

# Mapping Cultural Energies in Sudbury: From Lack to Need to Power

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Change—whether it comes quickly or is hard-won over time—occurs in the careful mix of individual determination and collective will. It unfolds in those conditions that empower the individual in relation to the collective experience: what is shared. Through a change in Canadian government certification regulations, a fledgling union called Mine Mill Local 598 emerged in Sudbury during the labour shortage of the Second World War and went on to become one of the most powerful unions in North America.<sup>1</sup>

By looking at two areas of energy—the history of Mine Mill Local 598 and the current music scene in this city—one can see that Sudbury's most significant cultural moments have been propelled by a mix of individual desire for self-expression and a collective wish for change.

The face of early mining history in Sudbury was a grisly one, smeared black and marked by hardship. In 1906, the workweek was eighty-four hours and

the conditions underground were unbearable.<sup>2</sup> A miner's lot in life was to be pushed to one's physical and mental limits. Up until the late 1930s there were many deaths—nearly one miner was killed on the job each week—because there were simply no safety rules.<sup>3</sup> It was risky when they dug to unimaginable depths.

Until Sudbury's miners took matters into their own hands and began to organize their efforts toward creating a union, their daily struggle may well have felt unending for them and unchosen for their families. Longtime Sudbury resident Karina Maki is the daughter of a miner who was active during the period before unionization, and she walked beside her father during demonstrations: "I used to have to march in the labour parades. When they had the parades they put children in there so that the police wouldn't be so active and use their clubs."<sup>4</sup>

1. Dieter Buse, interview by Musagetes Research Intern Jessica Hein, May 3, 2012, Sudbury, ON.
2. Mike Solski and John Smaller, "Sudbury Local 598: Early History," in *Mine Mill: The History of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in Canada Since 1895* (Ottawa: Steel Rail Publishing, 1984), 97.
3. Karina Maki, interview by Musagetes Research Intern Jessica Hein, June 10, 2012, Lively, ON.
4. Ibid.

The decades that followed exemplify how to break out of a tough spot through acting, speaking, and creating as individuals and as a group. These men were stuck between a rock and a hard place and yet they flourished. Even more impressive than the industrial processes they refined and the riches they unearthed was the collaboration of the miners toward the creation of a community that celebrated cultural wholeness.

As the union gathered resources and gained focus through the 1940s and '50s, the miners' lives became as socially, politically, and economically dangerous above ground as the work was below. In 1942, following much after-hours planning behind closed doors, a union called Mine Mill Local 598 went public and opened an office on Durham Street in downtown Sudbury. This was not without incident; they established a foothold only to have their feet kicked out from under them. In broad daylight, twelve Inco goons beat two union workers nearly to death at that office.<sup>5</sup> But the union vigorously and swiftly protested this violent act the following night by distributing 10 000 pamphlets to homes.<sup>6</sup> (See Figure 1.)

Jim Tester, who wrote a weekly column in the 1970s, 80s, and early 90s for the community newspaper *Northern Life*, has pointed out that Mine Mill was ahead of its time.<sup>7</sup> Mine Mill was simply moving too fast for the comfort of certain invested powers: the Steelworkers (another more established union), international governments, and big business. There was much forward thinking behind their activities. They applied global knowledge to their home. Mine

Mill lobbied for an economic strategy of Canadian secondary industries, free of multinational control; for international labour solidarity toward peace and world trade; and for an independent labour movement free of US domination.<sup>8</sup>

Mine Mill was ahead of its time because those involved wanted creativity, sunshine, fresh air, exercise, the arts, and knowledge to be an integral part of the lives of their children. They wanted their children to know the scent of juniper before they experienced the taste of gin. They considered culture to be an inseparable component of life in which all people should be able to participate.

Mine Mill Hall, which officially opened in 1952, served not only as a meeting hub for political and economic organization, but as a place where the whole family could prosper. A day camp was created on an expansive Richard Lake property where facilities were available to members and non-members alike, and whose rates were subsidized so no child would be turned away.<sup>9</sup> A cultural program was established for Mine Mill Hall, including dance (ballet, folk and tap), theatre, film screenings, biweekly social dances for the adults, and Christmas parties with gifts for every child. They dreamt that the union could improve life by supporting the development of all people in a whole society. (See Figures 2 and 3.)

