

**‘You Know What We Stand For’:  
The Divisions, Personalities, and Experiments of Organized Labour  
in Hamilton’s Municipal Elections, 1933-1985**

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## Introduction

The opening lines of a chapter in Bill Freeman and Marsha Hewitt's *Their Town: The Mafia, The Media and the Party Machine* captures a popular notion about municipal politics in Hamilton. Writing in 1979, the pair declared, "One of the most striking things about Hamilton political life is that it is virtually unintelligible to any but those who follow political events in detail."<sup>1</sup>

Fred Cutler and J. Scott Matthews devised an explanation for why this might be, and more generally why municipal government presents the appearance of being more complicated than the structures of Canada's federal and provincial governments. Cutler and Matthews assert that there is less information available during municipal elections, which means voters are less interested in gathering information needed to make a definitive decision at the ballot box, which subsequently lead to civic disengagement. The lack of information present stems from three elements that influence Canada's municipal elections: the absence of political parties for voter mobilization and information dissemination, voter confusion concerning the responsibilities of municipal government, and the electorate's lack of familiarity with the municipal voting system when compared with that of the two other levels of government.<sup>2</sup>

The confusion of voters regarding civic politics, resulting in low voter turn-out, disengagement and the near-cliché return of incumbent representatives, did not dissuade Hamilton's labour movement from becoming involved in civic government. Recognizing the importance of a strong presence at the local level drove organized labour to become involved in civic government, running candidates independently, as representatives of the Independent Labour Party, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the New Democratic Party, the Communist and Labour-Progressive Parties and under the informal Labour's Voice banner.

Party activist and former alderman Bill Scandlan summarized the opinion of labour, noting "It's easy for me to see labour involvement at the municipal level because everything starts there, no matter what it is."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bill Freeman and Marsha Hewitt, *Their Town: The Mafia, The Media and the Party Machine*, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1979), pp. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Fred Cutler and J. Scott Matthews, "The Challenge of Municipal Voting: Vancouver 2002," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 38, no. 2, (June, 2005), pp. 363 – 364.

<sup>3</sup> Bill Scandlan. Interviewed by author. Personal Interview, Hamilton, Ontario, May 16, 2013.

Representatives of labour recognized the importance of maintaining a strong presence at city hall, seeking input on issues such as pensions for civic workers, urban planning, public transit, health and sanitation, commercial and industrial redevelopment, public housing, and any of the issues the city faced throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The involvement of labour in civic government was met with both enthusiasm and revulsion from an array of elements in Hamiltonian society. At times constituting a strong and effective opposition and at others reduced to single voices on council, labour's support varied widely. For a city with a strong and active labour movement, the question must be asked: What can account for the fluctuation in support for labour-backed candidates in Hamilton's municipal elections from 1933 to 1985?

The reasoning is different, dependent on the time period, but there are overarching themes that impacted municipal labour in Hamilton. Most importantly, divisiveness within the labour movement and the strong personalities who became more recognizable than the movement with which they stood impacted the success of labour-affiliated candidates over the fifty-two years covered in this study. The issue of divisiveness arose immediately following the CCF's first municipal electoral contest and continued until the defeat of most NDP aldermen in the mid 1980's, taking the form of disunity between political organizations, labour councils, and within parties themselves, each time erasing gains made during times of unity. Strong personalities accompanied the movement through its history as standard-bearers for labour and organized labour's most passionate opponents. Sam Lawrence, Harry Hunter, Helen Anderson Coulson, Lloyd Jackson, Nora-Frances Henderson, Vic Copps, Jack MacDonald, Bill Powell, and many others were local personalities that constituted a local political scene that was varied and vibrant, though not always conducive to the political success of labour. Even those who were supporters of labour often opposed the movement because of their personal appeal to an electorate that saw likability as a qualifier equal to that of credentials and platform points.

Beginning with an overview of the literature used and what is left to be desired, this study will continue through a brief explanation of the impact of the municipal reform movement on the City of Hamilton's political system and development. It will then examine four distinct periods of time in the city's history, namely the Lawrence Era from 1933 to 1949, Jackson's Hamilton from 1950 to 1961, The Rise and Fall of Labour's Voice from 1962 to 1975 and finally "Powell for the people" from 1976 to 1985, followed by concluding statements and further questions.

## Literature and the History of a City

For the purposes of this study, a significant amount of primary research has been compiled to appropriately determine the political climate and social situations present in the city around the time of Hamilton's municipal elections. With respect to primary research, 52 years of municipal elections and politics coverage from the *Hamilton Spectator* provided historical context and a deeper understanding of the fluctuations in social and political attitudes in a city that progressively grew in population and national recognition over the course of the study.

Practically, though, articles in the *Spectator* provided basic statistics, such as candidate names, professions, ages, affiliations, and vote totals. It is important to note the political position of the paper did not remain static throughout the period in question. Basic statistical information is not available through the Hamilton Public Library or through the City of Hamilton's Elections Director. The Local History and Archives collection of the Hamilton Public Library maintains records in the form of newspaper clippings from the *Hamilton Spectator* and, to a lesser extent, the *Hamilton Herald*. The City of Hamilton keeps a single, three-hole-punch binder with election results from 1960 to the present, some of which are hand-written and difficult to read. No official results exist prior to 1960.

Some secondary literature exists concerning certain elements present in this study. Most notable among these are *Their Town: The Mafia, The Media and The Party Machine* by Bill Freeman and Marsha Hewitt, as well as *Lion In A Den of Daniels: A Study of Sam Lawrence, Labour in Politics*, John McMenemy's M.A. thesis from McMaster, completed in 1965. Each of these sources was used primarily for the purposes of ensuring the information gathered from primary sources could be substantiated by a secondary source while also providing sources that had been previously gathered by the authors of these works.

Primary accounts were difficult to acquire. Information in the *Spectator* proved to be helpful, as well as one of the few published autobiographies from figures of the time, Ellen Fairclough's *Saturday's Child*, which provided a comprehensive view into parts of Jackson's Hamilton. Vince Agro published a book in the 1970s entitled *You Can Fight City Hall*, but it did not provide any insight into his tenure on council or the political situation of the time, rather serving as a guide for civic engagement. Interviews were difficult to acquire because of the scheduling issues and the age of many participants, though a lengthy discussion with Bill Scandlan, a trade union

activist with the United Steel Workers Local 1005, Alderman from 1964 until 1976, and CCF candidate for Parliament, provided immense insight into important times in the city's labour history.

Secondary literature on similar issues, such as local political parties and municipal labour, were helpful in providing context and comparative studies, as none focused at any length on Hamilton. Studies such as Donna Vogel's *Challenging Politics: COPE, Electoral Politics and Social Movements* concerning Vancouver's Coalition of Progressive Voters, and Timothy Lloyd Thomas' *A City With a Difference: The Rise and Fall of the Montreal Citizen's Movement*, chronicling the leftist movement in Montreal that challenged business-based civic government, were important because of their inclusion of the role of labour in each city's progressive municipal politics.

For the most part, though, primary research was the key element of this study, as few comprehensive academic or popular histories exist on Hamilton's municipal politics. It is disheartening from a scholarly and personal position that a city with a 200-year history has so neglected the history of its local political development.

### **Civic Reform and the Challenge to Labour**

Over the course of its history, Hamilton's municipal government has been substantially influenced by the civic reform movement that swept through the United States in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Municipal government in the northern United States was perceived by academics and progressives as an abject failure, with local party bosses and political machines controlling many of the legislative and bureaucratic functions of the city.<sup>4</sup> Neighbourhoods were supervised by party faithful and controlled by 'ward heelers' who would perform tasks to maintain support for the area's most prominent group, such as giving generous gifts to newlywed neighbourhood couples, mourning with families at funerals, and handing out turkeys at Christmas to the poor.<sup>5</sup> Their benevolence and care for their community made them revered

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<sup>4</sup> Kenneth Fox, *Better City Government: Innovation in American Urban Politics, 1850 – 1937* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977), pp. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 7.

figures in their neighbourhoods, though power was concentrated in the hands of a few influential leaders who maintained their status by any means possible.

To reformers, the issues were apparent. Greed, corruption, and graft controlled municipal governments, from the offices of chief administrators to individual city blocks. Academics studying the situation traced the problem to the connections between national, state, and municipal governments. Municipal reformers maintained the belief that cities would function best if drastic reforms cut the power of parties and the source of their power, the ward heelers. This meant advancing the principles that municipal elections must be non-partisan, aldermen or councillors elected at-large, and a council-manager system implemented in elections and legislative policy.<sup>6</sup>

Though these proposals sought to rectify the problems facing major metropolitan areas, they served the dual purpose of changing the very structure of civic government. The principles of the reform movement were expounded initially by academics and political progressives, but soon had the upper-classes and wealthy industrialists assuming the role of chief advocates.<sup>7</sup> What began as a struggle against corruption and immorality became a war on the power of the working class and the groups that could best advocate for them. As the popularity of the reform movement grew among the expanding middle class, working people soon found themselves excluded from the debate. With reformist club membership fees ranging from \$6 to \$50 per year, few people among the working class could realistically afford association with the reformers.<sup>8</sup>

Attacking the perceived greed and corruption of the party-system and ward-based electoral politics, reformers sought to replace existing administrations that blatantly pursued individual gain with businessmen and capitalists who would instill in civic government the notions of sound, efficient, business-based management. As David Knoke wrote regarding the social influences of civic reform, demanding the return of civic government to the people “was a cover for the industrialists’ antidemocratic coup.”<sup>9</sup>

Civic reform movements eventually spread through the American South following the end of the Reconstruction Era and northward into Canada in the decades following Confederation. The

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<sup>6</sup> David Knoke, “The Spread of Municipal Reform: Temporal, Spatial, and Social Dynamics,” *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 87, no. 6 (May, 1982), pp. 1314.

<sup>7</sup> Fox, pp. 50

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 49 – 50.

<sup>9</sup> Knoke, 1320.

late spread of urban reform northward could be explained by the relatively delayed urbanization in Canada or by the hybrid municipal system that brought British traditions, such as the ceremony surrounding the mayoralty with chains of office and formal naming, together with some elements of the American system, such as the direct election of mayors.<sup>10</sup> Regardless of the reasoning behind the late introduction of urban reformism, it occurred during a period of considerable growth in Canadian cities. As cities grew, political parties began to shift their strategies and messages to appeal to the nation's burgeoning urban electorate. The natural step to better solidify their position on the urban landscape would have been to contest municipal elections.<sup>11</sup> By the time parties began to explore this option, urban reformism was a strong force in Canada and had begun to implant its values into municipal voters.

In Hamilton, despite traditional ties to the Conservative Party, the city's voters admonished attempts by the local branch of the party to formally enter municipal politics in 1909 when they elected reformer John McLaren over Conservative candidate William Bailey with over 60% of the popular vote.<sup>12</sup> Hamilton, by that point in its development, had effectively subscribed to the notion that civic government was a matter of business and sound administration rather than a political affair.<sup>13</sup> Candidates began to incorporate such values into their platforms and the notions of management and non-partisan local government became common in Hamilton. A *Spectator* article in 1956 outlined this sentiment clearly:

“But are the general functions of a council in need of political fire? Transport, water, sewers and roads are provided to meet particular requirements; tax rates are struck on the basis of equity and education and health services designed with the highest efficiency according to the budget. No one would dispute the fact that there is enough cut and thrust in council debate without political partisanship being added.”<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> James Anderson, “Nonpartisan Urban Politics in Canadian Cities,” in *Emerging Party Politics in Urban Canada*, ed. Jack Masson and James Anderson (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), pp. 9.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12.

<sup>12</sup> “How Mayor-Elect Accounts For Yesterday's Landslide,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, January 5, 1909, pp. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson (1972), pp. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Fred Marshall, “Hamilton Doesn't Favour ‘Party Line’ City Politics,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, November 8, 1956, pp. 7.



The structural changes imposed by reformers had a significant impact on the participation of labour-supported candidates. Non-partisan elections favour pro-business, conservative candidates, and work to the detriment of working-class groups seeking representation.<sup>15</sup> After the Conservatives suffered major electoral set-backs in Hamilton's local politics during the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they adopted a strategy that can be referred to as "partisan independence". The local branches of the Liberal and Conservative parties maintained strong and active organizations at the ward level and, despite the insistence of reformers, independence from organized political parties failed to curb the power of political bosses.

In her 1995 memoir, *Saturday's Child*, Ellen Fairclough spoke openly about her time in local politics before becoming the first female to represent Hamilton in the House of Commons and, eventually, Canada's first female cabinet minister. Thanks to her involvement in local political and social clubs, Fairclough earned the attention of Alderman Robert 'Tony' Evans, whom she referred to as the "Tory 'boss' in Hamilton West."<sup>16</sup> According to Fairclough's account, Evans would instruct local convention delegates how to vote, what motions to put forward and, which local Conservatives were to seek election.<sup>17</sup>

When Evans declined to seek another term as the alderman for Ward Three, he set a process in motion that would get Fairclough elected. According to her,

"he telephoned me one day in 1945 and told me bluntly, 'Get over here – I want to talk to you.' That was his way and I did not question him this time."<sup>18</sup>

Despite her initial protestations, Evans enlisted the help of her husband Gordon to convince Fairclough to run. From Fairclough's candid discussions regarding the connection between political parties and local government, it appears as if the Liberals and Conservatives both had strong figures who controlled much of the party's business at all levels.<sup>19</sup>

Strategically, the Liberal and Conservative parties endorsed independence at the municipal level in most cases, while maintaining considerable control over candidates who prescribed to

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<sup>15</sup> James Lightbody, "Electoral Reform in Local Government," *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 11, no. 2, (June, 1978), pp. 311.

<sup>16</sup> Ellen Fairclough. *Saturday's Child* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), pp. 58.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 51.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., pp. 59.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 67.

the values of each party. Overt connection to the candidates they supported would have challenged the official message of local partisans that party politics was to be reserved for the provincial and federal levels of government exclusively, leaving municipal government to be run in a responsible and efficient way by sound, civic-minded representatives.

Labour forces in Hamilton did not subscribe to that philosophy, and actively sought opportunities to challenge that notion. Despite a long and active tradition among the city's labour movement of being involved in Hamilton's municipal politics, the formation of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation shifted labour's focus to advocating for an organized, party-based working class municipal voice.

### **The Lawrence Years – 1933 to 1949**

On December 1, 1932, the *Hamilton Spectator* was filled with urgent appeals to voters, asking them to choose their candidates well for the continued sound civic government that Hamiltonians had come to expect from city hall, a building they affectionately referred to as 'The Old Stone Pile' at the corner of James and King William Streets. The front page of the paper's local section featured an article about the Chamber of Commerce and the annual non-partisan get-out-the-vote campaign they ran which stressed the importance of careful study when deciding which candidates to vote for.<sup>20</sup>

The year 1932 was the second using the city's new electoral boundaries, which had expanded to include recent annexations from Ancaster in the west and on the Mountain to the south (see Appendix Two). Hamilton's wards clearly divided the city into north and south along King Street, much to the displeasure of reformers who preferred at-large elections that favoured right-leaning candidates. Wards allowed leftists to concentrate their focus on working-class wards, which reformers saw as divisive and conducive to the rise of ward heelers.<sup>21</sup> Hamilton had, since the early days of the Gore District, maintained a ward-system that, in 1910, expanded to eight numbered wards that were expanded as the city grew into the surrounding areas.

Of particular importance during the 1932 election was the presence of a group of aldermen who banded together as the "Economy Slate". Thanks to the deepening effects of the Great

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<sup>20</sup> "Electors are strongly urged to cast votes," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 1, 1932, Local News, pp. 7.

<sup>21</sup> Lightbody (1978), pp. 312.

Depression on the citizens of Hamilton, candidates for the Board of Control and Aldermanic seats on the Economy Slate campaigned on a platform of supporting a program of classical liberal economics in the city. The Slate called for a substantial reduction in taxes, reduction of capital expenditures on the city's schools and parks, elimination of services deemed redundant, reductions of salaries for civic employees, and maintaining the private ownership of the Hamilton Street Railway.<sup>22</sup>

The advertisements of the Economy Slate all bore the disclaimer:

“This is a joint advertisement, paid for by the candidates whose names appear above, running independently, who have grouped themselves together for the purposes of this advertisement.”<sup>23</sup>

The adamancy on the part of the Economy Slate candidates regarding their independence aside, it is clear that the organization can be defined as a political party. In their study of municipal political parties in Canada, J.G. Joyce and H.A. Hossé asserted that a political party is a group of candidates who have indicated their willingness to run on a common label and intended to work together on common issues once elected.<sup>24</sup> This attempt by a group of right-leaning, pro-business candidates marks one of the few instances that a political organization successfully contested a municipal election in Hamilton. Standing as the natural opposition to the Economy Slate in 1932 was the Hamilton branch of the Independent Labour Party.

