skogsarbete (Kristianstad, Sweden: Kristianstads Boktryckeri AB, 1994). [Translated titel: *Free Sons of the Forest: Masculinity and Modernity Among Loggers of Northern Sweden.*]

[6] The first Swedish unions emerged in the 1850s, but not until the 1880s did the modern labour movement have its breakthrough. See Lars-Arne Norberg, Sveriges Historia under 1800- och 1900-talet: Svensk Samhällsutveckling 1809-1992 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993), 135-136.

[7] *Socialdemokratiska arbetarpartiet.*

[8] James Fulcher, Labour Movements, Employers, and the State: Conflict and Co-operation in Britain and Sweden (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 53. For other accounts of the early Swedish Social Democratic movement see Göran Therborn, "A Unique Chapter in the History of Democracy: the Social Democrats in Sweden," in Creating Social Democracy: A Century of Social Democratic Labor Party in Sweden, ed. Klaus Misgeld et al (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 1-34, and Klas Åmark, "Social Democracy and the Trade Union Movement: Solidarity and the Politics of Self-Interest," in Creating Social Democracy: A Century of Social Democratic Labor Party in Sweden, ed. Klaus Misgeld et al (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 67-96.

[9] Persson, Skogens skördemän, 39.

[10] Fulcher, Labour Movements, 55 and 37.

[11] Unskilled Swedish workers founded their first union, the Labourers' and Factory Workers' Union in 1891, and up to 1906 it remained Sweden's largest union. Fulcher, Labour Movements, 46.

[12] Fulcher, Labour Movements, 53. Fulcher mentions the railway workers, but loggers would also fit this category since a national logging strike would cover a large area. Certainly, Sweden experienced more strikes in the early twentieth century than any other Western country and developed a highly centralized union system in a comparatively short period. Bo Persson, Skogens skördemän, 33-34, and Åmark, "Social Democracy and the Trade Union Movement," 70-73. Fulcher's charts show that between 1903-1929 Swedish workers were more than four times likely to strike than English workers in the same period. Fulcher, Labour Movements, 331-332. See also Klas Åmark who considers that in comparison with other western countries, Sweden experienced strikes to a remarkable degree prior to the mid-1930s. Åmark suggests that the high cost of these actions led to an agreement between the union congress and the employer organization. This agreement, *Saltsjöbadsavtalet*, led to long-term labour peace in Sweden. Klas Åmark, "Den svenska modellen. Arbetarnas fackföreningsrörelse och samverkan på svensk arbetsmarknad," in Arbetsliv och arbetarrörelse. Modern historisk forskning i Sverige, ed. Klaus Misgeld and Klas Åmark (Stockholm: Arbetarrörelsens arkiv och bibliotek, 1991), 28-29. [*"The Swedish Model: The Workers' Union Movement and Co-Operation in the Swedish Labour Market"*]

[13] *Svenska arbetsgivareföreningen*, SAF, was created in 1902.

[14] Åmark, "Social Democracy and the Trade Union Movement," 68. Although other employer organization existed, by 1907 SAF was the largest. See also Fulcher, Labour Movements, 73, and Norberg, Sveriges Historia, 145. In comparison, national and provincial Canadian logging employers' associations such as the B.C. Loggers' Association (1902) and the Canadian Lumbermen's Association (1908) pre-dated all the viable loggers' unions in British Columbia. IWA historian, Clay Perry, claims that though employers initially intended their associations to be "'price-stabilizing' agencies, [they] proved to be very handy in holding down wages and fighting unions." See the Lumber Worker 60.4 (1995): 15.

[15] Norberg, Sveriges Historia, 145-146.

[16] Åmark, "Social Democracy and the Trade Union Movement," 69.

[17] *Sågverksindustriarbetareförbundet.*

[18] Ronny Ambjörnson, Den Skötsamme Arbetaren: Idéer och ideal i ett norrländskt sågverkssamhälle 1880-1930 (Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag, 1988), 102. [*The Orderly Worker: Ideas and Ideal in a Northern Swedish Sawmill Community 1880-1930.*] Several other independent loggers' unions were also active in the early twentieth century, but they, however, did not survive the a widespread strike in 1909. See Skogsarbetarrörelsen: Dokument belysande dess bakgrund, tillkomst och verksamhet (no author). Prepared for Swedish Union of Forest Workers and River Drivers for its 30th Anniversary, (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1948), 47-49. [*The Forest Labour Movement: Documents Illuminating Its Background, Origin, and Activity.*]

[19] Persson, Skogens skördemän, 37. Union records show that some sawmill workers attempted to organize loggers as early as 1899. See Skogsarbetarrörelsen, 37.

[20] *Sveriges arbetares centralorganisation* and *Skogs- och flottnings-arbetarförbundet.*

[21] Many conservative farmers resisted joining LO since it encouraged collective agreements. LO also initially supported the Sawmill Industrial Workers as the industrial union to represent loggers, thereby offending loggers who insisted on a separate organ. See Persson, Skogens skördemän, 39 and 161, and Karlbom, Skogens arbetare, 68.

[22] Persson, Skogens skördemän, 34.

[23] Nevertheless, the Swedish forests were rife with work actions. The syndicalists launched a widespread and successful strike in 1920. When the union of Forest Workers and River Drivers struck in 1922-23, it involved 22 000 workers. Furthermore, while companies did not blacklist workers for simple union adherence during the season, they systematically refused to hire workers who were involved in ongoing strikes in other areas. In their turn, the union blacklisted members who scabbed, and boycotted strikebreaking farmers during the most intense agricultural seasons, making it difficult for the farmers to find workers. See Persson, Skogens skördemän, 34, 85 and 86.

[24] Clearly, opinions vary whether national collective bargaining helped or harmed Swedish workers. Klas Åmark claims that, due to three to five year contracts, "the collective bargaining system greatly hindered an aggressive union struggle for raised wages." See Klas Åmark, "Byggnadsträarbetarnas avtalsrörelser och konflikter 1914-1920: En studie av facklig politik och facklig makt under en offensiv period" Arkiv 25 (1991): 5. Similarly, Håkan Göransson claims that, despite a well-developed collective agreement system in the 1920s, mainstream labour disliked the 1928 Collective Agreement Act; LO, however, accepted it for tactical reasons. See Håkan Göransson, Kollektivavtalet som fredspliksinstrument. De grundläggande förbuden mot stridsåtgärder i historisk och internationell belysning (Stockholm: Juristförlaget, 1988), 1, and 209-220. [*Collective Agreements as a Strike Restraining Instrument. The Establishing Proscriptions Against Offensive Strike Action in a Historical and International Light.*] Furthermore, in 1935 Otto Hällström strongly warned employers in the forest industry against national collective agreements. He claimed they based workers' salaries on the regions with the most expensive standard of living, thus forcing companies to move from a region with high cost of living to a less expensive one. See Otto Hällström, "Om kollektivavtal," Norrlands skogsvårdsförbunds tidskrift, 4 (1935): 287-288. In a positive article, however, Britta Malmgren calls Sweden "the promised land of collective agreements," claiming that by 1908 collective agreements covered forty-five percent of the Swedish factory workers. See Britta Malmgren, "Kampen om Kollektivavtal," Arbetarhistoria 31-32 (1984): 90. The forest workers, however, disagreed on whether national collective agreements would benefit or hinder their cause. The failure to achieve these prior to the 1940s, then, points to a political diversity among its members that the union found difficult to overcome.

[25] For example, Einar Kilander maintains that corporations in *Västernorrland* owned 47 percent of the forests, private persons 44 percent, and the crown 9 percent. Einar Kilander, Skogsarbetarna organiserar sig. Minnen från 1920- och 30-talet i Västerbotten (Bjästa, Sweden: Cewe Förlaget, 1987), 9. [*The Forest Workers Become Organized. Memories from the 1920s and 1930s in Västerbotten.*] Ella Johansson gives a more detailed account of the change of ownership in the northern forests, and notes that it is debatable whether the Swedish forests benefit better when owned by farmers or by corporations. See Johansson, Skogarnas Fria Söner, 25-26.

[26] Not until the Forest Workers had enforced collective bargaining did this system dissolve. See Persson, Skogens skördemän, 27.

[27] Skogsarbetarrörelsen, 78. The use of horses and sleighs limited logging to four months during winter. This created a problem for the union both in keeping their locals functioning during off-season and in meeting the members' diverse needs. See Persson, Skogens skördemän, 92-93

[28] Johansson, Skogarnas Fria Söner, 26.

[29] Johansson, Skogarnas Fria Söner, 32, 35.

[30] Johansson, Skogarnas Fria Söner, 109.

[31] Johansson, Skogarnas Fria Söner, 74. Prior to the arrival of camp cooks, each logger owned his own coffee pot, cooked his own meal, and resisted refilling the bucket of water since communal service smacked of female servitude. Johansson claims that only in the 1920's did the larger camps hire cooks, most of whom were female. See Johansson 138. Furthermore, Both Bo Persson and Lars Olsson indicate a connection between the female camp cook and the rise in union membership. Apparently the cook encouraged a collective spirit, besides improving the housing standard since "women would hardly accept to live in any kinds of shacks or use any kinds of unserviceable stoves." [*Även standarden på kojorna skulle förbättras, eftersom kvinnor knappast skulle acceptera att bo i vilka kyffen som helst eller vilja använda vilka odugliga eldstäder som helst.*] See Bo Persson, "I skogen: Skogsbruket 1920-1980," *Arbetarhistoria* 68 (1993) 14, and Lars Olsson, "Från socialhistoria till samhällshistoria: Arbetarhistorisk forskning," Arbetarhistoria 41 (1987): 5.

[32] Johansson, Skogarnas Fria Söner, 51.

[33] Johansson, Skogarnas Fria Söner, 22.

[34] Hjelm points out that this strong perception of independence caused loggers to see their individual tools, whether manual or motorized, as outside company control. As a result, they actively participated in a mechanization process that eventually severely limited their job opportunities, and led to a depopulation of the northern countryside. Hjelm, Skogsarbetaren och motorsågen, 11.

[35] See Karlbom, Skogens arbetare, 32 and 40.

[36] Gottfrid Wikgren, "Skogsarbetarliv och den fackliga organisationen i Överkalix," Norrbotten berättar (Norrbottens Bildningsförbund, 1974), 179-180. [*Minnerna från kojlivet är ingen romantisk upplevelse att njuta av på ålderdomen.*]

[37] Karlbom, Skogens arbetare, 56-61. [*Dessa arbetare vistas ena året i ett distrikt, det andra kunna de vara en tio mil härifrån i ett annat distrkt. Att sammankalla dessa skogsmänniskor, är minsann inte den lättaste uppgiften, varken för de stora eller små generalerna i vår armé. Norrlandsarbetaren har svårt att fatta det*

nya som bjudes honom. Jag försäkrar att av alla arbetare, bland vilka jag agiterat, finns inte många som har så stora samvetsbetänkligheter som norrlänningen. Men så är också de religiösa sekterna här så väl representerade, att på en arbetsplats med tre—å fyra hundra arbetare finns en waldenströmsk, en baptist- och en metodistkyrka, för att icke tala om frälsningsarméns etablissement. . . . . När därför magen svider på dem, läsa de sitt fader vår och vänta tåligt på befrielsen. Kapitalisterna fröjda sig över denna de religiösa arbetarnas beskedligheter, spänna dem för samma plankvagn som de otrogna och tillsammans med dessa få de draga i ok, men frukterna av deras slit och släp gå i kapitalismens kassakista.]

[38] Wikgren, "Skogsarbetarliv," 183-184.

[39] Hjelm, Skogsarbetarna och motorsågen, 33-34.

[40] Einar Kilander, who worked as an organizer during the 1920s and 1930s claims that it was not until the late 1930s that unions started to gain ground in the north. Kilander, Skogsarbetarna organiserar sig, 8.

[41] Johansson, Skogarnas Fria Söner, 116. [*Särskilt de intellektuellt intresserade fackföreningskämparna var bittra över att vara beroende av bygdens gränslöst dumma och obildade bönder. 'För de hade ju ingen annan tanke än att så och skörda. Socialt sett var de ju analfabeter. De kunde inte tänka sig någonting, att det var människor som hade det sämre än de, inte. Inte hade något att äta, ingenstans att ligga etcetera. Nej, de var analfabeter, socialt analfabeter var de.*]

[42] Skogsarbetarrörelsen, 218. [*Va ska en sån förening kunna göra? . . . Tror någon, att de i en hast kan förbättra situationen? Det tror inte jag. . . . Vi kan aldrig hålla ihop som yrkesutövare, men kanske som affärsmän, och då blir det inte småputtrarna, som få sitt ord med i laget.*]

[43] John Belshaw records a similar sentiment held by the skilled British miners on Vancouver Island who saw themselves as a 'labour aristocracy.' Belshaw maintains that these miners displayed strong conservative values before extreme labour conditions promoted more radical politics. Belshaw, "The British Collier in British Columbia," 14, 19-23.

[44] Farmers comprised 55 percent of the union membership in the middle of the 1920s. This is a clear example of the confused political adherence within the logging industry since by no means all workers formally belonged to the union. See Persson, Skogens skördemän, 40-4.

[45] [*Arbetets frihet*] Karlbom, Skogens arbetare, 228. Kilander, however, claims that most of the small farmers shunned *Arbetets Frihet* while the big farmers found the organization more interesting. Kilander, Skogsarbetarna organiserar sig, 65.

[46] Karlbom, Skogens arbetare, 231. [*Arbetets Frihets syfte var . . . 'ett värn för urgammal svenk frihet gentemot på svensk jord planterade frihetsfrämmande socialist läror.'*] Clearly, conservative forces both in B.C. and in Sweden tended to blame foreign influence for workers' unrest rather than conceding that local industrial measures may be at fault.

[47] Persson, Skogens skördemän, 38.

[48] Karlbom, Skogens arbetare, 235.

[49] Persson, Skogens skördemän, 38. Note that Karlbom puts the SAC's membership at 37 000; however, Persson's figures only refer to the membership of loggers, while Karlbom refers to the total membership that included other industries as well. See Karlbom, Skogens arbetare, 216.

[50] Karlbom, Skogens arbetare, 214.

[51] Although the union headquarters frowned on this collaboration and the LO disallowed it altogether, local cooperation between unionists and syndicalists was common. This is yet another indication of loggers' independence and their disregard of a distant, centralized union administration. See Persson, Skogens skördemän, 87 and 126.

[52] Persson, Skogens skördemän, 88. See also Karlbom who claims that both syndicalists and Freedom of Work strikebreakers helped defeat several union actions. Karlbom, Skogens arbetare, 190.

[53] Karlbom, Skogens arbetare, 124.

[54] Karlbom, Skogens arbetare, 99-100. Since the Forest Workers and River Drivers originated in 1918, these agreements involved smaller independent unions.

[55] Bo Persson claims that a profusion of farmers in the work force plus a multitude of conflicts and blacklistings contributed to a competition between various organizations. As a result, some workers alternated between locals of the union, the SAC, and the Freedom of Work. See Persson, Skogens skördemän, 95.

[56] Runblom and Norman, From Sweden to America, 128.

[57] Runblom and Norman, From Sweden to America, 130, 142.

[58] Skogsarbetarrörelsen, 214-215. [*Det bär av till Amerika, närmare preciserat till Canada och Vancouver, där större skogar med större arbetsförtjänster och möjligheter få ta hand om överflödig svensk arbetskraft.*] Note, however, that except for one interview, this is the only recorded instance of Swedes emigrating to British Columbia solely to work in the logging industry.

[59] Skogsarbetarrörelsen, 216. [*Där slipper man åtminstone sitta som en annan dåre och se på hur dom andra jobba.*]

[60] For a fuller description of interior logging, see Gordon Hugh Hak, "On the Fringes: Capital and Labour in the Forest Economies of the Port Alberni and Prince George Districts, British Columbia, 1910-1930," (Ph. D. diss, Simon Fraser University, 1986), 11, 100-101, 137, 151, 251-252 and 272.

[61] Ibid. 11 and 117-119.

[62] Lembcke and Tattam, One Union in Wood, 5.

[63] Mark Leier, "Solidarity on Occasion: The Vancouver Free Speech Fights of 1909 and 1912," Labour/Le Travail, 23 (Spring 1989): 61 and note # 84.

[64] Leier, "Solidarity on Occasion," 61-63.

[65] Lembcke and Tattam, One Union in Wood, 12-13. See also the Lumber Worker, Vol 34. 1 (Jan. 1971): 3.

[66] Lumber Worker, 60. 4 (1995): 9.

[67] Myrtle Bergren gives several examples of loggers who were introduced to radical labour actions through the Wobblies. See Bergren, Tough Timber, 24-25, 60. Lembcke also claims that many former Wobblies, especially Scandinavian workers, would emerge as leaders in the Lumber Workers Industrial Union. Lembcke and Tattam, One Union in Wood, 16-17.

[68] The Wobblies were still active in the 1920s, as the 1923 strike against the Windlaw Lumber Company reveals. See the Lumber Worker 60. 4 (Nov. 1995): 8.

[69] J. Peter Campbell, "The Cult of Spontaneity: Finnish-Canadian Bushworkers and the Industrial Workers of the World in Northern Ontario, 1919-1934," Labour/Le Travail 41 (Spring 1998): 139.

[70] Campbell, 138-140. Bruce Magnuson claims that by 1929, IWW members in Ontario had "become a disgruntled group of disrupters, whose role consisted mainly of confusing the workers." Bruce Magnuson, The Untold Story of Ontario's Bushworkers (Toronto: Progress Books, 1990), xvii.

[71] Arne Johnson, interview with M. Kennedy, 1971, Aural History, Transcript # 70, University of British Columbia Special Collection (hereafter UBC SC), 9.

[72] Clay Perry claims that it first operated under the name B.C. Loggers' and Camp Workers' Union, and that despite ideological differences between the LWIU and the IWW, their new name, the Lumber Workers Industrial Union, had first been used by the Wobblies. See the Lumber Worker 60.4 (1995): 15.

[73] Steeves, The Compassionate Rebel, 44-45.

[74] Gordon Hak, "British Columbia Loggers and the Lumber Workers Industrial Union, 1919-1922," Labour/Le Travail, 23 (Spring 1989): 67 and 68.

[75] Arne Johnson claimed that wildcat strikes discredited the union. "If you didn't like the foreman or something . . . they decided, 'Let's go on strike.'" Johnson suggested that loggers themselves "lost interest" and became "disgusted" with the many wildcat strikes. Arne Johnson, interview, 9 and 20.

[76] Hak, "British Columbia Loggers," 86.

[77] Lembcke and Tattam point out that the LWIU appeared during a period when the Communist Party in Canada and in the United States abandoned its strategy of "boring from within" in order to infiltrate existing unions to create industrial unions that could compete against the anti-socialist American Federation of Labor. Lembcke and Tattam, One Union in Wood, 20. Lembcke and Tattam's analysis of the timing of the birth of the LWIU suggests, therefore, that the origin of the new union was not as spontaneous as Bergren insinuates.

[78] Hak, "Red Wages: Communists and the 1934 Vancouver Island Loggers Strike," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 80.3 (July 1989): 89-90. The Communist Party of Canada was guided by Comintern policies made in Moscow. This affected the Workers Unity League (WUL) since changes in Comintern's policies caused CPC to disband the WUL in 1935. Despite its termination, Communist union leaders remained in control of the LWIU and of the British Columbia IWA section until 1948. For a discussion of this period in the history of the Communist Party, see John Manley, "Canadian Communists, Revolutionary Unionism, and the "Third Period": The Workers' Unity League, 1929-1935," Journal of the Canadian Historical Association 5 (Ottawa, 1994): 167-194. Manley claims that although the membership in the WUL was relatively low, it played an important role in Canadian union development. See also Paul Phillips who has a brief discussion on the relationship between the WUL and the LWIU in British Columbia. Paul A. Phillips, No Power Greater, (Vancouver: British Columbia Federation of Labour, 1967), 102

[79] Bergren, Tough Timber, 52.

[80] Lembcke and Tattam, One Union in Wood, 42-43.

[81] Grant MacNeil, The I.W.A. in British Columbia (Vancouver: Regional Council No. 1 International Woodworkers of America, 1971), 10-14, and Lembcke and Tattam, One Union in Wood, 44.

[82] Stephen Gray, "Woodworkers and Legitimacy: The I.W.A. in Canada, 1937-1957," (Ph.D. diss., Simon Fraser University, 1989), 28-29.

[83] Besides feelings of persecution among Canadian communists, some loggers believed the American IWA divisions took advantage of the fee structure by using Canadian money to support striking American workers, while refusing to extend the same help to Canada. See Birger Bergström [pseud.], interview, transcript, Vancouver Island, 8.

[84] The IWA divided into a Communist Red and an anti-Communist White Bloc whose struggle for dominance of the union resulted in the secession attempt of the B.C. leadership. In 1941, the White Bloc gained control in the international union, but the Red Bloc remained in control in British Columbia until 1948. See Phillips, No Power Greater, 132. For a discussion on the Taft-Hartley Act and the White Bloc's use of the same to undermine the Communist leaders, see Lembcke and Tattam, One Union in Wood, 117-124.

[85] After the breakup, the WIUC reported ten thousand members compared to IWA's thirty thousand. Two years later the WIUC was down to four hundred members. Part of their difficulties was a confusion of funds, and accusations that members of the Red Bloc had embezzled part of the strike fund. Phillips, No Power Greater, 143. The IWA pressed charges and Erinie Dalskog was sentenced to jail for refusing to give up the WUIC strike fund to the IWA. See "Sidehill and Sawdust," Local 81, Nanaimo, B.C., April 25, 1949, "Woodworkers' Industrial Union of Canada (1949)," L.17.5, Port Alberni Museum and Archives (hereon PAMU).

[86] MacNeil, The I.W.A. in British Columbia, 34. Similarly, Vernon Jensen and Irving Abella suggest in separate works that the B.C. rank and file rebuffed the communists and stayed loyal to the moderate faction of the Canadian IWA. See Vernon Jensen, Lumber and Labor (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1945), 270; and Irving Abella, Nationalism, Communism and Canadian Labour: The CIO, the Communist Party and the Congress of Labour, 1935-1956 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 111.

[87] Lembcke and Tattam, One Union in Wood, 180, 59 and 86-87. The B.C. Communist, Maurice Rush, however, dismisses parts of Lembcke and Tattam's argument, maintaining that the B.C. union erred needlessly in breaking away. "The leadership," Rush argues, "had isolated themselves from the membership, and a wide gap had opened between the two." See Maurice Rush, "The Split in the Woodworkers' Union," We Have a Glowing Dream: Recollections of Working-Class and People's Struggles in B.C. from 1935 to 1996 (Vancouver, B.C.: Centre for Socialist Education, 1996), 110-112.

[88] "Per Petterson" voiced a similar view. He maintained that "it was touch and go" between the IWA and the WIUC during the election in Port Alberni. See Per Petterson [pseud.], interview, transcript, Vancouver Island, 6.

[89] Gray, "Woodworkers and Legitimacy," 437.

[90] Baptie, First Growth, 157-58.

[91] Hak, "On the Fringe," 323.

[92] Still, members of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) were active in the IWA. Lembcke and Tattam claim that the CCF vied for power among the left in British Columbia. This struggle spilled over into a contention for the leadership of the IWA. One example of this discord was Swedish origin John Ulinder, also president of the Cowichan-Newcastle CCF district, who attempted to overthrow the

communist leaders of the IWA in 1944. His coup failed, and Ulinder was tried and found guilty by the Duncan local, 1-80. See Lembcke and Tattam, One Union in Wood, 105-109.

Chapter Three:

The Myth of the Big Swede Logger: Popular Conception vs. Statistics

By da yumpin' yiminy yesus,
Aye yust kum back fr'm town,
Ay've seen da voman's fayces
In da spots off ill renown;
Ay've hire da fastes' taxies-
Had da best in effry house,
Got drunk on beer an'viskey-
Yust ass cray-see ass a louse;
An' aye tol' da fancey vomans
How ve log out in da voods-
How us Swenska super-humans,
Us alone produce da goods.
An' aye tol' da pretty maiden
How ve log in vinter's snow,
Wen aye kum out here from Swaden
Yust fifteen years ago.