But quiet, nefarious opponents who deemed the union's activities suspicious were wielding their power to dismantle the flourishing community of Mine Mill Hall. On January 29 and 30, 1954, sold out shows of the internationally reputed Royal

5. Solski and Smaller, "Sudbury Local 598," 103.

6. Ibid.

7. Jim Tester, "Time produces change (January 19, 1983)," in *Son of a Working Man* (Sudbury: Laurentian Publishing, 1994), 105–06.

8. Solski and Smaller, "Sudbury Local 598," 110.

9. Ibid., 112–14.

Winnipeg Ballet were scheduled at Mine Mill Hall. (Most Mine Mill Halls didn't host "high" cultural events.) One week before, it was cancelled and only later it was revealed that the US State Department had threatened to cancel the entire US tour should the company perform at the union hall.<sup>10</sup> Mine Mill posed such a threat with its speed, reach, and financial backing that it also drew the attention of the University of Sudbury.<sup>11</sup> In an extension course on labour history there, Mine Mill was positioned as a Communist force. The course put measures in place to destroy it from within by teaching students how to destabilize organizations by "training union disrupters and subverting gullible workers."<sup>12</sup> This desire to crush the union is perhaps not surprising when one looks at the budget for Mine Mill, which saw a monthly gross income of nearly \$100 000 per month in January and February of 1960. (See Figures 4 and 5.)

During that period, theirs was a trajectory from lack to need to power. First, the miners underwent a mental shift away from the experience of lack—of sustainability, of support, of self-actualization. They identified a need for which a solution was within reach: the need to organize the group and to nurture one another. They then satisfied that need by feeding the power that was born inside it. By working together towards a common goal this process of identification and creation brought opportunities out of an oppressed position. They worked in collaboration to recognize common ideas and experiences shared by the individual members of the community.

In his 2004 book, *The Politics of Aesthetics*, French theorist Jacques Rancière calls for the "distribution of the sensible"<sup>13</sup> (*le partage du sensible*)—the disclosure of what is common—to acknowledge and mobilize the part as it relates to the whole: the individual in relation to society. The distribution of the sensible is the process of sharing ideas and experiences between an individual and a community, and makes that process of sharing self-evident.

The word "sensible" is a direct appropriation from the French translated into English. Notably, in the way Rancière uses "sensible", it means "perceptible," and not so much "prudent" or "rational," as it can in English. In this case, sensible refers to all that we can perceive, both visible and invisible. Aesthetics is the philosophy of art, and as such, the practice of aesthetics involves a set of decisions about what is included and excluded; what is made visible or remains invisible; what is revealed and what is left to the imagination.

With his work, Rancière asserts that this set of decisions about what is rendered visible and what remains cloaked is political in nature; it is not possible to make an aesthetic choice without making a corresponding political choice. Understanding that Rancière views politics as a sphere of dissensus—an ongoing debate about power and the frames within which power can be found—the assertion that politics cannot be divorced from aesthetic choices finds traction within communities. As he says, "the important thing is that the question of the relationship between aesthetics and politics be raised

10. Ibid., 114.

11. This was the Roman Catholic college of Laurentian University.

12. Solski and Smaller, "Sudbury Local 598," 114.

13. Jacques Rancière, "The Distribution of the Sensible: Politics and Aesthetics," in *The Politics of Aesthetics* (London: Continuum, 2004), 12.

at this level, the level of the sensible delimitation of what is common to the community, the forms of its visibility and of its organization.”<sup>14</sup> Rancière asks: What is made visible within, to, and of a given community? Who makes it visible—the community itself or an external force?

Rancière believes in the power of art and culture to act as “configurations of experience that create new modes of sense perception and induce novel forms of political subjectivity.”<sup>15</sup> Mine Mill similarly recognized that art and culture are more than entertainment. The union knew that culture is formed by communities and communities are formed by culture. Acknowledging that aesthetic choices are inherently political, they made the cultural program the heart of Mine Mill Hall, and focused on productions, presentations, and activities ranging from sculpting classes for children to screenings of films like *Salt of The Earth* (1954).<sup>16</sup> This was a political decision: they articulated and presented that which was common to the lived experience of the miners and their families, and in so doing, formed a community through culture.

However, Rancière cautions us that aesthetics should not be used for political gain, nor should communities be considered works of art. In response to the current US federal budget crisis, a recent campaign initiated by Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz conscripted the workers at Starbucks in the District of Columbia area to handwrite the phrase “Come Together” on customers’ cups. The distribution of this message was effective: hundreds of thousands of people received it. Rather than

creating a moment of true poetics, Starbucks simply used the aesthetics of poetry and the language of community inclusiveness. These insincere love notes made mules out of the staff of Starbucks, who were effectively tasked with constructing an image of a non-existent community.<sup>17</sup> What was made visible, and by whom?