The ILP had contested municipal elections in Hamilton since the early 1900's. The election of 1932 proved to be one of the party's more successful attempts, as six ILP candidates were returned, an increase from the five elected in 1931. The party's informal leader on council, Sam Lawrence, retained his seat on the Board of Control which he had held since 1928. Wards 5, 6, and 7 all re-elected one ILP Aldermen each and, in Ward 8, the ILP had their greatest success. Voters re-elected Alderman John Mitchell and elected James Reed who defeated Alderman William Dean of the Economy Slate, giving labour full representation in the city's most

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<sup>22</sup> “Municipal Elections – Policy For 1933 (Advertisement),” *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 26, 1932, pp. 21.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., pp. 21.

<sup>24</sup> J.G. Joyce and H.A. Hossé. *Civic Parties in Canada* (London: University of Western Ontario / Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, 1970), pp. 10.

distinctly working-class ward that ran from Ottawa Street, east to Strathearn Avenue, north of King Street to the Harbour.

On a council of 21, labour controlled six seats, the pro-business Economy Slate held ten, and two aldermen supported the Economy Slate without their endorsement. Mayor John Peebles declared that he was politically independent, but maintained strong ties to the Liberal Party, and only one alderman, Andy Frame of Ward 6, was an outright independent.<sup>25</sup>

Not surprisingly, labour's support was concentrated in the city's north-east. Labour's aldermanic candidates south of Main Street and west of Bay Street collectively received 3,291 votes compared to the 14,295 cast for Economy Slate candidates.<sup>26</sup>

The same year, members of a new labour party met in Toronto to develop a platform that would provide a strong voice for working people. The creation of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation created new opportunities for the working class to spread its message, something organized labour in Hamilton recognized.<sup>27</sup>

Members of the Hamilton-area ILP enthusiastically sought an opportunity to unify disparate strands of the local politically active labour community. The following December, the newly-constituted Hamilton branch of the CCF fielded 14 candidates for city council, including two for election to the Board of Control. Reaction from the city's business community was harsh. A full-page spread in the *Spectator* informed voters that municipal government was not the place for 'political experiments', particularly in a time when, as the paper's editorial staff claimed, class distinctions were quickly eroding thanks to advancements in education, industry, and sports.<sup>28</sup>

"Labour has supplied good men in the past and can continue to do so," the article noted, "but it has no monopoly on either honesty or other qualifications for public office."<sup>29</sup> In their candidate profiles, the paper extolled the good work done by members of the Economy Slate in long positive paragraphs, providing only a mention of a CCF candidate's name and affiliation among those 'also running', even in the case of sitting aldermen.

Anticipating the backlash, the CCF ran an advertisement in the same edition of the *Spectator*, under the headline "CCF – ILP Reply" that attacked the members of the Economy Slate and their

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<sup>25</sup> "Voters Inject New Blood Into Council," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 6, 1932, pp. 16.

<sup>26</sup> "How Aldermanic Candidates Ran," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 6, 1932, pp. 16.

<sup>27</sup> "New social order party is launched," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 1, 1932, News, pp. 23.

<sup>28</sup> "Difficult Times Require Careful Administration," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, December 2, 1933, pp. 15.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15.

business supporters as ‘dictators’ and the ‘equal vigor’ with which the local Communist Party derided their efforts.<sup>30</sup>

Election night brought mixed results for nearly every group in the city. Under the new banner, CCF – Labour candidates maintained control of the six seats they had held in the previous council, while new candidates failed to prove competitive. Lawrence’s running-mate for the Board of Control, Charles Smith, placed sixth out of seven, garnering 13,695 votes to Lawrence’s 22,310.<sup>31</sup> In Wards 1, 2, and 3, CCF – Labour candidates placed last or second-to-last and, in Ward 4, the party had its most competitive race with Charles Pollicott running third, just over 300 votes separating him and Arthur Davidson of the Economy Slate.<sup>32</sup> Even in seats represented by a CCF alderman, their running-mates finished far behind. Ward 5 Alderman Charles Aitchison’s partner, William Peters, received over 700 fewer votes than the incumbent, Ward 6 Alderman Archie Pollock’s partner Frank Thompson ran 1,500 votes behind and Ward 7 Alderman Sam Clarke’s running-mate Frank Reeves finished with 1,000 fewer votes than Clarke and just before Eliza Graham, the ward’s last place finisher and Communist candidate.<sup>33</sup> This would be the party’s most successful municipal election in Hamilton.

Following the 1933 vote, three key events occurred that would impact labour’s involvement in local government for the next three decades. The June following the December 1933 municipal election, Sam Lawrence was elected to the Ontario Legislature as M.L.A. for Hamilton East. Though he was committed to serving out the remainder of his term on the Board of Control, labour’s local wing in Hamilton had lost a very strong voice and passionate municipal politician.

Secondly, cracks began to appear in the labour movement that would quickly become the A.F.L. – C.I.O. split. That split would divide the labour movement in Hamilton, with the Gomerist Hamilton and District Trades and Labour Council representing A.F.L. affiliated workers, while the C.I.O. affiliated Hamilton Labour Council remained closely tied with the CCF.

Finally, differences in affiliation and leadership led to the dissolving of electoral cooperation between the municipal branches of the CCF and the ILP in Hamilton. Leaders of both factions

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<sup>30</sup> “CCF – ILP Reply (Advertisement),” *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, December 2, 1933, pp. 20.

<sup>31</sup> “Board of Control Summary,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 5, 1933, pp. 16.

<sup>32</sup> “How Aldermanic Candidates Ran,” *Hamilton Spectator*, December 5, 1933, pp. 16.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16.

became concerned with maintaining and increasing their numbers on council and differences in electoral strategy and personality divided the two groups electorally. The result of these events was electoral subjugation in the following election that effectively erased most of the municipal successes that had been won over the past three decades.

The 1934 election saw four competitors for Lawrence's vacated seat on the Board of Control, namely the Ward Eight Aldermen John Mitchell and James Reed on the CCF ticket and Ward Five Alderman Charles Aitchison and Ward Six Alderman Archie Pollock carrying ILP endorsement. Each group drew support away from the other, resulting in a vote split that saw Mitchell and Reed finish fifth and eighth respectively, while Pollock finished seventh and Aitchison ended ninth in a field of twelve candidates. Popular Ward One Alderman Nora-Frances Henderson topped the polls, replacing Lawrence and becoming the first woman elected to the Board of Control in Hamilton. As the leading candidate, the right-leaning Henderson had the distinction of serving as Deputy Mayor to the Conservative Mayor Herbert Wilton.<sup>34</sup>

Henderson's popularity was a major factor in the election, as indicated by the 21,545 votes she garnered in 1934, though the divisions within labour cannot be understated. Mitchell and Reed's combined vote total was 18,240 while Pollock and Aitchison's was 15,813, which, had they been cast for a single candidate, would have placed them second and third respectively.<sup>35</sup> Labour's candidates in aldermanic races fared just as poorly. In Ward Four, where Charles Pollicott had been competitive as a CCF – Labour candidate in 1933, he placed fifth out of six candidates as an ILP candidate in 1934, above only James Newell of the CCF. Pollicott's total vote of 1,388 in 1933 had been eroded to 849 in 1934 when he shared the ballot with Newell, who garnered 433 votes.<sup>36</sup>

Labour's representation on Hamilton City Council dropped from six candidates on a unified labour ticket to one CCF and one ILP affiliated candidate elected, both of whom would represent Ward Eight in the 1935 council. The second woman to serve on Hamilton City Council, Agnes Sharpe, replaced John Mitchell as Ward Eight's top alderman and was joined on council by William Harrison from the ILP. Sharpe's running-mate, Roy Aindow, only received 1,319 votes

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<sup>34</sup> "Board of Control Summary," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 4, 1934, pp. 15.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15.

<sup>36</sup> "How Aldermanic Candidates Ran," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 4, 1934, pp. 15.

compared to his female counterpart's 3,042.<sup>37</sup> Sharpe's success was tied to her successful terms as a Public School Board Trustee for the ward as much as it was to her party-affiliation. The *Spectator's* summation of the situation noted that the working-class ward was the only one that had faith in the "divided party".<sup>38</sup>

The situation remained the same for labour until the return of Sam Lawrence in 1937. The only change to council came in 1935 when William Harrison retired from council and was replaced by the independent conservative Robert Elliott.<sup>39</sup> The *Spectator* bragged that "Hamilton is still 'Tory Hamilton' if the political affiliations of the new City Council may be taken as a criterion."<sup>40</sup> Days before the 1935 election, the paper's featured an editorial cartoon that portrayed Mayor Morrison atop a steamroller, emblazoned with "East Hamilton Conservative Machine" that was flattening silhouettes featuring the words 'Liberals', 'CCF', and 'Labour', all under the heading "On To The City Hall!"<sup>41</sup>

After the 1937 vote, Alderman Sharpe was joined once more by Sam Lawrence, who, upon his return to municipal government, topped the polls while Nora-Frances Henderson slipped to the fourth spot.<sup>42</sup> The CCF was able to only run one other candidate, Robert Thornberry, in Ward Five, though he only brought in 770 votes compared to the 1,829 and 1,385 for sitting Aldermen Thomas White and Alexander Nelligan respectively.<sup>43</sup>

The election of 1938 presented a new challenge to establishment and the CCF alike. Mayor William Morrison was provided his third acclamation, making him the city's then-longest serving mayor and providing him ample opportunity to explore a potential bid for the leadership of the Ontario Conservative Party, which he ultimately declined in favour of the eventual winner, George Drew.<sup>44</sup> The CCF once again fielded Lawrence, Sharpe, and Thornberry, while bringing on a fourth candidate, James Newell in Ward Seven who had previously stood in Ward Four. Election night saw Lawrence returned at the top of the Board of Control list, Thornberry improve

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<sup>37</sup> "How Aldermanic Candidates Ran," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 4, 1934, pp. 15.

<sup>38</sup> "Labour Forces Suffer Defeat At The Polls," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 4, 1934, pp. 15.

<sup>39</sup> "Recapitulation For The Alderman," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 3, 1935, pp. 15.

<sup>40</sup> "Conservative Majority In New City Council," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 3, 1935, pp. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Ivan Glassco, "Editorial Cartoon – On To The City Hall," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 30, 1935, pp. 6.

<sup>42</sup> "For Controllers," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 7, 1937, pp. 15.

<sup>43</sup> "How Council Was Returned," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 7, 1937, pp. 15.

<sup>44</sup> "Morrison Won't Contest Conservative Leadership," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, November 29, 1938, pp. 7.

his standing by over 300 votes while still failing to capture the seat, and Sharpe slipping to second place, while still retaining her Ward Eight seat for the party.<sup>45</sup>

It was Ward Seven where the city's attention was focused, though. In 1938, Ward Seven stretched north from King Street, occupying the neighbourhoods between Sherman Avenue in the west and Ottawa Street in the east (see Appendix Two). Prior to that election, the ward had been represented by four-term Alderman Archie Burton and three-term Alderman Donald Clarke, both of whom maintained strong ties to the local Conservative Party. As election returns flooded into the Old Stone Pile, the city's political establishment found itself facing a situation that they could not have predicted. Samuel Clarke, the former ILP alderman performed slightly better than an incredibly underwhelming Newell, who received only 411 votes for the CCF. Alderman Donald Clarke, who, at one time, had been an ardent supporter of the Reconstructionist Party, was returned at the top of the list with an increased vote total. The surprise came in the defeat of Archie Burton by Communist candidate Harry Hunter. Calling his victory an 'upset', the *Spectator* noted that Hunter's supporters constituted a "smoothly functioning organization which carried him to a comfortable second-place position."<sup>46</sup>

The city's divided labour movement appeared to have been conflicted as to how the situation in Ward Seven was to be addressed. Despite two by-elections in the summer of 1939, the city's political situation was of little importance to a citizenry focusing on an impending war. By December, Canada was immersed in the struggle against the Axis and the city's more conservative elements took the opportunity presented by a municipal election to wage their own war on what they believed to be society's more subversive elements.

The Russo-German Pact of Non-Aggression, signed at the end of August 1939, fueled this anger thanks to the pact's mandated rebuke of the western war effort by the Soviet Union. Enacted just days before the beginning of hostilities, the pact ensured that the Soviets would not help the Allied powers in the war for 10 years and any disagreements between the Reich and Soviet Union would be solved with meetings and cordial diplomacy.<sup>47</sup> When Germany became an enemy of Canada, so to did the Soviets. Subsequently, Canadian communists became Nazi sympathizers who threatened the war effort and the stability of the Canadian state.

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<sup>45</sup> "Aldermen," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 6, 1937, pp. 13.

<sup>46</sup> "Wide Public Interest Marks Yesterday's Civic Elections," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 6, 1938, pp. 13.

<sup>47</sup> "Russo-German Pact of Non-Aggression, published text," *Bulletin of International News*, vol. 16, no. 18 (Sept. 1939), pp. 904.



In mid-November, the Hamilton and District Trades and Labour Council sought community support for a recommendation that would ban Communists or anyone deemed a “red sympathizer” from running for public office.<sup>48</sup> The motion’s mover, council delegate J.F. Cauley, informed the *Spectator* that he was of the belief that Communists should be interned during wartime. On the topic of the city’s municipal elections, he proclaimed that,

“It is an insult to the intelligence of the Hamilton public that communists should be allowed to serve on the council of this city or in any other responsible position.”<sup>49</sup>

The *Spectator* ran an editorial cartoon in the week following the close of nominations featuring an old woman symbolizing “Mother Hamilton” on the steps of City Hall beating the rabid dog of communism with a broom, shouting “Get out of here!”<sup>50</sup> The satire of the situation was followed the next day with a speech by Mayor Morrison who declared that communists were organizing a secret attempt to disrupt city services. Morrison outlined their devious plans, which included joining and organizing unions, supporting the grievances of other workers, and agitating for higher wages, claims of which were supported by the Hamilton and District Trades and Labour Council.<sup>51</sup>

Structural restrictions on a person’s candidacy were put in place to discourage dissident voices from being elected, including the requirement that candidates not have any outstanding taxes or fees from the municipality, be up-to-date on their rent, and that candidates must swear total allegiance to the king.<sup>52</sup>

The CCF and Hamilton Labour Council took a more neutral stand toward Hunter, working with him on council, but remaining careful that they did not associate too closely with his politics. Recognizing that they, as much as Hunter, were the subject of attacks from the right due to their progressive politics, the CCF’s election advertisements bore the disclaimer “The Loyalty

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<sup>48</sup> “Would Stop Communists From Holding Public Office,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 18, 1939, pp. 7.

<sup>49</sup> “Trades and Labour Council Scores Communist Activities,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 18, 1939, pp. 26.

<sup>50</sup> Ivan Glassco, “Mother Hamilton: ‘Get out of here!’,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Wednesday, November 29, 1939, pp. 6.

<sup>51</sup> “Mayor Reveals Communist Plot To Harm City Services,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, November 30, 1939, pp. 7, 10.

<sup>52</sup> “All Candidates Must Swear Allegiance To The King,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, November 21, 1939, pp. 7.

of These Candidates is Beyond Question,” and that those on the CCF ticket had “no connection with any other candidates appealing for Labor support.”<sup>53</sup>

Election night did not provide the result the city’s conservative establishment wanted. The right’s political capital was spent exclusively on defeating certain alderman and supporting referenda that would have shelved elections. Voters enthusiastically rejected a proposal to ban elections for the duration of the war by a margin of 4:1, which had the support of many establishment political figures.<sup>54</sup> Sam Lawrence retained the top spot on the Board of Control, though with a diminished majority over Nora-Frances Henderson, and Robert Thornberry picked up a seat in Ward Five from Hamilton Trades and Labour Council member Frank Dillon who was selected as the ward’s alderman after the death of Alexander Nelligan in the summer of 1939. Alderman Agnes Sharpe, Hamilton’s second female alderman, died on September 3, 1939 as a passenger of the *Athenia*, the first British passenger liner to be torpedoed during the war.<sup>55</sup> She was replaced by Roy Aindow, who was able to retain the party’s Ward Eight seat. Despite facing seven opponents, including one of whom campaigned as an Anti-Communist candidate, Harry Hunter was re-elected soundly in Ward Seven.<sup>56</sup>

The situation in council disintegrated. Discussions of issues were abandoned in favour of discussions on the political beliefs of aldermen themselves. Right-leaning aldermen and controllers sought to restrict the powers of Hunter and the CCF contingency. On May 14, 1940, Alderman Robert Evans gave a notice of motion that demanded Harry Hunter resign as alderman and that the City of Hamilton provide rewards of \$50 to each citizen that provides the police information as to communist activities in the city.<sup>57</sup> On May 28, the motion received a seconder in the form of Alderman Thomas White. After three hours of debate, the motion passed by a vote of 15 to 4 with only Lawrence, Hunter, Thornberry, and conservative Ward Six Alderman John Hodgson in opposition.<sup>58</sup> During the debate, Alderman Ramsay indicated that the CCF and Communist Parties were inextricably linked and that progressive movements should be expelled from the nation. Upon this accusation, Lawrence rose and declared that the CCF believed that the

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<sup>53</sup> “Labour Should Have A Voice! (Advertisement),” *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, December 2, 1939, pp. 21.

