"MON – HE'S A GRAN' FISH":
Scots in British Columbia's Interwar Fishing Industry[1]

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VISITORS TO THE EMPIRE EXHIBITION at Wembley between 1924 and 1925 would have seen among the numerous exhibits of imperial products a large window display of canned salmon constructed by the Anglo-British Columbia Packing Company. Careful observers may have noted that the can label consisted "of two circular designs."

> In the left design [were] written in block letters the words "Wee Scottie" and the "Anglo-British Columbia Packing Co. Ltd. London and Vancouver, B.C." The right design contain[ed] a representation of a boy in highland clothes riding a salmon, and holding in his hand a tin of Wee Scottie salmon. Immediately below … [were] written the words "Mon – he's a gran' fish."[2]

As one of the leading interwar producers of canned salmon in British Columbia,[3] the ABC Packing Company would have taken advantage of the Empire Exhibition to promote its product, but according to the company history, it was the firm's owner and president, Henry Ogle Bell-Irving, who had championed the "Wee Scottie" design. Early in 1914, he had arranged for a donation of a large quantity of canned salmon for the war effort but insisted it be labelled with the brand. As a consequence of his action, "Wee Scottie" canned salmon became

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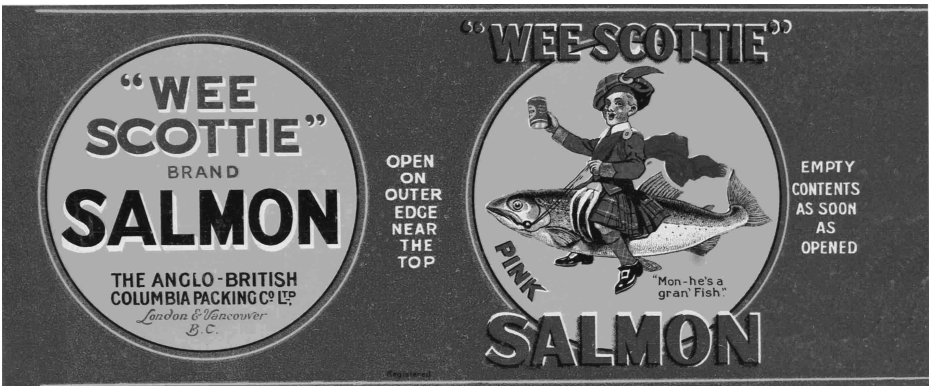
[2] City of Vancouver Archives (hereafter CVA), MSS. 870 591-A-4, file 6, Trademarks.

[3] The other large producers were BC Packers and the Canadian Fishing Company (hereafter Canfisco). See Geoff Meggs, *Salmon: The Decline of the BC Fishery* (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1995), 136-37.



City of Vancouver Archives, M734.

associated with the imperial troops and British patriotism.[4] The First World War had boosted the sales of canned salmon in Britain in general, but the ABC Packing Company endeavoured to secure commercial advantage by trumpeting the patriotic, imperial associations of the "Wee Scottie" brand.[5] The continued economic and cultural significance of the Empire for Britain and the dominions in the interwar period has recently been highlighted by a number of scholars, and the marketing efforts of the ABC Packing Company provide further evidence of the continuing importance of the imperial connection for British Columbia.[6]

[4] CVA, MSS 870 590-G-1, file 2,"ABC Company History," c. 1950. Bell-Irving's donation was part of a larger BC contribution of 25,827 cases of pink salmon. The donation had encouraged the British War Office to order even larger quantities for the troops. Adoption by the army had the added benefit of encouraging a postwar British market for the plentiful and cheap pink salmon in addition to the existing market for the more expensive sockeye. "Wee Scottie" would have capitalized on this "thrifty" fact. See *BC Sessional Papers*, 1915, vol. 2, N8-9, cited in P.E. Roy and J.H. Thompson, *British Columbia: Land of Promises* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada, 2005), 102. For the Wembley Exhibition, see Ann Clendinning, "Exhibiting a Nation: Canada at the British Empire Exhibition, 1924-25," *Histoire sociale-Social History* 39, 77 (2006): 79-107.

[5] In one advertisement that ran in the British trade paper *The Grocer* in 1930, the company declared that "Wee Scottie" was British Empire Salmon and that the "Welsh Tin Plate Industry will live whilst Canadian Salmon is purchased." See Robert A.J. McDonald, "'He thought he was the boss of everything': Masculinity and Power in a Vancouver Family," *BC Studies* 132 (2001/02): 10; Cicely Lyons, *Salmon: Our Heritage* (Vancouver: British Columbia Packers Ltd., 1969), 433; Dianne Newall, *The Development of the Pacific Salmon-Canning Industry: A Grown Man's Game* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 249. It should be noted that the ABC Company had a dizzying array of can labels for a wide variety of markets. See CVA, MSS 1-565-C-6 , ABC Co. Labels, and MSS 870 591-A-4, Trademarks.

[6] For Empire marketing, see Stephen Constantine, "'Bringing the Empire Alive': The Empire Marketing Board and Imperial Propaganda," in *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 192-231. For recent reappraisals of the significance of the Empire, see Andrew Thompson, *The Empire Strikes Back? The Impact of Imperialism on Britain from the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (London: Pearson Longman, 2005) and the essays in Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds., *Rediscovering the British World*

But to what extent does the "Wee Scottie" brand reflect the particular influence of immigrant Scots on the interwar BC industry?

The following discussion tackles this question by briefly examining the influence of Scottish capitalists like Bell-Irving and identifying migrant Scots who laboured in the industry between the world wars. It argues that, while the capitalists contributed a Scottish tone to the BC industry through their brand and cannery-naming practices, militant Scots trade unionists had the longest lasting impact on the industry. The historiography on Scottish immigration to Canada has tended to focus on the nineteenth-century contributions of notable Scots to Canadian politics, education, and commerce or on the development of Gaelic-speaking enclave communities in eastern Canada.[7] The few existing studies of twentieth-century Scottish migration, while highlighting the range of occupations that Scots entered upon arrival in Canada, have not emphasized the collective role of Scottish immigrants in developing militant trade unionism.[8] The interwar BC fishing industry provides an example of this relatively little studied phenomenon – one that has wider implications for our understanding of both the nature of Scottish emigration and the history of labour relations in British Columbia.

I

In *Poor Man's Rock*, the interwar novel that fictionalized the struggle between British Columbia fishers and the exploitive Canners Association, Bertrand W. Sinclair, the Edinburgh-born Western writer turned west coast commercial fisher, gave prominent place to Scottish characters.[9] Industry mogul Robin-Steele, apparently modelled on Henry O. Bell-Irving, was described as follows:

(Calgary: Calgary University Press, 2005) and *Canada and the British World* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).

[7] See, for example, the essays in Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb, eds., *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada* (Montreal: Mc-Gill Queen's University Press, 2006). The trend is also apparent in British Columbia, where, in addition to Bell-Irving, the contributions of other prominent early Scots industry pioneers have also been noted. See, for example, H. Keith Ralston, "Alexander Ewen," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (hereafter *DCB*), vol.14. A recent bibliography of studies of the Scots in Canada, which discusses the tendencies in the historiography, can be found in Michael Vance, "A Brief History of Organized Scottishness in Canada," in *Transatlantic Scots*, ed. Celeste Ray (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 96-119.

[8] For twentieth-century migration, see especially Marjory Harper, *Emigration from Scotland between the Wars: Opportunity or Exile?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

[9] Bertrand W. Sinclair, *Poor Man's Rock* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1920). The novel was popular with workers in the industry, purportedly selling over eighty thousand copies. See Sinclair's obituary in *The Fisherman,* 27 October 1972.