An' wen firs' Ay kum dis countree
From ma native Swenska land,
Da language here seem funny
An' wass hard to understan':
For day had a drink at mealtime,
An' dey call it *koffeeplease*,
But it taste yust like da coffee
Back in Sweden, cross da seas.
An' *winniger-yug* aye learn to say.
Wen fifteen years had gone
Dey changed da name, an' so today-
Dey call it *demi-yon.*
Dey might fool me wi'dere talkin'-
Say ayme domb, an' green, an' shy:
But a Swede iss born to loggin'
Like an eagle's born to fly.[1]

Of the Swedish loggers we met in Chapter Two many emigrated to North America. While most chose the United States, the Swedish flow to Canada coincided with an increased exodus from the timber-rich province, *Norrland*, where a high proportion had worked in agriculture or other primary industries. In B.C., their relative prevalence in the forest industry and perhaps droll tendency to mispronounce certain English letters rendered them conspicuous, and myths began to sprout regarding their numerical majority and radical heritage. Many Anglo-Canadians concluded that these men were born loggers, having the knack of falling timber bred into their bones. This preconception fed a belief not only that most Scandinavians worked in the "elite falling gangs," but that most fallers were Scandinavians.[2] And finally, Swedish men were believed to be inherently good workers, placing them apart not only from the Eastern European, but also from the British logger. As is true of most myths, these, too, were based on a kernel of truth, making it difficult to distinguish romanticized images of the "Big Swede" faller from reality. To do so, this chapter contrasts statistical evidence with popular perceptions regarding the Swedish loggers.

The prefatory poem by Robert E. Swanson, an acclaimed poet of the western forest industry, not only conveys how Canadians perceived the Swedish accent, but it also touches on most of the myths surrounding this immigrant group. Accordingly, what Swedish men lacked in intellect, they made up for in brawn; they were heavy drinkers and womanizers, but skillful loggers. These were the "Swenska super-humans . . . born to loggin' / Like an eagle's born to fly." Swanson's interpretation was not unusual. Writers often mimicked the Swedish accent in stories about logging, even when national origin was irrelevant. In a paragraph about rain gear, for instance, Ed Gould quotes "an

old Swede," "No matter how cold and vet you got, you vere alvays varm and dry."[3] Such accounts stressed the Swedish origin, and may have encouraged the perception they dominated in the logging industry.

Clearly, Swedes arrived in increasing numbers in the 1920s. Although Swedish statistics alone do not suffice to relate the history of Swedish immigration to Canada, it is clear that Canada received only a tiny part of the total Swedish emigration.[4] More than 1 150 000 Swedes left for North America between 1851 and 1930, and only 1.2 percent of those for Canada.[5] Since these figures are lower than the actual number of Swedish immigrants in Canada, historians believe that those with an imprecise understanding of North American geography failed to distinguish between Canada and its southern neighbour. They simply noted "America" as the destination point.[6] In 1884 Swedish officials recorded the first two emigrants destined for Canada, and only in the 1920s did the Swedish exodus to Canada exceed one thousand per year.[7]

The Canadian statistics tell a different story, and it is clear that many Swedes who originally planned to live in the United States eventually settled north of the border. In 1921, when Swedish emigration statistics indicate that 6 042 Swedes had moved to Canada, the Canadian census listed 27 700 Swedish-*born* residents.[8] Thus, Canada received an excess of 20 000 Swedes who for various reasons chose it over the United States.[9] Conversely, while Swedish statistics indicate that 11 858 persons emigrated to Canada between 1921 and 1930, the Canadian census suggests a mere increase of 6 715 Swedish-born inhabitants.[10] These inconsistencies reflect both a high remigration and a considerable flow across the border between the United States and Canada.[11]

Table 1. Remigration to Sweden from Canada by men, women, and children, 1916-1950.

Year	Children	Adult single		Married		
	Under 15	Males	Females	Males	Females	Total
1916-1920	59	150	24	59	39	331
1921-1930	175	1 063	104	366	131	1 839
1931-1935	225	1 310	77	341	192	2 145
1936-1940	139	339	43	119	102	742
1941-1945	3	28	2	6	5	44
1946-1950	47	193	52	92	73	457

Source: Historisk Statestik för Sverige, Vol. 1, "Befolkningen 1720-1950, Tab. B 30 (Stockholm, Statistiska Centralbyrån, 1955).

Despite Canadian efforts to divert Swedes northward, prior to the 1920s few considered Canada as an alternative to the United States. Canadian authorities attempted early, but unsuccessfully, to entice Swedish emigrants.[12] At one point, they ran a fierce anti-American campaign portraying the US regime as "dictatorial," while simultaneously projecting a flattering image of Canada.[13] Because Swedes often associated the two nations together, many attributed the negative propaganda to both sides of the border, thus limiting the success of the Canadian campaign.[14] Canada continued to show interest, however, and in 1914 the Superintendent of Immigration suggested that the Canadian government mail copies of Swedish and Norwegian-language newspapers from Canada to the Scandinavian countries.[15] When immigration slowed down during the First World War,[16] Canada continued to pressure the Swedish government to allow more direct propaganda to aid the emigration process.[17] Swedish immigration to Canada only became more commonplace after Swedish-Americans began to cross the border in search of available land that was increasingly difficult to find in the US. This inflow added a decisive "pull" factor to the Canadian propaganda.[18]

In the 1920s, however, Swedish immigration to Canada increased, and coincided with a change from family to single emigration. At the same time emigration from the forested counties in northern Sweden also accelerated.[19] At least three-quarters of the emigrants were young men between 15-29 years of age who exchanged their rural home regions for the Canadian prairies or for British Columbia.[20] The 1921 census records nearly twice as many males as females among Swedish-born residents.[21] This significant gender disparity may account for a high degree of remigration among Swedish men compared to that of their female compatriots.[22] Although *three* times as many Swedish men as women emigrated to Canada, Table 1 shows that men were more than *ten* times more likely to return home.[23]

This gender disparity was clearly noticeable in British Columbia, where, in 1921, 72.8 percent of the Swedish born population was male.[24] The number of Swedish born in B.C. expanded quickly in the 1920s, but the sharp decline among the Swedish males in the 1941 census suggests that the Depression hit them hard, and that many returned to Sweden.[25] Swedish immigration to Canada came to an abrupt halt in the early 1930s, and henceforth, remigration to Sweden exceeded out-migration to Canada.[26]

Table 2a. Swedish-born population in Canada and British Columbia, 1921 and 1931.

	1921			1931		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Canada	27 700	18 134	9 566	34 415	23 906	10 509
B.C.	5 735	4 178	1 557	9 333	7 041	2 292

Sources: Census of Canada, Vol. 2, Table 52, Birthplace of the total population by sex, for provinces, 1921; and Census of Canada, Vol. 2, Table 46, Birthplace of the population, by counties or census division, 1931.

Table 2b. Swedish-born population in Canada and British Columbia, 1941.

	1941		
	Total	Male	Female
Canada	27 160	18 510	8 650
B.C.	7 729	5 578	2 149

Source: Census of Canada, Vol. 2, Table 43, Population by birthplace and sex, for counties or census divisions, 1941.

Table 3a. Swedish-origin population in Canada and British Columbia, 1921 and 1931.

	1921			1931		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Canada	61 503	35 707	25 796	81 306	48 049	33 257
B.C.	9 666	6 173	3 493	16 108	10 434	5 674

Sources: Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 26, Population, male and female, classified according to racial origin by federal electoral districts, 1921; and Census of Canada, Vol. 2, Table 32 Population, male and female, classified according to racial origin by counties or census divisions, 1931.

Table 3b. Swedish-origin population in Canada and British Columbia, 1941.

	1941		
	Total	Male	Female
Canada	85 396	48 630	36 766
B.C.	17 979	10 731	7 248

Source: Census of Canada, Vol.2, Table 1, Population by racial origin and sex, for provinces and territories, 1941.

Table 4. Swedish immigrant population in Canada and British Columbia by sex and year of arrival.

Swedish-born in:	Total	Before 1911	1911-20	1921-30	1931-35	1936-39	1940-41
Canada							
Male	18 510	7 358	4 484	6 252	215	72	10
Female	8 650	4 028	2 383	2 033	133	50	13
British Columbia							
Male	5 578	1 058	1 202	2 336	53	14	2
Female	2 149	904	511	677	39	16	0

Source: Census of Canada, Vol. 4, Table 26, Immigrant population by period of immigration, birthplace and sex, for provinces and territories, 1941.

At least fifteen immigrant groups lived in British Columbia in 1921, but the British-origin clearly dominated. Typically, individual European ethnic groups consisted of fewer than 10 000 members which suggests that groups with a higher population may have became more noticeable. Despite the relatively small numbers of Swedes in British Columbia, demographics indicate that together with other Scandinavians they were nevertheless conspicuous since they belonged to the fourth largest identifiable group after British, Chinese and Indian.[27] In 1921, some census calculations grouped Scandinavians together, perhaps reflecting difficulties of outsiders in distinguishing between individual Scandinavian nationalists, in particular Norwegians and Swedes. B.C.'s total population at this time was 524 582, and of those 19 002 — 3.6 percent — were Scandinavian. In 1931, their position in B.C. was slightly stronger. Although only constituting 4.8 percent of the total population, by this time Scandinavians belonged to the third largest ethnic group surpassed only by those of British and Asian origin.[28] Thus, although Scandinavians in British Columbia may seem insignificant when viewed in relation to the total population, they stood out in comparison to all other individual ethnic groups.

Of the Scandinavian population in British Columbia many were indeed loggers, and perhaps a tendency of Scandinavians to cluster in certain communities encouraged a

distorted perception of their true number. As loggers often migrated between various camps it is difficult to situate them geographically in retrospect. The Canadian census is a useful aid in ethnographical studies, but its changes in focus and groupings from decade to decade and the unavailability of manuscript census data after 1901 impede discussions covering an extended period. For instance, while censuses in 1931 and 1941 list Scandinavian loggers separately, the 1921 census tabulates them with "European". Prior to 1931, then, occupational groupings of the census are inadequate for inquiries on Scandinavian loggers. Furthermore, it does not at any time isolate Finnish loggers, and considering that many sources group Finland with Scandinavia, this omission raises troublesome obstacles.[29] Moreover, while the 1911 and 1921 censuses reveal the extent of the permanent Swedish population even in small communities, most loggers lived in camps outside of the urban areas and were not counted as part of the local citizenry.

Therefore, it is difficult to state exactly how many Scandinavians worked in the B.C. forest industry in 1921. However, based on the percentage of Scandinavian loggers in 1931, the census indicates they could not have exceeded 18.7 percent of all B.C. loggers in 1921.[30] It records 12 635 employees in logging out of which 3 431 listed Europe as their birthplace, 1 197 Asia, 1 643 the U.S.A., 2 044 the British Isles or British Possessions, and 4 312 claimed to have been born in Canada.[31] Hence, the largest group of loggers in 1921 was Canadian-born.

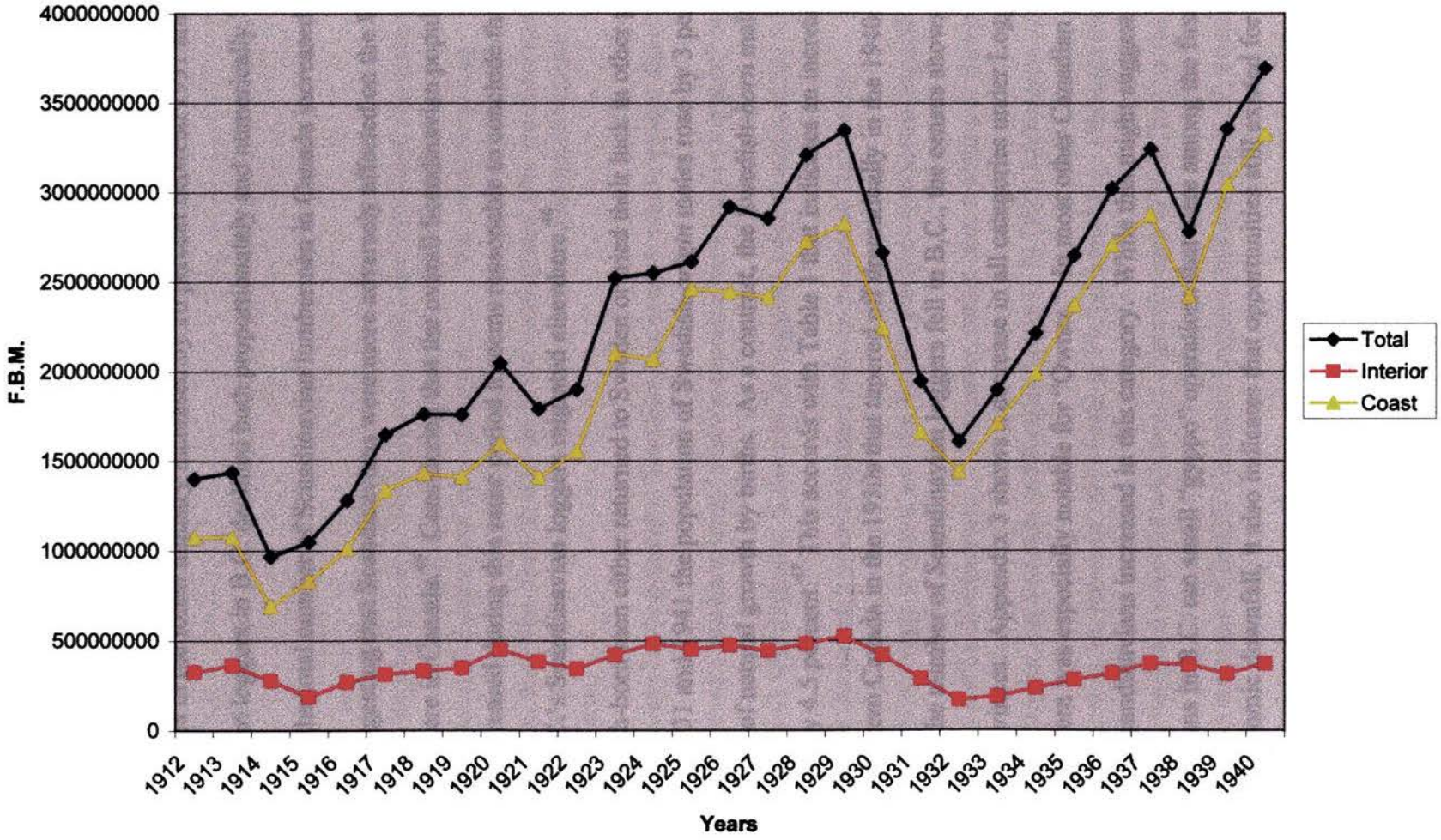
Censuses of 1931 and 1941 also indicate that the numbers of Swedish loggers were affected by fluctuations in the B.C. forest economy. Lumber production in British Columbia declined after a depression in 1913, and as late as 1916 production was at 60 percent of the 1910 level.[32] Although the Chief Forester, H. R. MacMillan, managed to

sell 10 million board feet of lumber to Britain in 1915,[33] B.C. found it difficult to compete with the Baltic countries that could ship more cheaply and quickly.[34]

In the 1920s, however, British Columbia expanded its lumber export. After a disastrous earthquake in1923, Japan ordered 40 million feet of lumber.[35] In addition, the Panama Canal opened an affordable seaway between the North Pacific and the Atlantic.[36] In the US, housing construction expanded rapidly in the 1920s especially on the eastern seaboard, where the local lumber industry was inadequate to meet the demand. With the help of the canal, lumber producers in British Columbia were able to increase their exports to the United States, and the B.C. forest economy grew dramatically.[37]

This positive development was thwarted in the 1930s when the Depression paralyzed B.C.'s lumber industry. The Americans sought to protect their own producers with the Smoot-Hawley Tariff that imposed a prohibitively high duty against British Columbia lumber.[38] B.C. turned toward Britain for support, and, in a 1932 Imperial Economic Conference, Canada secured a 20 percent preference in the British market.[39] This agreement and the Asian trade reinforced the B.C.'s lumber industry,[40] but not until the onset of the Second World War was trade again in full bloom. Soon B.C. had a plethora of orders where the only restriction was the difficulty in finding ships to transport the lumber — and workers to cut the timber.[41]

Timber scaled in B.C. 1912-1940



For B.C., the years of booming economy in the 1920s coincided with a peak in Swedish immigration,[42] but the Census reveals that the Depression had severe consequences for Scandinavian loggers in British Columbia. Although the total numbers of employees in the forest industry increased by 10 percent between 1931 and 1941,[43] Scandinavian loggers in B.C. declined both proportionately and numerically.[44] At the same time, the total number of Scandinavian lumbermen in Canada increased by fifteen percent, suggesting that Scandinavians were more adversely affected on the West Coast than elsewhere in Canada.[45] Considering that the overall Scandinavian population in Canada decreased during this same period it seems reasonable to conclude that at least some of B.C.'s Scandinavian loggers migrated elsewhere.[46]

Swedish-born men either returned to Sweden or tried their luck in other provinces. Between 1931 and 1941 the population of Swedish-*origin* males rose by 3 percent, likely a reflection of natural growth by births. As a contrast, the Swedish-*born* male population decreased by 4.5 percent.[47] This accords with Table 1 that indicates an increased re-migration from Canada in the 1930s that tapered off dramatically in the 1940s.

While the number of Scandinavian loggers fell in B.C., the census shows an increase in other provinces. Appendix 3 shows a decrease in all categories under Logging in B.C., but this pattern was especially notable for "Owner." In most other Canadian provinces, however, Scandinavians increased in this category. While this might suggest that most Scandinavians in B.C. ran small "gyppo" operations that were among the first to fall during economic downfall, it also indicates that opportunities still existed for enterprising Scandinavians elsewhere in Canada.[48] Regardless, although British Columbia

considered Scandinavians to be the archetypal loggers, these men declined both numerically and proportionately in an occupational field that was still expanding.

Ethnic discrimination during this time of trial may partly explain the Scandinavian exodus. Correspondence in 1934 between A. J. Dumaresq of a Vancouver employment bureau and R. C. Richardson, manager of Campbell River Timber Co., reveals a plan to avoid hiring foreign loggers. Dumaresq suggested that:

> employers make a concerted effort to get as many young Canadians as possible into the logging business. They are resourceful and intelligent and learn quickly and if we cater to them it will be only a matter of a comparatively short time before we shall have a new race of loggers . . . . . We would be giving employment to our own people . . . and we would replace trouble makers in camps by men who have an interest in the country and who are concerned in making a living rather than in disorganizing industry and upsetting our institutions.[49]

While Dumaresq never pointed to Scandinavian or other ethnic groups directly, he made clear he believed Canadians would make a superior "new race of loggers;" non-Canadians were less desirable. Likewise, he suggested that troublemakers who disorganized the industry were foreigners with no interest in the country.

Richardson's reply does not survive, but his previous statements suggest he would have favored such a development.[50] Moreover, rather than referring to foreigners in general, he singled out Swedish and Finnish loggers. In 1932, Richardson wrote, "much to my satisfaction, we have not one Swede or Fin [sic] working. I thought there was a Swede gang but I find now that we haven't either Swedes of Fins [sic] on the job."[51] Likewise, the manager of British Columbia Loggers Association, R. V. Stuart, believed it would be advantageous to hire only Canadian labour. Stuart noted that Jimmy Lawson, a member of the Provincial Economic Council, responded enthusiastically when he heard that Stuart had hired "green Canadian labor." In fact, Lawson offered to amend the

Minimum Wage Order to permit the logging industry to "employ such labor as apprentices during their training period, from three to six months, at a lower wage than that paid for experienced labor."[52] This reveals a desire to replace European and Scandinavian loggers with Canadian born, with an added bonus of lowering payroll costs.[53] This correspondence therefore indicates that more than economic fluctuations caused Scandinavian loggers to leave the province, and more research is needed to determine if they met with a warmer reception in other Canadian provinces.

The census provides clues to general trends in Swedish immigration but it does not elucidate about local concentrations. Other sources, however, help fill this gap. For example, during the 1936 strike,[54] the Lumber Workers Industrial Union kept membership records. Most focused on active union members but some list names of workers affected by the strike.[55] One mailing list from the Cowichan Lake district implies that ethnic configurations in the camps differed significantly from that of the permanent population. Of 218 strikers, 62 had Scandinavian names, which suggests that Scandinavian loggers concentrated in certain camps.[56]

Surviving employment records also indicate the proportion of Swedish loggers in the industry and situate them in the labour process. Following the criteria outlined in Chapter One, this thesis considers records from four employers: Baikie Bros. Logging, Rock Bay Camp of Campbell River, Elk River Timber (ERT), and Comox Logging and Railroad Company in Courtenay. While the information concerning Baikie Bros., ERT, and Comox Logging is from payroll documents, the Lumber Workers Industrial Union compiled the list from Rock Bay.

Records from the LWIU are sketchy, but suggest that at least some camps hired a high percentage of Scandinavian workers. In order to estimate the number of strikers, the LWIU listed all employees at the Rock Bay camp. Out of 149 names, 30.2 percent were Scandinavian,[57] a figure that approaches some of the more generous estimates. Unfortunately, this list is not accompanied by any other information such as where in the labour process the Scandinavians were slotted. Nor did the union provide similar information about other Vancouver Island camps. The list must therefore be seen in isolation, since by itself it neither explains the high ratio of Scandinavian loggers, nor throws light on the much lower numbers in camps such as Elk River Timber or Baikie Brothers.

The Baikie Bros. donated to the Campbell River archives several small, handwritten time books from the years 1936 to 1946. These records are consistent from season to season, but of varying quality in readability and precision.[58] In 1936, the company hired between eight to eighteen men, the great majority seemingly of an Anglo-Canadian heritage. In August 1936, for example, seventeen men were on the payroll, but only one, Jim Dalquist, was identifiably Scandinavian.[59] Between September and December that year they boasted no Scandinavian names at all, although through most of 1937 they employed two men with Scandinavian names. Between 1939 to 1946 Baikie Brothers continued to employ fewer than twenty loggers per month, none of whom had Scandinavian names.

The lack of Scandinavian loggers corresponds with at least one personal account from this period. Fred Halstrom remembers with horror the loneliness of his first year as a logger in Shoal Bay: "Nineteen years old. You didn't know nothing; you couldn't talk.

You'd lie there in the bunkhouse, the guys gabbing away, you wouldn't know what they were talking about. You had to fend for yourself. No one to teach you nothing."[60] These words hardly reflect a labour force dominated by Scandinavians, but rather indicates that Swedish loggers were in a minority position in at least some camps.

Although it is improbable that Swedes only worked for Scandinavian boss loggers, an elderly Swedish logger suggests that many newly arrived Swedes sought out Swedish speaking employers:

> If a Swede-fellow got to be a boss-logger then naturally he also would have a camp, you see. So the young Swedes who come to the country would hear about it, and he would say, 'I'm gonna see him first.' And they [boss loggers] knew that because they were Swedes they would work like thunder. Swedes were good workers . . . they sort of attracted each other in a sense.[61]

Certainly the management of these small logging operations did not limit their employees to men of their own national origin, but it seems reasonable that they attracted and tended to hire people of their own background. Thus, Swedes might have concentrated in certain "Scandinavian-rich" areas such as Cowichan Lake, while Anglo-Canadian loggers dominated other camps and communities.[62]

The much larger Elk River Timber, also of Campbell River, employed more than 700 men per year between 1936 and 1940.[63] Their records are in a surprisingly good condition, with each employee listed on a separate card that records name, hours worked per month, and type of labour performed. The latter category is particularly useful since it makes it possible to ascertain if the proportion of Scandinavian fallers was as high as some sources indicate. These records suggest that 11 percent of the total workforce was Scandinavian — a decidedly lower figure than the provincial average according to the

1931 and 1941 censuses.[64] Scandinavian employees in ERT increased to 16 percent by 1940, but this figure is still below the provincial average of 21 percent.[65]

When studying only Scandinavians hired by the ERT, the records show that while a large proportion were fallers, they also held many other positions. In 1936, eighty-five Scandinavians worked in twenty-seven different positions such as baker, bull cook, survey assistant, riggslinger, and hook tender.[66] The single largest category of Scandinavian forest workers at Elk River Timber — 32 percent — worked as fallers, but 68 percent worked elsewhere in the labour process.[67] Thereby, more than two thirds of all employed Scandinavians worked in positions outside of falling.

In 1940, the ERT hired 120 men with Scandinavian names of whom 56 were fallers. Thus, ERT placed nearly half of all employed Scandinavians in falling. Nonetheless, as in 1936, ERT also hired them in a wide assortment of positions, some requiring formal training.[68] Since Scandinavian immigration to Canada declined sharply after 1929, the comparatively high number of employed Scandinavian fallers in 1940 suggests they had advanced to better paying positions at least among the lumbermen. Hence, it is clear that even when studying Scandinavians in isolation from other ethnic groups they worked in many different categories.