<sup>54</sup> “Election Questions,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 5, 1939, pp. 15.

<sup>55</sup> Fairclough (1995), pp. 61.

<sup>56</sup> “Aldermen,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 5, 1939, pp. 15.

<sup>57</sup> City of Hamilton, *Minutes – 1940*, (Hamilton: City of Hamilton, 1941), pp. 251.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 266.

voters of Ward Seven were the best suited to pass judgment on Alderman Hunter, to which members of the gallery began shouting “rat!” at the controller. Revered for his frank speech and quick wit, Lawrence quickly returned the heckles with a scathing speech about the real intentions behind Alderman Evans’ motion against Hunter,

“The real reason of Alderman Evans’ motion is not Alderman Hunter, but because Alderman Hunter is an active trade union organizer, and a danger to the boss class...members of council who support the motion against democratic principles will live to see the day when they regret it.”<sup>59</sup>

Hunter refused the council’s request that he resign, but had been effectively neutralized as a political figure in the city. This subjugation of Hunter occurred days before the Communist Party of Canada became an illegal organization upon the enactment of PC 2363 on June 4, 1940.<sup>60</sup> Attending few meetings following the events of May 28, most of Hunter’s motions were ruled out of order because no member of council was willing or available to second them. In the December elections, Hunter lost his seat by nearly 200 votes to former ILP Alderman Samuel Clarke, who stood as an independent.<sup>61</sup>

The CCF’s support of Hunter proved to be perfect political ammunition for a group called the Hamilton Auxiliary Defence Corps. A full-page advertisement under the banner “GUARD THE HOME FRONT!” ran multiple times in the *Spectator*, attacking Lawrence for his connections to Soviet communism. The ad asked voters if they were sure of candidates who had enthusiastically participated in May Day events also attended by Communist speakers, asking “With Russia In Hitler’s Corner – How About the Friends of Russia?”<sup>62</sup>

Boldly emphasizing the local rift in labour, the Hamilton and District Trades and Labour Council issued a statement reminding voters that they were not endorsing any candidates in the municipal race and that any candidate claiming to have the backing of labour stood against the A.F.L. and its affiliated unions in Hamilton.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> “Council Requests Hunter Resign Seat As Alderman; Evans Leads Denunciation,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Wednesday, May 29, 1940, pp. 15.

<sup>60</sup> Reg Whitaker, “Official Repression of Communism during World War II,” *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 17 (Spring, 1986), pp. 145.

<sup>61</sup> “Aldermen,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 3, 1940, pp. 15.

<sup>62</sup> “Guard The Home Front (Advertisement),” *Hamilton Spectator*, Wednesday, November 27, 1940, pp. 19.

<sup>63</sup> “Trades Council Is Not Backing Any Candidate,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 29, 1940, pp. 7.

Despite efforts to discredit the CCF candidates, Lawrence, Thornberry and Aindow were returned without considerable opposition. Little changed in 1941, despite the initiation of Operation Barbarossa and the immediate turn in favour for the Soviet Union. All three CCF aldermen were re-elected and were joined once more by Harry Hunter who topped the polls in Ward Seven as an independent worker's candidate. The race was one of the closest in the city's history, with Hunter winning just 35 more votes than Samuel Clarke and 53 more than Archie Burton.<sup>64</sup>

The election of 1942 proved to be a more successful election year for labour-backed candidates. The ILP had faded away, leaving the CCF alone on the centre-left. Despite losing Alderman Thornberry by a very narrow margin in Ward Five, the CCF gained a seat in Ward Eight with the election of Joseph Easton alongside Alderman Aindow. Samuel Clarke rejoined the party prior to the election and stood in Ward Seven as their candidate, winning the top spot in the ward, beating Harry Hunter by only two votes.<sup>65</sup> Effectively, labour's representation on Hamilton City Council had increased by two with the inclusion of Hunter.

The following year was one of great gains made by labour. The provincial election in August saw the provincial CCF rise to Official Opposition status in the legislature, joined by two Labour-Progressive M.L.A.s from Toronto. The CCF took all three provincial seats in Hamilton, much to the delight of the local labour movement. An ecstatic Sam Lawrence proclaimed that he would sweep the entirety of James Street with a broom to symbolize the party's 'clean sweep'.<sup>66</sup>

The announcement during the year that William Morrison would not be a candidate for the mayoralty further emboldened labour. By November, the CCF had two candidates for the Board of Control and least one candidate for each of the city's wards. Most importantly, though, the party had decided to enter Sam Lawrence as the first CCF candidate for mayor of Hamilton.

Lawrence's opponent was the *de facto* leader of the Conservative bloc on council, Controller Donald Clarke. Clarke's vehement opposition to socialism and connections to the city's business community resulted in a divisive and aggressive campaign against Lawrence and the CCF waged mostly through the *Hamilton Spectator*. Regular 'special editorials' ran on the local section's front page along-side news stories. The editorials equated the CCF to despised historical figures

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<sup>64</sup> "But Two Changes In City Council For Coming Year," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 2, 1941, pp. 13.

<sup>65</sup> "Electors Return New Men To Council For Year 1943," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 8, 1942, pp. 13.

<sup>66</sup> Bill Scandlan. Interviewed by author. Personal Interview, Hamilton, Ontario, May 16, 2013.

from Nero to Hitler and claimed all that would accompany a CCF victory municipally would be “graft, hunger, despair and spiritual darkness.”<sup>67</sup> The attack on the CCF occurred not because of their platform or their organization as a political party at the municipal level, but because they were simply the CCF. The selectiveness of the attack was best exemplified in a half-page *Spectator* spread on the Saturday before voting. Running another special editorial that provided an endorsement of any candidate not running on the CCF ticket, the paper included in their list of approved candidates Harry Hunter and Helen Anderson, who was seeking election as Ward Seven’s Public School Board Trustee.<sup>68</sup> Hunter and Anderson were organizers with the Labour-Progressive Party, which had been founded in 1943 to carry on the activities of the Communist Party while the organization was symbolically outlawed despite the Canadian government’s recognition of the Soviet Union as a crucial ally.<sup>69</sup> The *Spectator* made no attempt to attack the LPP candidates for their organization or platform, reserving their most harsh criticism for the city’s CCF contingency.

In one of the more humorous incidents before the election, the *Spectator* published seething letters to the editor about the vile nature of the party. Also printed were poems written by citizens about the terrors that awaited Hamiltonians if they voted for any of the party’s candidates, including a piece entitled “A Question of Diet” that ended with the warning:

“A word to the wise is accounted enough:  
Beware of the CCF salad!  
Don’t cram you poor stomach with venomous stuff  
When the bread and the meat are still valid!”<sup>70</sup>

Recognizing the assault from the city’s business interests, the Hamilton District Labour Council took the step of endorsing both CCF and Labour-Progressive candidates on the same pro-labour ticket, asking voters to “Defeat the candidates whose so-called independence is dependent on big business!”<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> “Editorial: It’s as Old as the Hills,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 19, 1943, pp. 7.

<sup>68</sup> “Monday Is the Day,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, December 4, 1943, pp. 7.

<sup>69</sup> Whitaker (1986), pp. 149, 152.

<sup>70</sup> “A Question of Diet,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, November 29, 1943, pp. 6.

<sup>71</sup> “Vote For Candidates Responsible To The People (Advertisement),” *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, December 4, 1943, pp. 24.

The day after the election, the *Spectator* reported that nearly 51% of Hamiltonians had cast ballots the previous day, making the election of 1943 one of the city's best for voter-turnout.<sup>72</sup> Labour, though, would not easily declare any records set. Lawrence beat Clarke with 51.8% of the vote to become Hamilton's first labour mayor, but both nominees for the Board of Control, Roy Aindow and Frank Reeves, were soundly defeated. CCF candidates for Alderman were defeated across the city, as the party lost Sam Clarke in Ward Seven and succeeding only in maintaining full representation in Ward Eight. The LPP did only slightly better, with the voters of Ward Seven retuning Hunter by a very slim margin, while rejecting Anderson for the position of school trustee.<sup>73</sup>

The defeat at the polls and attack in the media shook the confidence of the local CCF, but emboldened the Labour-Progressives. Samuel Clarke again left the party, and challenged a CCF candidate for his former Ward Seven seat. Lawrence did not face an opponent in the 1944 race, but no new CCF candidates were elected to council. Hunter sought a seat on the Board of Control, placing last with just over 12,000 votes.<sup>74</sup> His Ward Seven seat was filled by a woman who would be a figure in local government for nearly a decade, rising farther than any Labour-Progressive candidate would in Hamilton's history. Helen Anderson won the second Ward Seven seat, beating Sam Clarke by just 23 votes and providing labour with its fourth seat on council.<sup>75</sup>

The election of 1945 was overshadowed by the newfound peace and the slow return of Hamiltonians who had fought in both theatres. Party standings remained the same and Lawrence was returned to the mayor's chair comfortably over a Liberal-affiliated challenger. A quiet election would be welcomed by labour in retrospect, as 1946 brought challenges beyond anything local progressives would have anticipated.

In early March, 1946, a group of children playing on the side of the Escarpment found the dismembered body of a man later identified as John Dick. A shocked city watched as the investigation became a media phenomenon, particularly after the discovery of a mummified infant encased in cement in the home of John and his wife, Evelyn Dick. International media descended on the city for a murder that would become the city's most infamous case. Over the course of the spring and summer, as the nation focused on the events surrounding Mrs. Dick, the

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<sup>72</sup> "Vote in Yesterday's Civic Election Close to Record," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 7, 1943, pp. 7.

<sup>73</sup> "Electors Return Independents To Council's Ranks," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 7, 1943, pp. 11.

<sup>74</sup> "Donald Clarke Regains Seat, Displacing Walter Chadwick," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 5, 1944, pp. 11.

<sup>75</sup> "Electors Return Most Members Of 1944 Council," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 5, 1944, pp. 11.

city's unions were embroiled in some of the most tumultuous negotiations they had ever experienced.

In early June, the *Spectator* found itself embroiled in a battle with Local 129 of the International Typographer's Union, which drastically reduced the paper's capacity to publish regularly.<sup>76</sup> Striking back at their workers, the *Spectator* published a series of biting editorial cartoons, the most infamous of which shows a labour leader, complete with bowler hat and fat cigar, mercilessly beating an average Hamiltonian while an 'average worker' tries to stop him, shouting, "But boss, he's our best friend!"<sup>77</sup>

On July 5, the workers of Westinghouse's United Electrical Workers union walked off the job, shuttering the plant. Joined by workers with the United Rubber Workers of America at a different plant, the number of striking workers in the city swelled. Rumours that negotiations between the United Steel Workers and Stelco were breaking down sent the city's business owners into a frenzy, with the Steel Company of Canada President Hugh Hilton paying for huge ads in the *Spectator* declaring the company was not at fault for any impending strike as USW negotiators refused the company's "fair and just" offer of a 10 cent per-hour wage increase.<sup>78</sup> By mid-July, the city was embroiled in a string of labour disputes that dragged Mayor Lawrence and Deputy Mayor Henderson into a bruising political fight that solidified their popularity with their respective bases. Though the strikes had ended by November, calls intensified in the city for a credible challenger to oppose Lawrence and his labour supporters.

With Alderman Herbert Hannah's withdrawal from the mayoral race on November 9, the city's conservative forces coalesced once more around Donald Clarke.<sup>79</sup> Days before the close of nominations, the *Spectator* ran a brief but brutal rebuke of Lawrence and labour-backed candidates, writing that those who supported the striking workers or encouraged labour disruptions should not merit the confidence of the Hamiltonian electorate, finishing with the biting line: "It is they who disgrace the ballot."<sup>80</sup>

Clarke's campaign focused on his political independence, running ads that simply featured a single line from the Mayor's oath of office, reading, "I do solemnly promise and declare that I

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<sup>76</sup> "The Local Confirms It," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, June 4, 1946, pp. 7.

<sup>77</sup> Dorman Smith, "Editorial Cartoon – Our Best Friend," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, June 13, 1946, pp. 13.

<sup>78</sup> "The Steel Company of Canada Bargains in Good Faith (Advertisement)," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, July 13, 1946, pp. 11.

<sup>79</sup> "Hannah Reveals Withdrawal From Mayoralty Fight," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 9, 1946, pp. 7.

<sup>80</sup> "They Disgrace It," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, November 21, 1946, pp. 6.

will truly, faithfully and impartially...execute the office of mayor.”<sup>81</sup> The issue became the focus of an all-candidate debate at Westdale Secondary School on December 5. Challenging Lawrence, Clarke said, “I feel the basic issue at stake is whether we are to have a party-free administration or one dominated by a political party.”<sup>82</sup> Lawrence fired back, saying:

“It is well-known to the people of this city where I stand...At least we are clean and above board. We prepare a program and present it to the electorate; we don’t disguise ourselves. You know what we stand for. You have people calling themselves independents – disguising themselves – but when elected to office they react to their own political ideologies.”<sup>83</sup>

In the *Spectator’s* candidate summary the Saturday before the election, they subtly outlined their preferred candidates, noting that Donald Clarke was “Widely known and liked,” Lawrence was only “faithful to CCF interests,” Roy Aindow was “likeable; a conscientious partisan,” and that Helen Anderson was a “Shrewd, aggressive, extreme Leftist.”<sup>84</sup>

On Monday, December 9, 1946, 64.5% of the electorate cast ballots, making that year’s municipal election the city’s best for voter turnout. Lawrence polled over 11,000 votes higher than Clarke, winning the mayoralty by 59%.<sup>85</sup> Though Roy Aindow failed to secure a CCF seat on the Board of Control, Helen Anderson claimed the second seat on the Board with 36.84% of the vote.<sup>86</sup> City-wide, CCF aldermanic candidates failed to make any considerable breakthroughs, with the party maintaining both Ward Eight seats, but placing last or second-to-last in every other ward. Even in Ward Seven, the CCF’s Donald Ellis failed to claim the seat vacated by Anderson, as the Labour-Progressive candidate Peter Dunlop would assume her place, providing the LPP with two representatives on council, while the CCF had three.<sup>87</sup>

The main feature of the 1947 election was the concentrated effort to remove Helen Anderson from the Board of Control. Much to the dismay of Hamilton’s conservative establishment, in

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<sup>81</sup> “I Do Solemnly Promise (Advertisement),” *Hamilton Spectator*, Wednesday, December 4, 1946, pp. 23.

<sup>82</sup> “Clarke Condemns Partisanship In Municipal Politics,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 5, 1946, pp. 19.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19.

<sup>84</sup> “Monday’s Vote: A Look At The Candidates,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, December 7, 1946, pp. 6.

<sup>85</sup> “Lawrence Re-Elected Mayor – Record Vote Polled,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 10, 1946, pp. 15.

<sup>86</sup> “Controller Henderson Heads Field With Anderson Second,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 10, 1946, p. 15.

<sup>87</sup> “Only One Sitting Alderman Defeated In Monday’s Vote,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 10, 1946, pp. 15.



early November Nora-Frances Henderson announced that she would not be seeking another term on the Board of Control. The *Spectator* took the opportunity to publish an editorial under the headline “Protect Your City!” that warned, “there is the astonishing possibility of a Communist being the senior controller and deputy Mayor for the city of Hamilton.”<sup>88</sup> The Hamilton Women’s Civic Club, Henderson’s right-leaning organization that had the markers of a slate, published ads entitled, “ATTENTION! Out With The Communists! In With Democratic Administration!” and encouraging voters to elect candidates Walter Chadwick, Andy Frame, Hugh McIntyre, and Samuel Parker, each of whom were conservative independents.<sup>89</sup>

Hamiltonians did not show the same enthusiasm in 1947 as they did the year prior as the labour situation in the city had calmed and life was returning to normal for those involved in the war. A drop of 23.75% meant only 38.55% of Hamiltonians voted. Helen Anderson was soundly defeated, falling from second-place to fifth, just under 8000 votes behind fourth-place finisher Samuel Parker.<sup>90</sup> The CCF fared just as poorly, finishing last in every aldermanic race from Ward Three to Six. Only in Ward Seven did Donald Ellis finish third out of four candidates, still failing to defeat the LPP’s Peter Dunlop or the conservative Alderman Fred Hayward.<sup>91</sup> In Ward Eight, the CCF saw substantial victories, as sitting Aldermen Joe Easton and James Newell were returned by acclamation.