> Robin-Steele, Senior, was tall, thin sixty years of age, sandy haired with a high, arched nose. His eyes … were disagreeably like the eyes of a dead fish, lusterless and sunken; a cold man with a suave manner seeking his own advantage. Robin-Steele was a Scotchman of tolerably good family who had come to British Columbia with an inherited fortune and made that fortune grow to vast proportions in the salmon trade … Robin-Steele, Senior, gave … the impression of cold calculating power. (*Poor Man's Rock*, 222)

As Robert McDonald has shown, Henry Bell-Irving, a member of a Scottish border gentry family, had used his family connections to raise the capital for the formation of the ABC Packing Company in 1890, which he then expanded, through the takeover of smaller operations, into the "world's No. 1 producer of sockeye salmon." By the time of his death in 1931, he had amassed a fortune that placed him "sixteenth among the top fifty Vancouver fortunes of the period."[10] Bell-Irving also retained a sentimental attachment to his homeland, reflected in the creation of the "Wee Scottie" brand and in the names he chose for his canneries, from the short-lived Dumfries cannery in Steveston to the Caledonia cannery on the west coast of Vancouver Island.[11] Indeed, other Scottish operators in British Columbia had also combined their connections to British capital with Scottish brand- and cannery-naming practices.[12]

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[10] Sinclair's physical description of Robin-Steele resembles Bell-Irving, who was sixty-three in 1920. Bell-Irving had six sons and four daughters, but Sinclair reduced the number to three and two, respectively. It was reported, perhaps apocryphally, that Bell-Irving was so outraged by Sinclair's portrayal that he threatened to dismiss any of his workers found reading the book, inadvertently helping to promote the novel's sales. Betty C. Keller, *Pender Harbour Cowboy: The Many Lives of Bertrand Sinclair* (Victoria: Horsdal and Schubart, 2000), 105-17. See also Richard J. Lane, *Literature and Loss: Bertrand William Sinclair's British Columbia* (London: The London Network, 2000). Bell-Irving's cousin, the London-based tea merchant and financier John Bell-Irving, was instrumental in raising the capital that allowed him to acquire seven canneries on the Fraser River and two on the Skeena River when he formed his company in 1891. See McDonald, "'He thought he was the boss,'" 6, 16.

[11] Despite selling his share in the Scottish family estate in 1895, Britain remained a second home for Bell-Irving, and he insisted on having his sons educated in Scotland. See McDonald, "'He thought he was the boss,' 9. The Dumfries Cannery (1892-95) was a "dummy" cannery built to obtain the attached fishing licences. See Mitsuo Yesaki and Harold and Kathy Steves, *Steveston Cannery Row: An Illustrated History* (Richmond: Lulu Island Printing, 1998), 32-33. For the Caledonia Cannery, built in 1928, see UBC Special Collections, Anglo-British Columbia Packing Company Fonds.

[12] James Anderson established his canning business on the Fraser River with the assistance of investors in Glasgow. He named his Fraser River cannery, which marketed salmon under the "Heather Brand" label, St. Mungo after the patron saint of that Scottish city. In addition, Peter and John Wallace, who named their canneries Arrandale, Butedale, and Kildonan after localities associated with their place of birth, the Isle of Arran, got their start in the British transatlantic foodstuffs trade with an initial investment from their father, who ran a meat packing business in Scotland. For Anderson, see Ramona Rose, *"Talls and Flats, Ovals*

As a consequence, Scottish monikers appeared on canneries all along the BC coast during the interwar period.[13]

Although these canneries represented a minority of the operations in British Columbia during the interwar period, they were among the most prominent and were found in all of the fishing districts (see Figure 1). Several canneries were closed as a consequence of the Depression and the industry amalgamations that characterized the period, but many survived as part of larger conglomerates such as BC Packers or Canfisco. While the connection to British capital that the early operators developed continued to be important through to the end of the period, increased investment from central Canada (through BC Packers Limited) and New England (through Canfisco) meant that British capital no longer enjoyed the decisive influence it once had when Henry Bell-Irving and his cohort were establishing their firms.[14] Among the Scottish operators, only Bell-Irving's firm, with its relatively large sources of capital, retained control of its Scottish-named canneries

and Squats": A History of Early Salmon Canning in Delta, 1871-1913 (Delta: Delta Museum and Archives, 1986), 73-76; CVA, "Heather Brand" Can Label, 565-C-3 File 1b no. 1. For the Wallace brothers, see *The Fisherman* 6 November 1951; Hugh W. McKervill, *The Salmon People* (Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1992 [1967]), 83; Lyons, *Salmon*, 228, 340-41, 365. The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Jennifer Roberts (New Westminster Museum and Archives) and Kathy Bossort (Delta Museum and Archives) in locating information on James Anderson.

[13] These would include the Inverness and Balmoral canneries on the Skeena River as well as the McTavish cannery on Rivers Inlet, which was operated by Bell-Irving's ABC Packing Company during the interwar period. The Strathcona cannery on Rivers Inlet, co-founded in 1906 by the Scottish-born Vancouver dry goods merchant George I. Wilson, operated until 1928, when it was purchased and closed by BC Packers. The Scottish-Canadian cannery at Steveston, which had ceased operations in 1912, still housed Japanese-Canadian fishing families between the world wars. See Gladys Young Blyth, *Salmon Canneries: British Columbia North Coast* (Lantzville, BC: Oolichan Books, 1991); Anglo-British Columbia Packing Company Fonds, UBC Special Collections; Dianne Newell, ed. *The Development of the Pacific Salmon-Canning Industry: A Grown Man's Game* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989) 56, 63, 73, 115, 143, 195-96; Lyons, *Salmon*, 216, 261, 329, 348, 364-65, 374, 402, 377, 678-79; Yesaki and Steves, *Steveston Cannery Row,* 37-38, 64.

[14] According to the Federal Bureau of Statistics, there were fifty-six salmon canneries in British Columbia in 1921, and by 1929 that number had grown to a high of sixty-three; however, by 1939 there were only thirty-five canneries left in the province. Despite the amalgamations, closures, and changes of ownership that occurred during this process, British capital still accounted for 35.5 percent of the total investment in British Columbia's fish processing industry in 1939. See *Canada Year Book, 1922-23* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1924), 357; *Canada Year Book 1931* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1931), 324; *Canada Year Book 1941* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1941), 227. See also W.A. Carrothers, *The British Columbia Fisheries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1941), 35; Meggs, *Salmon*, 136-40; Lyons, *Salmon*, 397-433; and Harry R. Beard, *Story of Canfisco* (Vancouver: Canadian Fishing Company, 1937). After Henry O. Bell-Irving's death, the ABC Packing Company continued to operate under the management of Richard Bell-Irving and Peter Traill, both of whom were former directors. The company ceased salmon canning in 1969. See UBC Special Collections, Anglo-British Columbia Packing Company Fonds.