A fuller picture emerges when looking at the total numbers of employees at the ERT. The records reveal that the majority of the fallers were not Scandinavian. In 1936, the payroll listed 147 fallers, of who 120 names had typically non-Scandinavian names.[69] The 1940 records do not change these proportions to any notable degree.[70] At least at ERT, therefore, Scandinavians never dominated the labour force. These records thus question the myth that most Vancouver Island fallers were Scandinavian, and,

conversely, that most Scandinavians were fallers.[71] Here, the Scandinavians were in minority both in the labour force in general and amongst the fallers and buckers. Even when isolating the Scandinavian loggers it is clear that a majority worked in positions other than falling and bucking. In fact, Scandinavians at ERT showed a similar occupational diversity to most nationalities.[72]

Many interviewees, however, insisted that Swedes, Norwegians and Finns worked in falling, while other nationalities were employed elsewhere. "Anders Anderson," for example, claimed that most fallers at his place of employment were either of Swedish or Finnish extraction:

> And there were lots of Scandinavians, Finns and Swedes and all that, falling timber. By hand, you know. So someone told me, 'Why don't you do like the rest of the Swedes, and go falling timber too?' So there was a chance there, and there was a fellow who wasn't Scandinavian, but I got to know him, and he said, 'Well, if you want a change come with me, because I need a faller'. . . . But there was no Canadians. Well, maybe one or two Canadians among all those fallers and buckers out there. The rest were just Swedes and Swede-Finns, and Finnish people.[73]

Consequently, Anders was hired as a faller not because of his experience, but more because he was Swedish, and thus *should* be working with falling.[74] Clearly this indicates that ethnic ability is a constructed concept, more indicative of the perceptions of the ones who did the hiring than of the workers.

At least one company fully believed in hiring Scandinavian and Finnish loggers as fallers, and placing other nationalities in both more skilled and less demanding position. When Comox Logging compiled a list of their employees' national origin in 1944[75] the total crew of 794 workers represented 23 different nationalities. Of them, 44 were Swedish and 23 were naturalized Canadians born in Sweden. In total, Swedes comprised

8.4 percent of the workforce and Finns 9 percent, while the larger group of Scandinavians made up an only slightly higher number of 10 percent.[76]

The company provided even more detailed information in their employment ledger from 1929 to 1944. It recorded employees' name, marital status, nationality, camp number, occupation, and date of commencing work and of discharge.[77] "Anders'" story was remarkably consistent with the company records, since Comox Logging almost exclusively hired Swedish and Finnish fallers.[78] In fact, 47.4 percent of the fallers were Finnish, 37.2 Scandinavian, 8.7 percent Canadian, with the remaining 6.7 percent being of other nationalities. Finnish and Swedish loggers were thus over-represented as fallers, and almost non-existent in other capacities.[79] Clearly believing in the myth that Finns and Scandinavians made the best fallers, Camp 3 hired accordingly.[80]

Other Comox Logging camps showed similar ethnic configuration. Of a crew of 154, the Ladysmith camp hired 82 Canadian, 17 Swedish, and 17 Finnish workers. Of twenty-nine fallers, thirteen were Finnish, thirteen Swedish, two Canadian, and one American. Even when studying a camp over a longer time period, Comox Logging followed this pattern. In Camp Ch. [Chemainus?] between 1930 to 1934, 230 of 498 workers were fallers. The majority was either Swedish or Finnish, but these ethnic groups were rarely found in other capacities.[81]

Although Comox Logging hired a high number of Scandinavian fallers, most Scandinavians were in jobs requiring a minimum of formal trai ning. Considering their reputation as excellent woodsmen and good workers with an easy grasp of the English language, one might expect them to have been over-represented in supervisory positions. This, however, was not the case. Out of the 3 147 Scandinavian loggers in 1931, only 5.2

percent were owners or managers while the census lists 6.5 percent of the total workforce and 10.9 percent of Anglo Canadians as owners and managers. As a comparison, 18.8 percent of the Dutch, 8.3 percent of the French, 8 percent of the Italians, and 6.8 percent of the German forest workers were listed under "owners and managers."[82] Thus, Scandinavians were slightly underrepresented as owners and managers in the industry as a whole, and severely underrepresented in comparison to British loggers. Moreover, while 93.4 percent of Scandinavians listed under Logging were lumbermen, 89.6 percent of all races and 80.4 percent of the British loggers were thus employed. One might argue it was their late arrival in B.C. not ethnic prejudice that kept the Scandinavians from management positions, especially since the census shows that most foremen arrived prior to 1920.[83] Nonetheless, while the late period of arrival might have some bearing on the 1931 figures, there was no significant change in the next census. Instead, perhaps due to a stagnant economy in the 1930s, Scandinavians increased proportionately in the lesser positions.[84] By 1941, however, most Scandinavians in Canada had been in residence for twenty years, thus the period of arrival might have been less crucial than what first appeared. Evidently, although the reasons are unclear, Scandinavians found it more difficult than most nationalities, in particular the British, to work as foremen and managers, and as a result the overwhelming majority remained in subordinate positions. Therefore, neither language facility nor occupational skills were enough to ease Scandinavians over the ethnic barriers that protected Anglo Canadian workers.

Table 5. Gainfully occupied Scandinavian and British origin in Canada and British Columbia, 1931.[85]

Occupation	Total all groups		British		Scandinavian	
Canada	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All Occupations	3,261,371	66, 859	1, 729,758	381,419	89, 804	11, 165
Logging	43, 995	0	11, 729	0	3, 753	0
Owners / managers	2, 463	0	1, 064	0	189	0
Foremen / overseer	912	0	423	0	39	0
Foresters / timber-cruisers	3, 182	0	1, 641	0	89	0
Lumbermen	37, 438	0	8, 601	0	3, 436	0
British Columbia						
All Occupations	262, 515	43, 748	169, 275	35, 127	16, 552	1, 751
Agriculture	42, 209	1, 429	23, 637	692	2, 680	57
Fish. Hunt. Trapping	9, 409	47	1, 876	11	1, 308	19
Logging	12, 929	0	4, 624	0	3, 147	0
Owners / managers	841	0	507	0	164	0
Foremen / overseer	167	0	109	0	24	0
Foresters/ timber-cruisers	334	0	290	0	17	0
Lumbermen	11, 587	0	3, 718	0	2, 942	0
Mining	10, 339	3	5, 705	2	1, 029	1
Manufacturing	26, 568	2, 804	20, 411	1, 828	1, 230	78
Electric power	4, 793	0	3, 946	0	233	0
Building and constr.	19, 010	1	15, 458	1	1, 407	0
Transportation / Communication	26, 277	1, 890	20, 687	1, 748	1, 169	48
Section foremen, section men, and trackmen	2, 673	0	693	0	238	0
Warehousing	2, 460	464	2, 161	399	64	19
Trade	22, 201	4, 727	17, 371	4, 120	357	107
Finance, Insurance	3, 680	83	3, 385	72	51	2
Service	31, 224	23, 348	21, 173	18, 132	704	1, 255
Clerical	9, 613	8, 638	8, 885	7, 898	134	174
Other	41, 732	308	19, 894	218	3, 038	10

Source: Census of Canada, Vol. 7, Table 49, Gainfully occupied, 10 years of age and over, by occupation, racial origin, and sex, for Canada and the provinces, 1931.

While many Scandinavians worked as loggers, they were not as concentrated in the forest industry as popular perception suggests. As Table 5 indicates, of 16 552 employed Scandinavian-origin men in British Columbia, 81 percent of male Scandinavians worked in other industries. Granted that since "Scandinavian" refers to four different nationalities, it is technically possible, if highly improbable, that the

Scandinavian farmers were all Danes, the fishermen Norwegians, and the loggers Swedes. Still, even if all Scandinavian forest workers were of Swedish origin, only 30 percent of this group could possibly have worked in logging.[86] If we go even further and suggest that *all* Scandinavian-origin loggers were Swedish *born* we still find that 55.4 percent of them worked elsewhere.[87] Hence, it is clear that Swedes and other Scandinavian males worked in a variety of occupations, and that logging was not a sufficiently dominating source for employment to justify stereotyping Scandinavians as particularly born or drawn towards this industry.[88]

The census further shatters the myth that Scandinavians were "born loggers" by pointing out that of the total Scandinavian population in Canada only a miniscule portion were in forestry, and most of them worked in British Columbia. As Table 4 indicates, of 89 804 Scandinavian-origin males in Canada, only 3 753 logged, and the vast majority of these — 3 147 — roamed the B.C. woods. In other words, only 4 percent of all Scandinavian men in Canada worked in the forest industry, and 83 percent of them were in B.C. These figures hardly justify labeling Scandinavians as natural loggers, but it suggests that the high number of Scandinavian lumbermen in British Columbia encouraged an illusion that Scandinavians were particularly interested in forestry.

In fact, although the Swedish logging industry employed 150 000 persons on a part time basis, neither emigration propaganda nor literature designed to curtail emigration suggest that forestry pulled Swedes to Canada.[89] Fearing Sweden was losing its best labour through emigration some Swedish politicians created the Organization Against Emigration, which strove to limit emigration by understanding the pull factors and instate countermeasures that would encourage Swedes to remain at home. One such

attempt focused on Canada. The Swedish parliamentarian, Adrian Molin, warned the Swedish government of various occupational opportunities in Canada that encouraged Swedish emigration. He proposed that Sweden should implement countermeasures against some of the most powerful of these pull factors. He argued that it was the free soil that almost without exception lured the Swedish emigrant, and he proposed a "Free Homestead Movement" (*egnahemsrörelsen*), similar to American and Canadian land acts. This would free farmland in northern Sweden and keep land-hungry workers at home. His records do not suggest, however, that he considered the Canadian logging industry as particularly dangerous bait.[90] Had this been the case, it is highly likely that Molin would have suggested means of improving the conditions in the Swedish logging industry in order to halt any exodus of Swedish loggers to Canada.

Likewise, Canadian emigration propaganda did not cite logging as an example of a profitable or suitable occupation for Swedes. In 1929, when the Canadian National Railways offered detailed information regarding opportunities for farmers, it discussed British Columbia only from an agricultural perspective.[91] Similarly, Canadian immigration advertisements in local newspapers in counties where logging was an important source of income still emphasized farming, which promoters expected would be most attractive to prospective emigrants.[92]

Despite the large number of workers employed in the Swedish forest industry, Swedes rarely defined themselves as loggers.[93] Swedish emigration statistics from a county in northern Sweden where logging was the second leading industry lack an occupational grouping for "logger," "lumberman," or similar titles denoting forest work. One historian suggests that since logging was seasonal, forest workers most likely fell

under the grouping "labourer," the largest occupational classification among these emigrants. Farming and animal husbandry were the most common sources of income, and logging merely provided supplementary earnings in the winter.[94] The Swedish ethnologist Ella Johansson points out that although males in northern Sweden commonly engaged in logging at some point in their lives, this scarcely affected their self-perception:

> Logging was seen more or less as a hunting expedition, an occasional and profitable excursion, the prey of which was brought back to the *bygd* [community] and used to produce or reproduce the household. Life at the hauling was never looked upon as a permanent part of the real, continuous life, and thus the terrible conditions prevailed year after year as a permanent make-shift.[95]

Certainly, both Swedish officials and workers viewed logging as secondary to other industries; if these men considered themselves "born" to a certain vocation, agriculture would have been a more apt selection.

Many Swedes in British Columbia supplemented farming with logging. For "Anders Anderson" farming was always the preferred occupation. He emigrated in 1925 after reading about Canada's advancement in agricultural technology. Anders, who grew up in the relatively mild climate of southern Sweden, first worked as a farmhand in Saskatchewan. The cold winters, however, compelled him to migrate west. "I read about Canada that instead of *walking* behind the [farm] implements, you *ride* behind the implements, and I said: 'Gee, that's the life for me.' So that's what I wanted to do, and I would have stayed there [in Saskatchewan] too if it hadn't been so cold there."[96] Instead, Anders caught a train to British Columbia, and found work on a Vancouver Island farm for $25.00 a month. Later, although he claims that he "didn't know anything about

logging in those days," a local logging camp took him on as a rigger. Here he made as much money per week as he had per month on the farm. Still, Anders never gave up his dream of farming and eventually bought enough land to support a couple of cows and some chickens:[97]

> I rode up and down [the road] going to work, and I saw this piece of land laying there, for sale. It cost around $300.00. So I talked to the guy with the chickens [his first employer on Vancouver Island]: he was like a second parent for me in this country. And he said, "Yes, you buy that land." And I said I wanted to put up a little cabin, but he said "No, there's a nice chicken house that never had any chickens in it. We fix that up and make a nice cabin for you." So I did all the work in my spare time, and lined the inside with board and a new floor and that. And windows and that so that I could live in it. And I found another fellow who boarded with me a few years. And then I met my wife, and that's what happened. She was four years younger than I was; I was 24 and she was 20 when we got married . . . . . I was young and strong and I didn't mind coming home and getting something to eat, and then work outside.[98]

Clearly Anders preferred farming to other fulltime work; logging merely provided an easily accessible and necessary income.

Swedish-Canadian journalists also indicated that Swedish communities in British Columbia mirrored the Swedish practice of using forest work to subsidize farming. In Silverhill, just north of Mission, men in a Swedish settlement of sixteen families worked seasonally in other primary industries in order to keep their farms solvent:

> The ground is difficult to break and cultivate and thus as a rule one only cultivates part of the land — enough to raise a few cows and some hens. Because of this they cannot survive on earnings from the farms alone, but the male part of the population seek extra income from forest work and even salmon fishing. Between the seasons they return home to renew their struggle with rocks and tree stumps.[99]

The paper also reported that most land-owning Swedes in Port Haney and Port Hammond subsidized their income in logging or other primary industries.[100] Another article pointed

to the importance of fishing in Lund, near Powell River, but with the hopeful addition that "in time the farming will play a considerably greater role."[101] Likewise, despite admitting that Swedes in Port Alberni worked in logging and fishing, the paper emphasized farming for Swedes on Vancouver Island. It treated Swedes in Campbell River and Courtenay who worked mostly in logging as of lesser interest. Since their permanent addresses were in Vancouver, the author clearly considered them migrant workers rather than permanent settlers.[102] The Swedish population in B.C. recognized the importance of employment in the logging industry, but its voice, the Scandinavian-language press, favoured farming communities and insinuated strongly that landowners best represented the Swedish settlers.

Whatever their occupation, Swedes gained a reputation for being exceptional workers. A Canadian sociologist, Edmund Bradwin, wrote a text that became a classic source in understanding Canadian bunkhouse life. In it he claimed that there were "no finer men" than Scandinavians among railway construction crews and that Swedes in particular became camp foremen and company officials.[103] Research in Sweden also reveals that agricultural workers accepted similar values. Ella Johansson claims that the survival of northern Swedish farmers did not depend as much on the lean harvest from the land or the equally unsure profits from the forest, as on the person's ability to work or to attract other "help" workers:

> Work became an extremely positively loaded and fetishistic notion where one's ability or capacity for work was considered congenital . . . that is, an important, deeply anchored part of the person. To be considered an *arbetskarl,* a good workman . . . was a well-defined status that each industrious man or woman could achieve, and such a characterization always came into effect when referring to such a person.[104]

Therefore, it is not surprising that one of the most cherished myths of the Swedish loggers in British Columbia was their image as able workers.[105] "Birger Bergström's" response to a question about discrimination reflects this pride. "I don't think that you found much discrimination going on, for the Scandinavians out there were really good workers, they were producers, and they tended to hang on to those guys."[106] While this interviewee never enlarged on what made Scandinavians so outstanding, he believed their image as "producers" accounted for their positive reception in the camps.[107] "Hans Hillgren" suggested that the Swedish labour process forced workers to develop a wide variety of skills. Swedes, he said, had a "number one" reputation as workers since they were skillful loggers who also "were handy with machinery [and] good at carpentry." Hans claims to have worked alongside farmers, millers, blacksmiths, and loggers from an early age in Sweden, thus developing a multitude of skills prior to emigrating.[108] Canadian loggers of British origin also viewed Swedish and Scandinavian loggers as particularly skillful workers. "John Jackson" spoke of the crosscut saw that was nicknamed the "Swedish Fiddle" because when used by two good Swedish loggers, the workers' rhythmical movements resembled the playing of a fiddle; "Isaak Ingram" credited his skills in logging to a couple of Swede-Finns who trained him during his youth.[109] Naturally, each ethnic group believes itself to be composed of top-notch workers, and this image blended well with other myths of Scandinavian loggers.

While it is difficult to resolve empirically whether Swedes were more capable than other nationalities, termination records of the sawmill department at Western Forest Industries' provide some leads.[110] The company listed each employee on a separate card, noting the country of birth, any spoken foreign language, preferred work, length of stay

with the company, and whether the management would consider rehiring. In all, these accounts provide a significant amount of information that is directly related to the nationality of the worker. Out of 541 termination slips, only 26 employees — fewer than 5 percent — were born in Sweden or spoke Swedish.[111] Fifteen of these twenty-six records did not state if the person was considered suitable for future employment,[112] seven claimed it was "OK to rehire", while four advised against rehiring. Thus, the management considered a full 15.3 percent of the Swedish employees as less than satisfactory. The cards seldom specified how they determined the workers' suitability, except in one instance when it noted the employee left since the camp was "not what he was told in Vancouver," and he was "not satisfied with conditions in camp." At least some of these undesirable workers, then, may have been considered overly critical of working conditions, and the management's negative assessment may better reflect the workers' attitudes than their abilities. While this group may have been too small to be statistically significant and similar detailed records from other workplaces are difficult to find, the evidence indicates that to a certain degree employers were indifferent to the Swedish self-image as "good workers."[113]

It is clear that employers did not hesitate to dismiss unsuitable Swedish workers. The Comox Logging and Railroad Company fired one because of his supposed carelessness with company tools. In October 1934, the Swedish manager, Robert Filberg, corresponded with a lawyer acting on behalf of a former Swedish worker who claimed that Comox Logging "wrongfully withheld" $14.00 in wages to repay accidental damages to a bucking saw. Filberg replied scathingly that the employee had been:

> careless with and of his tools. On two occasions he either broke or kinked the saw he was working with. He was told that if he continued as an employee of

> this Company it was on the understanding that he would be charged with any further saws he broke or ruined, and also he would be discharged if he broke or ruined any more saws.

Filberg explained to the lawyer that it was "unusual . . . for a log bucker to break three saws in a short time."[114] Although these records are only anecdotal, they suggests that a capacity to work well and hard was by no means implanted in all Swedish workers, and as with members in all ethnic groups, Swedes ranged between the excellent and the careless.

In sum, Swedish immigrants cannot be fitted in one uniform category either in respect to choice of occupation or according to inherent skills, but evidence suggests they displayed similar diversity as the population in general. All good myths contain enough truth to confuse reality, but certainly the notion that most B.C. loggers of this era were Scandinavian cannot be supported statistically, nor is there sufficient evidence to claim they were in the majority among fallers. More information of the labour composition in other Vancouver Island camps is needed, but if more camps followed Comox Logging's lead and mainly hired Scandinavians as fallers, this may explain why Scandinavians seemed so conspicuous in the logging industry. While statistics on Swedes in the forest industry tell us nothing about their involvement in the union, the disagreement with popular perceptions casts doubts on other myths regarding the Scandinavian loggers. Moreover, these figures will assist in ascertaining the degree of union representation among Swedes and Scandinavians. Clearly, logging played a minor role for Scandinavians in Canada as a whole, and while Swedes played a much larger role in B.C.'s forest industry, Swedes also worked in a wide variety of industries. Moreover, Swedish studies indicate that Swedish workers hardly considered themselves "born

loggers." Most emigrants had either owned farms or worked as farm labourers, and according to Swedish statistics defined themselves primarily as agricultural workers.

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[1] Robert E. Swanson, "The Rhyme of the Big Swede Logger," in Rhymes of a Western Logger (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing,1992), 74-76

[2] D. E. Isenor et al. write: "Because of their logging experience in Sweden, Finland or Norway and their work ethic, size and strength, many Scandinavian loggers joined local logging companies during the 1920s and 1930s. Often starting on the lower paying grade crews, many soon worked into the elite falling gangs." Without offering statistical evidence, these writers thus encouraged the myths of the Scandinavian loggers. See D.E Isenor, E. G. Stephens and D. E. Watson, The Edge of Discovery: A History of the Campbell River District (Campbell River, B.C.: Ptarmigan Press, 1989), 171.

[3] Ed Gould, Logging: British Columbia's Logging History (Saanichton, B.C.: Hancock House Publishers, 1975), 173.

[4] It is estimated that between 1/5 and ¼ of all Swedes living between 1851 and 1930 settled in North America. That means that Sweden had the third highest per capita emigration frequency of all European countries. See Hans Norman and Harald Runblom, Transatlantic Connections: Nordic Migration to the New World after 1800 (Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1987), 129.

[5] Runblom and Norman, From Sweden to America, 69.

[6] Norman and Runblom, Transatlantic Connections, 127. One interviewee complained that even in the 1980s some Swedes seemingly confused Canada with the United States. "It was the idea that Canada was part of the US. They talk about "America." When we were over [in Sweden] in 1986 it finally came to the point where I was correcting people and letting them know that it was a vast difference between Canada and the US, and teaching them to say *North* America, that also includes Canada. Some would look at me kind of strange, trying to assimilate this in their mind." Gunnar Gustafson [pseud.], interview by author, transcript, Vancouver Island, 4.

[7] More than 600 Swedes emigrated yearly to Canada between 1910 and 1913. The First World War strangled the flow, but in response to a Swedish recession in 1923 the numbers rose again, from 303 in 1922 to 1 422 in 1923. As a comparison, 324 285 Swedes emigrated to the US in the decade 1881-1890 alone, but even during the height of the emigration to Canada, Canada never received more than 2 306 Swedish immigrants yearly. See Runblom and Norman, From Sweden to America, 117-118, and 128.

[8] Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 7, Numerical distribution of the immigrant population by birthplace, sex and year of arrival in Canada, by provinces, 1921.

[9] Many Swedes crossed the border in search of job or business opportunities. P.B. Anderson and Robert Filberg are only two of many who exchanged the US for Canada. At the age of seventeen, Doris Dahlgren's husband migrated north, thus disobeying orders from his mother in Sweden to remain with relatives in Minnesota. Lars Ljungmark discusses the social impact when American Swedes arrived in the Swedish community in Winnipeg. See P.B. Anderson, "Life History," September 28, 1954, Unpublished manuscript held by the Campbell River Archives; R.J. Filberg, interview by C. D. Orchard, Comox, 14 June, 1960; Ljungmark, "Swedes in Winnipeg," 73-74; and Doris Dahlgren [pseud.].

[10] Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. 2, Table 45, Birthplace of the population by sex, for provinces, 1931.

[11] While it is possible that American immigration quotas caused some Swedes to state Canada as the receiving country in order to avoid possible difficulties at the American border, Sweden only filled its quota in 1923. Runblom and Norman, From Sweden to America, 128.

[12] Several Canadian immigration agents attempted to sidestep the official Swedish resistance against emigration. One agent claimed to possess the names and addresses of most farmers in Sweden— most certainly an exaggeration considering the plethora of small farms in this agricultural society. See Mauri A. Jalava, "Scandinavians as a Source of Settlers for the Dominion of Canada: The First Generation 1867-1897," Scandinavian-Canadian Studies, (1983): 7.

[13] By projecting a very dark picture of the political and economic situation in the United States, the Swedish press certainly did not help entice emigrants to North America. See Nilsson, Emigrationen från Stockholm, 249.

[14] Lars Ljungmark, "Canada: An Alternative for Swedish Emigration to the New World, 1873-1875," Swedish-American Quarterly, 35.3 (1984): 253-266. See also Lars Ljungmark, "Canada's Campaign for Scandinavian Immigration, 1873-1876," Swedish-American Quarterly, 33.1(1982): 21-42.

[15] D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, to Bruce Walker, December 22, 1913; and Superintendent of Immigration to W. G. Annable, July 29, 1914, Department of Immigration Records (hereafter DImm), B-715, Vol. 13, File 77 (3), British Columbia Archives (hereon BCA).

[16] Indeed, correspondence to the Canadian Department of Immigration suggests that Swedes were *persona non grata* during the war since they were suspected of sympathizing with Germany. Superintendent of Immigration to Percy Reid, Acting Commissioner of Immigration, March 22, 1917, DImm, B-715, Vol. 13, File 77 (3), BCA.

[17] Albert Hermanson to W. J. Egan, Deputy Minister of Immigration, DImm, Vol 245, File 165833, BCA. Hermanson noted that "it is a well-known fact that the Swedish government, backed by public opinion, have for many years been very unfavorably inclined towards emigration and Canada has been no exception in this respect." As late as 1946, Hugh Dalton of the Canadian Manufacturers Association suggested that the Canadian government import 500 to 700 "selected immigrants experienced in logging . . . [from] the Baltic countries." DImm, Vol. 230, File 127304, BCA.

[18] Conversely, an absence of pull factor from any established Icelandic community in the US made possible a large-scale immigration by Icelanders to Canada. See Lars Ljungmark, "Canada's Campaign," 30 and 40.

[19] For example, Lars-Göran Tedebrand claims that the emigration from the northern district, *Västerbotten*, peaked in 1928 after a disastrous layoff of sawmill workers. See Lars-Göran Tedebrand, "Emigrationen," Västerbotten Emigrationen (1. 87): 14.