Voting in 1948 provided similar results, with Lawrence receiving an acclamation and the CCF performing poorly outside Wards Seven and Eight. After years of attempts to secure a breakthrough in Ward Seven, Donald Ellis mounted a competitive challenge to Peter Dunlop, failing to unseat him by an initial count of merely three votes. A formal recount confirmed Dunlop’s win, but his position remained tenuous.<sup>92</sup> Helen Anderson, who had married and taken the hyphenated name Anderson-Coulson, tried to challenge the CCF in Ward Eight, but her reputation had been irrevocably tarnished by years of attacks from local media and came in fourth, behind winners Newell and Aindow and Walter Ellis, who campaigned as an Anti-Communist candidate.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> “Protect Your City!” *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 14, 1947, pp. 6.

<sup>89</sup> “Attention! (Advertisement),” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 2, 1947, pp. 25.

<sup>90</sup> “Helen Anderson Declares Setback Only Temporary,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 4, 1947, pp. 7.

<sup>91</sup> “Mrs. Hughson Is Fifth Woman Council Member,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 4, 1947, pp. 25.

<sup>92</sup> “Ask Recount Of Ballots In Ward 7,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, December 6, 1948, pp. 7.

<sup>93</sup> “Only One Alderman Displaced on Council,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 2, 1948, pp. 11.

By mid-1949, Lawrence had announced his intentions to retire from local politics at the end of the year's council term. Lawrence's departure was a major blow to the local CCF, who, in that December's municipal elections, failed to regain Ward Seven, losing to a charismatic young Conservative named Jack MacDonald, and shedding one of their Ward Eight seats to a popular young Liberal named Russell Reinke. With Dunlop's loss in Ward Seven and the sixth-place finish for CCF Board of Control candidate James Newell, labour's power municipally had been diminished to its lowest point in decades.<sup>94</sup>

With Lloyd Jackson's mayoral win and a Board of Control split between the popular Ellen Fairclough and aggressive anti-socialist William Warrender, both of the Progressive Conservatives, the right-leaning independent Samuel Parker, and east-end Liberal Henry Arnott Hicks, the city had definitively shifted to the right in the opening years of the second half of the twentieth century.

The seventeen years between the candidacy of the first CCF members municipally and the swearing-in of the Hamilton City Council of 1950 saw the party plunge from holding a unified opposition bloc on council, gain modest successes during the Second World War, and decline once more following the events of 1946.

An explanation for the variability of support for labour-backed candidates during this period was the lack of cohesiveness between disparate segments of the city's politically active labour movement. The first split, between the CCF and the ILP just one year after their successful electoral coordination in 1933, saw candidates vying for attention in 1934 that split voters between two organizations claiming to speak for working people. Had, for example, the parties remained unified in 1934, Ward Seven Alderman Samuel Clarke would not have been defeated by independent Conservative candidate Archie Burton because the local CCF would not have stood two distinct candidates against him, dividing the labour vote between three candidates, resulting in Burton earning 1,608 votes to Clarke's 1,567, CCF candidate William Clark's 1,183 and his running-mate Joseph Morris' 929.<sup>95</sup>

The second division, between the A.F.L. and C.I.O. harmed the creditability of labour-supported candidates, particularly when the A.F.L. affiliated Hamilton and District Trades and Labour Council regularly issued statements distancing themselves from candidates who

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<sup>94</sup> "Surprise Feature City Council Race, Dillon, Dunlop Out," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 8, 1949, pp.19.

<sup>95</sup> "How Aldermanic Candidates Ran," (1934), pp. 15.

campaigns under any labour banner. Diametrically opposed messages originating from two distinct labour organizations, the involvement of local communists providing another alternative for the city's working-class electorate, and demonization of all progressive forces in the local media would have impacted the decisions of voters. Literature suggests that when voters are aware that there are issues that need to be addressed, they are more likely to become politically involved and cast ballots.<sup>96</sup> Finding no cohesive progressive force to vote for, municipal electors fell back on their traditional party affiliations or cast ballots for the strongest personalities.

This leads to the most plausible reasoning that can explain the significant fluctuations in labour support through the 1930s and 1940s. Despite their labour affiliation, C.C.F, ILP and LPP candidates were not formally identified as such because of the reformist belief that partisan politics did not fit within local government. Lawrence, as the CCF's candidate for mayor in each election from 1943 to 1948 was simply listed as "Lawrence, Sam – Stonecutter" on the ballot, rather than "Lawrence, Sam (CCF)".

The non-partisan nature of local government made it so that voters cast ballots more for individual candidates, rather than exclusively on the issues they expounded.<sup>97</sup> As veteran CCF and New Democrat activist Bill Scandlan said of the situation,

"You could see that, when you needed support, from a municipal point of view, it did you well to have some voice there that can raise objection and raise questions, rather than be a rubber stamp...you could see that you were involved politically at all three levels whether you liked it or not. There wasn't something that said 'I'm a labour guy, here's a piece of labour legislation,' and we couldn't say 'you must pay union dues at the municipal level,' but there could be other things that mattered socially to working men and women that had something to do with the municipal level, but people didn't know too much about that. Always elected the nice guy or somebody from their church or wherever."<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Paul Martin, "Inside the Black Box of Negative Campaign Effects," *Political Psychology* vol. 25, no. 4, (August, 2004), pp. 550.

<sup>97</sup> Anderson (1972), pp. 6.

<sup>98</sup> Bill Scandlan. Interviewed by author. Personal Interview, Hamilton, Ontario, May 16, 2013.

Lawrence's popularity and the individual popularity of figures such as James Newell, Roy Aindow, Harry Hunter, and Helen Anderson-Coulson played a significant role in their election to council, with their political ideology a secondary, while still relevant, component to their success.<sup>99</sup>

A lack of cohesiveness and the importance of personality provides some of the reasoning as to why the period between 1933 and 1949 can be referred to as The Lawrence Era. Lawrence provided a respected, intelligent face for the city's political labour movement, and served as the informal leader of the city's municipal CCF during its early years. His return in December of 1950 would be accompanied by less enthusiasm and distinctly unique challenges.

### **Jackson's Hamilton – 1950 to 1961**

In early November, 1950, few Hamiltonians could focus on the municipal elections that were approaching. Conversation was focused on the weather, as the city reached a high of 26 Celsius on November 2.<sup>100</sup>

The following day, the city's Planning Department announced the new ward boundaries that would be contested on December 6. The city's growth and annexation of areas above the Escarpment and to the east necessitated a shift in ward boundaries, stopping short of adding new wards to council. For the first time in the city's history, the Mountain had distinct representation, as the traditionally working-class Ward Eight was moved to represent the area that stretched from the edge of the Escarpment, south to Fennell Avenue. West-end Wards Three and Four moved their eastern boundary to James Street, while Wards One and Seven encompassed further development in the city's east, moving their borders from Strathearne to the Red Hill Creek (see Appendix Three).<sup>101</sup>

In addition to the unseasonable weather and shifting political map, Hamilton's divided labour movement began a process of reconciliation that would eventually bring CIO and AFL affiliated groups together in 1956. The same day of the new ward boundary announcement, the Hamilton and District Trades and Labour Council met to discuss candidates for the upcoming election.

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<sup>99</sup> Bill Scandlan. Interviewed by author. Personal Interview, Hamilton, Ontario, May 16, 2013.

<sup>100</sup> "Temperature Record Is Set," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, November 2, 1950, pp. 7.

<sup>101</sup> "New Boundaries Drawn," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 3, 1950, pp. 35.

Politically independent Hugh Sedgwick, an active member of the organization, had made his intentions to stand for a seat on the Board of Control known to the HDTLC, and was easily endorsed by the body. The surprise endorsement, though, was that of former Mayor Sam Lawrence, whose affiliations had always been with the CIO.

Commenting on their endorsement, Sedgwick hinted at a burgeoning reconciliation between the city's two disparate labour organizations. Speaking to the *Spectator* following his endorsement, he said, "I did not wish to hurt Mr. Lawrence's chances because I respect his experience, but it is his express wish that we run together."<sup>102</sup>

The following week, the *Spectator* reported that prominent members of both the local CCF and Progressive Conservatives had been made aware of an effort by municipal Liberals to gain control of council. Digby Banting, a local Progressive Conservative who had served as Reeve of Saltfleet, made the claim that local Liberals sought to "lure" Conservative-affiliated aldermen to their party, which was supported by Wentworth MLA Joseph Easton of the CCF<sup>103</sup>

Controller Henry Arnott Hicks, who had lost the provincial Liberal leadership days before, noted that party members had met to discuss 'party organization', but had no inclinations toward controlling council, accusing the CCF of pursuing that aim while dismissing Banting as "disgruntled."<sup>104</sup>

On Friday, November 17, Helen Anderson Coulson announced that she would oppose Lloyd Jackson, making her the first woman to seek the office of Mayor of Hamilton. The significance of the occasion was lost on Jackson, who responded tersely to the *Spectator* when asked for a comment on the former Controller's candidacy. "I think the best thing to do is to ignore it," he said, adding that he had nothing further to say on the matter.<sup>105</sup>

Upon announcing her candidacy, Coulson issued a statement condemning Jackson's administration and pro-business forces in the city. In it, she wrote:

"It has been stated before and should be underlined again, that never before in the history of Hamilton, have we had a mayor and city council who have shown greater contempt for the working people of this city. Their sole concern has been to revamp

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<sup>102</sup> "Trades Council Backs Nominees For Controller," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 4, 1950, pp. 8.

<sup>103</sup> "Easton, Banting Say Liberals Seek Control Of Council," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 11, 1950, pp. 7.

<sup>104</sup> "Hicks Denies Liberals Seek Control," *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, November 13, 1950, pp. 7.

<sup>105</sup> "Helen Anderson Coulson To Oppose Mayor Jackson," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 17, 1950, pp. 7.

the administration of the city to run it like a private corporation, motivated by what profits can accrue, not by people's needs."<sup>106</sup>

The announcement brought a mix of indifference and vitriol to 1950's previously latent municipal election. Jackson's dismissal of Coulson's candidacy was matched by the anger of local political figures. Controller Hicks indicated that he felt Coulson's bid for the mayoralty would invigorate voters and increase turn-out as Hamiltonians would take any opportunity to defeat communism.<sup>107</sup>

Situating the events of the time within the context of the growing tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States, with Canada as an ally of the latter, is important. The war in Korea and the presence of Labour-Progressive MLA's in Ontario's legislature pushed the 'fight against communism' into the municipal sphere where candidates were increasingly known for their support or opposition to the LPP and communism as an ideology.<sup>108</sup>

Faced with supporting the pro-business Jackson or the Coulson, and further bringing themselves into the communism debate, the city's labour movement studied the situation for weeks before concluding that a majority of the body's members refused to support either candidate, focusing their efforts on Lawrence and Sedgwick's bid for seats on the Board of Control.<sup>109</sup>

The *Spectator* did not require the same amount of contemplation on the matter, issuing a list of endorsements on December 2. Aside from approving of Jackson's administration, the paper endorsed Controllers Parker, Warrender, and Hicks, noting that they believed Sedgwick would be a more desirable voice for labour on council while lamenting Lawrence's return to civic politics. No other labour-supported candidate received the paper's approval.<sup>110</sup>

For the most part, the *Spectator's* recommendations were approved by the voters. Jackson defeated Coulson with 85.8% of the vote, with turnout increasing by 5.6% to 51.7%.<sup>111</sup> Lawrence was returned to the Board of Control, though only managing to capture the fourth seat

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<sup>106</sup> "Helen Anderson Coulson To Oppose Mayor Jackson," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 17, 1950, pp. 7.

<sup>107</sup> "Mayoralty Race Likely To Boost Vote December 6," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 18, 1950, pp. 7.

<sup>108</sup> Frank K. Clarke, "Keep Communism out of Our Schools": Cold War Anti-Communism at the Toronto Board of Education, 1948-1951, *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 49 (Spring, 2002), pp. 100.

<sup>109</sup> "Labour Council Studies Mayoralty Race Problem," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 25, 1950, pp. 20.

<sup>110</sup> "The Civic Elections," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, December 2, 1950, pp. 6.

<sup>111</sup> "Mayor Jackson Coasts To Win Over Coulson," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 7, 1950, pp. 19.

on the Board, 7000 fewer votes than the first-place finisher, William Warrender.<sup>112</sup> Roy Aindow, who sought election and won in Ward Seven after Ward Eight was moved to the mountain served as the only CCF alderman on a council that was almost entirely devoid of labour representation.<sup>113</sup>

After the dismal results of 1950, tensions began to rise among labour groups in the city. In Ward Seven, veteran party supporter Roy Aindow publicly announced his disaffiliation with the CCF and his intentions to seek a seat on the Board of Control as an independent. Having been elected with the support of small-business on Kenilworth Avenue, Aindow bowed to pressures from his pro-business backers to better represent their interests if elected. The CCF nominated Lawrence's second cousin, David, and Reg Gisborn of the United Steelworkers Local 1005 to stand against John Hancox and John Bellingham, labour candidates from 1950.<sup>114</sup>

To counter the issue labour faced the year prior, the CCF announced their intention to support the candidacy of John Allen, who had moved from Montreal to Hamilton in 1946. Allen did not attract the same attention Coulson did the year prior, in part because of a concentrated effort to defeat communist candidates in the city's east-end.

Anti-communist forces, under the banner "Loyal Citizens" published a number of advertisements in the *Spectator* in the days leading up to the election, endorsing candidates they indicated would "improve conditions and thus prevent the spread of Communism."<sup>115</sup> Promoting four candidates each in Wards Six and Seven, the group caused considerable controversy in leaving out the names of William Harris of the Kenilworth Businessman's Association, James Bunting of the Eastern Liberal Club and Independent Labour candidate John Bellingham.<sup>116</sup> After complaining that he had not been included in the advertisement, the group issued an apology to William Harris, stopping short of giving him their endorsement.<sup>117</sup>

Accusations were made by candidates supported and opposed by the anonymous group, with some arguing the CCF was behind the advertisement in an attempt to distance themselves from perceived affiliations with communists dating back to the strikes of 1946. The party's campaign

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<sup>112</sup> "Voters Elevate W.K. Warrender To Top Position," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 7, 1950, pp. 19.

<sup>113</sup> "City Council For 1951," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 7, 1950, pp. 19.

<sup>114</sup> "Rift In Labour's Ranks Indicates In Ward Seven," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 10, 1951, pp. 7.

<sup>115</sup> "IMPORTANT: To Voters of Wards 6 and 7 (Advertisement)," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, December 8, 1951, pp. 32.

<sup>116</sup> "Candidates Resent Names Left Out In Anti-Red Ad.," *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, December 10, 1951, pp. 7.

<sup>117</sup> "OPEN APPOLOGY (Advertisement)," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 11, 1951, pp. 30.

organizer, Joseph Easton, issued a statement saying that the CCF neither endorsed the ad nor sought the support of those who issued it, stating that the party did not have the “money, time, or inclination to waste on other candidates. Our only aim is to elect our own.”<sup>118</sup>

On election night, Jackson won easily, defeating Allen and perennial challenger Hugh McIntyre with 53.55% of the vote.<sup>119</sup> Aindow’s attempt to challenge Lawrence as an independent was unsuccessful, with the former aldermen placing sixth. Lawrence moved to second place, while Coulson placed last with 5,993 votes.<sup>120</sup> CCF and LPP candidates fared poorly across the city, with only David Lawrence proving competitive, taking Aindow’s seat and serving with his second-cousin on council for 1952.<sup>121</sup>

The election campaign of 1952 was considerably less remarkable than the two that preceded it. The expectation that turn-out would be less vigorous than in previous years proved to be true, as only 43% of Hamiltonians voted on December 3, 1952. Claims that the council of 1953 would be largely the same then that of the year prior, though, did not hold true. Lawrence regained the top spot on the Board of Control, pushing Samuel Parker to second. John Allen placed seventh, slightly below Ethel Fagan, a prominent local member of the Social Credit Party, with Helen Anderson-Coulson placing last for a second year.<sup>122</sup>

CCF candidates fared poorly in aldermanic races, with David Lawrence the only party member to win a seat in Ward Seven. Attempting to take advantage of MacDonald and Lewis Ross’ decisions not to contest their aldermanic positions in Ward Six, the CCF ran Donald Ellis and Alex Muir in an attempt to capture two more seats for the party. The pair performed poorly, placing fourth and seventh respectively, losing to Joseph Lanza of the Liberals and Bill Walsh, a

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<sup>118</sup> “Bellingham Running As Labour Man He Reiterates,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 11, 1951, pp. 7-8.

<sup>119</sup> “Voters endorse Mayor Jackson,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 13, 1951, pp. 17.

<sup>120</sup> “Parker Heads Controllers, Baggs Takes Fourth Seat,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 13, 1951, pp. 17.

<sup>121</sup> “Aldermanic Vote Totals,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 13, 1951, pp. 17.