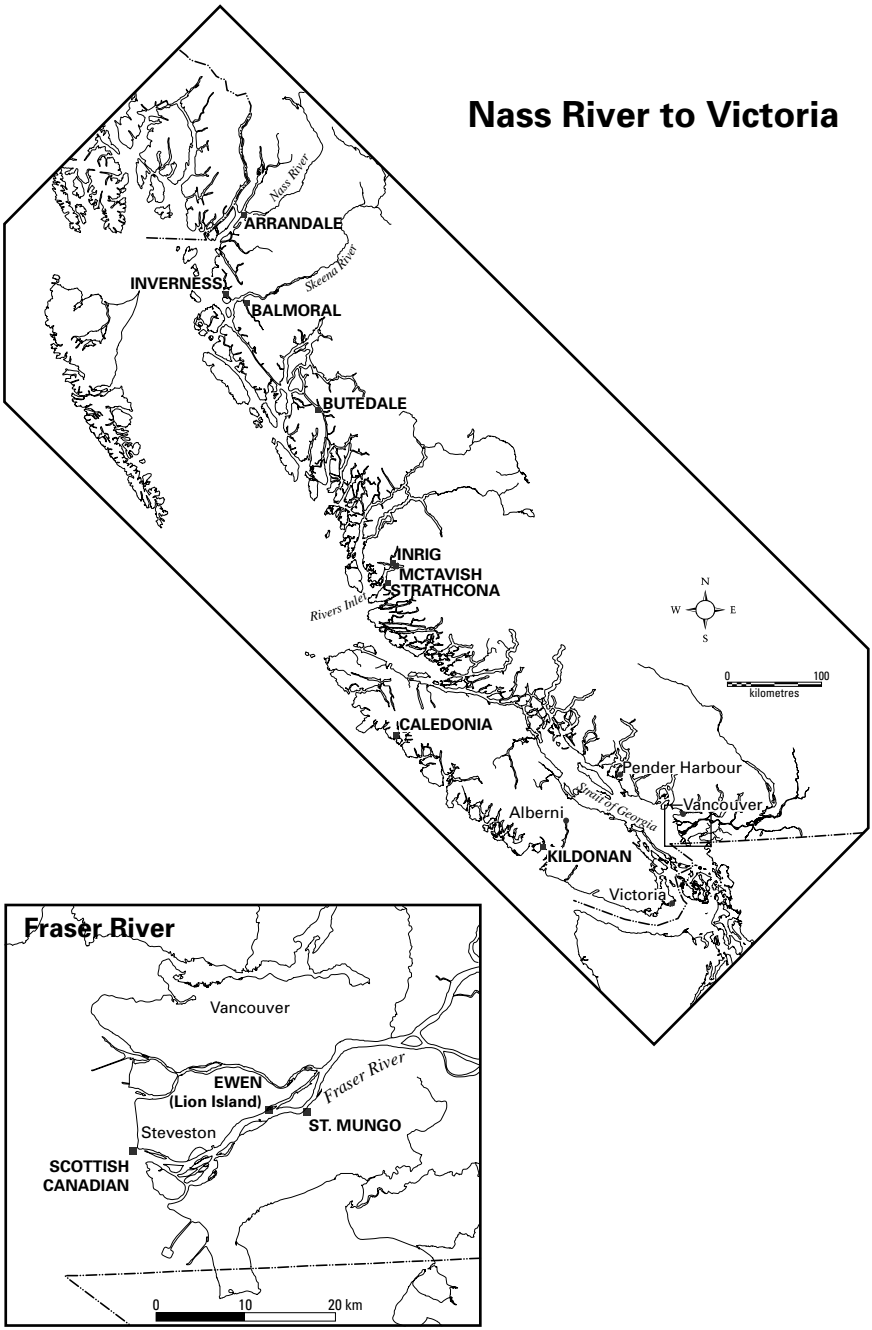

Figure 1: Scottish-named interwar canneries. Cartography by Don Bonner (based on D. Newall, 1993).

throughout the interwar period. The cannery names, however, remained as reminders of the influence of the early Scottish capitalists.

By attaching Scottish backgrounds to all of the central characters in *Poor Man's Rock*, Sinclair left readers with the impression that Scots not only controlled the capital in the industry but also dominated the fishing fleet. While the Scots were clearly present in the early offshore fishery, and according to one commentator were "the dominant group" in the late nineteenth century, by the interwar period they were in fact part of a diverse BC fishing fleet.[15] That fleet included far greater numbers of First Nations, Atlantic Canadian, Japanese, Scandinavian and south central European fishers, as is clear from statistical evidence compiled from the 1931 Canadian census (see Table 1 and Table 2). Analysis of the aggregate census data suggests that, in the early 1930s, 33 percent of Pacific Coast fishers were of First Nations ethnic origin, 19.6 percent were of Japanese origin, 15.8 percent were of Scandinavian origin, and 20.7 percent were of British origin, of which a little more than half were born in the British Isles. An estimate based on the census immigration statistics (Table 2) suggests that approximately 480 of these individuals, or a little more than 6 percent of the total BC fleet, were Scottish-born or of Scottish origin.[16]

As several scholars have demonstrated, the canning industry was deliberately segregated along ethnic and gender lines in order to control labour costs.[17] "Whites" predominated in the "independent" fishing fleet, and those of British origin dominated that group. In 1931, approximately 44 percent of the white fishers were of British origin, and

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[15] Robert Law Payne, "Some Marketing Considerations for a Western Canadian Fishing Company" (MSc thesis, MIT, 1954), 17-18. Payne, from the mid-1950s the general manager of J.H. Todd and Sons and later president of the Fisheries Council of Canada, did not cite any evidence to support claims regarding the Scots, but he may have developed his understanding of the fleet's history through his father's industry contacts. Robert R. Payne (1894-1938) had been production manager with Canfisco. See *The Canadian Who's Who* (Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1963), 9:871.

[16] As can be calculated from Table 2, 30 percent of the immigrant male fishers from the British Isles arriving in Canada between 1911 and 1931 were Scottish-born. If a similar percentage of Scottish-born is assumed for the BC male fishers of British origin (Table 1), one arrives at a figure of 483 individuals. In 1931, approximately 19 percent of the BC population were of "Scottish origin." *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1933), 2:3, 294-95.

[17] For ethnic segregation in the BC fishing and canning industry, see Alicja Muszynski, *Cheap Wage Labour: Race and Gender in the Fisheries of British Columbia* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); Dianne Newell, "The Industrial Archaeology of the Organization of Work: A Half Century of Women and Racial Minorities in British Columbia Fish Plants," *Material History Review* 33 (1991): 25-36; Diane Newell, "The Rationality of Mechanization in the Pacific Salmon Canning Industry before the Second World War," *Business History Review* 62, 4 (1988): 626-55; Meggs, *Salmon*, 114-19.

TABLE 1
Ethnic origin of employed BC fishers in 1931

Ethnic group	Male	Female	Total
First Nations	2,576	15	2,591
British	1,612	11	1,623
Japanese	1,533	–	1,533
Scandinavian	1,236	–	1,236
Eastern European	319	1	320
Central European	149	–	149
German & Austrian	93	–	93
French	92	1	93
Dutch	34	–	48
Italian	43	–	43
Chinese	18	–	18
Jewish*	3	–	3
Other & not stated	96	–	96
Total	7,804	27	7,831

Source: Seventh Census of Canada, 1931, vol. 7 (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1935).

* The Census employed the term "Hebrew" to indicate Jewish people, the only religious group identified as a "race."

it is likely that at least 30 percent of this group were of Scottish origin. Of these individuals, it has been possible to identify fifty-one men born in Scotland who worked in the interwar fishing industry (Appendix A), and, collectively, they suggest further characteristics of Scots in the BC fishing labour force. While they represented a minority in the fleet, Scots were found in all fishing districts and in all branches of the industry. They usually possessed fishing experience or were members of fishing families, and they tended to be drawn from the north and northeast of Scotland.[18]

[18] While most Scots in the interwar BC industry came from the northern or northeastern coastal communities, several came from the west coast, including communities on Arran, Lewis, and the Sutherlandshire coast. These fishers from the Scottish west coast represented the second largest group in British Columbia, but almost every region of Scotland was represented in the fleet, from Fife on the Lowland east coast to the Shetland Isles in the far north. The fleet also included a few individuals from Scotland's major cities, Edinburgh and Glasgow (see Appendix A). Lauren W. Casaday claimed that the "hardy Scotch" were particularly

TABLE 2
Interwar immigrant male fishers in Canada, 1931

Ethnic origin	Arrival 1926-1931	Arrival 1921-1925	Arrival 1911-1920	Total
Scottish	40	71	124	235
English	125	104	241	470
Irish	11	12	42	65
British	3	4	4	11
Total British	179	191	411	781
Other Europeans	493	462	426	1381
Asian*	31	60	242	333
Other & not stated	6	5	18	29
Total Immigrants	709	719	1,097	2,524

Source: Adapted from *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931,* vol. 7 (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1935).

* The vast majority of those belonging to this category would have been immigrants from Japan.

The connection with the fishery based in communities along the northern coast of Aberdeenshire appears to have been particularly longstanding. In 1905, John J. Cowie of Lossiemouth came to British Columbia in order to advise local operators on the feasibility of using the "scotch method" to develop the herring fishery off the west coast of Vancouver Island,[19] but he was only one of numerous fishers from the region who had been travelling to British Columbia since the 1880s. Their letters home, some of which were published in the *Aberdeen Free Press* and *Fraserburgh Herald*, ensured a high degree of awareness of prevailing conditions in the BC industry. While the Scottish herring fishery remained strong, there was little inclination to leave, but with each downturn in the industry – such as those that occurred in the 1880s,

prevalent in the offshore trolling fleet all along the west coast of North America – apparently drawing on anecdotal evidence in order to make the claim. See Lauren W. Casaday, "Labour Unrest and the Labour Movement in the Salmon Industry of the Pacific Coast" (PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 1937), 125, 129.