[20] Norman and Runblom, Transatlantic Connections, 156.

[21] See Table 2a.

[22] Norman and Runblom, Transatlantic Connections, 88, and Runblom and Norman, From Sweden to America, 128.

[23] One study suggests that sons at times emigrated to raise money for a farm or to free family holdings from debt. Thus, at times it was a family driven economic strategy. See Hans Norman and Harald Runblom, Amerika emigrationen i källornas belysning, (Gävle, 1980): 185.

[24] Table 2a. As a comparison, Table 3a shows that while the Swedish-*origin* population also was disproportionately male, 36.1 percent were female.

[25] Swedish women often worked in domestic situations that were less affected by economic fluctuation than were primary industries. Therefore, they were less likely than men to remigrate. Runblom and Norman, From Sweden to America, 221.

[26] Runblom and Norman, From Sweden to America, 129.

[27] Appendix 1.

[28] Appendix 2. If, however, Chinese and Japanese were seen separately, Scandinavians would have been the second largest identifiable ethnic group in British Columbia. In 1931, the Chinese population was 27 139 and the Japanese 22 205. Census of Canada, Vol 2, Table 31, Population classified according to sex and racial origin by provinces, 1931

[29] Lembcke and Tattam frequently refer to Finns as Scandinavians although their statistics differentiate between Finnish and Scandinavian loggers. Lembcke and Tattam, One Union in Wood, 7-17, and 49.

[30] In 1931 only 20 percent of all Scandinavian males in B.C. worked in the logging industry. Based on this, it is possible to calculate an approximate number of Scandinavians working in the forest industry in the 1921 census. Accordingly, if 11 864 Scandinavian-origin males lived in B.C. in 1921 and 20 percent of these logged, then 2 372 men of Scandinavian *origin* worked in the woods. See Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 26, Population, male and female, classified according to racial origin by federal electoral districts, 1921; and Census of Canada, Vol. 7, Table 49, Gainfully occupied, 10 years of age and over, by occupation, racial origin, and sex, for Canada and the provinces, 1931. Moreover, if the same calculation is true for the 4 178 Swedish-*born* males who lived in B.C. in 1921, their proportion of the total logging force was only 6.6 percent. For a closer description on the percentage of Scandinavians involved in logging in 1931 see page 70.

[31] Census of Canada, Vol. 4, Table 6, Occupations of the population, 10 years of age and over, classified by birthplace, for provinces, 1921.

[32] Hak, "On the Fringes," 48. Drushka claims that prior to 1913 B.C. mill owners were uninterested in exports since the domestic market kept them fully occupied. Ken Drushka, H.R.: A Biography of H.R. MacMillan (Madeira Park, B.C: Harbour Publishing, 1995), 77.

[33] Drushka, H.R.: A Biography, 83-84.

[34] It took two months to ship products between B.C. and England while Sweden transported lumber to the same destination in less than a week. See E. G. Perrault, Wood and Water: The Story of Seaboard Lumber and Shipping (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1985), 52.

[35] During the 1920s, the interior forest industry grew more slowly and the effect of the Depression was more devastating than at the coast. During the boom of the 1920s, Prince George and Port Alberni produced nearly the same amount of timber. At the end of the Depression, however, Prince George was only at half of 1928's level while Port Alberni was breaking records. See Hak, "On the Fringes," 27-35.

[36] The completion of the Panama Canal in 1914 cut shipping time to Europe in half. It also lowered costs and speeded shipping to the east coast of North America, and because of the expanding US economy and changes in their domestic shipping regulation, trade with the eastern seaboard proved most profitable after 1925. The U.S. government had banned foreign vessels from trading between American ports in order to protect American shipping companies, and, freed from foreign competition, the American shipping rates escalated. Since B.C.'s lumber exports originated from Vancouver the law did not apply; thus, B.C. sawmills could transport to the eastern seaboard for two-thirds of the price charged by American western companies. Donald MacKay, Empire of Wood: The MacMillan Bloedel Story (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1982), 69 and 105.

[37] Hak notes that by 1929 the US received 55 percent of B.C. lumber export; by 1933 this had decreased to 6 percent. See Hak, "On the Fringes," 54. Prior to 1920, B.C. exported 5 percent of its lumber, by 1929 this had increased to 27 percent, and by 1933 to 66 percent. Perrault, Wood and Water, 57

[38] In 1932, this duty was $4.00 per thousand board feet of lumber. Hak, "On the Fringes," 54.

[39] This increase in trade only affected the coastal industry. Hak, "On the Fringes," 94.

[40] The Asian market had ups and downs. Between 1930-31, B.C. shipped 100 million feet sawn lumber to China making it B.C.s fourth largest overseas market. In 1935, however, China's purchasing power was reduced when the U.S. changed its silver purchasing policy. In addition, the same year Japan placed a 50 percent surtax on B.C. lumber in response to "unequal trade balance." These changes resulted in a 25 percent loss of B.C.'s export market. Perrault, Wood and Water, 85.

[41] Drushka, H.R.: A Biography, 186. In 1942, the British Columbia Lumberman complained that a shortage of manpower made it "difficult to maintain production at the levels consistent with the timber requirements of war-time." British Columbia Lumberman, 26.3 (March 1942): 19.

[42] B.C. timber production increased by 250 percent between 1914 to 1928, with the sharpest growth after 1922. See Figure 1, which indicate fluctuations in lumber production.

[43] Note that this increase occurred in the later part of the 1930s, and does not indicate a steady growth throughout the decade. See Figure 1.

[44] In 1921, British Columbia employed 12 408 loggers. This figure increased to 12 929 in 1931 and to 14 274 in 1941. Between 1931 and 1941, however, Scandinavian loggers in British Columbia decreased from 3 147 to 3 087. On the other hand, Scandinavian loggers in Canada *increased* in number from 3 753 to 4 376 although the Scandinavian population decreased from 89 804 to 86 034. See Census of Canada, Table 2, Occupations of the population 10 years of age and over, classified by birthplace for provinces, 1921; Census of Canada, Occupation and Industries, Table 49, Gainfully occupied, 10 years of age and over, by occupation, racial origin, and sex, for Canada and the provinces, 1931; and Census of Canada, Occupation and Industries, Table 12, Gainfully occupied by occupation and racial origin, 1941.

[45] Scandinavian loggers increased in all other Canadian provinces except Prince Edward Island. Only British Columbia showed a significant decrease. In Ontario, Alberta, and Saskatchewan the Scandinavian presence in the forest industry increased by forty-eight, fifty-four, and eighty-five percent. Note that while Quebec shows an overall decrease within the category of logging this pertains only to foresters while the Scandinavian lumbermen nearly doubled in number. See Appendix 3.

[46] An unnamed correspondent, presumably Robert Filberg of Comox Logging, complained in 1933 that it was difficult to find skilled loggers since many had "left they country, or gone to other jobs. Many Scandinavians have gone to Europe, especially fallers and buckers." Unsigned and un-addressed letter, June 17, 1933, CLR-series 2, Box 7, Courtenay Museum and Archives (hereon CMA).

[47] Thus, Swedish-*origin* men increased by 297, while Swedish-*born* men decreased by 258. See Census of Canada, Population, Table 25b, Birthplace of the immigrant population by sex, rural and urban, Canada and the provinces, 1931; Census of Canada, Population, Table 43, Population by birthplace and sex, for counties and census divisions, 1941; Census of Canada, Population, Table 32, Population, male and female, classified according to racial origin, by counties or census division, 1931; and Census of Canada, Population, Table 1, Population by racial origin and sex, for provinces and territories, 1941.

[48] According to Barry Coulson, the term "gyppo" derives from the early days of western railroad construction. Those days a few workers could form a co-operative and negotiate separate contracts that they fulfilled by keeping expenses to a bare minimum. Coulson suggests that these operators were accused of 'gypping' the regular gangs. The term survived, at first in derision and later with more respect as many

small logging outfits proved their worth by developing into larger operations. See Barry Coulson, The Logger's Digest: From Horses to Helicopters, Vol. 1 (Victoria, B.C.: Orca Book Publishers, 1992) 76.

[49]A. J. Dumaresq to R.C. Richardson, Campbell River Timber Co., Vancouver, B.C., March 9, 1934, CLR-series 2, Box 7, CMA.

[50] Clearly, feelings against foreign workers in the forest industry ran high around this time. A. E. Munn, M.P., suggested to the Minister of Immigration that non-British subjects who become labour agitators in the logging camps "should be sent back from whence they came." A.E. Munn to W. A. Gordon, Minister of Immigration, May 4, 1934, Ottawa, DImm, Vol. 396, File 563236, BCA.

[51] R.C. Richardson, Campbell River Timber Co. to Robert Filberg, Comox Logging & Railway, March 9, 1932, CLR-series 2, Box 6, File 13, CMA.

[52] R. V. Stuart, Secretary-Manager, British Columbia Loggers Association, to R. J. Filberg, Comox Logging & Railway Company, May 19, 1934, CLR-series 2, Box 7, File 12, CMA.

[53] Such an amendment came into effect a year after this correspondence when apprentice permits were granted to industries under Minimum Wage legislation. See British Columbia, Sessional Papers, 1936 (2nd Session), "British Columbia Department of Labour Report, 1935," (Victoria, BC, 1937): K 12-13.

[54] This strike originated in Cowichan Lake when Victoria Lumber and Manufacturing fired a union organizer for distributing the union paper, but it soon involved 2 000 coastal loggers. Bergren, Tough Timber, 90-97.

[55] Although these records are part of the collection of union leader and Communist, Harold Pritchett, there is nothing to indicate the names referred to communists only. Considering that some lists in the Pritchett Papers contained names of later leaders in the White Bloc, it is likely they simply referred to strikers, regardless of political convictions.

[56] Harold Pritchett – IWA District Council No. 1 Papers , (hereafter H.P.), UBC SC, "Subject file 1936 Strike," Box 1-1. Harold Pritchett was President of the International Woodworkers of America until 1940 when he was refused entry into the United States. According to Lembcke and Tattam, Pritchett became involved in the Lumber Workers Industrial Union during the Fraser Mill strike in 1931. He first appears on union lists in 1936, and later belonged to local 1-217. Pritchett was one of the leaders behind the 1948 attempt to create an all-Canadian union, the Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada. His collection contains correspondence, union membership lists, memoirs, and transcripts of union trials. For a background on Pritchett, see Phillips, No Power Greater, 132; and Lembcke and Tattam, One Union in Wood, 22-23.

[57] Three names are undecipherable. H.P., Box 1.

[58] Time books, Baikie Brothers Logging, Campbell River Museum and Archives (hereon CRMA).

[59] Most names are without question Anglo-Saxon, for instance, Scott, Picket, Piercy, Wallace, Harper, and Baikie. Likewise, in December of 1939 they hired Piercy, Fidiekin[?], Calman, Murray, Picket, Pickles, Guidlion, Calman, Corrizal, Piercy, Harrigan, Dowcette, Hoglo, Pickley, Muckle, Tipper, and Shaw.

[60] Fred Halstrom, interview with Marshall Beck, transcript A-170, May 8 1989, CRMA.

[61] Hans Hillgren [pseud.], interview with author, transcript, Vancouver Island, 2.

[62] In 1936, the "A.B.C. of Logging Operators" revealed the names of thirteen possible Scandinavian logging operators, but it is unlikely that all small "gyppo" camps were included. For example, the list did not include Olle Hanson although reports in the B.C. Lumber Worker suggest he operated around this time.

However, these thirteen outfits only hired five to fourteen employees each. See the "A.B.C. of Logging Operators," British Columbia Lumber Journal, 1936, undated clipping, vertical files, CRMA.

[63] Timecards, Elk River Timber, CRMA.

[64] In 1936, of 776 employees, 86 were Scandinavian. Appendix 4.

[65] At this time, Elk River Timber hired 116 Scandinavians in payroll of 725 men. Appendix 5.

[66] Richard Rajala writes that prior to the introduction of the power saw in the 1940s, fallers usually worked in gangs of three or four men, with the head faller deciding the direction of the cut to avoid ensnarling the logs in surrounding vegetation. Often it took several hours to fell a west-coast tree using axes and crosscut saws. After the tree was down the "bucker" divided it into lengths, working individually with a crosscut saw. "Judgment and dexterity was required here too, as the bucker considered the requirement of the market and determined the location of defects that might affect the log's value." Working as a chokerman required less skill but was still a dangerous position since he looped a wire around the log so that it could be pulled by to the landing by a steam donkey; if he was not quick enough, he risked injury by the moving log. For a more in-depth discussion on the labour process of this era, see Richard Rajala, Clearcutting the Pacific Rain Forest: Production, Science, and Regulation (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 1998), 7-50.

[67] Appendix 4.

[68] For example, ERT hired Scandinavian engineers, office workers, and locomotive engineers. Appendix 6.

[69] Although at least twenty-six names were Anglo-Canadian, most seem East European. Appendix 5.

[70] While 18 percent of the fallers were Scandinavian in 1936, this figure only increases to 27 percent in 1940. In 1940, 154 of 210 fallers were from countries other than Scandinavia. Appendix 5.

[71] The premise that most Scandinavians were fallers and most fallers were Scandinavian is sometimes extended to suggest that since Scandinavians were radicals and most fallers were Scandinavians, then the fallers were radicals who started the union. Irene Howard, for example, writes that union organizers "headed straight for the fallers' bunkhouse because that was where the Swedes were." See Howard, "Vancouver Swedes and the Loggers," 172-173.

[72] For example, of the total 776 employees of all nationalities hired by ERT in 1936, 9.5 percent were employed as chokermen. Of the smaller total Scandinavian workforce, 8.3 percent worked in this position. See Appendix 4.

[73] See Anders Anderson [pseud.], interview with author, transcript, Vancouver Island, p. 9.

[74] This is not unlike "Fritjof Fågelstad's" recollections of a Swedish schoolteacher who arrived in B.C. in the 1930s finding it impossible to secure employment in the school system. He was, however, hired immediately as a logger, solely because of his ethnicity. Fritjof Fågelstad [pseud.], interview with author, transcript, North Vancouver, 4.

[75] The date is uncertain since the list was compiled on the back of a piece of scrap paper dated 1932, but, based on records among where the list was found, a Courtenay archivist tentatively sets the date at 1944, believing it to be related to the war effort.

[76] "Employees," Comox Logging and Railway Company, CLR-Series 2, 14/23, CMA.

[77] Employment Ledger, 1921-1944, Comox Logging and Railway Company, CMA. These figures are based on records from Camp 3 for 1929 and 1937.

[78] In 1929, Camp 3 hired 342 workers in various positions, and of those 22.5 percent were Finnish, 17.2 Swedish, 0.2 Norwegian, 0.002 Danish, 0.007 British, 27.4 Canadian, and 22.5 percent of other nationalities.

[79] Of 137 fallers, 65 were Finnish, 44 Swedish, 7 Norwegians, 12 Canadians, and 9 were of other nationalities. Canadian and British workers dominated among the less skilled chokermen, but also among higher skilled occupations such as engineers, foremen, cat drivers, and road builders.

[80] The situation in Camp 3 had changed drastically by 1937 when it recorded hiring thirty-five workers, of whom the majority were Canadians. It noted two Finns and two Swedes, twenty-one Canadians and five Britons. There were few Finns and Swedes since Camp 3 hired a small number of fallers that year. Thus, at least in Comox Logging, the Finns and the Swedes were in minority in the workforce in general, while dominating among fallers.

[81] Fallers hired at Camp CH: eighty-two Finns, twelve Swede Finns, seventy-eight Swedes, twenty "others," nineteen Norwegians, seventeen Canadians, and two Danes. Ten Swedes, six Norwegians and fourteen Finns were also hired in other capacities. In other words, Finns and Swedes made up 19.2 and 17.6 percent of the total workforce, but they filled 35 respectively 33 percent of the positions among fallers. Employment Ledger, Comox Logging, CMA.

[82] Of all the ethnic groups, only Eastern European, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, and "other" had proportionately fewer members than Scandinavians in this category. See Census of Canada, Vol. 7, Table 49, Gainfully occupied, 10 years of age and over, by occupation, racial origin, and sex, for Canada and the provinces, 1931.

[83] Census Canada, Vol. 7, Gable 45, Immigrant males, gainfully occupied, 10 years of age and over, by occupation, racial origin, and, for immigrants since 1910, period of arrival for Canada, 1931.

[84] In 1941, 96 percent Scandinavians in the forest industry were lumbermen, 0.11 percent were foremen, and 0.1 percent were owners and managers. Census of Canada, Vol. 7, Table 12, Gainfully occupied, 14 years and over, by occupation and sex, showing birthplace, period of immigration, and racial origin, for Canada and the provinces, 1941.

[85] Note that the census did not provide an entry for Canadians in this table.

[86] Table 3 shows that of all Scandinavian-origin males living in B.C. in 1931, 10 434 were Swedes, 8 258 Norwegians, 2 509 Danes, and 429 were Icelanders.

[87] According to these figures only 76.5 percent of the total Scandinavian male population were employed in 1931. Corresponding figures for the "British Races" were 65.8 percent, the French 66.5 percent, and the Italian 64.4 percent. Scandinavians seemingly found it easier to find work than other ethnic groups; however, since Scandinavians were less inclined to family migration, the number of employable male adults may have been disproportional. See Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 31, and Census of Canada, Vol. 7, Table 49, Gainfully occupied, 10 years of age and over, by occupation, racial origin, and sex, for Canada and the provinces, 1931.

[88] Another indication that Swedes often worked in other occupations than logging is that the Swedish population was higher in District No. 4, which encompassed the lower Fraser Valley, where the "Other primary" industries was proportionately small compared to for instance, agriculture, than what was the case in District No. 5, Vancouver Island. See Census of Canada, Vol. 2, Table 32, Population, male and female, classified according to racial origin, by counties or census division, 1931; and Census of Canada, Vol. 7, Table 11, Occupation and Industries, for counties or census divisions, rural and urban, 1941.

[89] None of the interviewees remembered reading propaganda about the Canadian forest industry. One informant nonetheless believed that his father had read somewhere about the size of the west-coast timber, and that he came to Canada with the expressed wish to "put an axe in them." Gunnar Gustafson [pseud.], 1. See also, Skogsarbetarrörelsen, 215-217.

[90] Adrian Molin, Broschyrer utgifna af Nationalföreningen mot Emigrationen. Några drag af Kolonisationen i Canada (Stockholm: Hugo Gebers Förlag, 1913), 82. [*Brochures published by the National Organization Against Emigration. A few characteristics of the colonization in Canada.*] For a more detailed look at Swedish inquiries into the question of emigration, see Emory Lindquist, "Sweden's Search for Answers: The Emigration Survey, Then and Now," Swedish-American Historical Quarterly 4 (Oct. 1986): 159-173.

[91] This pamphlet almost entirely ignored the possibility of employment in the forest industry and warned that destitute newcomers would find life in B.C. difficult. On the other hand, it suggested that for Swedes with capital — especially farmers and gardeners — British Columbia offered many opportunities. See Canada, Canadian National Railway Agricultural Department, 1929, Emigration pamphlet. See also, Res till Kanada, Officiell handbok innehållande underrättelser angående Kanada (Ottawa: Department of the Interior, 1900).

[92] Gun Byström och Barbro Holmgren, "Emigrationspropaganda i Västerbottens-Kuriren och Umebladet 1901-1915" (Unpublished article held by the Swedish Institute of Emigration, Växjö, Sweden), 3.

[93] A study of, Långasjö, a community in the lumber producing province of Småland, shows that a majority of re-migrants between 1865-1955 had worked in agriculture prior to emigration. Although they often were unable to farm in America, most reverted to farming after return to Sweden.

	Before emigration	In America	After returning
Work in the forest	-	15	2
Railway work	4	81	1
Mining and smelting	-	22	-
Carpentry	6	12	14
Workshop/factory	-	6	1
Multiple occupations (agriculture, lumbering, railway, and mining)	-	20	-
Agriculture	145	14	114
Other occupations	13	-	18
Retired, sick, minors	15	11	33

Since the authors use the term "America" rather than "North America" it is unclear if Canada is included in these calculations. However, the paragraph introducing the table also notes that over sixty percent of returnees from Canada bought land in their home parish, which suggests that Canada were included in the calculations. See Norman and Runblom, Transatlantic Connections, 110-111.

[94] Sigurd Westman, "Om Nordamerikautvandringen från Pajala socken 1860-1930," (Unpublished article held by the Institute of Emigration, Växjö, Sweden), 18 and Appendix 8. These tables listed "farmer," "farmer's son," "farm worker," "labourer," "teacher" and "postman."

[95] Johansson, Skogarnas Fria Söner, 192.

[96] Anders Anderson [pseud.], interview, p 3.

[97] Eventually Anders had 47 acres of land, but needed fulltime work to make ends meet. After he quit logging for health reasons in 1944, he worked fulltime in a hardware and lumber supply store. Ibid., 9-10.

[98] Ibid., 7-8. Anders had traveled from Sweden in the company of two friends, both who started out as farmhands in Manitoba. These friends followed Anders to B.C., where one became a fulltime logger and the other spent his life farming on Vancouver Island.

[99] Canada Skandinaven March 12, 1926, p 2. [*Jorden är svår att bryta och odla upp och därför har man som regel endast en del av jorden brukad — nog at föda ett par kor och litet höns på. Därför kunna de icke heller leva uteslutande av det som gården avkastar, utan den manliga delen av befolkningen söker sig extra förtjänst vid skogsarbetena och till en del även med laxfiske. Mellan säsongerna komma de hem för att där taga ett nappatag med sten och trästubbar.*]

[100] Canada Skandinaven March 19, 1926, p.2. [*I regel äro de ägare till ett litet stycke land på vilket de uppfört sig ett hem, men sin arbetsförtjänst hämta de från skogshyggen och liknande företag och göra sig därför lite gällande bland befolkningen.*] The article also provides a short biography of some of the Swedes the author encountered. Of sixteen Swedes, seven were part time farmers, one was a section foreman, three were loggers, three were sawmill workers, and one worked as a gardener. One biography does not provide occupational information.

[101] Canada Skandinaven May 14, 1926, p. 3. [*Flera av ställets nyvarande innebyggare hava fisket till sin huvudnäring, men med tiden kommer dock jordbruket att spela en betydligt större roll.*]

[102] Canada Skandinaven, April 26, 1926, p. 3.

[103] Edmund W. Bradwin, The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada, 1903-1914, (1928) (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 100-102.

[104] Johansson, Skogarnas fria söner, 22. [*'arbete' blev ett mycket värdeladdat och fetischerat begrepp: arbetsduglighet och arbetsamhet ansågs vara medfödd . . ., alltså en viktig, djupt förankrad del av personen. Att betecknas som* arbetskarl, arbetsmänniska . . . *var en väldefinierad status som en idog man eller kvinna kunde uppnå, och detta var då något som alltid hänvisades till när en sådan person omtalades.*]

[105] In letters to the editor, readers of Vancouver Posten expressed a desire to live up to their reputation as "good workers." Likewise, the Swedish historian, Lars Ljungmark, suggests a similar tendency in the Svenska Canada Tidningen. See Jørgen Dahlie, "The Ethnic Press as a Cultural Resource," *Canada Skandinaven* and the Norwegian-Swedish Community in B.C., 1910-1930," Scandinavian-Canadian Studies. 3 (1988): 15, and Lars Ljungmark, "Swedes in Winnipeg," 53.

[106] Birger Bergström, [pseud.], p. 2.

[107] "Per Petterson" claimed that one hiring agent "always made a point when he ordered loggers" to get Scandinavians. "Old Staals used to say to me, that he sooner have a radical Scandinavian than a no-good logger. So even when they were radical he said they gave an honest day work." See Mats Marklund [pseud.] in Per Petterson [pseud.], interview with author, transcript, Vancouver Island, p. 11.

[108] Hans Hillgren [pseud.], p.8, and Isaak Ingram [pseud.], interview with author, transcript, Vancouver Island, 12-13. Similar sentiment is heard from Kjell Kellerud [pseud.], interview with author, transcript, Vancouver Island, p. 1.

[109] John Jackson [pseud.], interview with author, transcript, Vancouver Island, p. 2; and Isaak Ingram [pseud], interview with author, transcript, 1-2. While the Swedish historian, Jonny Hjelm, is not familiar with the expression, "Swedish fiddle," he notes that loggers in Sweden claimed that when handled properly, the crosscut saw "sang" while being used. E-mail correspondence with Jonny Hjelm, February 2, 1998. Note a similar observation by Emil Engstrom in The Vanishing Logger, 135. For a good description of the "Swedish fiddle" see MacKay, The Lumberjacks, 80-83.

[110] Employee records, Western Forest Industries Limited, 1947, Kaatza Museum, Cowichan Lake.

[111] These cards register the company's sawmill employees and not the loggers. Moreover, the comparatively later date says nothing about the number of Swedish loggers of this district in the 1930s. These figures are significantly higher.