<sup>122</sup> Of interest during this vote was the striking rebuke of Henry Arnott Hicks, who fell from third place to eighth, shedding over 10,000 votes and losing his seat to Jack MacDonald. Analyzing the election the following day, the *Spectator* noted that Hick’s electoral rebuke was thanks to an event earlier that year, writing, “Observers attributed considerable of [sic] his fall from favour to publicity arising from a traffic incident in the north-end earlier this year, when the controller was embroiled in an argument with a police officer, and which had a hearing in Magistrate’s Court.” (“MacDonald’s Strong Run Marks Controller Voting,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 4, 1952, pp. 35.) Despite Hick’s anti-communist sentiments, he provided a liberal voice on the Board of Control. Following his defeat, the Board was comprised of two members of the Conservative Party, the right-leaning independent Parker, and Lawrence of the CCF.



union organizer and LPP activist.<sup>123</sup> Writing about Walsh's victory, the *Spectator* predicted that Walsh was "expected to be the centre of many heated debates on the floor of council."<sup>124</sup>

Lawrence's ascension to the top of the Board of Control drew the ire of Hamilton's right-leaning establishment, who saw the former mayor as a figure of a past era. In their election summary, the *Spectator* provided the analysis that Lawrence was, "little more than a local institution and is something of a government by himself."<sup>125</sup> When Lawrence joined striking workers at the Wallace Barnes Company, anti-Lawrence forces jumped on the opportunity to equate the controller with lawlessness and left-wing extremism. Letters to the editor filled the *Spectator*. "Why doesn't he retire, if he is a labour man, and give some one else a chance?" wrote 'Another Taxpayer'.<sup>126</sup> "Controller Lawrence, I agree, does not lack the courage of his convictions, but did he lack tact, when he knew the leanings of the particular union leadership?" asked R. L. Tuson.<sup>127</sup> "His place is in City Hall, not at a plant. If he wanted a job at the factory why didn't he go there instead of City Hall?" demanded 'Also Wide Awake'.<sup>128</sup>

In his nomination address, Lawrence avoided the topic of the strike, focusing on improvements to the Hamilton Street Railway, better water storage for mountain residents, and municipal rent control.<sup>129</sup> The assault in local media continued, with angry Hamiltonians claiming that Lawrence had abandoned his roots and become a servant for capitalists, while others argued that his support for left-wing policies had ruined the city.<sup>130 131</sup>

The assault on Lawrence was coupled with vicious attacks on candidates who were members or perceived to be members of the Labour Progressive Party. Candidates registered enthusiastically to defeat Bill Walsh, with one announcing he was seeking election in Ward Six because "The people of the ward are disgusted with (Alderman Walsh) and want some dignity restored to the area's politics."<sup>132</sup> The *Spectator* refused to run advertisements for Helen

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123 "Surprises, Upsets Seen In Aldermanic Contests," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 4, 1952, pp. 33.

124 "Many New Personalities Awarded Favour After Battle For Elective Positions At Polls Yesterday," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 4, 1952, pp. 33.

125 "Wednesday's Verdict," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 4, 1952, pp. 6.

126 "Letter - Sam Lawrence Well Paid," *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, November 2, 1953, pp. 6.

127 "Letter - Labour Pendulum Swings Too Far," *Hamilton Spectator*, Wednesday, November 4, 1953, pp. 6.

128 "Letter - Can't See Anything Brave About It," *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, November 16, 1953, pp. 6.

129 Sam Lawrence, "Nomination Address, 1953," Hamilton and District Labour Council archives.

130 "Letter - City Dead, Buried Under Lawrence," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 28, 1953, pp. 6.

131 "Letter - Sam Lawrence 'Capitalist'," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 28, 1953, pp. 6.

132 "Communism Big Ward Six Topic," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 13, 1953, pp. 7.

Anderson-Coulson's Board of Control bid, writing that "This newspaper does not wish to increase its revenues by accepting the paid advertising of a member of the Labour-Progressive (Communist) Party."<sup>133</sup>

On election night, the verdict of the voters was swift and ruthless. Lawrence fell to fourth place, while Anderson-Coulson retained her last place standing, shedding 2,000 votes from her previous attempt to reclaim her former seat. When questioned by the *Spectator* about whether the public backlash from his support for the striking workers at Wallace Barnes contributed to his losing the top spot on the Board, Lawrence simply replied that, at his age, he could not run as fast as the other candidates in the field.<sup>134</sup>

In Ward Six, Bill Walsh was soundly defeated by Joseph Lanza and Malcolm Heddle. Heddle was adamant that his only reason for seeking election in Ward Six was to defeat communism, stating on election night that, "There is no place for them in any level of government."<sup>135</sup> With David Lawrence retaining his Ward Seven seat, labour representation slipped to two voices on a predominantly Conservative council. On December 2, voters approved a referendum question that extended the length of council terms to two years beginning with the election of 1954.<sup>136</sup> The increased term length placed an added element of urgency to the city's labour movement, as the opportunity to challenge anti-labour forces would become a biennial event.

The vote of 1954 was heralded by the *Spectator* as a 'crucial election', though the paper's editorial staff was cognizant of the fact that Hamiltonians were not showing any considerable interest in the impending vote.<sup>137</sup> Voter turn-out increased by 1.33%, and little changed on council. Faced with the highly popular candidacy of Ada Pritchard, a protégé of Nora-Frances Henderson and Ellen Fairclough, Lawrence faced a very real threat to his position on the Board of Control. On election night, Lawrence retained his fourth-place position, securing just over 200 more votes than Samuel Baggs, election night's only loser.<sup>138</sup> The five CCF candidates for alderman fared poorly, with Dave Lawrence, to whom the *Spectator* gave the distinction of

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<sup>133</sup> "For Board Of Control," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 28, 1953, pp. 23.

<sup>134</sup> "Lawrence Tumbles To Fourth Place," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 3, 1953, pp. 33.

<sup>135</sup> "Ald. M.K. Heddle Entered Lists To Fight Reds," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 3, 1953, pp. 7.

<sup>136</sup> "Two-year Term Will Begin Next City Election," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 3, 1953, pp. 7.

<sup>137</sup> "Crucial Election," *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, November 15, 1954, pp. 6.

<sup>138</sup> "Mrs. Ada Pritchard Elected Controller, Jack MacDonald, 27, Again Leads Board," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 2, 1954, pp. 39.

having “a useful purpose as a gadfly,”<sup>139</sup> serving once again as the party’s only alderman. In addition to Helen Anderson-Coulson’s last-place finish in the Ward Six aldermanic race, labour’s strength municipally was significantly diminished.

Upon the urging of family, supporters, and party officials alike, Lawrence declined to seek another term on the Board of Control in 1956. Labour made a strong bid for seats that year, fielding nine candidates, including David Lawrence and president of the newly unified Hamilton and District Labour Council, James Stowe. The city’s focus, though, was on the mayoral battle that served as a symbol of the changing times in Hamilton.

Jackson faced a significant challenge from the 30 year-old Controller Jack MacDonald. The *Spectator* contrasted the two, portraying the mayor as the distinguished, experienced embodiment of what is possible in Hamilton, as Jackson arrived in the city with nothing and worked his way through the business world to eventually own Jackson’s Bakeries. MacDonald, alternatively, was a well-dressed, tall, young ‘civic booster’, who was skilled at electioneering and debating.<sup>140</sup> The race was challenging for both candidates, who spent considerable amounts of money developing stylistically appealing and innovative new advertisements for their candidacies. Most notable among them was an advertisement from the Jackson campaign printed in the *Spectator* a day prior to the vote which simply featured a pair of loafers with the words “WHOSE SHOES?” printed above them, imploring that voters examine which of the candidates they feel was best able to fill them.<sup>141</sup>

The result on election night was in the favour of neither the CCF or Controller MacDonald. Jackson easily secured another term as mayor with just over 60% of the vote, while every CCF, candidate, save for David Lawrence, was defeated. No other alderman held pro-labour sympathies, despite Roy Aindow’s aldermanic victory in Ward One, as the former CCF member had remained a strong ally of business groups in the city’s east-end.<sup>142</sup>

Lawrence passed away on October 25, 1958, two years after his final retirement from council. Their *de facto* leader gone, a series of stunning electoral rebukes, and the defection of key

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<sup>139</sup> “Energy, Experience,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, November 23, 1954, pp. 6.

<sup>140</sup> “Mayoralty Race – The Candidates,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, December 3, 1956, pp. 7 – 8.

<sup>141</sup> “Whose Shoes? – Advertisement,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 4, 1956, pp. 16.

<sup>142</sup> “Four New Alderman Elected,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 6, 1956, pp. 14.

members left the local CCF a directionless organization. Facing certain defeat in the 1958 election, the local executive decided to not run candidates in that December.<sup>143</sup>

Focusing on the Hamilton and District Labour Council, local CCF activists sought to create a cohesive, politically viable municipal force. Endorsing seven candidates, labour tried to shed some of their past image, disassociating themselves with those affiliated with the LPP and former CCF candidates perceived to be unpopular with the electorate, such as James Allan.<sup>144</sup>

The strategy was moderately successful. Labour candidates, under the banner of Candidates for Sound Civic Government, performed well. In addition to securing victory for David Lawrence, labour was able to defeat anti-communist Alderman Malcolm Heddle, replacing him with their endorsed candidate, James Murdock of the United Rubber Workers.<sup>145</sup>

The year 1960 marked the beginning of a new era in Hamilton's civic politics. The Old Stone Pile was demolished, and City Hall moved to its present location on Main Street, between Bay and MacNab Streets. This occurred at the same time as another redistricting of wards, encompassing what would comprise the boundaries of the City of Hamilton until amalgamation in 2000 (see Appendix Four). The city had moved away from a period of outward, greenfield growth and industrialization that enabled expansion into neighbouring municipalities and into a period of maturation and redevelopment in the city's urban core.

Politically, Hamilton was changing as well. Lloyd Jackson, who had handily defeated political opponents in every election since 1949 was granted his first acclamation. The Board of Control changed significantly, with a popular young newscaster, Victor Copps, taking the first seat on the board in his first attempt at civic office. Veteran politicians such as Samuel Parker and Ada Pritchard lost considerable support or were defeated by men like Copps and the aggressive businessman Archie McCoy.<sup>146</sup>

Labour's new strategy was working as well. Despite losing James Murdock in Ward Four, his aldermanic running mate, Bill Powell, captured 3,117 votes and the first seat in the ward. David Lawrence, contesting the new Ward Five, secured the top seat, while Bill Foley won the new east mountain Ward Seven. The *Spectator* recognized the momentous nature of that election, writing, "At no time during the 1950s did labour have more than two of its supported candidates elected

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<sup>143</sup> "Parties Can Sway Votes In Municipal Elections," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 15, 1958, pp. 8.

<sup>144</sup> "Labour Backs 7 Candidates For Aldermen In City Vote," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 7, 1958, pp. 7.

<sup>145</sup> Straton Holland, "Murdock Wins Council Seat, Gives Labour Second Voice," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 4, 1958, pp. 10.

<sup>146</sup> "Vic Copps First On Board, MacDonald Finishes Fourth," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 8, 1960, pp. 39.

until yesterday.”<sup>147</sup> Municipal politics in Hamilton was changing, and it was labour’s time to capture the moment.

The failure of labour in the 1950’s can be tied to any number of factors that converged to create an environment conducive to the success of right-leaning, pro-business candidates at the expense of labour candidates. The perception that the municipal CCF was a dated force and the very real lack of power the party was able to exert in the late 1940’s certainly would have influenced voters wanting to support candidates who would provide for their communities. Furthermore, the reliance on Sam Lawrence as a unifying figure harmed candidates who exerted considerable influence campaigning for Lawrence because of his personal popularity and name-recognition that they were unable to successfully advance their own platforms to the electorate. When Lawrence’s popularity began to suffer, the popularity of the party did as well. Lawrence’s retirement and death hurt the CCF municipally, as they lost an important binding agent.

The strength of Lloyd Jackson cannot be understated. Serving as deputy mayor under Jackson, Ellen Fairclough experienced first hand the power Jackson exerted over the city when she opposed the mayor’s plan to expropriate the Lister Block, a downtown office building at the corner of King William and James Streets, for municipal office space. Fairclough was a proponent of constructing a new city hall rather than continuing to use the Old Stone Pile. The controller took a stand on the issue and spoke with the *Spectator* about her idea, after which Jackson lashed out at her publically, shouting at Fairclough in a Board of Control meeting and using his connections in the Liberal Party to try and defeat Fairclough in her bid for a seat in parliament as a Progressive Conservative.<sup>148</sup> Through this, Fairclough provides an example of how much power Jackson maintained over the city’s politics for the dozen years he presided over council.

The unification of the labour councils and the shedding of the CCF label three years before the founding of the NDP did provide a foundation on which the successes of the 1960s would be won. Abandoning the ties between larger provincial and federal parties and creating a Hamilton-specific labour organization to contest municipal elections would put labour in a position it had not been since 1933.

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<sup>147</sup> “Labour Candidates Led In Three Polls,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 8, 1960, pp. 39.

<sup>148</sup> Fairclough (1995), pp. 67.

## The Rise and Fall of Labour's Voice – 1962 - 1975

On November 1, 1962, Jack MacDonald walked into a meeting of the Hamilton and District Labour Council with the express desire to gain as much labour support as possible for his second bid for the mayor's office. Advancing a platform of urban renewal, low taxes, and a reduction in capital expenditures, MacDonald told the council that he viewed the mayoralty as "the highest office to which a person can be elected directly by the people with out [sic] political party influence."<sup>149</sup> His low-tax plan promised more money in the pockets of working people and an environment conducive to business development.

Two weeks later, a similar event occurred at the labour council. Not to be outdone, Vic Copps attended the council's weekly meeting, attacking MacDonald for supporting Jackson so enthusiastically during council meetings while taking every opportunity to undermine him in municipal elections. A skillful populist, Copps told the meeting that he refused to support strikebreakers, but provided little else in terms of a tangible platform.<sup>150</sup>

The desire for two establishment candidates, Copps as a Liberal, MacDonald as a Conservative, to earn the support of the Hamilton and District Labour Council was striking, particularly because each of them faced a credible threat from within their own parties. Jackson's ties to the traditional Liberal establishment in Toronto contrasted with Copps' perceived youth and enthusiasm, while MacDonald's business-oriented conservatism clashed with the Goldwater-style politics of contender Bill Vanderburgh, who billed himself as the 'true conservative' candidate for mayor.<sup>151</sup>

The spirited mayoral campaign and a number of referenda on the issues of universal water fluoridation, universal suffrage for Hamiltonians over 21, and allowing movie theatres to open on Sunday was expected to drive voter turn-out up from the 54% that cast a ballot in 1960. The *Spectator* ambitiously reported the expectations that over 65% of Hamiltonians would vote and urged voters to cast ballots as early as possible as to avoid long lines.<sup>152</sup>

The front page of the *Spectator* on December 6 summarized the highlights of the previous day. "Copps Wins, Fluoride Loses" the headline read, under which appeared a smiling Copps,

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<sup>149</sup> "MacDonald Bids For Labour Vote," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 2, 1962, pp. 10.

<sup>150</sup> "City Council Needs 'Disturbing' Copps Tells District Unionists," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 16, 1962, pp. 8.

<sup>151</sup> "Vanderburgh Seeks First Office," *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, December 3, 1962, pp. 11.

<sup>152</sup> "Key Issues Expected To Spark Record Vote," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 4, 1962, pp. 7.

being congratulated by Jackson, who suffered his first electoral defeat in nine terms. Voters enthusiastically supported Copps, who defeated Jackson 37,789 votes to 23,067.<sup>153</sup>

Buried on page 31, a small story noted the fact that labour was not able to increase the number of seats from those won in 1960.<sup>154</sup> Despite this, Hamilton and District Labour Council candidates increased their vote counts, solidifying the seats they held and increasing their competitiveness elsewhere. Bill Powell of Ward Four won over 2,400 more votes in 1962 than in 1960, David Lawrence secured nearly 2,000 more in Ward Five, and Bill Foley garnered over 3,000 more votes in Ward Seven.<sup>155</sup>

Labour was energized. The three aldermen fought vigorously through the year as the labour council sought to build momentum for the 1964 vote. On October 28, 1964, the Hamilton and District Labour Council sent an urgent letter to its affiliated locals, with a call for donations, support for Powell, Lawrence, and Foley, as well as an appeal to support endorsed candidates. The third point read,

“Elect as many of our endorsed candidates as possible, so that Labour’s Voice can speak with more authority and influence in matters of interest to all the Citizens of Hamilton.”<sup>156</sup>

Adopting the name Labour’s Voice, labour council endorsed candidates campaigned in every ward across the city except for the west-end Ward One (see Appendix Four). On election night, the effort had paid off. What was considered a ‘slow’ election because of the acclamation given to Vic Copps and the absence of any high-profile political battles became labour’s night, as four aldermanic candidates from Labour’s Voice were successful, in addition to three Board of Education candidates.<sup>157</sup>

The addition of more aldermen inspired labour, not just in the context of municipal politics, but in larger society. As Bill Scandlan noted about the feeling at the time,

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<sup>153</sup> “Copps Wins, Fluoride Loses,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 6, 1962, pp. 1.