[19] John Cowie's trip had been sponsored by the Canadian Federal Ministry of Marine and Fisheries in order to determine the feasibility of using Scottish methods for catching and curing herring on both the east and west coasts. See Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland.* Vol. 2: *Beyond the Broad Atlantic* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 160; See also UBC Special Collections, Henry Doyle Fonds, notebook 22, General Diary 1905-06, ff. 90-94.

in 1911, and after the First World War – many chose to join those who had already departed for British Columbia.[20]

Thus, while Scots did not dominate British Columbia's interwar fishing fleet as Sinclair's fictional account suggests, their presence was pervasive and of longstanding. Indeed, the provincial government had at various times deliberately sought to increase their number by encouraging further emigration from Scotland. While the lack of support from the Dominion and imperial governments prevented their implementation, these provincial-assisted emigration schemes helped to maintain awareness of British Columbia in Scotland's fishing communities and also served to highlight the role of Scottish fishers already in the BC industry.[21] Indeed, despite the failure of the provincial schemes, as late as the autumn of 1936, Robert R. Payne, production manager at Canfisco, tried to persuade the British High Commission in Ottawa to support a plan to assist fishers willing to emigrate and settle on small plots of land around the Gulf of Georgia. Payne identified the immigrants from the north and northeast of Scotland as particularly desirable, suggesting that previous immigrants from the region would be well suited to helping the assisted immigrants adjust to the BC industry.[22]

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[20] See Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland*, 2:148-61; and Harper, *Emigration from Scotland between the Wars: Opportunity or Exile?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 114-18. John Souter, for example, came to the west coast as an experienced fisher in 1930 and started to fish with Charles Stewart, who had earlier emigrated from Lossiemouth. Members of several families from Caithness, particularly the area around Wick, also emigrated together, strongly suggesting a pattern of ongoing migration from that region as well. See the references in Appendix A.

[21] The first plan was put forward in the 1880s by Alexander Begg, a native of Caithness and later historian of British Columbia, who had been promoting Scottish emigration to Canada since the 1870s. He proposed that the imperial and provincial governments should assist Scottish crofters – individuals who made a living through fishing combined with small plot subsistence agriculture – to emigrate and establish themselves on Vancouver Island. A similar interwar scheme was proposed in 1924 by Duff Puttallo, then British Columbia's minister of lands. Both were abandoned when they failed to obtain support from either Ottawa or London. See Jill Wade, "Alexander Begg," *DCB*, 1901-1910, vol. 13; and Jill Wade, "The 'Gigantic Scheme': Crofter Immigration and Deep-Sea Fisheries Development for British Columbia (1887-1893)," *BC Studies* 53 (1982): 28-44; Michael E. Vance, "British Columbia's Twentieth-Century Crofter Emigration Schemes: A Note on New Sources," *Scottish Tradition* 18 (1993): 1-27; Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland*, 1:153-57; Harper, *Emigration from Scotland between the wars*, 82-91.

[22] Payne referred, in particular, to a group of fishers from Peterhead, Aberdeenshire, who had settled in Pender Harbour after the First World War. See National Archives of Scotland, AF51/186, R.R. Payne, "Re: Opportunities for British Fishermen in British Columbia," November 1936, cited in Vance, "Crofter Emigration Schemes," 17-21. Although the precise origin of Payne's proposal is unclear, at his company's formation in 1904, Alexander Begg had advocated assisted emigration as a means of affecting "a union of the Scottish fisherman with

Had his proposal been adopted Robert Payne would have greatly increased the number of Scottish fishers working for his company,[23] but it is also clear that Payne wanted to extend the assisted emigration to family members, including "wives as well as the youths and young women [who] could secure employment in the canneries for the season." This inclusion is revealing. Unlike British Columbia's other resource industries, such as mining or lumbering, which relied on specialized all-male labour forces organized into temporary camps, the canning industry initially relied on an extension of the traditional family production of the existing First Nations fishery; that is, the men caught the fish and the women processed it. As Alicja Muszynski has pointed out, this traditional practice was merely adapted to the new industrial techniques of the canning industry and later applied to Japanese families as well.[24] The family division of labour along gender lines was also apparent in the Scottish herring fishery, but in 1905 John Cowie had suggested that Native women could do the work "just as thoroughly as the best Scotch girls."[25] There was, therefore, no need to bring in

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the Canadian Fishing Company" for the mutual benefit of both. See CVA, Alexander Begg Fonds, Add. MSS. 181, microfilm 78, f. 613, A. Begg to C. Shifton, Orillia, 28 May 1904.

[23] It would appear that several fishers from the Hebrides worked for Canfisco during the interwar period and subsequently returned to Scotland. In 1948, Murdo McLeod, on a trip to his homeland, visited Stornoway, where the "old boys" who used to fish in British Columbia asked him to send their greetings to "the boys at the Canadian Fishing Company." See *The Fisherman* 22 January, 1948. Despite his favourable comments regarding Scots from the northeast, Robert Payne was less enthusiastic about the fishers from the Western Isles. Payne's negative estimation was shared by many on both sides of the Atlantic. James Hunter has shown how, in particular, the British elite singled out the Hebrideans as backward and indolent because of their apparent inability to adapt to the modern industrial economy and their attachment to their marginally productive crofts. Marjory Harper and Wayne Norton have provided examples of how these attitudes crossed the Atlantic. See Vance, "Crofter Emigration Schemes," 13-15; James Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1976), 197-99; Wayne Norton, *Help Us to a Better Land: Crofter Colonies in the Prairie West* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1994), 46-48, 82-83; and Marjory Harper, "Crofter Colonists in Canada: An Experiment in Empire Settlement in the 1920s," *Northern Scotland* 14 (1994): 100.

[24] Native labour had proved insufficient as the industry began its rapid expansion in the early twentieth century, and Asian labour was increasingly relied upon. See Muszynski, *Cheap Wage Labour*, 12-15, 127-44; Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), 87-108.

[25] UBC Special Collections, Henry Doyle Fonds, notebook 22, General Diary 1905-06, f. 94. The author is grateful to George Brandak for this reference. Prior to the First World War, one BC firm operating in Pender Harbour did decide to import Scottish women to process herring using the "Scotch method." See Robert C. Brown and Ian T. Joyce, "A Geography of the Herring Fisheries of British Columbia," in *British Columbia: Geographical Essays in honour of A. MacPherson*, ed. P. Koroscil (Burnaby: Department of Geography, SFU, 1991), 146. For gender division in the Scottish industry, see, for example, James R. Coull, "Seasonal Migration in the Caithness Herring Fishery," *Northern Scotland* 22 (2002): 77-97.

Scottish women to develop the industry. By 1936, Robert Payne was taking a different position.

The obvious change in the BC labour force in the intervening years between Cowie's tour and Payne's proposal involved a series of legislative measures taken in the 1920s to exclude the Japanese from the fishing industry.[26] In particular, the enactment of the Duff Commission recommendations resulted in the removal of over a thousand Japanese fishers from the industry, but by 1929 the federal policy of Japanese licence reduction had ceased and the "opening up" of the fishery had greatly increased the overall number of fishers in the fleet.[27] The displacement of Japanese fishers does not, therefore, in itself appear to have prompted Robert Payne's proposal, but Payne did characterize the newcomers who had taken their place in unflattering terms, stating that many were from "Mediterranean countries" or were "transients … [who] … stop work as soon as they have earned a few dollars" and that Scots would be preferred. Payne, however, did not acknowledge that the increase in the numbers of independent fishers, along with the onset of the Depression, had greatly depressed the price of fish, making it difficult for anyone to make a living regardless of their ethnic or social background.