[112] These "blank" records likely indicate there was no reason to refuse future employment since it was in the company's interest to avoid reinstating unsuitable employees.

[113] In comparison, the first ninety non-Swedish cards, selected alphabetically from "C" to "E" show that fifty cards did not note one way or the other, while eight cards indicate they would rehire the person, and the remainder twenty-two cards caution against rehiring. Thus, in this larger control group of non-Scandinavians, the company found a full 24 percent unsuitable for rehiring.

[114] Comox Logging and Railroad Company, CLR, series 2, Box 7, File 12-part 2, CMA.

Chapter Four:

The Myth of the Swedish Radical

While a number of Swedes in Canada had been exposed to the labour movement prior to emigration, the Swedish inflow to British Columbia coincided with an increased emigration of Swedish rural workers. Of these, many were either politically passive or hostile to the radical left. Studies have shown that most Swedes in the United States favored conservative politics, and evidence points to similar conclusions about Swedes in Canada.[1] As for the Swedish loggers in British Columbia, although some indeed were radical activists, most avoided active involvement. Others who believed in militant action nevertheless disagreed with the politics of the communist union leaders.

As Hans Norman and Harold Runblom maintain, "a large majority of rank and file [Scandinavian immigrant] workers in the United States had relatively conservative values and cared little about the class struggle, or only passively let themselves be organized in labor clubs, shops and associations."[2] Although Swedish-Canadian research is insufficient, there are no significant signs to suggest that Swedes in Canada diverged from their American compatriots. Works that discuss immigrant radicals, such as Barbara Roberts', Whence They Came: Deportations from Canada 1900-1935, or Donald Avery's The Dangerous Foreigner do not indicate that Swedes or Scandinavians were

particularly radical.[3] Likewise, a special issue on immigrant radicals in Canadian Ethnic Studies contains no articles on Swedes, although it offers readings on Norwegian and Finnish extremists in Canada.[4] Even the most comprehensive study of Swedes in Canada claims that despite a rich club life, the political involvement of Swedes in Winnipeg "was almost nonexistent."[5] Although Irene Howard's study of Swedes in Vancouver opens a door for further inquiries into the political expression of Swedish Canadians, as of yet no study indicates any significant Swedish political involvement either on the left or the right of the political spectrum.[6]

While little is known of the political expression of Swedish immigrants in Canada, at least some of the Swedes who worked in relief camps during the Depression failed to support protest actions planned by their fellow camp workers. In November 1934, a "special operator" reported that the Workers' Unity League "flourish[ed] in Camp 226" in Harrison Mills, and that all one heard "talked of in camp now is Russia, Russia from morning till night, and even the steady older men are now turning that way."[7] A month later another informer at Camp 226 singled out the Swedes, not for chanting the lyrics of Russian politics, but for cooperating with the camp management. During a period when many relief-camp workers struck to protest government inaction, the writer reported that Camp 226 was divided since striking camp workers struggled to prevent thirty-five Swedes from breaking rank and going to work.[8] The document does not indicate the number of strikers and the Swedes were the only nationality identified, but it is clear that radicalism in Camp 226 did not originate in the Swedish quarters.[9]

Then or later, Canadians feared the radical influence of immigrants, and the foreign language press was clearly under suspicion. The West Coast Advocate wrote:

> Perhaps rightly many believe that [the Communists'] campaign will have little effect on Canadians of Anglo-Saxon or French descent. What we might forget is that over one quarter of Canadians are of continental origin. Many of them do not read our English and French newspaper and hear only the communistic propaganda, which fills a great deal of the newspapers put out in other languages.[10]

Despite such fears, a quick browse through Swedish journalistic offerings in Canada would have eased the most xenophobic mind. Rather than forwarding radical propaganda, the Swedish language press balanced between risking offending the working class and guiding these readers into a proper docility.

The Vancouver publication, Canada Skandinaven, observed in April 1926 that its readers came from all social and political classes. It admitted to receiving some revenue from advertisements by businesses and other organizations. Still, although it claimed workers were the main subscribers and the most important factor in its survival, it rejected the appeal of some readers for better coverage of labour issues. The editor argued that the paper's main responsibility was to preserve old Scandinavian traditions and to help create new ones for immigrants "in the land they now are servicing, because this is the land that feeds them."[11] Thus, the Canada Skandinaven steered away from both political radicalism and labour oriented reformism. Rather than spouting socialist propaganda the editor never questioned to whom in "the land that [fed] them" the workers owed their gratitude.

Similarly, the Swedish publication Nya Svenska Pressen was torn between conservative ideals and the need to consider a working-class readership. In 1937 it gently chided the Scandinavian Workers' Club in Vancouver for becoming involved in labour activities:

> Through lack of experience the [Scandinavian Workers'] Club sought to work as well as it could after radical lines. It became mixed up with union work and such. Perhaps that was completely natural since it could not get any correct guidelines . . . But the club is also interested in maintaining the Scandinavian culture and language . . . In this area the club is quite sincerely in cooperation with the other Scandinavian organizations.[12]

The carefully guarded language reveals the paper's aspiration to preserve a conservative outlook without offending its working class readership. Without suggesting who should take the reins, Nya Svenska Pressen insinuated that with more experience and "correct" guidance the club would cease expressing itself politically, allowing the members to conform with mainstream Scandinavian organizations that focused on ethnic celebration.[13] According to this paper, political passivity not radical activism defined the true Scandinavian.[14]

Since it advertised for new Swedish subscribers through the B.C. Lumber Worker, it is clear Nya Svenska Pressen believed enough Swedish immigrants worked in the forest industry to warrant attention.[15] Yet, although it refrained from upsetting any militant working-class reader, it only reluctantly commented on the LWIU's impact on the forest industry and rarely reported on labour conflicts in the forest industry. The 1934 and 1936 strikes had no major coverage at all,[16] and when a few lines regarding the 1938 Blubber Bay strike appeared on the "B.C. page," the tone was strictly neutral. Once it noted a violent clash between strikers and strikebreakers, but since it habitually reported on the accidents of countrymen this item was most likely included because one of the injured strikers was Swedish.[17] Certainly, Nya Svenska Pressen never took a firm stance in these disputes and only rarely commented upon the political activities of the working class.

How well then did the Swedish loggers reflect the barely contained conservatism of the Scandinavian press? A Swedish historian suggests that although some labour organizers emigrated to escape persecution from employers, controversies between strikers and strikebreakers among loggers in northern Sweden encouraged emigration in 1923.[18] This indicates that both strikers and strikebreakers at times used emigration to escape unbearable social and economic situations.

Other loggers claim to have avoided both union business and radical politics in British Columbia. In 1926, "Lennart Linnerud" borrowed his brother's passport and escaped Swedish military service by emigrating to Canada. He sought out relatives in Vancouver who arranged for him to work in a logging camp in Hope, an area where he remained during his seven year's *sojourn* in B.C.[19] While Lennart described the work in the camp as "pleasant," he abandoned logging when offered a job as section foreman for the Canadian Pacific Railway. He considered the biggest difference between logging in Sweden and in B.C. was the high number of accidents in British Columbia: "They didn't care about [human] life. They were tender with those who were ill, but didn't care about loggers who were in accidents."[20] Like loggers in Sweden, Lennart prepared his own meals in the camp, but the quality of the food was superior in Canada.[21] "It was rich man's food. We didn't have to buy it, but we had to prepare it ourselves. Steak, pies, beef, fruits and more. And during these years Sweden was still an undeveloped country."[22] Swedes, he said, enjoyed it in British Columbia. As for the union, Lennart remembers hearing it discussed, but claims that most workers remained aloof. While he recognized that the camps contained many communists and anarchists of both Swedish and English origin, no one dared to establish a union.[23] Thus, although some loggers

campaigned for greater militancy, Lennart and most of his Swedish friends in British Columbia avoided attempts to organize the camps.

In another Swedish account, Carl Ernest Carlson explained that he emigrated in 1927 "to study farming in Canada." Carl, however, ended up felling trees for the Swedish Consul and lumber baron Olof Hanson[24] before finding fulltime employment in a copper mine in Alaska, where he stayed for twenty years. While Carl never specified his position on labour unions, his narration of a dispute between the union and the mine management refers to strikers as "they." Moreover, Carl revealed that he and another Swede accepted a job in a Vancouver Island logging camp until the strike at Copper Mountain was over.[25] Although Carl never spoke directly against unions, his choice of pronoun and his avoidance of picket duty indicate that he was not an active unionist.

Even active communists and union organizers admitted that it was at times difficult to rouse Swedish loggers. For "Kjell Kellerud," who had frequented Communist Party meetings since his childhood in Sweden and was an active member in the Swedish forest union, labour organizations and political radicalism were familiar concepts.[26] But when he arrived in the East Kootenays in 1928 there was no organization to protect the loggers' interests. The crew he worked with was predominantly Swedish, Finnish, and Norwegian. He remembers that while most men bemoaned working conditions, they avoided any involvement in union activities because of possible retaliation from the employer:

> One day a German started to talk union, saying we should get organized. That was before Christmas in 1929. So he started to talk union, and the men all disappeared. After a while there were only the two of us sitting down. They were scared of the union. You couldn't organize a union there.[27]

Kjell moved to the West Coast in 1935, found work at Alberni Pacific where the Swedish organizer, Eric Graaf, signed him up in the Lumber Workers Industrial Union.[28]

Kjell also found that although the union gained power during the Second World War, many loggers still refused to become members. Even as late as 1942, the men in his bunkhouse coerced two Swedish loggers to join the Port Alberni local so they could put up the coveted green sign with white letters, "This bunkhouse is 100 percent IWA." These two Swedes eventually joined under protest. Kjell remembers the anger in their voices when they asked:

> "Where's Nels?" You see, he was the secretary. So I went to get him, and Nels signed them up. It was a dollar and a half to sign, and fifty cents a month to belong. They gave him 5 dollars, and they should have three dollars back, but they took those three dollars and threw them in the stove. So they went away, and then they came back, saying it was pretty good here, after all. They were both Swedish.[29]

Since other loggers clearly felt secure in the union, it is questionable if it was solely fear of retribution that held them back. By the 1940s, most operations were unionized, and the risk of retaliation from the camp management had therefore decreased. [30]

Likewise, the most famous organizer in the B.C. woods, Hjalmar Bergren, who believed his own socialist conviction stemmed from his Scandinavian background,[31] remembered that it was a long drawn-out and often discouraging job trying to convince his co-workers to sign up with the LWIU:

> We would go into some of the most backward areas as far as conditions would go and get a hall, invite the men in to hear speakers, but none would sign up. Sometimes we would have up to 200 men attending, but would go away without joining the union. It was disheartening, but at the same time encouraging too, because we knew they were interested enough to come.[32]

While Bergren does not specify the ethnic background of the audience, his account shows that it was not an isolated occurrence. According to the census, a quarter of these cautious men were Scandinavian.

At times, however, the Scandinavian reaction to the union went beyond mere circumspection; some demonstrated their indifference by engaging in strikebreaking, the most despised anti-union activity. While there were proportionally fewer Scandinavian strikebreakers than Scandinavian unionists, their numbers were not insignificant. In 1934, for instance, the B.C. Lumber Worker reported that twenty-one "scabs" worked for Discovery Passage Logging; of them, four had Scandinavian names.[33] Likewise, at Rock Bay that same year, three of twenty-five strikebreakers were Scandinavian.[34] Thus, according to these lists, the 1934 Scandinavian participation in strikebreaking activities averaged 15.2 percent. While this is below their ratio of the workforce, it indicates that not all Scandinavian loggers in British Columbia agreed with the union.[35]

Clearly, many Swedes viewed the union from a distance. Like other interviewees,[36] "Anders Anderson" believed the Swedes were the driving force behind the union because "they were in touch with everyone else and talked about the union." Nevertheless, his recollection of an altercation between union proponents and an employer reveals his own ambivalence:

> And one morning, [it was] after nine and they were supposed to be on that train, but they stopped for some reason to have a union meeting. And the train never went. And everybody was standing out there. So they called the Superintendent who lived in Comox. He was a Swede by birth, Filberg. So they called him up, and he went up to the Swedes. [Filberg was] a hefty Swede, but someone got hold of him and knocked him down. You know, these big Swedes standing there.
> St. Jean —Filberg didn't agree with the union?
> "Anderson" — No. He didn't want the union. No, Sir. And then someone wrote a blacklist, and those people couldn't get work nowhere. No matter where

> they went they [the employers] knew about them, and they were blacklisted for years before the union really got started. It took a long time to get going, but gradually it got unionized. I guess it happened before I left the woods. I can't remember ever paying any union dues, but maybe I did.[37]

The fact that Anders was unaware of underlying causes of the dispute indicates he stayed aloof of the organizers, and by using third person plural he distanced himself even further from the union. Whether he actively resented the IWA is questionable, but neither was he one of its advocates.[38]

"Mats Marklund" partly explains this seeming disinterest by pointing out that many loggers feared retribution from the companies and considered organizational efforts to be "futile." Mats, a "Swedish speaking Finlander," emigrated from Finland in 1923 and worked as a river driver and logger in Ontario before travelling by freight train to B.C. in 1925. In the 1930s, when Mats worked in the Queen Charlotte Islands, he remembers that:

> [the union] sent me credential to organize, but I did not take it on to organize the camp. It was a futile effort.
> St.Jean — Why did you think that it was a futile effort?
> "Marklund" — Because I could understand the way people talked, I could understand the mentality of the whole thing . . . you make yourself a martyr, a martyr. And I was engaged to my wife then already. Well, it was not the time for the effort. If you have no responsibility of a family or anything, you move your whole effort into the issue, you see.[39]

As in Sweden, union organizers often met a wall, not necessarily of indifference, but of reluctance to become involved in an endeavor that might jeopardize their livelihood.

Anecdotal evidence thus contradicts testimony that maintains Swedes were the "movers and the shakers" behind the emerging union. Likewise, while union records at times show a significant Scandinavian involvement, on the whole Scandinavian names in the membership files barely match their ratio in the workforce. In other cases, a

Scandinavian concentration in one local conceals the fact that they were patently underrepresented in most other IWA rosters in British Columbia.

Although union records are useful for isolating Scandinavian activists, this procedure is complicated by the fact that many Finns and Swede-Finns had Swedish sounding names, thereby inflating the number of Scandinavian union members.[40] For instance, while the 1931 census indicates that 24.3 percent of all B.C. loggers were Scandinavian, an estimation based on Scandinavian names in the union records at times indicates a higher percentage, but these calculations most likely include Finnish-origin individuals who were not considered Scandinavian in the census. The employment ledger from Comox Logging shows 50 percent of the Finns and the Swede Finns had Swedish sounding names.[41] Considering that the census does not isolate the Finnish participation in the B.C. workforce it is difficult to calculate their proportion in the logging industry. Nonetheless, it is possible to arrive at an approximate number by estimating that Finns at least matched the 20 percent Scandinavian per capita participation in the forest industry.[42] This suggests that at least 863 Finnish-origin males worked as lumbermen.[43] If half of those had Swedish names, 431 Finnish-origin loggers were indistinguishable from Scandinavians in the union records.[44] By adding these 431 to the Scandinavian numbers in the census record, their combined participation in the workforce increases to 27.6 percent, the lowest number to consider when calculating Scandinavian union involvement in the 1930s.[45]

Unlike Swedish Canadians, Finnish immigrants have a history of political radicalism.[46] Jørgen Dahlie maintains that Finns dominated the rank and file of the Communist Party in 1928, and that "out of a party membership of 4,400, fully 2,640 (or

60 per cent) were Finns, 500 were Ukrainians, 200 were Jews, and the remainder were Anglo-Celtic and other nationalities."[47] Clearly, the Swedish Communist Party membership was insignificant. These numbers become even more notable when considering there were twice as many Swedes as Finns in Canada in 1931, and that the *Scandinavian* population was more than five times higher than the Finnish.[48] It is not surprising, therefore, that the Canadian government perceived the Finns to be a dangerous influence on the Canadian working class.[49]

Although Scandinavians showed little interest in the Communist Party, they were more active in the Workers Unity League affiliated Lumber Workers Industrial Union. Harold Pritchett's records that make it possible to measure Scandinavian membership in the forest unions also contain conflicting information. Some committee lists from 1934 and 1936 demonstrate that Scandinavian involvement at times approached and even exceeded their provincial ratio in the workforce, but most documents indicate they were often underrepresented, especially at the leadership level. Indeed, Scandinavian participation in strike committees and meetings between 1934 to 1948 oscillated from 4.7 percent to 31.4 percent of the membership. The latter figure is slightly higher than the calculated Scandinavian ratio but coincides with local union lists that indicate Scandinavians made up 30 percent of the workforce in localized areas.[50]

Scandinavians were particularly influential during the 1934 strike that affected companies on Vancouver Island.[51] One list suggests that of 103 members in the "Central Strike Committee," 36 had Scandinavian names.[52] Another records a negotiating committee with delegates from thirteen companies and a total of thirty-five representatives. Of these, eleven had Scandinavian names.[53] While it is impossible to

estimate how many were Finns or Swede-Finns, the above calculation suggests the Scandinavian participation of 31.4 percent was slightly higher than their 27.4 percent ratio in the workforce, but still in keeping with local concentrations of Scandinavian loggers.[54] Moreover, both loggers and the general public generally supported this particular dispute, and therefore the Scandinavian involvement reflects a widespread commitment. As the Swedish logger and union organizer, Joe Anderson, remembered, "everybody was behind" the 1934 strike.[55]

Other 1934 strike committees show a lesser Scandinavian participation. For example, only three of twelve delegates representing workers of Bloedel, Stewart and Welch were Scandinavians.[56] Similarly, of seventeen members at a Strike Committee meeting for Camps 8 and 10, only four had typical Scandinavian names.[57] Thus, although Scandinavians at times were over-represented during the 1934 strike, in other instances they never reached an equal representation according to their proportion of the workforce. This pattern persisted in the late 1930s and beyond.

Scandinavians already played a smaller role in the 1936 strike, although again the information is somewhat contradictory. In one strike-committee roll call, for instance, Scandinavian names nearly reached their provincial ratio of the workforce. The list contains fifty-four names, but six for unstated reasons were crossed out. Of the original fifty-four names, eleven were Scandinavian, putting their involvement at 20 percent, but since three Scandinavian names were erased, their participation dropped to 16 percent.[58] This number is more than 10 percent below their provincial ratio in the workforce in 1931 and 5 percent below that of 1941, and indicates a definite Scandinavian under-representation in the union.

They showed a similar moderate involvement in picket squads during the 1936 strike. Notes in the Pritchett collection named participants of ten picket squads and provided a detailed time schedule of their duties on various locations. Rock Bay, for instance, had three squads with a total of eighteen men who picketed on a rotating schedule. At this time Scandinavians made up 30.2 percent of the workforce in the Rock Bay logging company,[59] but this schedule shows only four Scandinavian names as registered for duty. The Scandinavian involvement in the picket squads as a whole remained modest with only eleven Scandinavian names — 21 percent —among a total of fifty-two picketers. If only two of those eleven were of Finnish heritage the Scandinavian proportion in the picket duty falls to 17.3 percent, which is below both the 1931 and 1941 census indicator of the Scandinavian employment ratio in the workforce.[60] These figures therefore suggest they were not particularly involved even in this basic type of union activity.[61]

Harold Pritchett also preserved notes on the 1938 Blubber Bay strike documenting who was arrested or blacklisted and what organizations donated services and money to aid the strikers.[62] This strike involved violent confrontations between strikers and strikebreakers, leading to the arrest of several participants. Of twenty-two strikers arrested initially, the Swedish Press later identified only one, Peter Bergman, as Swedish.[63] Equally revealing, none of the blacklisted men was Scandinavian.[64] In sum, Pritchett's records show a Scandinavian involvement of 4.5 and 0 percent, which indicates the Swedish rank and file played no obvious role in one of the most brutal strikes involving the IWA.[65]

It is also doubtful if Swedish establishments were particularly supportive of their militant compatriots. Harold Pritchett saved two lists naming hotels and cafés that donated money and services in the Blubber Bay strike. Although it is difficult to judge the nationality behind these businesses, with the exception of "Stockholm Café" and possibly "Atlantic Café," most names suggest an Anglo-Canadian background.[66] Likewise, none of the parties who offered to pay bail for the arrested strikers seemed of Scandinavian heritage.[67]

While this lack of support from the Swedish community might imply that few Scandinavians were actively involved in the Blubber Bay strike, it also suggests that the Swedish community was reluctant to side with radical countrymen. In interviews by M. Kennedy,[68] both the Norwegian union organizer, Arne Johnson, and his Swedish counterpart, Joe Anderson, denied that Swedish establishments were especially helpful during loggers' labour disputes. When Arne Johnson mentioned that an organization offered the strikers a hall rent free on Hasting Street in 1934, Kennedy asked:

> Kennedy: Was it Swedish?
> Johnson: Pardon?
> Kennedy: Was it a Swedish organization?
> Johnson: No, no. It wasn't a Swedish community, not Elks, Eagles, not Rotary, but one of those organizations.[69]

Kennedy received a similar answer when questioning Joe Anderson on how the strikers raised food and money during the long months of no income:

> Anderson: Some camps were working and we collected from them . . .
> [and there were] soup kitchens in Vancouver, a restaurant on Carrall Street . . .
> Kennedy: Who? Was it citizens group in Vancouver . . . like the Swedish community group that held soup kitchens for you?

> Anderson: No, we had our own soup kitchens . . . we financed it ourselves and we'd even go out to the Fraser Valley and collect vegetable and things for the cookhouse.[70]

Clearly, despite the interviewer's deliberate attempt to induce recollections of incidents where the Swedish community stood behind the striking loggers, neither Anderson nor Johnson concurred, nor did they volunteer other instances where Swedish organizations were particularly helpful. Certainly, Swedish organizations were less supportive of the union than Kennedy seemed to have believed.[71]

In a similar fashion, Jerry Lembcke's conclusion that Swedes were leaders in the union seems hasty. Despite Lembcke's claims that "the union's left-wing ranks were dominated by Scandinavians,"[72] Swedish and Norwegian names were notably absent in district council meetings. While Ernie Dalskog and Hjalmar Bergren were indeed founders of the union, Anglo-Canadian delegates dominated district council meetings. When nineteen LWIU members met in April 1936, the only Scandinavian present was the Norwegian logger, Arne Johnson. Most other names were Anglo-Canadian.[73] When sixteen delegates met later in May, again the only Scandinavian was Arne Johnson.[74] These records support Irene Howard's claim that Scandinavians were missing from the higher hierarchy in the union. Since Scandinavians frequently served on negotiating committees, it is difficult to argue that the low Scandinavian representation in the District Council was a result of inarticulateness. If anything, delegates who negotiated directly with the employers needed to be competent communicators in order to secure the best possible contract for their fellow union members. Low Scandinavian participation indicates that Anglo-Canadians dominated the union management already in 1936.

The overt Scandinavian commitment to the IWA decreased even further in the 1940s. By then Scandinavians and Finns with Swedish names made up approximately 21.4 percent of the workforce. Nonetheless, in six leadership meetings between 1944 and 1948 the Scandinavian participation was as low as 4.7 percent and never above 10 percent.[75] During a conference for organizers in 1944, Ernie Dalskog and Hjalmar Bergren were the only Scandinavian names among eleven participants. If we discount Dalskog, a known Swede-Finn,[76] the Scandinavian involvement shrinks to 9 percent.[77]

Similarly, during an Executive Board meeting in September 1944, only one of ten delegates was Scandinavian, and Hjalmar Bergren was the sole Scandinavian at meetings in 1945 and 1946. Again, among twenty delegates at a negotiation conference in 1946, only Bergren and Osman had identifiably Scandinavian names. This trend continued in 1948 when, on a District Policy Committee, only one Scandinavian delegate, Madsen, attended the meeting.[78] Thus, during these important years in the IWA's history, when the radicals fought against the White Bloc for the leadership of the B.C. woodworkers, Scandinavians were nearly totally absent from leadership conventions.