<sup>154</sup> “Labour Drive Static With No New Faces,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 6, 1962, pp. 31.

<sup>155</sup> City of Hamilton, “Elections - Aldermen,” City of Hamilton records, December 7, 1960.

<sup>156</sup> James Stowe, *James Stowe to All Affiliated Local Unions of the Hamilton and District Labour Council, October 28, 1964*, Letter, from Hamilton and District Labour Council Archives at Mills Memorial Library, Hamilton, Ontario.

<sup>157</sup> Bas Korstanje, “Dull Election Festive Event For Labour,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 3, 1964, pp. 14.

“There were a lot of younger people and older people who, by their thirties and forties, had been around, had been in the service, had done a number of things, and had taken a shit-kicking and couldn’t do much about it. Now, they felt some power and goddamn it, they were going to use it.”<sup>158</sup>

In the months before the election, the Hamilton and District Labour Council issued a unified platform that each candidate was required to endorse before earning the council’s approval.<sup>159</sup> The platform contained twelve points, namely:

1. Adjusting the tax structure to ensure industry contributed more,
2. Extension of polling hours,
3. Downtown redevelopment,
4. Investment in more low-rent housing,
5. Reducing the power of the Board of Control,
6. Lobbying the federal government for at-cost loans,
7. Lobbying the provincial government to assume control of education costs,
8. Lowering air and water pollution,
9. Improving recreation centres and programming,
10. Construction of more low-cost senior’s housing,
11. Reducing traffic congestion, significant improvements to the Hamilton Street Railway,
12. Support for regional government.<sup>160</sup>

Having recognized the potential in that year’s coming election, delegates to the labour council made the recommendation that each member union contribute ten cents per-member to its election fund. Though not every union agreed to contribute, Scandlan estimated that nearly sixty percent of the unions contributed, providing Labour’s Voice with a substantial financial base on which to run a successful campaign.<sup>161</sup>

For the first time in decades, labour had an aldermanic candidate in every ward, including Bill Foley standing for a position on the Board of Control. Local media was impressed with the

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<sup>158</sup> Bill Scandlan. Interviewed by author. Personal Interview, Hamilton, Ontario, May 16, 2013.

<sup>159</sup> Bill Scandlan, *Bill Scandlan to All Affiliated Local Unions of the Hamilton and District Labour Council, November 4, 1966*, Letter, from Hamilton and District Labour Council Archives at Mills Memorial Library, Hamilton, Ontario.

<sup>160</sup> “Municipal Election Program of the Hamilton & District Labour Council,” Hamilton and District Labour Council Archives at Mills Memorial Library, Hamilton, Ontario.

<sup>161</sup> Bill Scandlan. Interviewed by author. Personal Interview, Hamilton, Ontario, May 16, 2013.



newfound power of labour. The *Spectator* endorsed Foley for a position on the board and urged voters to ask aldermanic candidates about their stances on “planning, regional government, traffic plans, and industrial and residential development,” all of which Labour’s Voice addressed in their platform.<sup>162</sup> The paper did not mention the return of Harry Hunter, who sought a seat on the Board of Control after a nearly 20-year absence from the municipal arena.

In the *Spectator*’s municipal election special, Labour’s Voice candidates ran a two-page ad with a striking design. Featuring an ample amount of white space, the ad was titled “teamwork”, with a brief explanation about the goals of the platform, the diversity of the candidates, and a pledge to “work as a team to get things done at City Hall.”<sup>163</sup>

Election night, 1966 proved to be more exciting for labour than any other in the past three decades. Aside from the easy re-election of Copps and the approval of fluoridation by a very slim margin, Labour’s Voice increased its share of seats on council to six. Bill Foley captured the fourth seat on the Board of Control, while Aldermen Lawrence, Powell, and Scandlan were re-elected. James Stowe claimed Foley’s aldermanic seat and Tom Doyle won a Ward Two seat vacated by Bill McCulloch, a Conservative alderman who sought a seat on the Board of Control.<sup>164</sup> It was a good night, but the election of 1966 would be the height of the success enjoyed by Labour’s Voice.

The election of 1968 brought new challenges from unconventional places. Most surprisingly, support for labour began to come from institutions that were once the most hostile to the political involvement of working people. In late November, 1968, the *Spectator* ran a series of editorials critiquing the administration for inaction on issues that the city had faced since the beginning of Copps’ mayoralty. The solution proposed by the paper’s editorial board directly supported the efforts of labour: the formal entry of municipal political parties into civic politics. Calling council a “Babel of 21 individuals,” an editorial on November 23 read,

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<sup>162</sup> “Choices For A City,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 25, 1966, pp. 6.

<sup>163</sup> “teamwork,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, December 2, 1966, pp. 72 – 73.

<sup>164</sup> “Labour Gains Two Seats,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 8, 1966, pp. 7.

“For want of a majority group – or party – of councillors supporting a specific set of propositions, Hamilton’s civic political energy is dissipated, individual effort frustrated and the will to get things done is burned out before things happen.”<sup>165</sup>

The following day, another editorial was more aggressive. “Hamilton’s non-party, “independent” council system doesn’t work,” the paper wrote, before concluding with, “Non-affiliated civic parties would be preferable and probably more effective,” with the caveat that such organizations don’t become “municipal kindergartens” for existing federal and provincial parties.<sup>166</sup>

While the *Spectator* provided support for the structure adopted by labour, if not the direct policies of the group, problems grew within the ranks of Labour’s Voice. After a proposal brought to the New Democratic Party to field candidates municipally under the party standard was defeated, supporters of the motion began disassociating themselves with Labour’s Voice and, in some cases, resigning from the party over the summer of 1968. That fall, a number of motions relating to the upcoming municipal elections were defeated by the Hamilton and District Labour Council, including a proposal to endorse more than one candidate in each ward. Those advocating such an approach began to destabilize the council and made plans to seek election as independent labour candidates. In late November, the *Spectator* was predicting that the election of 1968 would be “Labour’s Last Fling.”<sup>167</sup>

On December 2, the internal strain began to show. Bill Foley retained his fourth-place seat on the Board of Control despite shedding 2,000 votes. Tom Doyle’s Ward Two seat was won by former Alderman Bill McCulloch and vote-splitting between Bill Scandlan and independent labour candidate Nickolas Ramacieri saw the former drop 1,000 votes and come within 300 votes of losing Ward Three. Powell and Lawrence both shed support, leaving Ward Seven’s Jim Stowe the only labour alderman to increase his share of the vote. In Ward Six, Labour’s Voice candidate June Robertson placed fifth, just after independent labour candidate Thomas Davidson. The combined vote total for the two candidates would have been 3,680. Had that total been for a single candidate, that individual would have topped the polls in the east-end ward. On election

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<sup>165</sup> “Election Issues: II,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 23, 1968, pp. 6.

<sup>166</sup> “Election Issues: III,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 24, 1968, pp. 6.

<sup>167</sup> Peter Calamai, “This Could Be Labour’s Last Fling,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 29, 1968, pp. 35.

night, Davidson himself told the *Spectator*, “A united labour movement could have elected a labour candidate in the ward.”<sup>168</sup>

The *Spectator* was correct when it predicted the end of labour’s run municipally. In 1969, the Hamilton-area New Democrats were the sponsors of a new resolution at the party’s provincial convention calling for official involvement of the party in civic government, which passed narrowly. Paving the way for the party’s involvement municipally, the New Democrats held a conference in April of 1970 on municipal affairs at the Steelworker’s Centre on Barton. Working groups and speeches were held on important local issues with Aldermen Lawrence and Scandlan, Controller Foley, and former candidates, such as Gary Chertkoff, listed as organizers and speakers.<sup>169</sup> With changes to ward boundaries giving the Mountain more representation (see Appendix Five), practical tips on election strategies and efficient organization were as much the aim of the conference as was promoting the party’s platform municipally.

In early September, the Hamilton and District Labour Council announced that they would be endorsing New Democrat candidates for office and asked members for donations to the joint New Democrat/Labour campaign.<sup>170</sup> Divisions began to form immediately after. A contested nomination for the mayoralty by Bill Freeman and Lloyd Lazar ended poorly. Freeman won the nomination and Lazar left the party to contest the office as an independent labour candidate.<sup>171</sup>

Soon after, Bill Powell publically rejected the idea of a New Democratic slate and announced he would be running as an independent labour candidate for the Board of Control after Bill Foley indicated that he would retire. The decision to forego party support meant a tight budget, which Powell used to his favour in better connecting with working class voters by allowing the *Spectator* to photograph his family stapling cardboard signs to home-made wooden stakes.<sup>172</sup>

In announcing their platform, the first municipal New Democrat slate tried to appeal to a wide array of Hamiltonians, reaching out to civic ‘watchdogs’ with a promise for more open meetings,

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<sup>168</sup> “‘Not A Banner Year,’ Labour Drops Seat On Council,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 3, 1968, pp. 26.

<sup>169</sup> “Agenda for NDP Conference on Municipal Affairs,” Hamilton and District Labour Council Archives at Mills Memorial Library, Hamilton, Ontario.

<sup>170</sup> John Morgan, *John Morgan to All Affiliated Local Unions of the Hamilton and District Labour Council, September 23, 1970*, Letter, from Hamilton and District Labour Council Archives at Mills Memorial Library, Hamilton, Ontario.

<sup>171</sup> “Quit NDP, seeks mayoralty,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, November 5, 1970, pp. 7.

<sup>172</sup> “Powell running do-it-yourself campaign,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, November 5, 1970, pp. 8.

to the city's business community by supporting airport expansion, and to its working class base by promoting bus lines directly from plant gates to highly populated areas around the city.<sup>173</sup>

The ambition of the platform and the optimism of the party activists did not translate into victory. Four New Democrat aldermanic candidates placed last, with the remainder falling well below the vote totals of the eventual victors. Bill Freeman finished 40,000 votes behind Copps while Gord Hume, the party's Board of Control candidate, placed seventh. Only Bill Scandlan retained his Ward Seven seat, beating third-place finisher Reverend Stanley Hills by just over 100 votes.<sup>174</sup> Lamenting the loss, retiring Controller Bill Foley remarked that the party seemed to spend more time attacking other candidates and dealing with internal politics than providing constructive solutions.<sup>175</sup>

The next election saw equally poor returns for labour. In 1972, the labour council only offered endorsement for those that the body supported in 1970 under the reasoning that the city's labour forces focused intently on the federal election that had occurred the past October.<sup>176</sup> On election night, Scandlan was returned in Ward Seven and Don Gray, labour candidate in Ward Four, was able to win a narrow victory. The council's only other endorsed candidate, Dick Leppert, placed seventh out of eight candidates in Ward Six.<sup>177</sup>

Not long after the election of 1972, the provincial government announced that, on January 1, 1974, the City of Hamilton would become part of the Region of Hamilton-Wentworth. The city would control a majority of the seats on the new regional council, while working in tandem with the towns of Flamborough, Ancaster, Dundas, Glanbrook, and Stoney Creek. The creation of the region necessitated a special municipal election to be held on October 1, 1973, well outside the regular time-frame for a civic vote.<sup>178</sup>

Forcing an early election caught the labour council and the New Democrats during a time of great internal strife. During a rushed nomination meeting, the labour council endorsed nine candidates, leaving three delegates off their list of approved candidates, including the secretary of the council, Nancy MacDonald. A group of delegates lambasted the decision to pass over key

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173 "NDP slate sets sights on boosting city's 'sagging morale'," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, November 12, 1970, pp. 7.

174 "Hamilton Election Results," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 8, 1970, pp. 10.

175 "Party politics idea strongly rejected," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 8, 1970, pp. 7.

176 "They get labour's blessing," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, November 30, 1972, pp. 7.

177 "Five new faces on council; Cline, Poloniato defeated," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 5, 1972, pp. 7.

178 "The Family: 28 members to govern our region," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, September 29, 1973, pp. 8.

labour activists, taking particular issue with the endorsement of Dick Leppert, who some members called ‘anti-union’ and a ‘strikebreaker’.<sup>179</sup>

Involvement in the election of 1973 was particularly important, as municipal workers were on strike just before the vote. A number of Canadian Union of Public Employees Local 167 members sought election with the purpose of challenging Vic Copps’ administration, thanks in part to a bitter information battle that played out in the form of full-page advertisements in the *Spectator*.<sup>180</sup> One of the candidates denied endorsement by the labour council was a CUPE candidate, which brought disharmony to the council and divided essential resources.

In a public relations disaster, CUPE shed considerable support over the death of former mayor Lloyd Jackson. On September 13, two days after Jackson died, striking CUPE workers denied a request to make an exception for the Jackson family to bury the former mayor, as all burials had been put on hold until a settlement had been reached. Copps lashed out at the union, while Jim Inrig of the local insisted there could be no exceptions regardless of one’s former positions.<sup>181</sup> The strike concluded on September 17, with CUPE members accepting the same terms that led to the strike earlier in the month.<sup>182</sup>

The election results were dismal for all elements of labour. CUPE’s mayoral candidate, Robert Bradshaw, received 11,183 votes to Copps’ 51,845. The union’s Board of Control candidates placed seventh and eleventh in a field of eleven candidates. Sitting labour aldermen Lawrence, Gray, Stowe, and Scandlan retained their seats while other labour council endorsed and independent labour candidates fell far below the eventual winners.<sup>183</sup>

In thirteen years, Hamilton’s labour movement had built considerable momentum, bringing a working-class opposition to a position of realistic strength. A unified labour slate in 1966, with a single aldermanic candidate in each ward to focus labour support, trustee candidates for both the public and Catholic school boards, and a single, well-respected candidate for the board of control provided the best returns for an independent, inclusive, Hamilton-based labour slate.

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<sup>179</sup> “Labour endorses Leppert, bypasses 3 of its own,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, September 21, 1973, pp. 8.

<sup>180</sup> Charles Ross, “4 civic strikers in city election line-up of 54,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, September 11, 1973, pp. 7.

<sup>181</sup> “Strikers reject burial exception for ex-mayor,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, September 13, 1973, pp. 7.

<sup>182</sup> “Pact same as one rejected September 2,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, September 17, 1973, pp. 7.

<sup>183</sup> “Winners & Losers,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, October 2, 1973, pp. 7.

Just as with the CCF/ILP struggle in the Lawrence Era, though, the city's labour movement suffered from internal divisions that weakened their electoral power and allowed pro-business candidates to dominate the civic agenda.

Divisiveness within the Hamilton and District Labour Council was an essential element in its undoing. The failure to nominate certain candidates for worry of 'radical' ideologies or for association with communists drove those candidates to seek election independently of the labour council, drawing votes, support, and money away from Labour's Voice candidates.

Initial frustration among some local New Democrats over the involvement of the labour council in the candidate vetting process led to divisions between activists. When the party officially entered the municipal field in 1970, the situation was reversed leaving more activists became disillusioned with the process. Further divisions between striking CUPE workers and the labour council caused more divisions between labour candidates.

There exist similarities between the political history of Hamilton, Montreal, and Vancouver. All three cities had a dominant political group that controlled their respective city councils for over a decade prior to the 1960's. In Vancouver, the group was the Non-Partisan Association, a well-organized, official political party. In Montreal, it was the institutionalized rule of Jean Drapeau and his Civic Party of Montreal.<sup>184</sup> In Hamilton, it was a group of independent right-leaning aldermen that functioned as distinct representatives with a common ideology. Similarly, all had active municipal CCF organizations that enjoyed moderate success before abandoning civic elections after a string of defeats.<sup>185</sup>

Following a period of dormancy, the labour movement in Hamilton began to organize in opposition to the pro-business mentality that abounded in the city. Vancouver experienced the same revival, with pro-labour candidates winning a considerable number of seats where they had previously been uncompetitive.

It is what occurs immediately after 1966 where there is considerable divergence in history of the cities. In Hamilton, internal political pressures began to split the labour council's unity which reached full division once the New Democrats officially entered the municipal political field. In Vancouver, pro-labour candidates organized themselves into the Committee of Progressive

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<sup>184</sup> Timothy Lloyd Thomas, *A City With a Difference: The Rise and Fall of the Montreal Citizen's Movement*, (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1997), pp. 22.

<sup>185</sup> Donna Vogel, *Challenging Politics: COPE, Electoral Politics and Social Movements*, (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2003), pp. 53.