When the British press reported on the proposal to settle Scottish fishers in British Columbia, the union paper, *The Fisherman*, reacted with incredulity:

> Let's be honest about this deal. Is there a shortage of experienced fishermen in BC? The answer is no! Statements have been made by leading members of the Fishery Departments to the effect that there

[26] Despite the objections of prominent cannery operators like Henry O. Bell-Irving, who thought that the attempt to remove the Japanese was "nonsense" and would drive up labour costs, such legislation was widely popular in British Columbia, which experienced a rise in anti-Asian prejudice during the interwar years. See CVA, Bell-Irving Family Fonds, Add MSS. 1-500- A2 file 61, Henry O. Bell-Irving Personal Diary 1924-25, 30 December 1924. For the impact of anti-Asian racism in British Columbia, see Patricia E. Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914-41* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003); and W. Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever: Popular Attitudes and Public Policy toward Orientals in British Columbia* 3rd ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

[27] In 1922 the Duff Commission recommended that fishing licences issued to those "other than white, British subjects and Indians" be cut immediately by 40 percent and then by another 15 percent in 1925. Patullo's 1925 plan to assist Scottish crofters to enter the industry was, in part, intended to replace those forced out of the fishery. See Meggs, *Salmon,*" 120-24; Roy, *The Oriental Question*, 103, 108; Adachi, *Enemy That Never Was*, 134, 143-44, 391; Vance, "Crofter Emigration Schemes," 3-8. The licence reductions were halted as a consequence of a successful court challenge launched by the Japanese fishers and rising complaints that the Japanese had merely shifted to lumbering and fruit growing, threatening "white" employment in those industries. See Roy, *The Oriental Question*, 108-10; At Rivers Inlet, for example, the number of independent gillnetters had risen from 1,117 in 1928 to 1,899 in 1934. See Meggs, *Salmon*, 120-31, 144.

> should be a decrease, not an increase in the number of licences … Every year we hear the operators' tale of woe … "we are unable to pay the prices you ask" … Yes, the operators may talk of new blood. This is an old tactic. Divide and rule. *Our Answer to this is that we have enough fishermen here, no insult to our Scotch brothers. What we need is trade union organization*.[28]

When Payne gave a lecture on "opportunities" in the fishing industry to the Vancouver YMCA, the paper attacked him directly: "True, there are opportunities in the fishing industry, the opportunity to join a *Trade Union* and through organization make the possibilities of earning a decent living a reality instead of the present situation of poverty of the majority of the BC fishermen who will answer the … misleading statement of 'opportunities' in the BC industry as another 'Payne' in the neck."[29]

Rather than a response to a labour shortage, Robert Payne's assisted emigration proposal to the British High Commission was an attempt to undermine labour militancy in the industry. He made this explicit by referring specifically to the 1936 strike at Rivers Inlet, which had resulted in the loss of almost an entire season. He stated that, if his proposal were accepted, "it would … be essential that people of Communistic and radical thought not be included in th[e] scheme."[30] It would appear that, by recruiting Scottish fishers, Payne hoped to replace the militants in the industry with compliant workers whose families would supplement their earnings with cannery work. The self-interest in the proposal, however, was readily apparent to members of the imperial government,

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[28] Editorial, "Three Hundred Scotch Fisherman," *The Fisherman*, 5 June 1937; and "Canada Calls for Scots to Replace Japanese Fisheries," from the *Scottish Daily Express*, reprinted in *The Fisherman*, 9 April 1937. The *Express* article referred to a proposal from the "salmon canners of British Columbia" to Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary for the Dominions, to replace the Japanese with unemployed fishers from Moray and Aberdeen. This may have been a gloss on Payne's proposal or represent yet another approach by BC canners. The editors of *The Fisherman* wrote to the *Express* pointing out that the province did not offer an opportunity to escape distress and that, in fact, conditions were just as bad in British Columbia, where the "majority of the fishermen [are] on relief every winter and … are almost as poverty stricken as in Scotland."

[29] *The Fisherman*, 11 March and 9 April 1937. Although there is no evidence that the editors of *The Fisherman* had any direct knowledge of Payne's proposal, they did make the connection between the rosy picture he painted of employment prospects in the BC fishing industry in his YMCA talk and the attempt to entice Scottish fishers to come to the province.

[30] Canfisco had a history of strike breaking through the use of replacement workers. In 1912, when the company's long-line fishers went on strike, the company recruited 250 fishers from Clark's Harbour, Nova Scotia, and brought them to British Columbia without informing them that they were strike breakers, a tactic that the company had also employed in 1909. See *The Fisherman*, 24 August 1973.

who rejected the plan. Nonetheless, Payne's attempt to use assisted emigration from Scotland as a means of combatting labour militancy suggests that he was unaware or unwilling to recognize that Scots, while not the dominant group in the fishing fleet, were heavily represented among the fishers who were seeking to unionize the industry.

II

The onset of the Depression had produced a concerted effort to resist the canners' practice of segregating the workplace along ethnic and gender lines in order to maintain low labour costs. This movement was led by the Fishermen's Industrial Union (FIU), which was formed by the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) under the Workers Unity League (WUL) with the goal of organizing all of the industry's fishers and shoreworkers into one union. The formation of the FIU was part of the "Third Period" strategy adopted by the Communist International (Comintern) in 1928, which sought to intensify the worldwide class struggle by establishing rival communist unions to established social democratic organizations as well as organizing the unskilled and unemployed. While the initiative for the establishment of "Red" unions came from the Comintern, recent reappraisals have pointed out that the policy was adapted by party members to local conditions and that, as a result, the consequences were considerably varied.[31] In British Columbia, as elsewhere in Canada, the communists had considerable success in organizing the unemployed and enjoyed modest success with the construction of rival unions under the WUL. The number of Scots who were engaged in both Third Period activities, and who provided leadership in British Columbia and nationally, is remarkable. A "Red Clydesider" from the Vale of Leven, Allan Campbell, who had helped the party organize the unemployed in Glasgow in the 1920s, was doing the same with the unemployed in Vancouver by 1931, only to be deported back to Scotland as a consequence of his radical activities.[32] Campbell

[31] See the essays in Matthew Worley, *In Search of Revolution: International Communist Parties in the Third Period* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), esp. John Manley, "Red or Yellow? Canadian Communists and the 'Long' Third Period." See also John Manley, "Canadian Communists, Revolutionary Unionism, and the 'Third Period': The Workers' Unity League, 1929-1935," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 5 (1994): 167-94; and John Manley, "'Starve, Be Damned!' Communists and Canada's Urban Unemployed," *Canadian Historical Review* 79, 3 (1998): 466-91. For the efforts of one Scottish clergyman to combat the influence of the communists among the unemployed, see Todd McCallum, "The Reverend and the Tramp, Vancouver, 1931: Andrew Roddan's *God in the Jungles*," *BC Studies* 147 (2005): 51-88.

[32] The term "Red Clydeside" was coined to describe the intense radical working-class agitation in Glasgow that commenced during the First World War and culminated in the early 1920s.

had been aided in Vancouver by Jim Litterick, another "Red" from Clydebank who would become the first Communist parliamentarian in Canada when he was elected MLA for Winnipeg in 1936. Both men worked with Tom Ewen, a blacksmith originally from the Kincardine coast and the Canadian Communist Party national executive member charged with directing both the organization of the unemployed and the establishment of "red" unions under the WUL.[33] Ewen was one of the eight leaders imprisoned from 1932 to 1934 when the Bennett government responded to communist agitation by outlawing the party with Section 98 of the criminal code.[34]

Despite the disruptions caused by the federal government's use of deportation and the imprisonment of the party leadership, the communists were able to enjoy some success in their efforts to organize the BC fishing industry. In 1932, the FIU led salmon fishers in two strikes, one on the Nass and Skeena rivers and the other at Rivers Inlet and Smith Inlet, and the following year it led a strike of 250 southern BC salmon trollers. In August 1934, the union reorganized as the Fishermen