While the Scandinavian involvement seems higher in conventions that allowed each local to send several delegates, these figures are skewed because of a high involvement in the "Loggers' Local," 1-71, one of two IWA locals in Vancouver.[79] During a 1944 International Convention in Vancouver, of forty-one representatives from eight locals in District One, seven had Scandinavian names. A full five of the Scandinavians, however, belonged to local 1-71. Thus, while the total Scandinavian ratio was 17 percent, by disregarding the Loggers' Local, the Scandinavian participation among the other seven locals drops to 4.8 percent during a period when they should have

made up 21.4 percent of the union in order to represent Scandinavian workers in the B.C. logging industry.[80]

Likewise, in the 1945 District One convention in Port Alberni, the same Vancouver local distorted the overall Scandinavian participation. Of 151 delegates from 9 locals, mostly from Vancouver Island, thirty had Scandinavian names.[81] This involvement of 19.8 percent was slightly below their ratio in the provincial workforce. After discounting the delegates from local 1-71, the combined Scandinavian ratio in the remaining locals dives to 15.4 percent, which was approximately five percent below their ratio in the workforce.[82]

There is also a tendency to over-emphasize the degree of commitment among active Swedish union members. For instance, when interviewing Joe Anderson, M. Kennedy seemingly assumed that Joe was active both as a socialist and union activist, although Joe's responses indicate otherwise. When Joe remarked that he was not working when the 1934 strike broke out Kennedy asked: "But you were right behind it, were you?" "Of course," Joe replied. "Everybody was behind it." Next Kennedy suggested that Joe "must've made quite a name for [him]self with the . . . bosses", and that he "must've been on the top of the blacklist." Joe, however, disagreed: "Well, no. I wouldn't say on the top . . . there were worse guys there than me . . . course you couldn't say blacklist and you were blacklisted." Moreover, he claimed he "wasn't in [the LWIU] too much . . . other people . . . started it." Later, when Joe reminisced on how organizers brought leaflets into camps, Kennedy asked: "They were all pretty red, were they?" Joe again resisted agreeing with the interviewer: "Some of them were, some of them were yust [sic] common sense."[83] Thus, Joe indicated that his own involvement was minor

and he distinguished between radical literature and what he called "common sense." Joe Anderson was Swedish and worked in the union, but the transcript indicates that he was not a red-hot radical, and worked on the fringes in a movement that was at least passively supported by most loggers.

Joe's example indicates that care must be taken before equating militancy with radicalism. This is underscored in interviews with active unionists who objected to being labeled leftwing and drew sharp distinctions between their work in the local and any political affiliation. "Gunnar Gustavson" notes that active union members sooner or later were classified as radical regardless of their political persuasion:

> Anyone with any leadership who is involved with the union, even today, some people say, "You have a communist attitude." They have no idea or understanding of the makeup of the people, because it takes all kinds of people to make a union. But anyone with a leadership, even here, with the opposition party of the British Columbia government, they are always referring to the communists or Marxist leaders of the labour movement.[84]

Gunnar distrusted the Communist influence in the union, believing that they had a hidden agenda withheld from the rank and file. He claimed that if a logger appeared to sympathize with the party, a Communist member would soon show up, usually with an offer of free alcohol, asking the prospective member to formally join the party. While Gunnar recalled that some Swedes were "card-carrying Communists," most, he claimed, ignored the party propaganda since "loggers have a real shy of any form of politics."[85]

Likewise, "Birger Bergström" conceded that many early organizers were devoted to the Communist Party. He claimed, however, that "communist" was a catchall tag used by employers to mark any worker who fought to improve working conditions. As a result, the number of Swedes on the left of the political spectrum was exaggerated:

> Oh, a lot were called communists. But all you had to do was call someone a communist – you didn't have to prove it, and of course you were tagged with that handle. Oh yeah, there probably was quite a few of them that *were* communist, but also their friends weren't communist, but they were a fellow traveler you see, and of course you were associated with these people. And if you were fighting for the working people you *must* be communist — you wouldn't be doing that otherwise, why I don't know. Well, I thought, if that's all it takes to make a communist, I guess I must have been a communist.[86]

Clearly, resentment lingers that employers could so easily discredit "troublesome" loggers by assigning a convenient political characterization designed to arouse fear and turn the public sympathy away from the loggers' cause.

Other Swedes expressed a sense of satisfaction when the 1948 "purge" eliminated the Communist elements in the IWA. "Hans Hillgren," for instance, believed it was "good riddance" when the communists left the union. While he recognized they organized the union when no other labour organization was willing to do so, by the 1940s he felt they had outlived their usefulness.[87] Similarly, "Carl Carlsson" remembered that his Swedish-born father:

> wasn't in favor of communism. In fact, in that particular time it was so much of it. Everybody was touting the claims of Russia, how great it was and one thing and another. But he wasn't in favor of that. He was too [much] in favor of free enterprise.[88]

Carl's father nevertheless worked diligently for the union, attending both District Council meetings and International meetings. In 1948, when the Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada struck out on their own, he remained loyal to Stewart Alsbury and the White Bloc of the IWA. Thus, it is important to distinguish between radicalism and militancy, since some union members who gladly fought for their rights in the workforce were unsympathetic with the radical politics of the Communistic leadership.[89] These rank-and-

file members were not interested in changing the political structure of Canada, but wanted to insure that they received their rightful share within the existing system.

In fact, when the IWA split in 1948, Scandinavian names were nearly as sparse in the Communist-led breakaway organization, the "Wooies," as they were in the IWA under a White Bloc leadership. During a roll call in October 1948, the Woodworkers' Industrial Union of Canada recorded 41 Scandinavian names out of 244 delegates.[90] This puts the proportion of Scandinavians slightly above a calculation based on the 1951 census.[91] Local 71 continued the trend of high Scandinavian membership,[92] but locals that recorded a low Scandinavian participation in the IWA now noted an increased Scandinavian activity. The Duncan local 80, for instance, had only 17.6 percent Scandinavian participation in1945 and only 9 percent in January 1948, but at a WIUC conference 20 percent of the delegates were Scandinavian.[93] Considering that Scandinavian participation in the IWA also increased slightly after the split, it is unlikely that these figures indicate that Scandinavians were more partial to a communist union. It is more likely that the disturbance the split caused encouraged otherwise inactive members with loyalties either with the IWA or with the original leaders to take a greater role in the union of their choice.

The first IWA international meeting after the breakup confirms that Swedes and Scandinavians were equally divided in loyalties between the old leadership and the IWA international. The convention disbarred forty-one former B.C. members who had "formed, joined, and pledged their allegiance to a competing organization formed for the purpose of attempting to destroy the International Woodworkers of

America." Of those forty-one, six — 14.6 percent — had Scandinavian names.[94] Since one of the disbarred men, Ernie Dalskog, was a Swede Finn, and another, Albert Johnson, protested his innocence,[95] the ratio of Scandinavian name among these forty-one insurrectionists decreased to 9.7 percent. Moreover, after the split the B.C. district in the IWA showed equally high Scandinavian representation as the WIUC. In the international IWA convention, of twenty B.C. delegates present, three were Scandinavian, which indicates a 15 percent Scandinavian IWA involvement after the breakup of the union.[96] Hence, although the Scandinavian presence was slightly higher in the WIUC, it is clear that the Scandinavian community was divided in its loyalties between the warring unions.[97]

"Birger Bergström," however, believed in and fought for a Canadian union. His recollections indicate his bewilderment over the outcome and suggest that his motive for supporting the WIUC was economic and nationalistic rather than political:

> Well, it [the WIUC failure] was the members' own fault in many ways. The IWA would hold a meeting, and where there were say 4-5 000 people in the local, there were 10-15 in the meeting. In 1948 they decided they wanted to split away from the American union, because so much of the money in Canada were being paid to the American union. When there was a strike down in the States any strike fund that they had here all went down to help them out. When we had a problem, well they never had any money to send to Canada. So the leadership at that time said, well it's time that we have a Canadian union. Enough of this catering to the Americans. So having had *all* these meetings, and this group that used to come to every meeting, and worked for the IWA all the time thought, well, everything that we've done, the members have always backed us. So when they split away from the IWA they thought that the members would go with them. Well they didn't. In the meantime there had been a … [undecipherable] from the members in the States that had infiltrated more or less in Canada, and knocking all of these communists that had supposedly wrecked their whole union and all this kind of stuff. And a lot of the newer members who didn't know very much about the past anyhow, a lot of them came out from the prairies, and they were farmers that came out to work in

> the bush and farmers are notoriously bad for organizing . . . and are very independent people. And they hated the communists and said, " Oh, we are going to stick with the IWA."[98]

Birger's account indicates that for the rank and file, the leaders' political beliefs were secondary to economic concerns, and that the new union failed because anti-Communist propaganda obscured the true WIUC program. As a result the majority decided to remain in the IWA.[99]

In sum, while Scandinavian union involvement peaked in the 1934 strike, overall their representation in the union rarely matched their proportion of the workforce. Union documents, therefore, do not support the argument that Scandinavians were the mainstay of the IWA, nor that they were responsible for creating the Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada in 1948. Anglo-Canadians dominated both on a leadership and a rank-and-file level. Thus, while some interviews suggest that Swedes were the union's strongest supporters, contradictory evidence casts doubt on this testimony. Whereas there is no evidence of overt antagonism against the union as was manifested in Sweden, many Swedish-Canadians and Scandinavians seemed indifferent to the organizers' efforts. In fact, Scandinavian names occurred on "scab" lists in the 1930s and 1940s, and they were underrepresented in picket duty and as shop stewards. Finally, it is uncertain if the rank and file joined the WIUC in 1948 to protect the communist leadership. For some Scandinavians, the WIUC offered an all-Canadian alternative that would ensure that their membership funds went towards Canadian labour issues rather than benefiting their American counterparts. Therefore, their support of the WIUC might have been based on economic expediency rather than on political conviction.

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[1] In his study on emigration from these northern areas, Lars-Göran Tedebrand notes that many emigrants were highly critical of the Swedish society in letters home or to the Swedish press. Nevertheless, he

maintains that this criticism very seldom was joined with any political radicalism in North America. Tedebrand, "Emigrationen," 19-20.

[2] Norman and Runblom, Transatlantic Connections, 232-233. Likewise, Lars-Göran Tedebrand claims that "fear of 'socialism' and trade unions is often said to characterize the majority of Swedish-Americans." Tedebrand, "Strikes and Political Radicalism," 194.

[3] Barbara Roberts, Whence They Came: Deportations from Canada 1900-1935 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988), and Donald Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners': European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979). William and Kathleen Repka, however, write of Bruce Magnusson, a Swedish union leader in Ontario who spent several years in a Canadian camp for political prisoners during the Second World War. See William Repka and Kathleen M. Repka, Dangerous Patriots: Canada's Unkown Prisoners of War (Vancouver, B.C.: New Star Books, 1982), 121-126 and 228-230.

[4] Jørgen Dahlie, "Socialist and Farmer: Ole Hjelt and the Norwegian Radical Voice in Canada, 1908-1928," Canadian Ethnic Studies 10.2 (1978): 55-64, and J. Donald Wilson, "*Kalevala* in Sointula: The Intellectual Background of Matti Kurikka," Scandinavian-Canadian Studies (1988): 115-132.

[5] Ljungmark, "Swedes in Winnipeg," 71. A study on the Communist Party in Winnipeg supports this contention. Donald Avery claims that while the leaders of the Communist Party were overwhelmingly British, most rank and file members were Finnish or Ukrainian. Although Winnipeg housed over 2 500 Scandinavians, Donald Avery does not connect them with the Communists. See Donald Avery, "Ethnic Loyalties and the Proletarian Revolution: A Case Study of Communist Political Activity in Winnipeg, 1923-1936," in Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada, eds. Jørgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando (Toronto: Methuen; v.8, 1981), 68-93.

[6] Nevertheless, Ross McCormack points to a Swedish IWW local in Edmonton and Irene Howard notes there was a Scandinavian IWW in Vancouver. McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries, 102, and Howard, Vancouver's *Svenskar*, 88-92. Both locals, however, are only mentioned in passing and closer study is needed to determine the extent of support from the Scandinavian community. Moreover, the fact that there are no political studies on Swedish Canadians does not mean that Swedes on the West Coast totally avoided active politics. Olof Hanson, for instance, was the first Swede to serve as member of the Federal Parliament in Ottawa, 1930-1945. He also was a Swedish consul for "many years." See "History of the Swedish People in British Columbia," unpublished, undated paper, the Swedish Institute of Emigration, Växjö, Sweden. Similarly, a Swedish immigrant, R. W. Bruhn, served as a sometimes Conservative, sometimes Independent member of the B.C. legislature between 1924 to 1942. The Vancouver Sun described his politics as "going in many directions simultaneously . . . a curious mixture of Conservatism, Liberalism, Socialism, and Salmon Armism." Vancouver Sun, November 17, 1938.

[7] "Report from a special operator," Nov. 4, 1934, Attorney General, Correspondence and papers, (hereon AttG), GR 0429, Box 21-2, BCA.

[8] Headquarters, Military District No. 11 to the Commissioner of the B.C. Police, Dec. 10, 1934, AttG, Box 21-3, BCA.

[9] Gordon Hak, however, reports that many Swedes in Prince George supported the Communist Party in the 1930s. Some Swedes were deported after demonstrating against the government's failure to help relief-camp workers. Gordon Hak, "The Communists and the Unemployed in the Prince George District, 1930-1935," BC Studies 68 (Winter 1985-6): 54, 56-57, and 60-61.

[10] "Editorial," The West Coast Advocate, October 21, 1948, p. 5.

[11] Canada Skandinaven, April 16, 1926, p. 2. [*Och det är bevarandet av de skandinaviska folkens vackra och goda traditioner och underlättandet att till dem lägga nya, lika vackra och goda, endast med den skillnaden att de blivit gjorda här ute i det land de nu tjäna, därför att det är landet som föder dem.*]

[12] "The Scandinavian Workers' Club in Vancouver Celebrates 5-Year Anniversary" *[Skandinaviska Arbetarklubben i Vancouver firar 5-årsjubileum*], Nya Svenska Pressen, April 8, 1937, p. 4. [*I brist på erfarenheter sökte klubben att arbeta så gott som den kunde efter radikala linjer. Den blandade sig i fackföreningsarbete och dylikt. Detta var väl helt naturligt då man inte kunde få några korrekta rättningslinjer . . . Men klubben är också intresserad av att den skandinaviska kulturen och de skandinaviska språken bibehållas . . . På detta område är klubben fullt uppriktigt i samarbete med de övriga skandinaviska föreningarna.*]

[13] Vancouver had fifteen Swedish, Swede Finnish, or Scandinavian clubs in 1938. Nya Svenska Pressen notes that while the Scandinavian Labour Club was not completely Swedish, the Swedish language was most often used in meetings. See Nya Svenska Pressen, February 24, 1938, p 4.

[14] While it is difficult to unearth documentation that specify which of the club's activities disturbed the conservative Swedish press, the Attorney General's correspondence reveals that the RCMP suspected that the Scandinavian Workers' Club was connected to the Workers' Unity League. The RCMP, however, listed several organizations as affiliated with the WUL, none that was wholly Swedish. The clubs singled out were: the Finnish Workers' Club, the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, the Chinese Protective Organization, the German Workers' Club, and the Ukrainian Workers' Club. This document also lists seventy suspected organizers active in the Communist Party of Canada, one whom was identified as Swedish, and one with a Scandinavian name but with unidentified nationality. See Royal Canadian Mounted Police to G. G. McGeer, Mayor of Vancouver, June 11, 1935, AttG, Box 21-4, BCA.

[15] B.C. Lumber Worker, March 17, 1937.

[16] Irene Howard also describes Nya Svenska Pressen as conservative, but she points to a 1934 editorial that supported the strikers, upheld Sweden as an example of labour justice, and suggested that Canadian employers, as well as workers, would benefit from moderating the labour code. Howard, "Vancouver Swedes and the Loggers," 179. As previously shown, however, the community at large generally supported the 1934 strike. See page 97 and note 52.

[17] Nya Svenska Pressen, September 22, 1938, p. 2. A few days later the paper announced that "committees had opened a depot in Len Sheppard's Machine Shop" to collect clothing and money for the strikers and to finance prosecution of the police and the strikebreakers. It is unclear, however, if this was a paid advertisement or a news item. Nya Svenska Pressen, September 29, 1938, p. 2

[18] Tedebrand, "Strikes and Political Radicalism," 205. Tedebrand argues that there was a definite connection between strikes and emigration at least prior to the 1910s. Ibid. 207-208. Swedish emigration statistics show increased emigration following a disastrous strike in 1909. Swedish companies responded to this general strike by imposing a long-drawn lockout that nearly destroyed the Swedish union movement. As a result, emigration to Canada increased from 333 in 1909 to 655 in 1910; at the same time emigration to the US increased from 18 331 to 23 529. See Norman and Runblom, From Sweden to America, 118.

[19] In 1933, when Lennart returned to northern Sweden he had earned enough money to buy back his parents' farm that the bank had repossessed during his absence. Interview with Lennart Linnerud [pseud.], interview with author, transcript, Norrbotten, Sweden, 5.

[20] Linnerud [pseud.], p 3. [*Det var många olyckor i Kanada. Det hände sällan i Sverige. Dom var inte rädd om människoliv — de ömmade om de som var sjuka, men brydde sig ej om skogsarbetare som olyckades.*] Likewise, a Swede from Campbell River, Ture Krook, rather worked in fishing than in logging since he felt safer on the water. See Ture Krook, interview, transcript A-171, June 15 1989, CRMA.

[21] The interviewees commonly remarked upon the exceptional quality of the food in Canadian camps. As an example, the first time "Hans Hillgren" arrived for a meal he believed the camp had put up a party. Although he never remembered going hungry in Sweden, the food there was simple. "Pork and beans, anything with barley; for supper we had barley mush. Homemade bread, two or three kinds. We ate lots of homemade bread. Pancakes. Different kinds of pancakes, and potatoes and herring, and other fish. Just about as simple as you can possibly make it." While Hans conceded that Canadian camps often lacked hot water and showers, such commodities were uncommon in Sweden as well. Hillgren [pseud.] interview, 6. See also Kilander who claims that especially loggers who did not own land fared poorly. Meat hardly ever appeared on the table since hunting was restricted through licensing, and butter was restricted to a daily ration of one pat per person. Herring, porridge, potatoes, and skimmed milk was the common fare, while wild berries provided some dietary change. See Kilander, Skogsarbetarna organiserar sig, 164-65.

[22] [*Vi lagade mat själv som i Sverige, men det var rikeman's mat i Kanada. Vi behövde inte köpa maten, men fick laga den själv. Det var stek, pajer, biff, och frukt. Och under dessa år var Sverige ett u-land.*]

[23] Linnerud [pseud.], interview, 3-4.

[24] After emigrating to B.C. in 1923, Olof Hanson operated as a tie contractor in the interior. "History of the Swedish People in British Columbia,"

[25] See Carl Ernest Carlsson, "Life Story" [*Levnadsskildring*], Unpublished manuscript, the Swedish Institute of Emigration (Växjö, Sweden), 1, 7-8, 18, and 22-23.

[26] Kjell Kellerud [pseud.], interview, p. 7 and 9.

[27] Ibid. 6.

[28] Ibid. 4. Myrtle Bergren claims Eric Graaf was the first organizer for Port Alberni loggers. See Bergren, Tough Timber, 42.

[29] Kjell Kellerud [pseud.], 5-6.

[30] In 1944, the IWA claimed to have organized a "Notorious Open-Shop Holdout," Salmon River Logging, run by Swedish-born P.B. Anderson and his Canadian-born son, Dewey. Salmon River Logging was "the second to last of the large association operations to be cleaned up in full-scale offensive" and the crew was "practically 100 percent for the meeting at which 78 new members joined up." See The B.C. Lumber Worker, May 29, 1944, p. 1. See also Paul Phillips who claims that the IWA was the most significant union in B.C. during the war years. Phillips, No Power Greater, 132.

[31] Bergren states that he was born in Sweden in 1905, and emigrated with his parents to Saskatchewan in 1912. Hjalmar Bergren, "History notes," August 16, 1971, H.P. Box 7-8, p. 1. The precise ethnic roots of Bergren are murky, since Lynne Bowen claims that Hjalmar was Norwegian. Lynne Bowen, Those Lake People: Stories of Cowichan Lake (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1995), 99

[32] Hjalmar Bergren, "History notes," 2-3.

[33] The B.C. Lumber Worker, June 5, 1934, p. 8. Two were fallers and two were boom men.

[34] The B.C. Lumber Worker, July 17, 1934, p. 9. They were employed as fireman, lever man, and loco fireman. In addition, a "Bull of the Woods" satire in the same issue accused several fictitious Swedish foremen for being antagonistic to the workers; in particular "Hels Helsen, the mightiest logger of Sweden," was "the worst slave driver and efficiency expert" of all boss loggers. Ibid., 8-9. This account was contrived, but the fact that the author used Swedes to symbolize the arm of the management indicates that Swedes were found among anti- as well as pro-labor ranks.

[35] The WIUC also listed Scandinavians as "scabs" during the Iron River strike. Its organ, the Millworker, listed thirty-seven strikebreakers, of whom five were Scandinavian. Thus, the Scandinavian involvement here was 13.5 percent. It is possible that these actions were based on a conviction that the IWA was the legitimate union and the WIUC was in the wrong. See "Iron River Scab List," Millworker (February 11, 1949) from file "Woodworkers' Industrial Union of Canada (1949), L. 17.5, PAMA.

[36] Two men who refused a formal interview stated unequivocally that Swedish loggers were not active unionists. One, a second generation Swede, refused the interview because he feared the study would be a "piece of union work." The other man, a retired British-origin camp manager, refused to be interviewed for undisclosed reasons, merely stating that the Finns were active unionists, but while "a few [Swedes] in Cowichan were seen as radical, most were fairly compliant."

[37] Anders Anderson [pseud.], interview, 12-13.

[38] Anders cannot remember being approached by any union while he worked in Sweden. In B.C., after he left logging and went to work in a different industry, unionization was never an issue. He claimed the wages were equally good or better outside the union: "So we never worried about the union. We worked just like in a big family." Anders Anderson [pseud.], interview, 13.

[39] Mats Marklund [pseud.], interview, p. 1 and 8.

[40] There is very little work done on Finns in the B.C. logging industry, but both Bruce Magnuson and Ian Radforth note that the rank and file of the Ontario woodworkers' union was mainly Finnish during this period. See Magnuson, The Untold Story, xvi; and Ian Radforth, Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario 1900-1980 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987). Clearly, many Finns in B.C., too, were working-class activists. They developed a commune on Malcolm Island, temperance associations in Nanaimo and North Wellington, and created four Finnish locals of the Socialist Party of Canada in British Columbia. See Varpu Lindstrom-Best, "The Socialist Party of Canada and the Finnish Connection, 1905-1911," in Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada, ed. Jørgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando (Toronto: Canadian Ethnic Studies Association series; v.8, 1981), 114 and 119.

[41] That is, forty-seven of ninety-four Finns and Swede Finns had Swedish sounding names. These were: Asplund, Brandback, Bjorklund, Beckman, E. Blomquist, Back, A. Blomquist, Oscar Bjork, Carlson, Uno Englund, Fred Erickson, Frank Erickson, Frilund, Fors, Fogelstrom, Flink, Granskog, John Hagg, , V. Holm, W. Haglund, , Hellsten, Holm, Haggblad, Johnson, Evert Kald, Runar Kald, Lundgard, Herman Lillqvist, Fred Lillqvist, Joe Matson, Emil Matson, Ture Nyman, E. Norgran, A. Nygran, Norrgren, Erik Peterson, John Peterson, Rambeck, Gunnar Riddar, C. Ronnquist, Gunnar Sik. Fink, Forsberg, Hagkull, J. Lundberg, Lyttbacka, and Carl Nyback. See, Employment ledger, Comox Logging, 1929-1944, CA. Moreover, in another Comox Logging list, 49 of 102 Finnish workers have Swedish names. See "Employees," CLR-Series, CMA.

[42] See previous estimation of the per capita Scandinavian and Swedish ratio in the logging industry based on the number of Scandinavian residents in B.C., p. 24-25 above.

[43] While impossible to verify, it is likely that this figure is an underestimation. In Strangers Entertained, John Norris claims that most Swedes in B.C. were skilled workers "from a wide variety of occupational backgrounds, though farmers and labourers predominated." This corresponds with the census that shows

that Scandinavians were occupationally versatile in British Columbia. As for Finnish immigrants in B.C., Norris maintains "most had only their labour to offer. They were forced into the heaviest labouring jobs with long hours and hard conditions." John Norris, Strangers Entertained: A History of the Ethnic Groups of British Columbia, (Evergreen Press Limited: Vancouver, B.C., 1971): 130 and 135. While Norris points to mining as the main source of Finnish employment, their lack of occupational diversity might also have inflated their participation in the logging industry. Thus, it is possible that more than 20 percent of the Finnish males in B.C. worked in logging.

[44] In 1931, 4 311 Finnish men lived in British Columbia. See Census of Canada, Table 32, "Population, male and female, classified according to racial origin, by counties or census division, 1931."

[45] In 1941, the male Finnish population had decreased to 3 609, but the above calculation suggests that if 720 Finns worked in the forest industry, at least 360 Finnish names were indistinguishable from Scandinavian. Thus, in 1941, if we add these 360 to the 2 695 Scandinavian loggers, and calculate a percentage based on a total workforce of 14 274, the ratio of Scandinavians and Finns with Scandinavian names was at least 21.4 percent. See Census of Canada, Vol. 7, Table 12, "Gainfully occupied, 14 years of age and over, by occupation and sex, showing birthplace, period of immigration, and racial origin, for Canada and the provinces, 1941;" and Census of Canada, Vol. Table 43, "Population by birthplace and sex, for counties or census divisions, 1941."