Electors in 1968 which was comprised of environmentalists, labour activists, student groups, and local New Democrats. Later renamed the Coalition of Progressive Electors, the organization continues to contest municipal elections and has served in governments and as a forceful opposition.<sup>186</sup>

Montreal's time does not occur until the mid-1970's, but the result is the same. After challenging Drapeau's authority for nearly a decade, the city's labour movement, student radicals, and progressive activists began contesting municipal elections, first under the banner of the *Front D'Action Politique* and later as the Montreal Citizen's Movement.<sup>187</sup> The MCM would eventually take power in the city, holding the mayoralty and a majority of the seats on council for two terms.<sup>188</sup>

It is important to note that the political culture of Hamilton and Vancouver are different, and the culture of Montreal is even more distinct thanks to the city's cultural and social composition. Despite this, the similarity of the municipal political events indicates that a reasonable comparison can be drawn between the successes and failures of each city's leftist, pro-labour civic movements.

The official independence of the candidates in Hamilton meant that not receiving an endorsement did not necessarily prevent a candidate from seeking office, rather, any labour candidate could run without labour council support and still call themselves a 'labour' candidate. In Vancouver, if a candidate did not receive COPE endorsement, they could not campaign as an independent COPE candidate, as such a candidate would not be listed as such on the ballot.

The divisiveness of Hamilton's labour movement mirrors the eventual collapse of the MCM in Montreal, as party activists felt the organization was moving away from its roots and councillors who felt the organization was losing credibility. Alternative groups emerged from a once united group and led to the defeat of the party and the rise of the right-leaning Union Montreal.<sup>189</sup>

The fluctuation in public support for labour-backed candidates in Hamilton's municipal elections from 1962 to 1975 can be explained by internal divisions within the labour movement that began diverting attention, resources, and ultimately support away from a unified labour

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<sup>186</sup> Ibid., pp. 59 – 60.

<sup>187</sup> Thomas, 1997, pp. 26 – 27.

<sup>188</sup> Thomas, 1997, pp. 96.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid., pp. 118.

movement. The gains achieved by the group had not been seen since the entry of the CCF into Hamilton's municipal politics in 1933. Municipal labour in Hamilton is contrasted with the successes of Vancouver's COPE while maintaining similarities with Montreal's MCM and, though the histories and political situation of each city is distinct, the comparisons that can be made indicated that there was considerable potential for a unified labour movement standing as an independent local political party to gain seats, advance their platform, and present a viable option for the voters of Hamilton when considering who would constitute the best government for the city.

### **“Powell For The People” – 1976 to 1985**

On October 4, 1976, Bill Scandlan announced his intention to not seek another term on council after 12 years of uninterrupted service. His announcement surprised some aldermen and supporters, as many felt that 1976 was labour's best chance to regain some of its former glory.<sup>190</sup> Municipal labour had become more pragmatic, best embodied by Alderman David Lawrence's support for turning the east-end's Lawrence Road into an expressway. This was a divisive point, as it abandoned labour's strategy of working in tandem with environmental groups and activists opposed to freeways and urban sprawl while promoting their connection with the building trades and civic labourers.<sup>191</sup>

In mid-October, the city's labour movement participated in a national Day of Protest against wage controls. Despite failing to reach organizer's estimates, 4,000 workers marched down King Street and ended at City Hall, where local labour leaders gave speeches and rallied the crowd.<sup>192</sup>

The optimism that came with pragmatic politics and a visible showing of labour strength dissipated with very public displays of disunity in the labour council. A political debate had been occurring for months before November, 1976, as distinct factions debated the involvement of labour municipally. The council was divided between the ideas that labour should join forces with the municipal New Democrats and contest elections with them and the belief that labour's municipal efforts should be independent of federal and provincial party involvement.

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<sup>190</sup> “Scandlan announces plans to quit council,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, October 4, 1976, pp. 8.

<sup>191</sup> Paul Palango, “Alderman sees Lawrence Road as expressway,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, October 12, 1976, pp. 8.

<sup>192</sup> “Turnout a disappointment as labour gathers at city hall rally,” *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, October 15, 1976, pp. 7.



On November 5, 1976, Ben DesRoches and John Ball, two members of the Hamilton and District Labour Council who identified with opposite sides of the debate, began arguing about the municipal issue. As the debate became more heated, the two began pushing, and eventually escalated into physical blows. The reasoning behind their argument stemmed from a motion to forego endorsing candidates in 1976 for risk of supporting communists.<sup>193</sup>

The incapacitation of Vic Copps thanks to a stroke earlier in the year meant that another era had ended in the city. Acting-mayor Vince Agro sought a full term in the office on a platform of continuing Copps' legacy, while Jack MacDonald, trying once more for the office, advanced a platform of change and a welcoming environment to business.<sup>194</sup> The pair were challenged by a pro-airport building superintendent, a steelworker on compensation, and a member of the Satan's Choice Motorcycle Club, but no official labour-backed candidate.<sup>195</sup>

Election night saw MacDonald defeat Agro by over 30,000 votes and the return of a Board of Control without labour representation. The lack of an official labour slate or labour council endorsement meant candidates stood as independents without connection to a larger structure, though some candidates made their affiliations known. Aldermen Gray and Lawrence retained Ward Four, while Stowe retained his Ward Six seat. Brian Hinkley claimed Pat Valeriano's Ward Three seat when the incumbent alderman sought a position on the Board of Control and then-New Democrat Ted McMeekin won Ward Seven after Scandlan's retirement.<sup>196</sup>

The failure to endorse candidates stretched into 1978, with delegates once again worried that communist-affiliated candidates would receive official labour support.<sup>197</sup> Rather than wait for labour council approval, communist candidates sought election independently. Bob Mann contested Ward Two, while Elizabeth Rowley stood for the Board of Control, though avoided promoting her ties to labour and the Communist Party.<sup>198</sup>

In response, local New Democrats endorsed a slate of candidates, but allowed them to seek election as independents with tacit support from the party. The New Democrats provided support

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<sup>193</sup> "Fights stupid, labour told," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 19, 1976, pp. 7.

<sup>194</sup> "Election '76 Agro, MacDonald," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 2, 1976, pp. 25.

<sup>195</sup> "Election '76 Hampson, Kellet, Zloapa," *Hamilton Spectator*, Thursday, December 2, 1976, pp. 25.

<sup>196</sup> "City results," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, December 7, 1976, pp. 9.

<sup>197</sup> Peter Van Harten, "Labour council won't endorse any candidates," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 3, 1978, pp. 7.

<sup>198</sup> "Remove signs, hopeful told," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, November 7, 1978, pp. 7.

to all incumbent pro-labour candidates except Jim Stowe and David Lawrence, who, in his bid for a 15<sup>th</sup> term on council, chose to avoid association with the party.<sup>199</sup>

On November 13, Rowley and Mann both lost by significant margins, with Rowley placing sixth out of eight Board of Control candidates while Mann ended fifth out of seven in Ward Two. Hinkley, Gray, and McMeekin each won their respective races, while Lawrence and Stowe retained Wards Four and Six.<sup>200</sup> Rowley would not have another opportunity to seek the position, as the Board of Control would be abolished for the election of 1980.

The abolition of the board, which had been an element of Hamilton's civic government since 1909 and the federal election earlier in the year led municipal officials to predict that fewer than 50% of Hamiltonians would vote.<sup>201</sup> The mayoral election did not have any of the markers that past vigorous contests exhibited as three relatively unknown candidates challenged Jack MacDonald and Hamilton Region Conservation Authority chair Bill Powell. Powell, one of the Labour's Voice candidates in the 1960's, had been a prominent figure in the labour movement, even after his departure from elected office to lead the region's conservation areas. When the New Democrats moved into the municipal arena, Powell was one of the most vocal opponents of the proposal and made a public issue of his leaving the party.<sup>202</sup>

Despite his departure from the New Democrats, Powell retained the support of party members and elected officials in the area, including MPPs Brian Charlton and Mike Davison. In an effort to reach out to other politicians and solidify his non-partisan credentials, Powell also earned the support of Liberals Sheila Copps and Eric Cunningham and local businessman Archie McCoy.<sup>203</sup> On election night, 1980, Powell defeated MacDonald by 23,000 votes, remaining humble even in victory.<sup>204</sup>

Powell's leadership was enjoyed by aldermen but challenged by outside forces who felt more debate was necessary at city hall.<sup>205</sup> In early 1982, the New Democrats had announced their intention to contest the November election and were joined by the Hamilton Disarmament Coalition in endorsing candidates, though without formally bonding any candidate to either

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<sup>199</sup> "NDP endorses 10 candidates," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 10, 1978, pp. 24.

<sup>200</sup> "Who won in your ward," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, November 14, 1978, pp. 9.

<sup>201</sup> "Voter turnout forecast at 45%," *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, November 3, 1980, pp. 7.

<sup>202</sup> Bill Johnston and Eleanor Tait, "It may well be a matter of style," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 8, 1980, pp. 63.

<sup>203</sup> "Why most people want Powell, Mayor (Advertisement)," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 8, 1980, pp. 64.

<sup>204</sup> Eleanor Tait, "Powell for the people," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, November 11, 1980, pp. 7.

<sup>205</sup> Florence Sicoli, "Teamwork is Powell's main catchword," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 6, 1982, pp. C1.

group. Though the HDC's main focus was a municipal referendum calling for nuclear disarmament in the city, their influence stretched through progressive groups in the city, including the labour council.<sup>206</sup>

The New Democrats opted not to endorsing any mayoral candidate officially, leading the leftist Revolutionary Worker's League to endorse USW member Dan Grant, who opposed Powell on the grounds that he had abandoned working people in favour of a more pragmatic administration.<sup>207</sup> Despite opposition, the labour council endorsed Powell, as well as all New Democrat aldermanic candidates.<sup>208</sup> The divisions within labour were best exemplified by how aldermanic candidates presented themselves. Few party candidates identified as such, while some, like Mike Davison, identified as "NDP Alderman Ward 3," in his advertisements.<sup>209</sup>

On election night, NDP candidates Brian Hinkley, Mike Davison, Bruce Charlton, and Tom Murray won seats on council, while Powell was defeated by over 12,000 votes by Bob Morrow, who would serve consistently as mayor until 2000.<sup>210</sup>

The New Democrat candidates who were successful in 1982 formed an alliance that, for one and a half years, operated like a parliamentary caucus. Davison left council to contest a provincial by-election in 1984 and was replaced by Powell, who was selected by council rather than hold another vote for the position.<sup>211</sup> Council terms had been extended to three years by the provincial government and the city changed ward boundaries, though not significantly enough to move aldermen for the 1985 election (see Appendix Six).

Davison's departure led to a collapse in the New Democrat caucus, with Tom Murray publically distancing himself from the party and espousing conservative viewpoints in key debates.<sup>212</sup> In the election of 1985, Davison failed at a comeback, losing to Barton Street businessman Pat Valeriano while Charlton placed fourth in Ward Seven. Though David Christopherson beat former labour candidate Don Gray in Ward Four and Brian Hinkley retained his Ward Three seat, municipal labour would not be able to recreate its successes again.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Florence Sicoli, "Pressure groups are a strong election force," *Hamilton Spectator*, Monday, November 1, 1982, pp. A7 – A8.

<sup>207</sup> Denis LeBlanc, "Socialist says he's found some listeners," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 5, 1982, pp. C1.

<sup>208</sup> "For Jobs...Peace...Security (Advertisement)," *Hamilton Spectator*, Friday, November 5, 1982, pp. C12.

<sup>209</sup> "Mike Davison (Advertisement)," *Hamilton Spectator*, Saturday, November 6, 1982, pp. C7.

<sup>210</sup> "Election '82 – Hamilton-Wentworth," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, November 9, 1982, pp. A12.

<sup>211</sup> Brian Porter, "Aldermanic candidates note need to boost local economy," *Hamilton Spectator*, Tuesday, November 5, 1985, pp. D4.

<sup>212</sup> Andrew Dreschel, "Newcomer Don Ross upsets veteran Jim Bethune," *Hamilton Spectator*, Wednesday, November 13, 1985, pp. A7.

<sup>213</sup> "Results – Civic Election," *Hamilton Spectator*, Wednesday, November 13, 1985, pp. A10.

Writing in 1971, University of Alberta political science professor James Lightbody made the assumption from the trends he had observed that parties would become more prominent in municipal politics. Despite this, there remained doubt that a party structure at the municipal level would ensure any amount of traditional discipline.<sup>214</sup> The lack of formal recognition of political parties at the municipal level had meant there was rarely any binding authority that would hold members to account if they missed caucus meetings, voted against the party, or made comments contradictory to party policy in local media.

This proved to be important, as, from 1976 to 1985, the labour council fluctuated between supporting New Democrat candidates exclusively, to endorsing a larger slate, to avoiding municipal politics altogether. The insistence on the part of local Communist Party members that they were standing as independent citizens, rather than party or labour candidates, further exacerbated the confusion of the era, as labour had sympathetic aldermen, controllers, and, for a time, a mayor who refused to identify with labour, the labour council, or any labour-based political parties.

## **Conclusions and Observations**

Over the fifty-two years and thirty-seven elections included in this study, support for labour-endorsed candidates experienced significant fluctuations, ranging from the strength of six voices to complete rejection of labour candidates (see Appendix Seven). The immense shifts in labour support cannot be connected to support for the CCF or NDP at the provincial and federal levels, as support for the parties varied too widely to form any discernable pattern (see Appendix Eight).

It is difficult to ascertain whether particular issues were of importance in each aldermanic race, as the *Spectator* archives indicated that the paper only began focusing on the specific issues facing each ward in the late 1960's and early 1970's, before presenting full profiles of local issues and each candidate's response to them in the 1980's. Election reports from the 1930's to the early 1960's focused more on each candidate, who did not always present a full platform to voters, opting to campaign on slogans and their personal record rather than on issues. The Labour's Voice platform and New Democrat program give a good sense as to what the issues were facing the city when they contested elections but are only small components of the larger

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<sup>214</sup> James Lightbody, "The rise of party politics in Canadian local elections," *Journal of Canadian Studies* vol. 6, no. 1 (February, 1971) pp. 42.

election battles. Drawing off events in larger society or in the city as a whole can help, but neighbourhood-to-neighbourhood issues could have been distinct and unconnected to other events.

Ultimately, the unifying factors in labour's successes and failures were the strength of the personalities of candidates who both supported and opposed the aims of labour, be they expressly outlined in a platform as Labour's Voice did in the 1960's or implicit as an element of any connection to the trade union movement, as well as the divisions that were present within politically-active labour. The magnetism of Sam Lawrence in the early years of Hamilton's municipal CCF enabled some minor successes, mostly for Lawrence himself, but reciprocally for candidates who shared the party label with him. This was contrasted with the strength of alternative personalities, such as Nora-Frances Henderson and William Warrender on the right and Harry Hunter and Helen Anderson Coulson on the far left. Coulson and Hunter were labour candidates in their own right, but were rejected by many facets of organized labour for their Communist affiliations, a division that was itself a point of contention. The early split between the CCF and ILP, as well as the growing division between CIO and AFL affiliated candidates further divided the movement at important times in its evolution.

The rise of Lloyd Jackson, a personality to match the reputation and respect of Lawrence, as well as the latter's retirement and death in the 1950's, caused a period of dormancy in the nascent movement, which allowed a new generation of politically active and principled unionists to push Labour's Voice into the municipal electoral scene and provide a strong, effective voice for working people on Hamilton city council.

The split between New Democrat affiliates, Communists and politically independent labour supporters fractured the movement once more, leaving municipal labour in a disadvantaged position through the 1970's. A brief resurgence in the early 1980's with the election of Bill Powell was soured by the collapse of a short-lived NDP slate on council and Powell's distancing himself from the movement he helped build in Hamilton.

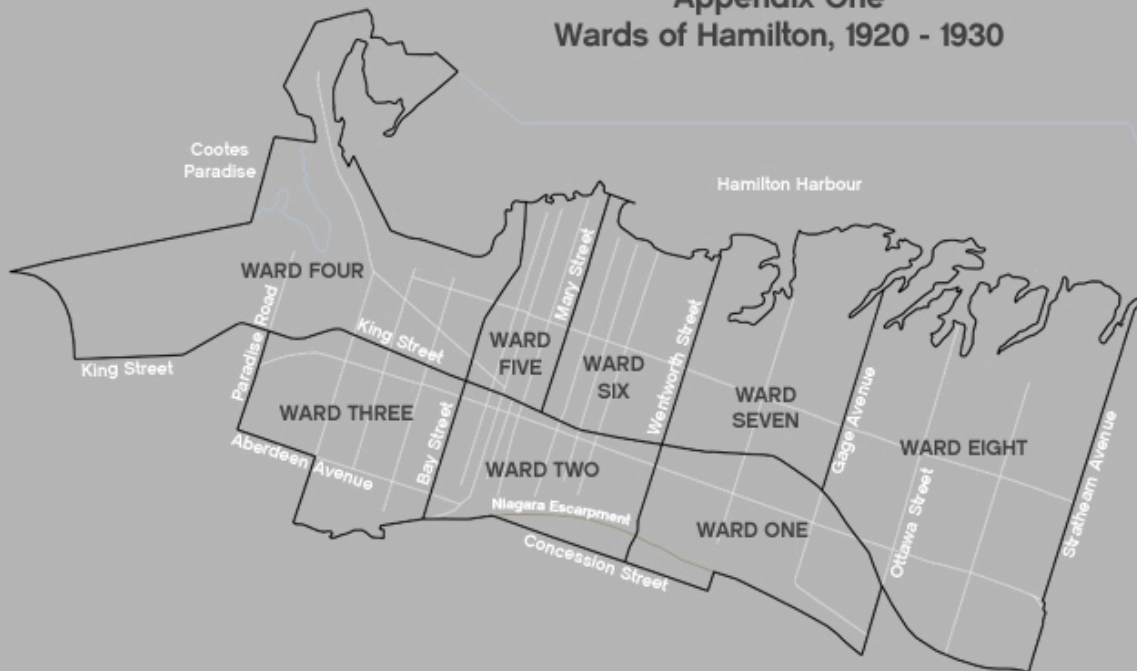
The history of politically-active labour at the municipal level in Hamilton is a history of division and of strong personalities, not unlike that of many other leftist political movements nationally and internationally. When compared with the histories of Vancouver's COPE or Montreal's MCM, Hamilton's working-class municipal movement seems less organized, though equally as influential at certain points in its history.