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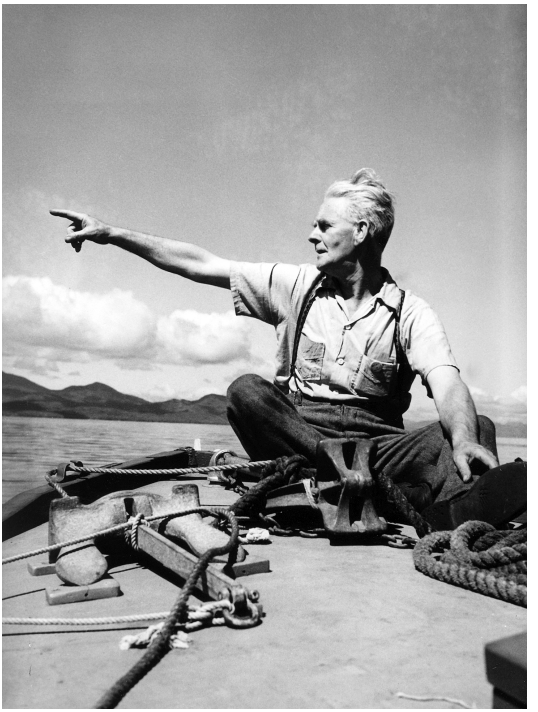
The actual level of "revolutionary" involvement in these agitations has been the focus of considerable scholarly debate. Overall assessments of the literature can be found in John Foster, "Red Clyde and Red Scotland," in *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, ed. I. Donnachie and C. Whately (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), 106-24; Terry Botherstone, "Does Red Clydeside Really Matter Anymore?" in *Militant Workers: Labour and Class Conflict on the Clyde 1900-1950*, ed. R. Duncan and A. McIvor (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1992), 52-80; and Kay Blackwell, "Women on Red Clydeside: The Invisible Workforce Debate," *Scottish Economic and Social History* 21, 2 (2001): 140-62. For Campbell, see Stuart Macintyre, *Little Moscows: Communism and Working-Class Militancy in Inter-War Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 95-7, 157; Harry McShane and Joan Smith, *Harry McShane: No Mean Fighter* (London: Pluto Press, 1978), 146-48; 160-64; Lita-Rose Betcherman, *The Little Band: the clashes between the Communists and the political and legal establishment in Canada, 1928-1932* (Ottawa: Deneau, 1982), 92-95; 154-55. The author is grateful to Andrew Parnaby for drawing Campbell to his attention.

[33] John Manley has noted that Scots were heavily represented in the Canadian Communist Party executive in the 1930s. See "Introduction," in Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part 2, 1935* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1993), 14-15; and Manley, "A British Communist MP in Canada: Willie Gallacher Builds the Popular Front, 1936," *Communist History Network Newsletter* 6 (1998). Indeed Scots held key positions in the Canadian party from the start. The party's first leader, John L. MacDonald, was a pattern maker from Falkirk, and "Old Bill" Bennett, a barber from Greenock, was one of the leading early party organizers in Vancouver. See William Rodney, *Soldiers of the International: A History of the Communist Party in Canada, 1919-1929* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 166-67; and Mark Leier, *Rebel Life: The Life and Times of Robert Gosden, Revolutionary, Mystic and Labour Spy* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1999), 120-21. For Ewen's Scottish background, see his memoir, *The Forge Glows Red: From Blacksmith to Revolutionary* (Toronto: Progress Books, 1974), 1-40. Ewen was an illegitimate child and appears earlier in life to have used his father's surname, Ewen, and later on his mother's surname, McEwen.

[34] Section 98 of the Criminal Code, making the Communist Party an illegal organization, was enacted on 11 August 1931 and remained on the books until 4 July 1936.

and Cannery Workers' Industrial Union (FCWIU) and led a strike of one hundred filling-line workers at the St. Mungo cannery, which won the women a modest increase in their piece rate.[35] The following year, the union supported another trollers' strike by arranging for the distribution of "gift" fish in return for donations to the strike fund and, according to one informant, succeeded in distributing fifteen hundred salmon in the first two days of its campaign. The fact that the membership of the union was growing and that the Communist Party continued to support its activities, including printing the union paper *The Voice of the Fisherman* on the party's Gestetner machine, ensured that they retained the attention of the RCMP Security Service, but it was the 1936 strike at Rivers Inlet that revealed how effective the union had become.[36]



George Miller c.1944 (University of British Columbia Library, Rare Books and Special Collections, BC 1532/1944/5).

Prominent among the leadership of that strike was George Miller, a Caithness native who had come to British Columbia with his family in 1906, along with several others from the Wick

[35] James Munro was dismissed from St. Mungo for his role in the strike, and while he could be another Scot, this has not been established. See Meggs, *Salmon*, 147; See also UBC Special Collections, George North Fonds, unpublished essay, "The 1936 Rivers Inlet Salmon Fisherman's Strike Strengthened Radical Union Leadership in BC Fishing Unions."

[36] According to Bill Law, union-caught salmon was also distributed through the Unemployed Workers Association and, on one occasion, by Woodward's department store. See George North Fonds, Law to North, 3 February 1967; and Kealey and Whitaker, *The Depression Years, Part II*, 268, 309, 370, 559. As early as March 1934, the RCMP were monitoring the activities of the FIU and its president, Alexander Ramsay, who, along with Miller, was also one of the union's principal organizers. It is not certain whether Ramsay was Scottish. The 1911 census records a Scot in North Vancouver named Alexander Ramsay who was a shipyard worker, a trade known for its union militancy, but it is not certain that this was the same man. Keally and Whitaker, *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part I* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1993), 69; *Census of Canada* 1911, BC, District 12, 60 North Vancouver, p. 5 line 23. For union references to Ramsay, see *The Fisherman,* 20 December 1969, 1 December 1961, 23 March 1954, 11 March 1949, and 4 June 1940.

region. He had worked as a warehouseman and logger before trolling for a season in 1930, but he joined the Communist Party and became a full-time union organizer for the FIU the following year.[37] In 1936, he began trying to assist the union in implementing the new strategy adopted by the party. With the rise of the Nazis in Germany, the Seventh Communist International saw fascism as the most serious threat to communism in general and to the Soviet Union in particular, and it responded with the Popular Front. Under the new line, communists were to abandon the Third Period strategy of intensifying class conflict in order to hasten revolution and, instead, establish broad-based coalitions of anti-fascists. For the "red" unions, this entailed building alliances with former rivals and, where possible, joining local, national, and international trade union bodies. In January 1936, George Miller attempted but failed to gain a seat for the FCWIU at the International Seamen's Union convention at Astoria in Washington State, largely because of the American Federation of Labor's anti-communist stand.[38] At the local level, however, the union's appeals for unity were more successful.

The union prepared for the 1936 season by organizing the Fishermen's Joint Committee to coordinate the activities of all fishermen's organizations in the province. The combined effort won concessions from Fraser River canners but was faced with intransigence from Rivers Inlet operators. The other partners melted away, leaving only the FCWIU to lead that district. Nevertheless, organizers like George Miller were able

[37] An effective speaker and accomplished accordion player, Miller enjoyed considerable popularity as a union organizer among the west coast fishers. Early organizers like Miller shared the hardships of those whom they were trying to sign up. Revenue from dues was seldom sufficient to pay a salary to union officers, and often they had to scramble to obtain enough to eat. But, like many in the Communist Party, Miller saw his work as part of a larger worldwide struggle between capital and labour that required sacrifice. Indeed, when his marriage did not survive the strain, he viewed it as "a casualty of the class struggle." See *The Fisherman*, 1 December 1961.

[38] Many in organized labour deeply resented the communist attacks during the "Third Period," and many at the Astoria convention were not mollified by Miller's claim that he was not a party member and that his union was not controlled by the CPC. Miller's protests were part of a deliberate Popular Front policy to downplay party affiliation and highlight common causes. Of course, it was still illegal to be a Communist Party member in Canada when Miller was at the convention. In fact, according to Tom Ewen, Miller was on the CP executive in British Columbia throughout the 1930s and 1940s and clearly showed his party credentials when he succeeded in having the union oppose Canada's participation in the war as part of the communist abandonment of anti-fascism after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact. See John Manley, "'Canada Loves Communists': The Communist Party of Canada, the 'People' and the Popular Front, 1933-1939," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 36, 4 (2002): 59-86; Kealey and Whitaker, *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part III, 1936* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1993), 49; Kealey and Whitaker, *RCMP Security Bulletins: The War Series, 1939-1941* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1989), 219-20. See also *The Fisherman*, 1 December 1961.