The cultural program of Mine Mill Hall sits in stark contrast to this appropriation of aesthetics for political gain. On February 29, 1956, the African American actor and singer Paul Robeson visited Mine Mill Hall to give a historic first performance outside the US—his first since a travel ban was placed on his passport to suppress his support for the civil rights movement and denunciation of McCarthyism beyond US borders. During his visit he said, “my art . . . is a weapon in the struggle for my people’s freedom and for the freedom of all people.”<sup>18</sup> The community that had formed around Mine Mill Hall brought Robeson to Sudbury to inspire workers on their own terms.

By understanding how the common is shared, we can participate in community more deeply and fully. The distribution of the sensible can counteract the difficult to penetrate, the obscure, the unyielding. Mine Mill’s actions show that the organization and its community were keenly aware that the hard place was not the enemy, nor was the rock. These were conditions to be dealt with. Yet they blasted through the unmoving obstacle to change their path and their existence. Anywhere that destructive external forces are able to gain traction within a community—usually by feeding the fractious

14. Rancière, “The Distribution of the Sensible,” 18

15. *Ibid.*, 9.

16. A film based on the successful strike of unskilled workers in New Mexico from 1950 to 1952.

17. Josh Eidelson, “Starbucks Tycoon Bullies The Baristas,” *The Nation*, January 30, 2013, <http://www.thenation.com/article/172547/starbucks-tycoon-bullies-baristas>.

18. Solski and Smaller, “Sudbury Local 598,” 118.

propensities of the quest for individuality—is a hard place. The hard place for the miners was internal and external. They wanted to better themselves, and they wanted to better their world. They recognized that the hard place was personal, but could be collectively shared by a community of those who experience it similarly. They recognized that it was experienced both as individual people and as a group, and that change unfolds in conditions that empower individuals to strengthen the experience of what is shared.

The problem is not what we wish to achieve, reach, or gain, but that at times we do this selfishly to the detriment of what can be done collectively. When we work, think, play and act together, the possibilities are endless.

In their day-to-day work, the miners used brute force. But as a community Mine Mill chose learning, strategy, mental gymnastics, physical endurance, and political manoeuvrings. They valued experience, dissent, and self-awareness in their search for emancipation. They believed the only way out is through.

By boldly working to establish this community, the union workers and their families risked heartache, repetition, regression, failure, alienation, and death. The greatest risk was stasis. Even with all their hard work, there was a possibility that everything would remain unchanged. What legacy would they leave behind?

There is change in this northern town, but like many Western cities, the most rapid “progress”

is fuelled by a neoliberal growth agenda pushed forward by corporations and the pursuit of capital, rather than a concern with what local architect Oryst Sawchuk calls “the human condition.”<sup>19</sup> About cultural energy in Sudbury, he says:

The desire for energy here . . . emerges out of the human condition. The energy that they express is an attempt to document that human condition and how to address oneself to that condition. . . . I think that’s what Mine Mill was prepared to do. [They were] prepared to address themselves to this whole larger issue, not just simply higher wages and safety and working conditions, but the whole package.<sup>20</sup>

How have the energies and learnings of Mine Mill strengthened the culture of Sudbury today? Which energies and learnings will strengthen the future? Who will be gathering them and sharing them?

One place to look is at the self-made punk/hardcore/indie music scene that has been developing in Sudbury since the 1980s. The Townhouse bar on the edge of Sudbury’s downtown firmly holds its post as the go-to spot for live music. The folks that make up this scene are gatherers and sharers of energy. One of the nine voices of Pistol George Warren—regular Townhouse performers—talks about the supportive quality of the community and the vibrant self-renewal of the music scene:

The sense of community is so powerful here, like nothing I’ve ever experienced. Good people. The music scene is fantastic. You’ll never see the Townhouse more packed than when a local band is playing. You can tell a few people and everyone gets really interested.