If any lessons can be extracted from this study, they are as follows: the doctrine of political independence at the municipal level is not sacrosanct, nor can any effective working class movement accept the Victorian-era claims advanced by its proponents if they are to successfully advance the cause of labour in municipal government. Organizing as a singular, cohesive, partisan body that maintains a set of principles in the form of a workable platform as well as a pragmatic local approach to government, just as what Labour's Voice did in the 1960's, is the best option for labour in civic elections. Considering the successes of Labour's Voice are similar to those won by COPE and the MCM, the potential existed for representatives of labour to challenge the traditional power structure in Hamilton and present themselves to the electorate as a viable government-in-waiting.

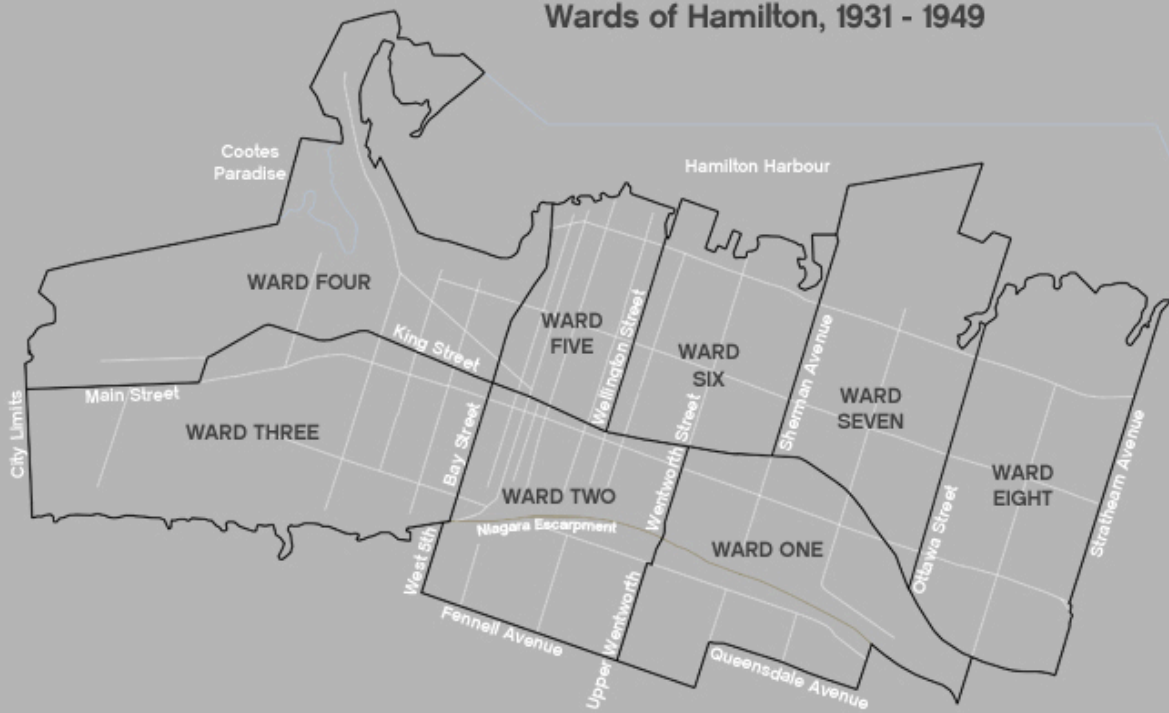
The internal division of labour and reliance on strong personalities in an attempt to contest elections in the framework of the urban reform movement inhibited organized labour from establishing itself as a viable opposition and governing group in Hamilton. It is here that the Lincolnian principle of 'a house divided against itself cannot stand' becomes pertinent, as it presents a justifiable reason for some of labour's most intense fluctuations in support during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Only when elements of labour overcame differences among members and recognized the importance of local partisan politics did the movement succeed. Given the fracturing of similar movements, it is purely speculation to definitively assert that the fall of Labour's Voice was not inevitable thanks to the volatile nature of many working class and labour-oriented electoral alliances.

Despite this, the successes of labour throughout Hamilton's history can be a point of inspiration for Hamiltonians and labour activists who, like Scandlan and many others, see how important civic government is and seek to change their local environment. Though the history of municipal labour in Hamilton is ultimately influenced by the personalities and divisions that impacted it, it is also a history of the belief in countless activists who believed that the people of Hamilton deserved a municipal government that respected the people of this city.

# Appendix One Wards of Hamilton, 1920 - 1930

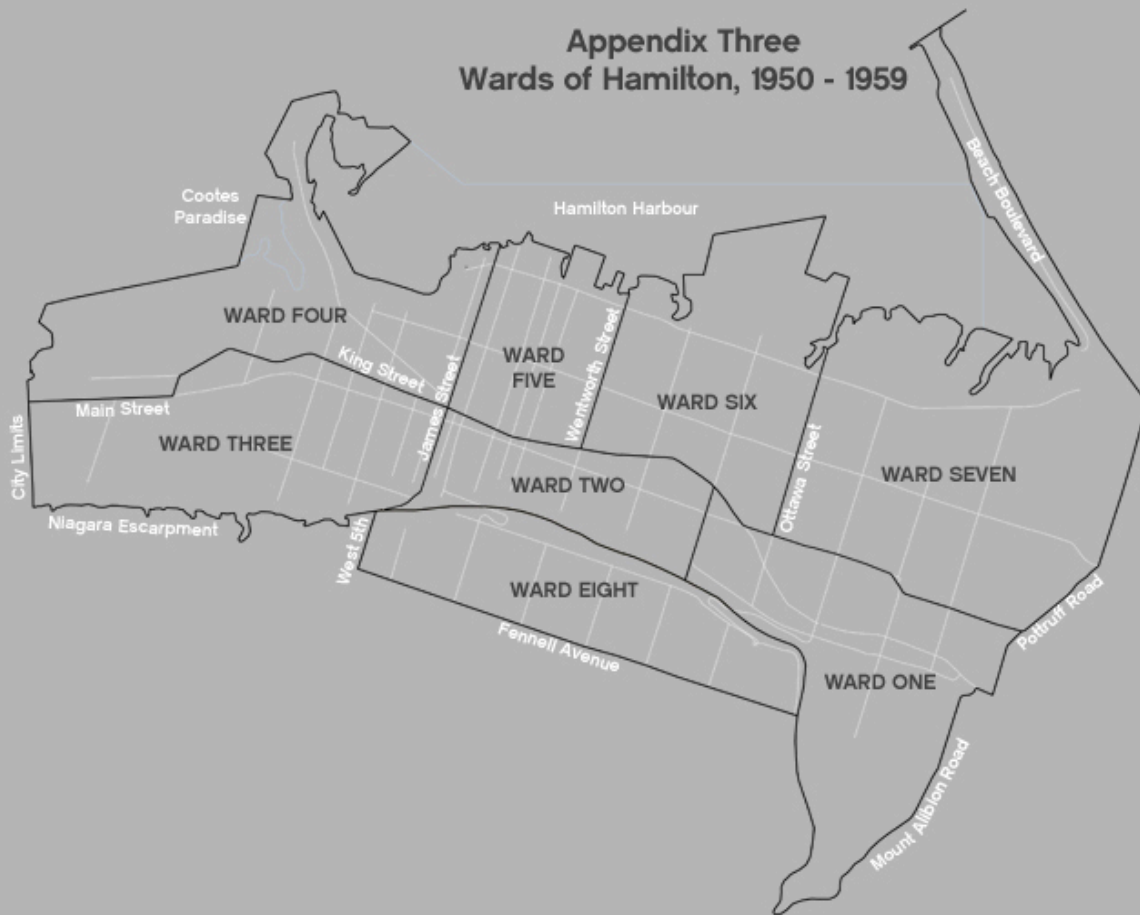


## Appendix Two Wards of Hamilton, 1931 - 1949





**Appendix Three**  
**Wards of Hamilton, 1950 - 1959**



#### Appendix Four Wards of Hamilton, 1960 - 1969



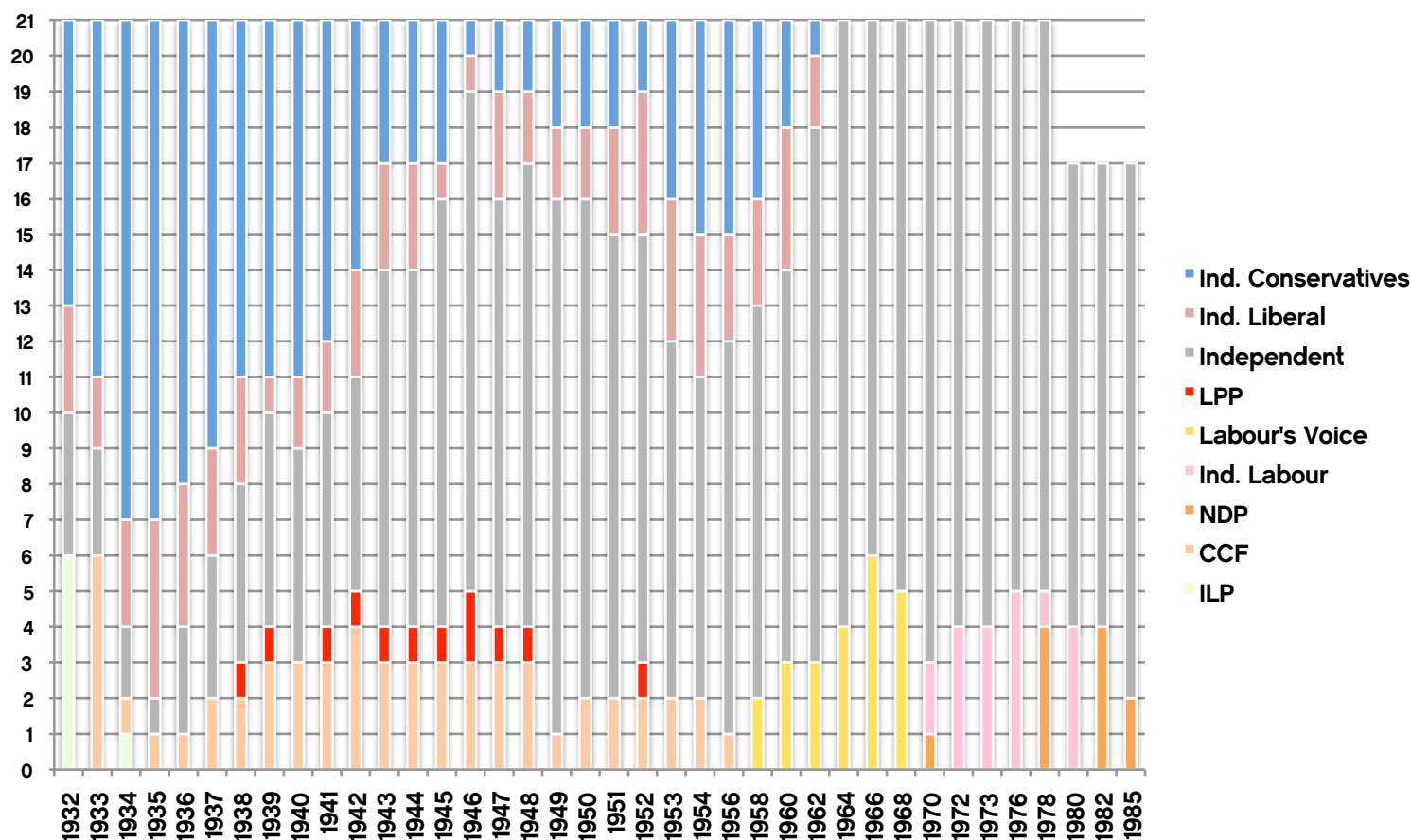
## Appendix Five Wards of Hamilton, 1970 - 1985



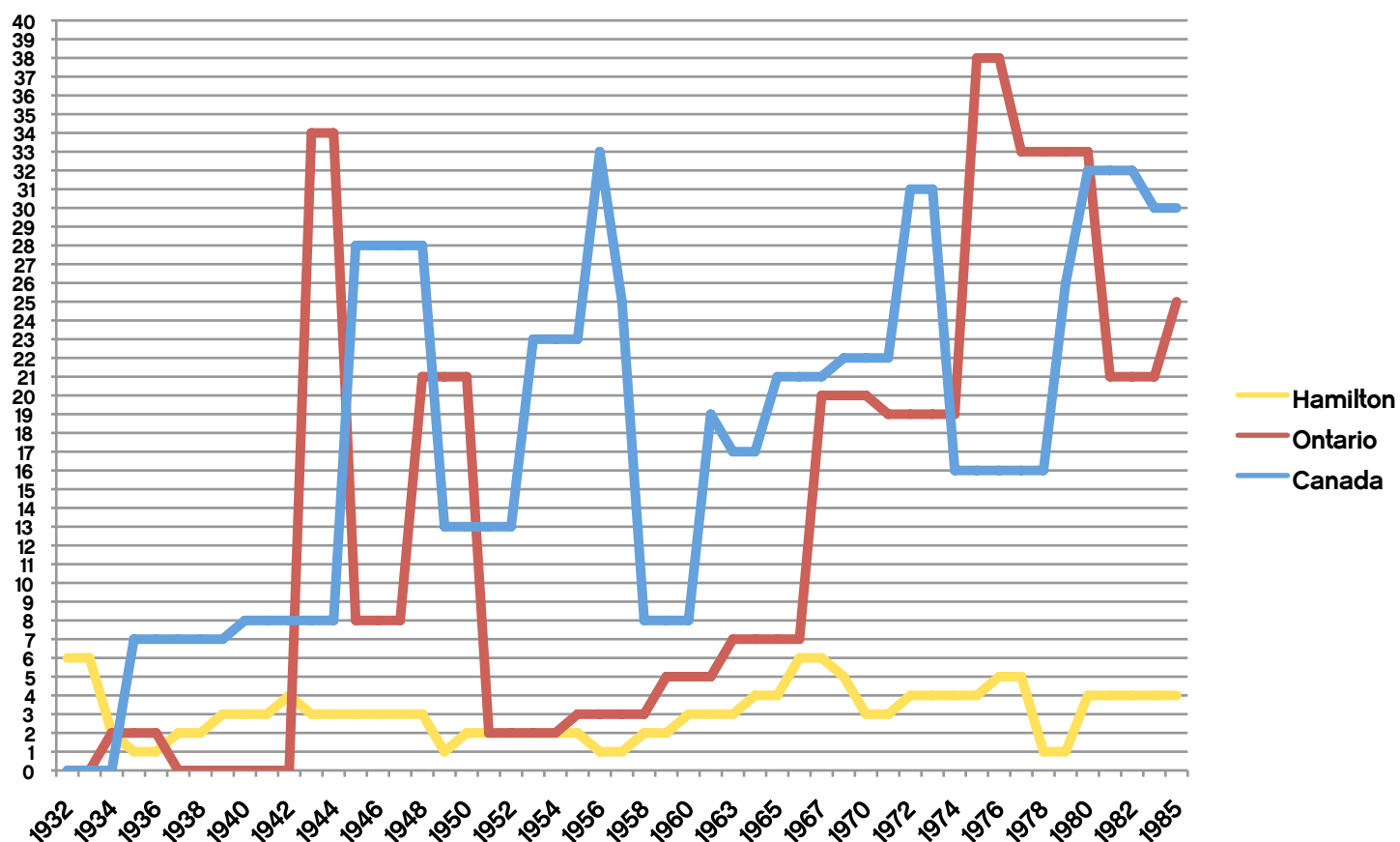
## Appendix Six Wards of Hamilton, 1985 - 1999



## Appendix 7 - Composition of Hamilton City Council, 1933 - 1985



## Appendix 8 - Seats Held By Labour Representatives in Canadian Legislatures, 1933 - 1985



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