to gain the support of a large number of men, including Japanese and First Nations fishers as well as members of other fishermen's organizations. The strike, which began on 5 July at both Rivers Inlet and Alert Bay, resulted in the loss of the salmon season at Rivers Inlet despite the canner's efforts to employ scab labour under police protection. At Alert Bay, however, the canner's denial of groceries to strikers and reports of scabbing "white" fishers encouraged the First Nations fishers to view the strike as a betrayal of their interests. They not only returned to work but also responded by establishing their own "Native Fisherman's Association." All the same, the concessions gained on the Fraser illustrated the possibilities of the combined efforts of fishermen's organizations, and the determined picketing at Rivers Inlet had demonstrated the potential of the united action of all fishers. As one contemporary put it, "even though the fishermen at Rivers Inlet did not win the price, they came out united in a union such as fishermen never had before."[39]

In October 1936, a month before Robert Payne sent his assisted emigration proposal to the British High Commission, the union published a pamphlet on the strike with an introduction by Tom Ewen, which highlighted the strength the fishers had gained by the combined efforts of all groups and encouraged those who had not already done so to join the union movement.[40] As part of the new Popular Front plan to increase membership and take Red unions back into mainstream labour organizations, the Workers' Unity League had been dissolved by the Communist Party and Ewen had been sent to British Columbia to ensure that the new line was being adopted.[41] In a successful bid to gain affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, the FCWIU was split into two new unions: with the Pacific Coast Fishermen's Union (PCFU), representing the trollers, and the Salmon Purse-Seiners' Union (SPSU), representing the purse-seiners. George Miller became business agent of the SPSU and also joined the editorial board of the new union paper, *The Fisherman,* which was published jointly by the two organizations.

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[39] *Western Fisheries*, October 1936, 13, quoted in North, "Rivers Inlet Salmon Fisherman's Strike." See also Meggs, *Salmon*, 149-50, 155; *The Fisherman*, 12 December 1985, 18 December 1974. The Pacific Coast Native Fisherman's Association subsequently merged with the Native Brotherhood in 1943.

[40] UBC Special Collections, Fisherman Publishing Society Fonds, box 2, 2-5, Fisherman's 1936 Strike (October 1936).

[41] For Ewen's activities in British Columbia until his departure for Moscow in 1938, see Manley, "Canada Loves Communists," 66 ; Kealey and Whitaker, *The Depression Years, Part III*, 294, 304, 316, 406, 428, 527; Kealey and Whitaker, *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part IV, 1937* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1993) 46, 68, 107, 192, 206, 339, 390-91, 457; and Kealey and Whitaker, *RCMP Security Bulletins: The Depression Years, Part V, 1938* (St. John's: Canadian Committee on Labour History, 1993) 123, 134, 139.

Despite the "liquidation" of the WUL, the communists continued to influence the new unions through leaders like Miller and through the paper, which espoused the Popular Front line throughout the remainder of the 1930s.[42]

The Fisherman supported the call to arms against Franco at the outset of the Spanish Civil War and actively promoted the efforts of the Popular Front's League Against Fascism. Events in support of the Mackenzie-Papineau regiment were advertised in the paper, and some union members, including the Scottish-born PCFU organizer Jimmy Cameron, joined up. Cameron was captured in Spain in June of 1938, and, although he was released in April 1940, the Canadian government refused to allow him to return, undoubtedly because of his "radicalism" but under the pretext that he had left the country with no intention of returning.[43] The internationalism reflected in Cameron's and *The Fisherman*'s response to the Spanish Civil War was also apparent in the paper's attitude towards Imperial Japan, but with more problematic consequences for the Popular Front goal of building solidarity between workers' organizations.

In October 1937, following the Japanese invasion of China, the paper called for a boycott of all Japanese goods as part of the struggle against fascism, but some members took this to mean a boycott of Japanese-Canadian business as well. In an attempt to clear up the "confusion," *The Fisherman* published an editorial in June 1938 that blamed politicians, such as the New Westminster MP and Cambuslang native Tom Reid, for using the invasion of China as a pretext to stir up racial hatred against the Japanese.[44] The boycott, the paper insisted, was directed against

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[42] Along with Miller, early Communist Party editors of *The Fisherman* include Jack Philips, George Drayton, and Jack Gavin. Gavin was born in Vancouver but appears to have been in contact with fishers in Scotland during the 1930s. See *The Fisherman*, 28 August 1937; 10 January 1947; and 13 June 1980.

[43] As late as 1946, Cameron, who was then working as a merchant seaman along the coast of Africa, was still seeking unsuccessfully to return to Canada and receiving copies of *The Fisherman*. See *The Fisherman*, 13 December 1937; 24 March 1938; 7 April 1938; 20 June 20 1938; 6 June 1939, 23 April 1940; and 21 June 1946. For immigration policy during this period, see Donald H. Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896–1994* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995), 126-43.

[44] *The Fisherman*, 21 October 1937 and 27 January 1938. Ken Adachi highlighted one particularly odious debate in the House of Commons in 1941, when the Comox-Alberni MP, A.W. Neill, himself an emigrant from Montrose, claimed that British Columbia was unable to assimilate the Japanese community because "once a Jap always a Jap," which provoked Angus MacInnes, the CCF member from British Columbia who was also of Scottish descent, to declare that one could make a similar observation of the speaker; that is, "once a Scotsman, always a Scotsman." Several "Scots" MPs, including Tom Reid, responded with declarations of their loyalty to Canada, while R.C. "Claymore" MacDonald arrived at the Provincial Assembly in Victoria

the Japanese state's ability to make war and not the Japanese workers. In responding to the subsequent flurry of anti-Japanese letters to the editor, the paper took the position that attempts to drive the Japanese from the fishery would merely drive them "into the ranks of the fascists." Instead, the paper urged union members to treat the Japanese Canadians as "whites," to assist the Japanese fishers in resisting their exploitive working conditions, and to encourage them to unite with the PCFU and the SPSU in the struggle against the cannery operators. *The Fisherman* had not been the first to argue that, in order to succeed, fishers had to unite across ethnic lines. Frank Rogers, the Scottish-born Industrial Workers of the World leader, had made the same argument during the Fraser River strike at the turn of the century.[45] But, despite the early efforts of Rogers and those of *The Fisherman*, which provided space for Japanese Canadians to make their case, racist attitudes persisted among the elements of the union rank and file, and these anti-Japanese attitudes would intensify in the early 1940s. Indeed, by that time, even George Miller and other members of the union executive expressed concern that the Japanese Consulate was having too much influence and was encouraging fascism among elements of the community in British Columbia.[46] Nevertheless, the paper remained loyal to the Popular Front line that racial hatred was merely a capitalist tool used to divide workers and that it needed to be overcome. While the removal and internment of the Japanese-Canadian community, after the attack on Pearl Harbor, was supported by *The Fisherman,* as the Second World War was winding down, union executives visited the camps in the BC interior and encouraged fishers to return to the coast at the war's end. George Miller faced down the opposition among his own members at a postwar union meeting in Steveston, where he insisted that "there would be no discrimination against any individual for race, colour or political opinion."[47]

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in full Highland regalia, accompanied by a piper, in order to emphasize his "assimilation" into Canadian society. See Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was*, 195, 400.

[45] H. Keith Ralston, "The 1900 Strike of Fraser River Sockeye Salmon Fishermen" (MA thesis, UBC, 1965); Jeremy Mouat, "Frank Rogers," *DCB*, 1901-1910, vol. 13; and *The Fisherman*, 13 January 1967, 22 September 1961, and 16 December 1960.

[46] In 1941, the paper published letters from Buck Suzuki defending Japanese fishers in the 24 June and 29 July issues. For the debate, see *The Fisherman*, 25 March; 22 April; 3, 10, and 17 June; 8, 22 July; 5, 12 August; 9 September, 25 November; and 9 December 1941. See also Roy, *The Oriental Question*, 204; and Meggs, *Salmon*, 158-59. By 1941, the SPSU and PCFU had merged with the United Fishermen's Federal Union, with George Miller continuing to serve on the combined executive.

[47] UBC Special Collections, Geoff Meggs Fonds, Elgin "Scotty" Neish interview, 20 November 1986; *The Fisherman*, 21 June 1949.