[46] Some historians caution against stereotyping the Finnish immigrants as wholly radical. Varpu Lindstrom-Best claims that conservative Finns in Canada "were appalled by the apparent radicalism of the Finnish communities" and formed right-wing organizations in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Varpu Lindstrom-Best, The Finns in Canada (Ottawa: the Canadian Historical Association, 1985), 13-14. Likewise, Edward Laine argues that both radical and conservative Finns have largely been ignored by Canadian historiography. While their radical elements have received "scant attention," he claims that the Finnish conservatives "have been entirely ignored for not having aligned themselves with any particular Canadian political party at all." Edward W. Laine, "Finnish Canadian Radicalism and Canadian Politics: The First Forty Years, 1900-1940," in Jørgen Dahlie and Tissa Fernando, eds., Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada (Toronto: Canadian Ethnic Studies Assoication series; v.8, 1981), 94.

[47] Jørgen Dahlie and Donald Wilson, "Introduction/Ethnic Radicals," Canadian Ethnic Studies 10.2 (1978): 4.

[48] In 1931, the Finnish-origin population was 43 885 compared to the Swedish origin of 81 306. Census of Canada, Vol. 2, Table 31, "Population classified according to sex and racial origin by provinces, 1931."

[49] For example, Roberts claims that the government brought in legislation "designed to keep the Finnish radicals and their comrades in place." Quoted in Roberts, Whence They Came, 73. Avery, as well, notes that Maclean's Magazine published articles that described Finnish and Ukrainian immigrants as radicals. Avery, "Ethnic Loyalties," 92.

[50] See p. 14 and 19 above.

[51] The strike originated in Campbell River in January 1934, but soon spread to most camps on Vancouver Island. The headquarters, however, were in Vancouver. See Hak, "Red Wages," 85.

[52] H.P. Box 1-1.

[53] H.P., Box 1-1.

[54] If, as the lists from Comox Logging indicates, Bjork, Bjorklund and Fogelstrom were Finnish, the *Scandinavian* participation in the negotiating committee decreases to 22.8 percent. While this is an under-representation according to their participation in the logging industry according to 1931 census, it is an

over-representation according to the 1941 census. Although this suggests Scandinavians at least matched other ethnic groups in union involvement, it does not suggest that they were more active than were loggers from other ethnic groups.

[55] Joe Anderson, interview with M. Kennedy, 1972, Aural History Transcript No. 72, p. 16, UBC SP. For instance, the Mayor of Vancouver spoke in favor of the strikers and allowed them a "tag day" in Vancouver. Hak, "Red Wages," 83. Myrtle Bergren also claims the general community supported the striker. See Bergren, Tough Timber, 33-47.

[56] H.P. Box 1-1. A list of blacklisted loggers suggests an equally high degree of Eastern Europeans as Scandinavians: Antonich (faller), Immonin (faller), Trokvich (faller), Sand (faller), Dramberg (faller), Nyfors (faller), Miller (hooker), and Erikson (loader). "Minutes of loggers' meeting, March 5, 1934," H.P. box 1-1.

[57] Scandinavians made up 23.5 percent of this committee, and if only one participant was Finnish with a Swedish name, the Scandinavian participation would have declined to 17.6 percent.

[58] H.P. Box 1-1. A third 1936 strike committee roll call supports these figures. Here, out of forty-nine strikers, twelve are possibly Scandinavian, that is, 24.4 percent. H.P. Box 1-5.

[59] H.P., Box 1.

[60] Italicized names are typically Scandinavian, although, as is seen by the Comox Logging employment records, names such as Holm, Bjorklund, and Storbjork were commonly Finnish. The pickets for the 1936 strike were: Squad 1, Rock Bay: Sokolick, Law, Izemu, Hara, Bald, Jordnck [?]; squad 2, Rock Bay: Rukavina, *Olson, Holm, Sandström, Erickson*, Druck, Sivnocha; squad 3, Rock Bay: Coriak, Zibunich, Janski, Silen, Karchena; squad 4, Lake Logging: *Bjorklund*, McCallum, Racelich, Brezoval, Golinsky, Lepowsky; squad 5, Lake Logging: Masquette, *Ekstrom*, Ramkin, Perecsi, Wallace; squad 6, VLM: *Nils*[?]; squad 7, VLM: Hicks; squad 8 Rainy River: Smith, Niemi, Niemi, Lambi, *Olofson*, Caplari, Kallio, Typpo, Punni, Ilmonen, Koskila, Luoma, Husitalo, Joslyn, Fenell; squad 9, Camps 3 and 6: *Engman*, Hay; squad 10, Smith and Osbergorn [?]: *Storbjork, Olson*, Macki, Kukkola. See H.P. Box 1-5.

[61] Likewise, the Harold Pritchett Papers contain an undated shop steward's list from Youbou, filed among records from the 1940s. Here only two of thirty-five names, A. N. Johnson and Nels Olson seem Scandinavian. Thus, as with the picket squad of 1936, the Scandinavian participation in a very basic union function was very low, here only 5.7 percent. See "Shop stewards at Youbou Mill," H.P. Box 8-12.

[62] "Blubber Bay Strike," H.P., Box 10-16. Although the Blubber Bay strike did not directly involve lumbermen, it was organized and executed by the IWA. It is possible, however, that the IWA received limited support from rank and file during this effort since Eric Graff reported that it was difficult to raise money for the strike. See "Annual Convention, B.C. Coast District Council, July 30 and 31, 1938," H.P. Box 5-13. Myrtle Bergren reinforces the impression that it involved few Scandinavians; nonetheless, Bergren points out that an elderly Swedish man was assaulted during the dispute, though the account does not identify the assailants. See Bergren, Tough Timber, 116-122.

[63] C. Melville, R. Abercrombie, H. Shaak, D. Raeside, Geo Cope, R. McDonald, Lim Chung, Joe Eng, Wong Dan, Chan Mon, Grants Empey, Ed Stewarts, H. Dicks, S. Abercombie, *Peter Bergman*, J. Jacobs, E. A. MacLillman, R. Gardner, Jack Hole, Walt Liebich.

[64] The blacklisted men were: John Stehr, Roy Maylor, John Hole, Arthur Akre, Arthur Tooth, James Ballard, M. Milinsky, Lloyd Higgins, Taylor, Gerrard, James MacKay, Wm Mohr, John Abercrombie Sr., Nony Nazzy, Gus Leibich Sr., Frank Leigh, Cecil Ash, Fred Kroll, J. Hammond, Kiln Fireman (Chinese), Fred Lauder, James McKai, Millar, Eddie Haper.

[65] The information covering union activity in this year is sketchy and contradictory. While Pritchett's records contain no delegate list for this year, two 1938 conventions show unusually high Scandinavian representation. In January out of twelve members, five were Scandinavian, and a conference in July 1938 housed five Scandinavians out of thirteen named delegates. That is, the two conventions had 41 respectively 29.4 percent Scandinavian involvement. See H.P. Box 5-13 and H.P. Box 5-10.

[66] "Names of hotels and cafes which donated services," H.P. Box 10-16. Hotels: New Fountain, Regent, Stratford, St. James, George Rooms, Warren Rooms, West Hotel, New Lion Hotel, Rainer Hotel, Broadway Hotel, Commercial Hotel. Cafés: Common gold, Palace Café, Dandy Café, Atlantic Café, Oyster Bay Café, Davenport Café, Stockholm Café, and Columbia Café.

[67] "List of people putting up bail for accused (1938)," H.P., Box 10-16. C.W Padghan ($500.00), Paul Kuly ($1.500.00), A. Hurstwaite ($1.000.00), D. Elliot ($500.00), A. Mathieson (undisclosed amount), Hastings Steambaths (undisclosed amount).

[68] While these interviews may seem to contain "leading" questions, they had the effect of throwing even more light on the interviewees' responses since they were forced to consider the Swedish community directly.

[69] Arne Johnson, interview, p 23.

[70] Joe Anderson, interview, p. 19.

[71] Still, some Swedish businesses actively supported the strikers. Irene Howard claims that a Swedish café, *Hembygden*, housed the relief committee and served 800 daily meals during the 1934 logging strike. Howard, "Vancouver Swedes and the Loggers," 175.

[72] Lembcke, "The International Woodworkers of America: An Internal Comparative Study," 250.

[73] A total 68.4 percent seemed Anglo-Saxon: Pritchett, Grant, Nichol, Harrison, Cadwallader, Hubbard, Pollock, Brown, Dodwell, McCutcheon, Mackenzie and Haskin. Moreover, Sakumoto and Umezuki appeared Japanese, Arseneau and Lajuenesse French Canadian, and Vanderkley may have been of Dutch origin. See H.P. Box 1-8. As a comparison, in 1941, British origin loggers made up 56 percent of the workforce.

[74] The names were: Vanderkley, Arseneau, Grant, McCutcheon, Hubbard, *Johnson*, Pollock, McDonald, Alsbury, Nichols, Pritchett, Whalen, Umezuki, Cadwallader, Black, and Sakumoto. See "Lumber and Saw-Mill Workers Union, Minutes," April 29, 1936 and May 4, 1936, H. P., Box 1-8.

[75] In another example, when the B.C. District Council No. 1 sent thirty-two delegates to a CCL convention only two — 6.8 percent – were Scandinavian. See Proceedings from the Canadian Council of Labour Convention, September 23, 1946.

[76] Ernie Dalskog emigrated from Finland in 1923, and joined the LWIU in 1932. He was a union organizer during the 1934 strike and one of the leaders behind the WIUC in 1948. See The B.C. Lumber Worker, October 6, 1948, p. 1.

[77] H.P. Box 5-4.

[78] The Scandinavian participation in these conferences ranged from 4.7 to 10 percent. See H.P. Box 4-3, Box 4-6, Box 4-8, Box 5-2, and Box 5-6.

[79] This local, also known as "the Loggers' Local," stretched from West Vancouver to Pemberton, and north to the Alaska Panhandle. Despite its name, some sawmills also belonged to 1-71, but the majority of

members were loggers. It was one of the founding locals, created in 1937, and it served as headquarter for loggers who lived in Vancouver but worked in various camps in the province. In February 3, 1998 it merged with local 217. It is still known as "Loggers' Local" in Vancouver, but is numbered 2171. Norm Garcia, I.W.A. Canada, Vancouver, B.C., telephone conversation with author, January 25, 1999.

[80] Locals from Duncan (1-80), Port Alberni (1-85), Victoria (1-118), Vancouver (1-217), New Westminster (1-357), Courtney (1-363), and Cranbrook (1-405) sent thirty-one delegates out of which two had Scandinavian names. Local 1-71 sent ten delegates, of whom five had Scandinavian names. See "Supplement No. 18," Proceedings of the Eight Annual Constitutional Convention, Vancouver, B.C., October 24, 1944.

[81] Present were Vancouver (1-71), Duncan (1-80), Port Alberni (1-85), Victoria (1-118), Vancouver (1-217), New Westminster (1-357), Courtney (1-363), Haney (1-367), and Cranbrook (1-405). See Proceedings of the Eight Annual Convention, IWA (CIO) District Council No. 1, Jan. 6th and 7th, 1945, Eric Graff Hall, Port Alberni, B.C. Pp. 82-83.

[82] The remaining 8 locals had 123 members present of whom 19 had Scandinavian names. The same document, however, lists members on special committees. Here Scandinavians were slightly over-represented since of forty-four members, ten had Scandinavian names. Hence, they constituted 22.7 percent of the committee members, while being approximately 21.4 percent of the workforce. Still, the overall impression of the Scandinavian commitment indicates that while they participated in union affairs, they were by no means over-represented either in the leadership or among the rank and file.

[83] Joe Anderson, interview, 13.

[84] Gunnar Gustavson [pseud.], interview, 18. In 1998 when this interview took place, the opposition party in British Columbia was the Liberal Party.

[85] Gunnar Gustavson [pseud.], interview, 19.

[86] Birger Bergström[pseud.], interview, p. 7-8. Mats Marklund, too, suggests the labeling of militant loggers as radicals was based on political expedience rather than being a reflection of reality: "if they had anything against [a logger] they called you communist." Mats Marklund [pseud.], interview, p. 5.

[87] Hans Hillgren [pseud.], interview with author, taped recording, Vancouver Island.

[88] Carl Carlson [pseud.], 12.

[89] Swedish-origin John Ulinder, for instance, was ousted from the IWA in 1945 after attempting a coup to replace the radical leadership. "Trial of John Ulinder," H.P. Box 8-13. Although in a 1943 letter to Harold Pritchett Ulinder claims to sympathize with socialism, he reveals his frustration with the radical policies of the union. "[T]he primary interest of our union are being sabotaged for the political policy of a minority group . . . We speak and advocate independent political action, but if you can show me wherein we have deviated from the swing and sway policy of the Communist Party in any way, I'll take my hat off to you." John Ulinder to Harold Pritchett, H.P. Box 8-15.

[90] "Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada, Roll Call," October 24, 1948, H.P. Box 6.

[91] In 1951, the census suggests Scandinavians and Swedish-named Finns comprised approximately 15.4 percent of the workforce in the forest industry; in 1941, it places them at 21.4 percent. See Census of Canada, Vol. 4, Table 13, "Labour force, 14 years of age and over, by occupation group and sex, showing birthplace, period of immigration, and origin, for the provinces, 1951;" and Vol. 1, Table 32, Population by origin and sex, for provinces and territories, 1951.

[92] Vancouver local 71 had fifty delegates and of those eleven had Scandinavian names.

[93] In 1945, the Duncan local had three Scandinavians out of a total of seventeen delegates, and in January 1948, two of twenty-two delegates were Scandinavian.

[94] 12th Annual Convention of the International Woodworkers of America, Portland, Oregon, October 11-15, 1948, p. 380-381. They were Ernie Dalskog (1-71), Hjalmar Bergren (1-71), Niels Madsen (1-71), Emil Job (1-71), Axel Oling (1-71), and Albert Johnson (1-85). A committee of seventeen men, mostly from New Westminster local 1-357, decided on the expulsion. Of the seventeen, two — 11.7 percent — had Scandinavian names. Expelled non-Scandinavian members were: Harold Pritchett, Mark Mosher, John Forbes, Berthold Melsness, John Parkinson, Robert Range, Mark Kennedy, Mike Freylinger, Ray Massey, Ed Dotzier, Nigel Morgan, Don Barbour, John McCuish, Johnny Wainscott, Roy Simmons, Jack Peace, Andy Hogorth, Jack Higgins, Tony Mockie, Vernon Carlyle, Gladys Hilland, Bob Jackson, Neil McCauley, Johnny Richardson, Les Palmer, Milose Praisley, Walter Yates, Jack Atkinson, I. J. Gibson, Owen Brown, George Knott, Craig Pritchett, Tommy MacDonald, Allan Dunn and Roy Kretlow. Clearly, the overwhelming majority of the ringleaders of the WIUC were Anglo-Canadians.

[95] Albert Johnson protested his banishment at a Port Alberni IWA meeting, claiming he was unsympathetic to the WIUC. See The West Coast Advocate, October 21, 1948.

[96] Thus, the Scandinavian involvement in the international conference was slightly higher after the breakup than it was in some earlier international conventions. In 1943, for instance, only 6.6 percent of the B.C. delegates were Scandinavian. See "Roll Call Vote," 7th Annual Convention of the International Woodworkers of America, Sacramento, California, August 17-21, 1943. Likewise, out of fifty-five B.C. delegates, six Scandinavians attended the St. Louis conference in 1947, which indicates a Scandinavian involvement of 10.9 percent. See 11th Annual Convention of the International Woodworkers of America, St. Louis, Missouri, August 26-29, 1947, p. 316-317.

[97] For instance, Gunnar Gustavsson's father and brother sided with the Wooies while Gunnar remained with the IWA. Likewise, Olof Oskarson recalls that Swede Finns who stayed with the IWA were threatened by other Scandinavians who believed in the new Canadian union. Interview with Gunnar Gustavsson, [pseud.], interview, 6 – 7, and Olof Oskarson [pseud.], interview with author, taped recording, Vancouver Island. For an account on how IWA "thugs" attacked WIUC supporters, see "The Truth about the Strike at Iron River," L. 17.5, PAMA.

[98] Birger Bergström [pseud.] interview, 8-9.

[99] Other interviewees also indicate that economic concerns overshadowed any political ideals. "Per Petterson," for instance, believed the loggers felt the IWA was the stronger union, thus able to negotiate better contracts. Per Petterson [pseud.], interview, p. 6.

Conclusion

There are certainly clear dangers in attempting to match myths with lived reality. Myths are by definition unproven stories and are therefore outside of the scope of historical analysis. Nevertheless, when a myth is used to justify a historiographical theory, historians need to look closely at its origin to see how it corresponds with history. Despite popular beliefs, few Swedish loggers arrived in British Columbia already trained in Marxist ideology and on the whole their participation in B.C. forest unions was at best on par with their ratio in the workforce. In Sweden, the union movement developed rapidly in the early twentieth century but the forest industry lagged behind, out of step with Sweden's mainstream industries. Since Swedish emigration to B.C. coincided with an increased departure of Swedes from rural areas, many Swedes in B.C. were from the segment of workers whom the Swedish labour movement held responsible for the retarded development in the Swedish forest industry. Therefore, although the Swedish labour force in general showed a remarkable willingness to engage in strike actions, Swedish immigrants in North America showed little inclination for radicalism.[1]

Moreover, there are certain parallels between forest unions in Sweden and British Columbia, since evidence indicates that it is difficult to pin a label of radicalism to the

rank and file. Although all forest unions in B.C. from the 1910s to 1948 had left-wing leaderships, the rank and file was not necessarily radical. As Joe Anderson pointed out, only "progressive" organizations existed for loggers because "the old unions couldn't be bothered with the woods."[2] Arbitrary firings, reductions in wages, and a high rate of accidents caused the loggers to turn to any organization that offered protection, and the political persuasion of the union leaders was less important than the expectation that the union would improve on working conditions and wages.

It is also highly doubtful if the theory of western exceptionalism can explain the growth of the forest unions in British Columbia. While it is true that many of B.C.'s loggers were immigrants this alone does not explain their militancy during the 1930s.[3] Forest unions developed simultaneously in British Columbia, Ontario and Newfoundland, three provinces with distinctly different labour structures. Many of Ontario's loggers were of Finnish origin, while the Newfoundland loggers were mostly of Anglo-Saxon heritage, native to Newfoundland, and working in logging to supplement fishing. Dufferin Sutherland argues that Newfoundland loggers responded with similar militancy to the 1930's conditions as loggers did in B.C. and Ontario. Sutherland maintains that although the loggers' union in Newfoundland did not forward the same radical ideology as those in B.C. and Ontario, it was nevertheless militant.[4] Clearly, the simultaneous rise of unions in three different provinces with three distinct workforces indicates the men reacted to local conditions, most likely set off by wage reductions due to the Depression.

Many Swedes arrived in British Columbia in the 1920s, and while they did not dominate the forest industry to the degree that popular perception indicates, more Swedes worked in logging in B.C. than in any other lumber-producing province in Canada.

Moreover, a peak in Swedish emigration coincided with a rapid expansion of the B.C. forest industry, making it easier for Swedes to secure a place in this workforce to a greater extent than in regions where the forest industry already had an established workforce. The relatively high Swedish involvement in B.C. nevertheless encouraged a myth of Swedes as natural born loggers. This ignored the fact many Swedes arrived without any previous experience in logging and looked to farming as the preferred employment.

Similarly, an analysis of the ethnic composition in the woodworkers' unions challenges the notion that Swedes dominated the union. Myrtle Bergren's and Irene Howard's accounts suggest a high incidence of Swedes and Norwegians during the first days of the LWIU, but Harold Pritchett's records show that their participation diminished during the important years when the union gained ground among British Columbia woodworkers. Although there were instances when Swedes and Scandinavians were slightly over-represented in union meetings, they were most often not represented in proportion to their numbers in the workforce. The comparatively high Scandinavian involvement during the 1934 strike and a concentration of Scandinavian names in the "Loggers' Local" created a misleading impression of militancy and radicalism that is difficult to combat. Even the Scandinavian involvement in the 1934 strike does not necessarily point to a propensity for unionism or pronounced radicalism. Union leaders of the time and later historians all point out that the community at large supported the LWIU; the 1934 loggers' strike struck a chord in B.C., and the Scandinavian involvement was one expression among many.

The low Scandinavian union participation in the late 1930s and the 1940s is particularly significant. Swedish immigration to British Columbia increased in the 1920s with highs both in 1923 and 1928. Most were young men, often in their late teens or early twenties, who would have peaked intellectually in the 1940s. By then they had gained experience in the Canadian workforce and proficiency in the English language. Swedes and Scandinavians, however, did not demonstrate an increased involvement in the union movement but instead became less evident, especially in the upper echelons of the B.C. IWA District Council. Rather than a Scandinavian-led IWA council in B.C., the Anglo-Canadian members were over-represented both within the rank-and-file and the higher echelons of the union. Hence, it is possible that the domination of Anglo Canadians led to an unintentional exclusion of the foreign-born logger.

Scandinavians, however, showed an exceptional concentration in the Loggers' Local, 1-71, but that may have a demographic explanation. District 4, which included Vancouver, had an unusually strong concentration of Swedes and other Scandinavians, and it is possible that the local functioned as a meeting ground and focal point for Scandinavian loggers during their stay in the city. Per Nordahl's study of Swedish political associations in Chicago provides a framework for understanding ethnic support systems that might be applicable here as well. Nordahl argues that Swedish socialists in Chicago built a protective network similar to that of the labour movement in Sweden.[5] Thus, cultural and educational organizations cooperated with trade unions and political parties. Swedish clubs and Swedish-American political groups in Chicago in turn operated within a greater American umbrella organization such as the American Federation of Labor or the Socialist Party of America. Nordahl suggests this system

created a haven within which Swedish socialist immigrants could express their political belief in an American working-class environment. [6]

Vancouver contained some of these necessary support systems that might have allowed for a similar Swedish-Canadian labour expression. Vancouver had a particularly strong Swedish community,[7] and there is some evidence that a history of labour initiatives existed within this albeit mainly conservative group. The Vancouver Swedes led a rich organizational life, out of which the labour clubs and the Swedish chapter of the International Order of the Good Templars (IOGT) were perhaps the most important.[8] Here, Irene Howard's compilation of Swedish-Canadian organizations is particularly useful since she maintains that Vancouver had a Scandinavian branch of the Industrial Workers of the World, and that a Swedish Workers' Club amalgamated into the Scandinavian Workers' Club in 1932.[9] This suggests traces of Swedish radicalism in Vancouver even prior to the 1920s. Combined with numerous other Swedish and Scandinavian organizations, it is possible that enough of a "haven" emerged that enabled a greater participation of Swedes in the Canadian labour organizations.

Other communities also contained embryonic Scandinavian support systems, but it is unclear if this resulted in a higher participation in the union movement. Although a Scandinavian Club supported the reputedly radical Scandinavian population in Cowichan Lake, [10] they made up only a small portion of the IWA delegates.[11] The IWA records also indicate that Port Alberni, where Swedes and Swede Finns erected a hall for unemployed workers,[12] showed a relatively modest Scandinavian union participation.[13] Thus, while these communities seemed to have had some organizational support, it was

not sufficiently developed to bolster a strong Scandinavian commitment in the Canadian labour movement.

The Courtenay IWA local, however, demonstrated a strong Scandinavian involvement after its certification in 1942. Moreover, this involvement was evident both in the IWA and in the competing breakaway union, the Woodworkers' Industrial Union of Canada. While Swedes in Courtenay boasted no more Scandinavian club involvement than the other two Vancouver Island communities, they did erect the "Swede Hall" in Merville, a small community between Courtenay and Campbell River.[14] Swedes and Swede Finns built the hall with the help of donated material from Comox Logging and the encouragement of its Swedish-born manager, Robert Filberg. His generosity, however, might at least in part have stemmed from a desire to maintain a strong Scandinavian and Finnish community that could provide trained workers for Comox Logging. Filberg, like most other boss loggers, detested the union, but he gained a reputation as a benefactor for the Comox Valley community, perhaps especially for the Swedish population.[15] Besides helping with the Swede Hall, he provided jobs for Swedish loggers, occasionally secured loans for small farms, or offered financial assistance for particularly promising sons of Swedish loggers who dreamed of attending university.[16]

While the Courtenay local organized relatively late, it quickly gained strength. In 1938 Brother Petersen, of the Loggers' Local 1-71, noted that the district had failed to carry out its provincial organizational program:

> mainly because an enormous amount of money was spent in setting up an organization in Courtenay. The members in that local were not awake to the fact that it was their responsibility to build the local. No local was stronger than

> Courtenay in local autonomy. I think that this is one of the reasons why the district council failed to build up the Courtenay local.[17]

Thus, while Peterson regarded Courtenay as unusually independent, he considered them very difficult to organize.[18] Later, however, Courtenay increased its involvement in the IWA, and in 1948 the Scandinavian community divided between the IWA and the Woodworkers' Industrial Union of Canada.[19] Ironically, therefore, while Filberg's intentions were surely to encourage a stable, conservative Swedish community, it may have provided an extra nudge of security so Swedes of both radical and reform persuasions could become involved in union affairs.