19. Oryst Sawchuk, interview by author, February 22, 2012, Sudbury, ON.

20. *Ibid.*

There is a density of quality bands in Sudbury. There are so many talented people, songwriters, instrumentalists, singers. New bands are forming all the time.<sup>21</sup>

How this next generation is etching out its space signals a movement beyond music. It signals collaboration as a process that propels change. For the past few years, the local punk band Lightmares has been making their own scene in the family garage/outdoor storage unit, called Millard's Garage, one of only a few all-ages venues in Sudbury. They turned the place into a venue because there was nowhere appropriate to practice and perform, and it has become a space of empowerment:

The Garage has helped shape our future. We're trying to have longevity and impact people's lives. We want people to walk away from our show and have it be memorable for them and enjoy what we're trying to do which is to write good, catchy, uplifting music. There are bands that come through the Garage and [this place] is synonymous with their Sudbury experience. Library Voices was talking about how: 'Lightmares and Millard's Garage - that is Sudbury for us!' It's exciting to have a role in that.<sup>22</sup>

There is a vision of a warm, self-propelled, supportive, and self-made future for the city that stems from culture, from individuals who wish to see change, and from a community concerned with the human condition. This visionary energy and its inspired efforts are akin to that of Mine Mill. But a great distance separates today's music scene from the context and history of mining in Sudbury. As

a result, it has matured without conversing with the history of Mine Mill even though several aims, philosophies, and attitudes are shared: a strong community created through collaboration; locally grounded efforts that are globally informed and aware; and a forward-looking hopefulness. Is it possible that chronicled, recounted histories of Mine Mill are only linked to the cultural experience of the present in this circumstantial way that is exponentially more distant with each passing year? Does it matter?

Culture is a way to define oneself beyond one's physical environment, to gain deeper knowledge of oneself, and to build one's community. Culture is made by both embracing and diminishing the past. The rocks in the Canadian Shield are more than 3,5 billion years old, among the oldest in the world. Like ancient timepieces, sometimes they tell us of history through the text of their annual layers. In Sudbury—home to mostly igneous rock—the clocks in these rocks keep time with the relationship between the parent mineral and daughter mineral found within their molecular composition. As the parent mineral of the cultural epoch decreases, the daughter mineral increases—one era gives way to another but the hard place remains strong. Time is worn differently by different bodies. If we look closely at the music scene we see it is an indicator of the next wave of Sudbury's existence.

A hard place is where time passes as we take risks, make mistakes, stumble, and fail. It is a place where we learn, unlearn, and relearn—one that is perhaps so uncomfortable that we grow and change. What do

21. Pistol George Warren, interview by Bik Van der Pol, May 4, 2012, Sudbury, ON.
22. Lightmares, interview by Bik Van der Pol, May 6, 2012, Sudbury, ON.

we learn from those who have not only wriggled out from between a rock and a hard place, but who have cut a new path? We learn to think ahead. We learn to fight. We learn to dream and fight at the same time. We learn to expand the field of possibility.

7

Tester Box 8

# MURDER WILL OUT!

To all citizens and workers of Sudbury we present the true facts concerning the murderous, storm-trooper raid on the Durham Street office which took place Tuesday, February 24th. Behind it was the fascist hand of INCO - - - as we all have suspected. Where did we get the truth? From two of the degenerates who sold out all principle, all honor, all Canadianism, to INCO, and stooped beneath the level of Huns - - - from two of the "loyal workers" who took part in the attempted massacre of two union organizers.

The affair was engineered by Harry Smith, Superintendent of the Froid Mine - - - establishing the whole thing as a vicious INCO plot. Here are seven of the Froid scum who made the raid. There were twelve altogether - - - against two peaceful men in a quiet office. Two of these seven have talked.

<p><b>GORCE, Louis</b> <b>FORAN, Jack</b> <b>McKAY, Neil</b> <b>JOHNSTON, Jack</b></p>	<p><b>STILLMAC, Stinky</b> <b>O'MALLEY, George</b> <b>LINDSEY, Tom</b></p>
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Fuehrer Harry Smith told the above - - - the stope bosses - - - to "go the limit" in - - - going in it. He told them to "do a good job on the organizers". He told them "not to worry about broken bones or smashed teeth or anything like hospital bills". He told them they wouldn't get caught "because the police would be someplace else at the time". He told them "not to worry about getting back on the job - - - your pay will continue". This is the violence that INCO and their blowzy prostitute "Sudbury Star" blame on the union.

And, as a Sudbury policeman - - - a "guardian of law and order" - - - later remarked, "they sure did a GOOD job". Well, Hitler would call it good - - - it's what he ordered. Whelehan - - - a citizen of Sudbury for over fifteen years - - - was beaten unmercifully with fists and furniture. Emerson - - - an American citizen of Canadian parentage - - - had his head laid open with a cudgel and was beaten with anything they could pick up. Both got the boots when they were half unconscious and bleeding profusely on the floor. Either could have been killed.