It is unclear why certain communities developed stronger union locals than others. Evidence suggests, however, that community involvement, in particular strong support from women's groups, aided union formation. It may be argued that single men had less to lose in times of labour conflict and therefore could devote themselves more wholeheartedly to union efforts. Certainly, marriage alone did not encourage militancy. In fact, "Mats Marklund" claimed to have avoided union activities because of his impending marriage.[20] Therefore, individual family attachment was not enough, but there was a need for a more organized behavior. Indeed, the strongest locals in District 1 also had equally strong Women's Auxiliaries. Citing the women's movement in Lake Cowichan, Sara Diamond shows the importance of the Women's Auxiliary in the IWA. For example, a Swedish woman, Hildur Grip, actively participated to aid union organizers. It was dangerous even for wives to aid and abet the union, since it could lead to dismissal and blacklisting of their husbands. Nevertheless, on regular intervals Hildur blackened the windows of their woodshed, so ad hoc union meetings could proceed.[21] Although less carefully documented, the Courtenay local seems to have enjoyed the

support of a strong Women's Auxiliary. "Gunnar Gustavsson" claims it remained strong until in the 1950s when it "died down."[22] Likewise, the Campbell River Mirror claimed that a Scandinavian woman, Anna Halstrom, led the women's auxiliary of local 1-363. It "was considered the most politically active Women's Auxiliaries in the I.W.A., and, in those days, one of the more significant attempts to include women in the trade union movement." Vancouver also had several Scandinavian women's groups, although it is unclear how involved these were in labour issues since most seemed devoted to maintaining the Scandinavian culture.[23] More research is needed before concluding to what degree women's organization aided male dominated unions, but evidence indicates that logging locals with such support showed a greater involvement among the rank and file.

The records show that Swedes or Scandinavians were not over-represented among the unionists, but many Swedes still were active in the labour movement. Some, such as Eric Graff[24] and "Kjell Kellerud," had become radical while living in Sweden. Others, such as "Birger Bergström's" father, who was married with children before deciding to emigrate, never belonged to any union in Sweden. Still, he became involved in the LWIU in the 1930s, and stayed committed throughout his working life, passing a strong sense of union values along to his children.[25] By the same token, "Mats Marklund" did not believe that Scandinavians and Finns arrived in Canada already radical, but he supposed that the hard life of the old country left them "oriented to protest when things were not right."[26]

Hence, there is not a clear correlation between Swedish immigrants' union activism in British Columbia and their prior experience in Sweden. Scandinavians

themselves are uncertain of what exactly drove some of them to organize in labour unions. John Belshaw notes that historians generally conclude too quickly that radical impulses of immigrant workers must be rooted in a "cultural baggage," and that B.C.'s working-class history was "pre-written in England, Scotland and Wales."[27] This thesis, as well, indicates that we need to re-examine the "cultural baggage" argument. Rather than conveniently slot whole immigration groups into "radical" or "retrogressive" immigrants, we must keep in mind that these groups were composed of individuals whose convictions and desire to organize unions varied. This is not to say that immigrants do not add parts of their native culture or political heritage to the host country. Rather, the influence of immigrants is both more complex and subtle than is suggested in the theory of western exceptionalism.

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[1] For a detailed study on why certain labour group found it easier to organize, see Klas Åmark, Facklig makt och fackligt medlemskap: De svenska fackförbundens medlemsutveckling 1890-1940 (Lund, Sweden: Arkiv, 1986). [*Union Power and Union Membership: Membership Development Within Swedish Unions 1890-1940*]

[2] Joe Anderson, interview, 13.

[3] Henry Bengston, a well-known Swedish American radical, only learned about socialism when working as a lumberjack in Ontario. He later moved to the US where he became active in the Swedish socialist society in Chicago. See Westerberg, "Henry Bengston," 226. Likewise, Bruce Magnuson who organized lumber workers in Ontario claimed that when he emigrated from Sweden in 1928, his "knowledge of communism was zilch." He only learned about socialism after becoming a member of the Lumber Workers Industrial Union in Ontario in October 1933, where he participated in a violent strike where RCMP officers bludgeoned strikers. Magnuson, The Untold Story, 4-9.

[4] Dufferin Sutherland, "Newfoundland Loggers Respond to the Great Depression," Labour/Le Travail (1992): 83-115.

[5] As an example, Lars Trädgårdh maintains that Swedish social democracy emerged from a previous culture of *folk* movements. He argues that social democracy only gained popular support after the party abandoned its Marxist rhetoric and considered the "middling classes." Thus, in 1929 they shifted their vocabulary from class to *folk*, which accounted for their successful 1932 election. Trädgårdh claims that both Marxist and Anglo-American attempts to understand the Swedish model have failed, and that "the ideology underpinning the Swedish welfare state is 'invisible' in terms of either liberal or Marxist

vocabularies." See Lars Trädgårdh, "Varieties of Volkish Ideologies: Sweden and Germany, 1848-1933," Language and the Construction of Class Identities, ed. B Stråth (Göteborg, Sweden, 1990), 5-54.

[6] Nordahl, Weaving the Ethnic Fabric, 22-24.

[7] In 1932, District Four, which incorporates Lower Fraser Valley, had a Swedish-origin population of 6 977 out of which 3 881 lived in Vancouver. As a comparison, District Two, the Kooteneys, had a Swedish population of 1 765, while District Five, Vancouver Island, came on a close third with 1 745 Swedes. See Census of Canada, Table 32, "Population, male and female, classified according to racial origin, by counties or census division, 1931;" and Census of Canada, Table 33, "Population of cities and towns of 10,000 and over, classified according to racial origin, 1931."

[8] Nordahl notes the importance in particular of the IOGT since a "strong historical connection between the temperance movement and the labor movement put the Swedes in a unique position compared to most other radical labor groups in the US." Nordahl, Weaving the Ethnic Fabric, 69. *Logen Linnéa* was the Swedish IOGT chapter in Vancouver. See Nya Svenska Pressen, 24 February 1938, p. 4. As for the political importance of the IOGT in Sweden, Christer Winberg argues that conservative churches resisted the IOGT because of its connection with the Social Democratic Party. He quotes a priest who claimed to rather see ten drunks in a ditch than one sober Goodtemplar. Winberg claims the late arrival of the IOGT to a textile district in southern Sweden delayed the breakthrough of the union. See Chister Winberg, Fabriksfolket. Textilindustrin i Mark och arbetarrörelsens genombrott (Göteborg, Sweden: Vasastadens bokbinderi, 1989), 170-173. [*The factory people. The textile industry in Mark and the breakthrough of the labour movment.*]

[9] Howard, Vancouver's *Svenskar*, 88-92.

[10] This club has survived into the 1990s. See Lake Cowichan Gazette, December 18, 1996. Several interviewees point to the Cowichan Lake Swedes as particularly strong radical influences. "Nils Nordlund" claims that "every radical" from that era came to the Scandinavian dances. Nils suggests that "whether they were or were not radical when they arrived, they became that way to fit in with their ethnic community." Nils Nordlund [pseud.], interview with author, transcript, Vancouver Island, 11 and 13. See also Birger Bergström [pseud.], interview, 1.

[11] In IWA's 1944 international convention, the Duncan local, 1-80, had nine delegates, none of whom were Scandinavian; in the B.C. District No. 1 1945 convention 11.5 percent of the delegates were Scandinavian; and in the 1948 District convention, only 13.6 percent of the Duncan delegates were Scandinavian.

[12] "Mats Marklund" and "Isaak Ingram" claim that the hall was built by "charity lumber [and] unemployed workers." Ture Sträng, a Swede Finnish "chiropractor who turned radical," and a Swede, David Karlsson organized the construction. It was initially called "Workers' Hall," but became "Victory Hall" when the war broke out. In 1944 the Port Alberni IWA local renamed it the "Eric Graff Hall" after the well-known Swedish organizer who had died in 1939. In 1948, the Eric Graff Hall proved to be one of the few instances where the WIUC won a court case against the IWA. For more information regarding Eric Graff see, "Eric Graff Passes On," B.C. Lumber Worker, February 28, 1939, p.1; for the events leading to the renaming of the hall in Graff's name, see Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting, International Woodworkers of America, Local 1-85, Port Alberni, B.C., February 13, 1944; and for records of the court trial and history of the Workers' Hall, see Supreme Court Document, "Argument between the International Woodworkers of America and the Port Alberni Woodworkers' Holding Society, Defendant's Argument," No. M. 1706/48, PAMA.

[13] The Scandinavian participation from the Port Alberni local in District 1 conventions was 25 percent in 1944, 17.6 percent in 1945, and 0 percent in 1948. While the 1944 figure seems high, only four delegates

participated which distorts the statistics. As a comparison, in 1945 three of seventeen Port Alberni delegates were Scandinavian.

[14] See Gunnar Gustavsson [pseud.], interview, 3, and D. E. Isenor et al, The Land of Plenty A History of the Comox District (Campbell River, BC: Ptarmigan Press, 1987), 106.

[15] In 1934 Filberg made an unsuccessful attempt to stop a strike vote in Camp 3. While 87 workers voted against the strike, a majority, 104 men, voted in favor. Filberg admits, "a few days after the vote was taken I laid off about thirty of those whom I knew had voted to strike." See Robert Filberg to H. J. Mackin, Manager Fraser Mills, April 14, 1934, CLR Series 2 7/12, part 2, CMA.

[16] Gunnar Gustavsson [pseud.], interview, 3-4. Courtenay still celebrates "Filberg Days" each summer, there is a "Filberg Center" in Comox, and the old Filberg house has been turned into a museum. For more information about Robert Filberg, see Robert Filberg, interview with C. D. Orchard, transcript, Comox, 14 June, 1960, CRMA. Re his philanthropic endeavors, see Comox District Free Press, April 1, 1977.

[17] "Annual Convention, B.C. Coast District Council, July 30 and 31, 1938," H.P. Box 5-13.

[18] In the same meeting, Eric Graff expressed disappointment over the low organizational level in Port Alberni. Ibid.

[19] Scandinavian participation from the Courtenay local in district conventions was relatively high. In 1944, one of four delegates was Scandinavian; in 1945, five of thirteen; in 1948, five of seventeen; in the first convention of the Woodworkers Industrial Union of Canada, two of eleven Courtenay delegates were Scandinavian. Also, two of three Courtenay delegates to the 1949 IWA International Convention had Scandinavian names.

[20] Mats Marklund [pseud.], interview, 8.

[21] Sara Diamond, "A Union Man's Wife: The Ladies' Auxiliary Movement in the IWA, The Lake Cowichan Experience," in Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays On the History of Women's Work in British Columbia, ed. Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro (Victoria, BC: Camosun College, 1984) 290.

[22] In 1944 Nya Svenska Pressen noted many Scandinavian women among the leaders in the Women's Auxiliary to local 1-363. Mrs Erickson and daughters "charmed" with accordion music, while Mrs. Cowie, Mrs Hanson, Mrs Halstrom, and Mr Don Barbour spoke. See Nya Svenska Pressen, 16 Mars, 1944 and Gunnar Gustavsson [pseud.], interview, 14.

[23] Nya Svenska Pressen listed four women's clubs in 1938. *Hjälpsamhet* was devoted to "relief work" and "striving for Swedishness;"*Lekstugan* promoted folkdancing; and *Nornans Systrar* was the women's auxiliary to the fraternal order *Vasalogen Nornan.* The only women's group that directly supported a labour club was the Women's Auxiliary of a Swede-Finnish labour club, the *Svensk Finska Arbetar Klubben.* See Nya Svenska Pressen, February 24, 1938.

[24] Isaak Ingram claims that Eric Graf was forced to "burn his papers" and leave Sweden because of his activism in the union movement. Isaak Ingram [pseud.], interview, 3.

[25] Birger Bergström [pseud.], interview, 3.

[26] Mats Marklund [pseud.], interview, 3.

[27] Belshaw also argues that although British miners on Vancouver Island were initially conservative, the industrial circumstances in British Columbia encouraged a militancy that eventually led to a greater participation in radical politics. See Belshaw, "The British Collier in British Columbia," 11-36.

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Appendix 1

British Columbia population according to ethnicity, 1921.

Total population	524 582
British	387 503
Chinese	38 539
Indian	22 377
Scandinavian	19 002
French	11 246
Italian	8 587
Russian	7 373
German	7 273
Finnish	3 112
Austrian	2 993
Hebrew	1 696
Polish	1 361
Belgian	1 324
Ukrainian	793
Negro	676
Unspecified	6 497

Source: Census of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 26, Population classified according to principal origins of the people by counties or census divisions, 1921.

Appendix 2

British Columbia population according to ethnicity, 1931.

Total population	694 263
British	489 923
Asiatic (Chinese, Japanese, and other)	50 951
Scandinavian	33 858
Indian	24 599
German	16 986
French	15 028
Italian	12 254
Russian	10 398
Finnish	6 858
Polish	4 599
Austrian	3 891
Hebrew	2 743
Ukrainian	2 583
Belgian	1 597
Negro	533
Unspecified and others	17 462

Source: Census of Canada, Vol 2, Table 31, Population classified according to sex and racial origin by provinces, 1931.

Appendix 3

Scandinavian Loggers Employed in Canadian Provinces, 1931 and 1941.

Provinces	1931	1941	Provinces	1931	1941
Prince Edward Island			**Ontario**		
Logging	0	0	Logging	411	703
Owner	0	0	Owner	18	20
Foreman	0	0	Forman	10	21
Forester	0	0	Forester	44	25
Lumberman	0	0	Lumberman	339	637
Nova Scotia			**Manitoba**		
Logging	21	38	Logging	53	84
Owner	0	1	Owner	2	0
Foreman	1	1	Forman	1	0
Forester	0	0	Forester	3	6
Lumberman	20	36	Lumberman	47	78
New Brunswick			**Saskatchewan**		
Logging	17	36	Logging	15	101
Owner	1	3	Owner	0	4
Foreman	0	2	Foreman	0	1
Forester	0	0	Forester	7	9
Lumberman	16	30	Lumberman	8	87
Quebec			**Alberta**		
Logging	23	20	Logging	66	143
Owner	1	2	Owner	3	5
Forman	3	0	Foreman		4
Forester	11	4	Forester	7	13
Lumberman	8	14	Lumberman	56	121
			British Columbia		
			Logging	3 147	2 695
			Owner	164	56
			Foreman	24	32
			Forester	17	18
			Lumberman	2942	2 589

Source: Census of Canada, Vol. 7, Table 49, Gainfully occupied, 10 years of age and over, by occupation, racial origin, and sex, for Canada and the provinces, 1931; and Census of Canada, Occupation and Industries, Table 12, Gainfully occupied by occupation and racial origin, 1941.

Appendix 4

Scandinavians Employed by Elk River Timber, 1936

Faller and Bucker:	E. Anderson, J. Anderson, Adolphson, Arneson, Asselin, Bogren, Ekström, Erickson, Gonkson, Graver, Genhzon (Jönsson?), Hanson, K. Hillgren, O, Hillgren, K. Holmstrom, O. Holmstrom, Laja, Lindberg, Nelson, Nyquist, O. Olson, R. Olson, A. Olson, Stilin, Storback, Turgyn, Lapping, **(27 names)**
Bullbucker:	Holmstrom
Flunky:	Johnson, Petrie
Rockman:	Larson, Larson, Larson, Olson, Quarnström
Axeman:	Larson, Stridman, Anderson
Baker:	Anderson
Filer:	Carlson, Hallgren, Nylund, Anderson
Powdermen:	Carlson
Rock Hammer Man:	Carlson, Carlson, Johanson
2nd Rigger:	Johnson
Rockforeman:	Dahl
Hd. Loader:	Holm
Chokerman:	Easlow (Åslöv?), Runn (Rönn?), Stefanssen, Tindeland, Hege, Gran, Stefansson, Tindeland
Hook Tender:	Solver
Bar repairer:	Siverson
Rockdriller:	Eklund

Appendix 4, cont.

Grader:	Antonson, Anderson, Antonson, Skasko
Bull cook:	Sol
Steel Forman:	Beck
Steelgang:	Larson, Gahn [Gran?]
Steelsharpener:	Hagren
Air Compressor:	Pearson [Pärson?]
Boom Man:	Lillburn, Peterson, Peterson, Peterson
Signals:	Peterson, Peterson, Wickström, Johnson, Brosstrom
Riggslinger:	Peterson, Anderson
Survey assistant:	Berg
Chaser:	Olson, Granlund

Appendix 5

Non-Scandinavian Fallers, Buckers and Chokermen Employed by Elk River Timber, 1936

Fallers and Buckers:

Andler, Andrusuk, Antoniuk, Backas, Barlik, Beaudel, Beenan, Bissonette, Bognar, Borwikoff, Boyk, Bozik, Bruce, Burreughs, Bruton, Campbell, Connors, Corey, Cousineau, Dobruk, Dokuchuk, Filinsky, Gates, Gibilou, Giroux, Gladiuk, Grisuk, Gatzenko, Hall, Hardinor, Hawriluk, Hilden, Holland, Holowatiuk, Horvath, Horvath, Ivanich, Joksich, Kalinj, Kapusta, Karpinsky, Kirilenko, Klakovich, Kliskau, Kostuk, Krumin, Kruzik, Kubus, Kuceral, Kuzmicky, Laberge, Lachmay, Lasek, Liskevich, Lowe, Ludkiewiez, G. McDonald, H. McDonald, McKenzie, Madera, Maniarich, Maraw, Marchen, Marinuk, Marks, Mataya, H. Mater, J. Mater, Malkovich, Matkovich, Magurik, Miller, Milosevich, Mation, Oeuvray, Ozol, Patrick, Pavicich, Pequira, Perusich, G. Plese, N. Plese, Plisick, Podwysocki, Porchuny, Putick, Radoscvich, Ragnovick, Rodeski, Rodrique, Rossignal, Roy, Saarikko, Siduk, Simser, Sklaruk, Smelks, Smith, Sololoff, Solouruko, Staceuricz, Stauovich, G. Starcevich, S. Starcevich, Stefanovich, Tape, Thibeuex, Tijan, Trlan, Trupensky, Urban, Wagacheff, Wasileck, Williams, Wilson, Woiten, Wolfe,Wolsuk, Zalesky, Zwolen.

(120 names)

Chokermen:

H. J. McDonald, McIrvin, McLeod, Madden, Mitten, Moffatt, Moropito, Murray, Mahorney, Nedean, Olesiejuk, Pearce, Potter, Quass, Richardson, Robinson, I. Rockwell, M. Rockwell, Serkas, Sestal, A. Simser, B. Simser, Stasiuk, Symington, G. Thompson, A. Thompson, Uszko, Vogt, Wachter, Wainwright, White, T. Wood, A. Woods, Zoscock, Baun, Brosseu, Gregory, Gregg, Holliday, J. Hughes, L. Hughes, Irwin, Jawerski, Kangas, Kenda, Knechtle, Koldun, Kybicz, Larnie, Buchanan, S. Carter, W. Carter, Chomak, Clare, Cochrane, Deacon, Derby, Evans, Farina, Finnerty, Finnie, Fourest, Galliazzo, Germyn, Bazylevich, O. Benton, R. Benton, Boult, Bratt, Zyblut.

(70 names)

Appendix 6

Scandinavians Employed by Elk River Timber, 1940

Faller and Bucker	C. Anderson, E. Anderson, Asselin, Arneson, Bornstrom, Bystrom, E. Carlson, W. Carlson, Carlson, Carlson, Dahlberg, Enquist, A. Erickson, Eric Erickson, Ed Erickson, Finnell, Flink, Fransen, Granholm, Gulbranson, Gonhson (Jönson?), Hanson, Hassell, Hjeldnes, Holman, Kalin, F. Larson, O. Larson, R. Lindberg, Lindell, Loken, Matson, Nelson, Nordlander, Nyman, Swanberg, Westerlund, Wetlin, Westman, Witzen, Zakrison, Ofstedal, J. Olson, R. Olson, Ostrom, Paulin, E. Peterson, J. Peterson, N. Peterson, Ronnback, Sandgren, Sederberg, Selin, Skog, Smedman, Steen (**56 names**)
Bullbucker	Holmstrom
High Rigger	Gabrielson
Axeman	Anderson, Jordt, Stridman,
Filer	Anderson, Carlson, Erickson, Pearson, Sivertson
Chokerman	Anderson, Janzen, Janzen, Linfors, Nobert, Sigurdson, Sivertson
Hook Tender	Belin, Granlund, Strand, Orsness, Peterson
Hd. Loader	Vidman
2nd Loader	Backman, Billström, Bjors, Matson, Land, Peterson
Boom Man	Alfredson, Hanson, Kronseth, Peterson, Peterson
Signals	Dahl, Lindahl, Nygard,
Riggslinger	Backman
Chaser	Peterson, Nelson
Cook	Erickson, Osen, Osen, Sol (bull cook)
Flunky	Antonson, Olson, Ongman, Paulson

Appendix 6, cont.

Baker	Sandstrom
Sectionman	Anderson
Transitman	Skaugstad
Trackforeman	Beck
2nd Brakeman	Erickson, Olson
Loco Engineer	Henderson , Petri
Laborer	Hendrikson
Firepatrol	Berg
Engineer	Matson, Olson
Pumpman	Rorman
Shovel operator	Rosenlof
Piledrive foreman	Siverson
Office	Greig

Appendix 7

Non-Scandinavian Fallers and Buckers, 1940

Ambrose, Andler, Anuroff, Asuma, Badak, Barber, S. Bebko, M. Bebko, Bissonette, Bognar, Bolderoff, Bowman, Bozik, Brisky, Brkljacich, Bruce, Buncich, Caron, Chester, Chomak, Chomor, Davis, J. Dobruk, S. Dobruk, Dorosow, doyon, Dragicevie, Drozda, Dublick, Edgley, Faucsalczki, Foldi, Gavryk, Giroux, Gracan, Grohnent, Hawriluk, Haysak, Hetherington, Horachuk, E. Horvath, J Horvath, Hreben, Jarimus, John Kangas, J. J. Kangans, Kebe, Kirilenko, Kiselevich, Konyha, Koskinen, Kowal, Kozol, Kralich, Kravena, Krpan, Kula, Kuzmicky, A. Labelle, B. Labelle, Laferriere, C. Lafleur, E. Lafleur, Leno, Liskevich, Ludkiewicz, Lukas, Luoma, McIntyre, J. Mackie, W. Mackie, Maikkola, Mainarich, Malatinka, H. Mater, J. Mater, Maunus, Medvedeff, Michlicic, Mikla, Misky, Molnar, Montgomery, Movin Munck, Mahoney, Narancich, Nation, Necemer, Nesteruk, Nikitenko, Oeuvray, Stipac, Strilkowsky, Sutor, Tahala, Thomas, Tomasunas, Trtan, Trupensky, Vachon, Valko, Vukonich, Wakulahik, Wolsuk, J. Wasyluk, A. Wasyluk, Witala, Woiten, Wowchuk, Yatzenko, Yuranich, Yurkin, Zack, Zagyva, Zalesky, Zarazun, Zarin, Zubal, Oliferuk, Ozanich, Ozal, Pavich, Pavich, Pavicish, M. Pavicich, T. Pavicich, Plese, Plosila, D. Podorowsky, A. Podorowsky, Power, J. Radosevich, V. Radosevich, W. Radosevich, J. Rantala, T. Perusich, Piironen, Rodeski, Roderique, Rubcic, Saarikko, Schmidt, Sertich, Silich, Sitay, Skender, Skolozdra, Smith, Solonenko, Stajcer, G. Stanfel, J. Stanfel, Stanovich. (**154 names**)

Vita

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Malaspina University-College (in partnership with University of Victoria)	1992 to 1997

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Malaspina University-College Arts & Science Degree Entrance Scholarship	1995
Burnaby Historical Society Scholarship	1996
Nanaimo Historical Society's Ethel Barraclough Memorial History Award	1996
Malaspina University-College Scholarship for Continuing Students	1997
University of Victoria Departmental Fellowship	1997-1998
Leon J. Ladner Award	1997-1998

Publications:

"Swedish Immigrant Women: "Never, Never Sorry — Always Glad." British Columbia Historical News 30.1 (Winter 1996-97): 30-33.

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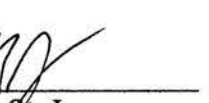
Author: 

Eva Elizabeth St. Jean
March 29, 1999

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