The unspeakable "Sudbury Star" has been editorially demanding why the men don't go into court and prove it. The answer is that the men who did this dirty work between 5:15 and 5:30 p.m. were punched in at the mine for the four o'clock shift. INCO had nice alibis all prepared.

**This may be what INCO wants - - - it may be what the Star wants - - - but it is not what we want, and not what Sudbury wants. We are not going to stand for this kind of a deal. We are fighting for democracy abroad. We do not propose to accept fascism here in Canada and the above is plain Hitler fascism, and nothing else.**

We want better wages, hours and working conditions. We want security and seniority recognition on the job. We want a lot of things so far denied to us by INCO - - - and, ABOVE ALL, we want decency and democracy in Canada. Neither INCO nor anybody else can prevent us from being true Canadians - - - and fighting for what we know is right.

## THIS BETTER NOT HAPPEN AGAIN

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### Rank and File Sudbury Miners and Smeltersmen

Figure 1: Laurentian University Archives, JN Desmarais Library, Jim Tester fonds. "Murder Will Out!" Box 8.

# "LOCAL 598 CAMP"

HOW ABOUT GIVING

YOUR CHILDREN A BREAK THIS  
SUMMER



"LOTS OF FUN"

- |           |        |               |
|-----------|--------|---------------|
| GOOD FOOD | —      | REGULAR HOURS |
| HIKES     |        | SWIMMING      |
| GAMES     | CRAFTS | CANOEING      |

THESE PROVIDE THE BEST MEDICINE  
FOR ANY CHILD TO GROW IN

—TALK IT OVER AT HOME—

APPLY — SUDBURY UNION HALL FOR  
PARTICULARS AND APPLICATIONS —

PHONE OS 3-3661

I.U.M.H. & S.W.  
Local 598

Figure 2: Laurentian University Archives, JN Desmarais Library. P026. Mine Mill Local 598 fonds, #42 I.U.M.S.W. (Canada). Subject files. "Local 598 Camp." File 42-21.

# Mine Mill Celebrates Canada Day 1965

*Biggest in Canada -- 4,000 at Richard Lake*

*O Canada! Our home and native land!  
True patriot love in all thy sons command.  
With glowing hearts we see thee rise  
The true north strong and free;  
And stand on guard, O Canada,  
We stand on guard for thee.*

*O Canada! Where pines and maples grow,  
Great prairies spread and lordly rivers flow,  
How dear to us thy broad domain,  
From East to Western sea!  
Thou land of hope for all who toil!  
Thou true north, strong and free!*



Figure 3: Laurentian University Archives, JN Desmarais Library. P026. Mine Mill Local 598 fonds, #42 I.U.M.S.W. (Canada). Subject files. "Mine Mill Celebrates Canada Day 1965." July 1, 1965. File 42-1.

SUMMARY OF THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF REVENUE & EXPENDITURE FOR THE MONTH OF FEBRUARY, 1960-	
<u>RECEIPTS:</u>	
Check-Off Dues -Strike Fund	16,740.00
Check-Off Dues	58,672.00
Weekly Dances	2,428.35
Apartment Rentals	105.00
Hall Rentals	305.00
Beverage Room Sales: Sudbury	3,753.38
Coniston	2,225.63
Creighton	2,435.30
Sundry Sales	151.12
Bowling Fees	305.05
Gym Rental	50.00
National Office Mortgage	500.00
Payment re Elliot Lake Hall	3,502.32
Stewards' School	266.80
Dance School Fees	546.50
Collections for U.S. Strike	1,062.90
Accounts Receivable	1,093.23
Travelling Advances -Returned	114.05
Workmen's Compensation -Refunded	375.01
February Payroll Deductions	1,258.27
Income from all other sources	119.08
<b>TOTAL INCOME FOR FEBRUARY</b>	<b>96,008.99</b>
<u>EXPENDITURES:</u>	
Per Capita and Initiations- National	25,551.50
Salaries- Executive and Office Staff	4,347.06
Negotiations	792.40
Grievances	380.12
Arbitration	99.65
Vacation Pay	62.15
District 2 Convention	68.00
Joint Board Meetings	372.50
Executive Board meetings	473.00
Falconbridge Plant Committee Meetings	34.75
Stewards' Meetings	81.20
Membership Meetings	49.14
Falconbridge Leaflet Distribution	104.70
C.L.C. Affiliation	476.20
Children's Christmas Tree	5,011.50
Periodicals and Publications	45.00
Mine Mill News	372.80
Stationery & Office Supplies	32.55
Membership Supplies and Maintenance	330.00
Officers' Beverance Pay	1,000.00
Group Insurance -Officers and Staff	397.00
Unemployment Insurance Remitted	51.34
Collection Expenses re U.S. Strike	31.60
Dance School Expenses	564.05
Accounts Receivable	274.74
Travelling Advances	533.70
Local 902 Dues Remitted	188.00
F.S.I. and Blue Cross Refundable	44.30
Remittances in Collections to U.S. Striker	684.59
Weekly dance Expenses	2,201.07
Sudbury Hall Expenses	1,909.87
Garson Hall Expenses	363.27
Coniston Hall Expenses	2,978.96
Creighton Hall Expenses	2,748.61
Chelmsford Hall -Preliminary Expenses	44.25
Chelmsford Hall Construction	9,425.54
Welfare Fund	8,809.73
Clubroom Account	3,129.04
Summer Camp	177.13
<b>Total DISBURSEMENTS ALL FUNDS</b>	<b>\$75,508.90</b>
<b>BANK BALANCE FEBRUARY 29, 1960</b>	<b>\$158,847.90</b>
<b>S.M.M. &amp; S.W. UNION Local 598.</b>	

Figure 4: Laurentian University Archives, JN Desmarais Library. P026. Mine Mill Local 598 fonds I.U.M.S.W. (Canada). Financial Records. Statement of Receipts and Expenditures Summary (page 3). 1959. File 4-6, box 11.

SUMMARY OF THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF REVENUE  
AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE MONTH OF JANUARY, 1960-

<u>RECEIPTS:</u>	
Check Off Dues - Strike fund	16,679.00
Check Off Dues	58,458.00
Initiations	204.00
Weekly Dances	1,311.95
Hall Rentals	270.00
Beverage Room Sales: Sudbury	2,556.60
Coniston	1,688.30
Creighton	1,938.00
Sundry Sales	82.35
Bowling Fees	164.05
Dance School Fees	521.25
National Office Mortgage	1,000.00
Collections- U.S. Strike	605.88
Workmen's Compensation - Refunded	1,057.47
January Payroll Deductions-	1,381.41
Interest Earned on Strike Fund	870.38
Income from all other sources	467.48
Total Income for January	89,256.12
<u>EXPENDITURES:</u>	
Per Capita and Initiations- National	24,841.50
Salaries- Executive and Office Staff	6,486.11
Negotiations Expenses	410.31
Grievance Expenses	459.30
Arbitration Expenses	769.89
Vacation Pay	122.36
Executive Board Meetings	720.50
Stowards' Meetings	112.75
Membership Meetings	62.70
Children's Christmas Trees	6,649.07
Stowards' Annual Banquet	107.60
Collection Expenses for U.S. Strike	55.10
Donations- Coniston Bowling	25.00
Periodicals & Publications	57.00
Public Relations-	70.50
Mine Mill News	1,407.07
Stationary & Office Supplies	273.73
Membership Supplies	382.58
Audit	2,320.00
Group Insurance	204.30
Dance School	479.85
Accounts Receivable	104.83
Travelling Advances	929.75
Employees' Income Tax & Unemp. Ins.	1,762.79
Dance Expenses	2,208.43
Sudbury Hall Expenses	2,310.93
Garson Hall Expenses	638.45
Coniston Hall Expenses	2,779.00
Creighton Hall Expenses	2,697.70
Trust Fund- Chelmsford Hall-	10,703.85
Welfare Fund Expenses	9,312.90
Clubroom Account -Sudbury Hall	4,031.46
Summer Camp	702.69
All other expenses -Miscellaneous-	702.45
TOTAL JANUARY DISBURSEMENTS ALL FUNDS	\$84,902.45
Bank Balance at January 31, 1960	\$137,263.66

S.M.M.&S.W. UNION  
LOCAL 598

Figure 5: Laurentian University Archives, JN Desmarais Library. P026. Mine Mill Local 598 fonds I.U.M.S.W. (Canada). Financial Records. Statement of Receipts and Expenditures Summary (page 3). 1959. File 4-6, box 11.