Although the Popular Front anti-racist position was not universally accepted by west coast fishers, the call for labour unity was widely supported by them, including Scots who were outside the inner leadership circles. These would include the Caithness brothers, John and Dave McKay, who had arrived in British Columbia with George Miller and his family and were active in the 1936 strike, and Donald Watson, who had come to the west coast from Cromarty in 1899 and had participated in both the 1900 Fraser River and the 1936 Rivers Inlet strikes.[48] Several of these Scots came to the union with previous collective bargaining experience, and their efforts were aided by sympathetic Scottish supporters who were not formally members of the union.[49] The call for labour solidarity also appealed to the sons of several Scots immigrants.[50] These would include Elgin "Scotty" Neish, whose father, James, had been a mechanic in Dundee before taking his family to Canada. "Scotty," who was born in Toronto after the family emigrated, would play a key role in the 1938 purse-seiners strike and, along with his Scottish-born brother Angus, also joined the Communist Party. According to Scotty's son Steve, the Neish brothers' militancy was particularly encouraged by their mother, Euphemia Ann (nee Drysdale) Neish.[51] Given the well-documented stridency of Dundee's working class women, Euphemia Neish's influence is perhaps not surprising, but the

[48] Alexander Reid Campbell from Lossiemouth served as PCFU strike leader in 1938, and other Scots, including John Ross, Alexander McDonald, Sandy Finlayson, and Alex Souter, were among the founding members of the SPSU and the PCFU. Johnny Donaldson, a Scottish miner and part-time fisher, contributed two hundred dollars to the Fisherman Publishing Society in 1938, which enabled the union to produce a professional-looking printed paper instead of the earlier mimeographed version. See *The Fisherman*, 6 June 1938. See also the references in Appendix A.

[49] Glasgow native "Wee" Billy Donaldson had served as the secretary of the Federated Seafarers Union before entering the fishing industry, while Shetland Islander Gavin Henderson had joined the SPSU after refusing to go back to work for Canadian Pacific Boats following the collapse of the 1935 waterfront strike. The Scottish couple, Jimmy and Jean Dawson, supported the union by advertising their Rivers Inlet floating general store in the union paper and by offering generous credit terms to fishers, particularly when they were on strike. See *The Fisherman*, 14 August 1956, 11 August 1961; UBC Special Collections, Fisherman Publishing Society Fonds, *The Voice of the Fisherman*; and McKervill, *The Salmon People*, 117-18.

[50] William Lockhart Kerr, born in Wellington, Vancouver Island, became a staunch supporter of union organization while fishing for pilchards out of Kildonan during the interwar period, while Bill Law and his brother Jim, whose father was a mine engineer of Scots background from New Zealand, played key roles in the 1935 and 1936 strikes. See *The Fisherman*, 12 April 1963, 18 December 1974, 23 November 1981, and 16 March 1984.

[51] Scotty Neish's socialist leanings were also reinforced by his marriage to Gladys Halminen, the daughter of one of the founders of the cooperative Finnish settlement on Sointula. Author's communication with Steve Neish, Victoria, BC, 20 February 2004. See also *The Fisherman*, 13 February 1940, 24 October 1939, 6 June 1939, 20 March 1995; "Scotty Neish: Union Man," in *Fishing for a Living*, Alan Haig-Brown (Madeira Park, BC: Harbour Publishing, 1993), 100-06; UBC Special Collections, Geoff Meggs Fonds, "Scotty" Neish interview, 20 November

male character of the fishermen's unions and the lack of sources make it difficult to assess the role Scottish women may have played more generally in the interwar union movement.

The Women's Auxiliary was formed to aid the activities of the SPSU and PCFU, and while some fishers argued for an equal and active role for women in the movement, the Auxiliary reports published in *The Fisherman* reveal the essentially supportive role it was accorded. It was involved in organizing children's Christmas parties, arranging for charitable donations for distressed fisher families, and publishing helpful domestic hints.[52] The support of union work through traditional female activities is clearly seen with Jean "Ma" Everett, who was fondly remembered by union members for the domestic care she provided when they visited her home during the Depression. According to *The Fisherman*, union organizers were "always treated royally at their home," where "the coffee pot was never off the stove" and "wives of the fishermen used to bathe … and wash their clothes." Despite the fact that women like Jean Everett often worked alongside their husbands during the fishing season, their presence was not sufficient to accord them more than a secondary role in the fishermen's unions, which remained essentially all-male organizations between the world wars.[53] Nevertheless, the organization of women into auxiliaries up and down the coast following the 1936 strike did help to improve the effectiveness of the SPSU and the PCFU, as did the concerted effort to build ties with the First Nations.

1986; and Eleanor Gordon, *Women and the Labour Movement in Scotland, 1850-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

[52] Ole Martin suggested that women needed support in order "to get out of their kitchens and into the real work-a-day world." See *The Fisherman*, 10 September 1940. For examples of the early auxiliary reports published under the heading "The Women's Point of View" (changed in 1938 to "Women's World"), see *The Fisherman*, 4 and 18 November, 2 and 13 December 1937; 27 January and 24 February 1938, which included an oat cake recipe from a Mrs. Sutherland.

[53] Jean Everett (nee Fenton) (1888-1969) was born near Dundee and emigrated with her family to farm, unsuccessfully, at Hardy Bay. After marrying John Everett, she moved up the coast, eventually settling in their Schooner Pass float house at the entrance to Rivers Inlet. See *The Fisherman*, 2 August 1955, 15 May 1964, 20 December 1969. The relegation of women to domestic supporting roles is hardly surprising given the early homosocial nature of the BC workforce identified by Adele Perry and the general exclusion of women from union leadership described by Marie Campbell. See A. Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); and M. Campbell, "Sexism in British Columbia Trade Unions, 1900-1920," in *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in BC*, ed. B. Latham and C. Kess (Victoria: Camosum College, 1980), 167-86. Indeed, the curious spectacle of single women fishing on their own accord, especially during the Second World War, was sufficient to merit special articles in the union paper. See *The Fisherman*, 10 October 1939, 1 and 15 June 1943.

As early as July 1937, George Miller was in Alert Bay working to reestablish links with the Native Fishermen's Association and to coordinate bargaining with the canners. When Robert Payne tried to reach a separate deal with the First Nations fishers at Cape Mudge, he was rebuffed. *The Fisherman* not only applauded the action but declared that "the Indians are the real native sons of Canada … They are the real Canadians [and as] Canadians they have the right to expect a decent reward for their toil."[54] Such support was consistent with the Popular Front anti-racist line and had been anticipated by Tom Ewen's article in the *BC Worker's News*, which made similar claims, but it was also pragmatic, given the importance of First Nations fishers and shoreworkers in the industry. "Scotty" Neish claimed that the 1938 seiners' strike, which built on the organizational strides taken in 1936, was successful in large part because "the Indians stayed with us."[55] The positive relations with First Nations organizations would be maintained throughout the following decades, extending beyond the fishery to support for Aboriginal rights in general. Indeed, the pragmatic approach taken by the successor unions to the Fishermen's Industrial Union, as exhibited in their dealings with First Nations, proved so attractive to fishery workers in British Columbia that they would form the original core of what would become, in 1945, the United Fishermen and Allied Workers Union – a single industry-wide union representing all non-Native fishers and shoreworkers.[56] George Miller, the fisher, union organizer, and Communist Party member from Caithness, would be its first president.

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[54] *The Fisherman*, 17 July 1937, 10 June 1 1937. The comment was also a criticism of the white Native Sons settler organization. For that organization's history, see Forrest D. Pass, "'The Wondrous Story and Traditions of the Country': The Native Sons of British Columbia and the role of Myth in the Formation of an Urban Middle Class," *BC Studies* 151 (2006): 3-38. For the treatment of First Nations fishers by the commercial fishery, see Dianne Newall, *Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's Pacific Coast Fisheries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); and Douglas C. Harris, *Fish, Law and Colonization: The Legal Capture of Salmon in British Columbia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

[55] Tom Ewen, "A White Man's Appeal for the Canadian Indian," *BC Worker's News*, 31 December 1936. See also Meggs Fonds, Neish Interview, 20 November 1986; and Haigh-Brown, *Fishing for a Living*, 105. For early examples of declarations of common interest between Native and non-Native fishers, see *The Fisherman*, 24 October and 1 August 1939. For the importance of Native labour, see Rolf Knight, *Indians at Work: An Informal History of Native Labour in British Columbia, 1848-1930* (Vancouver: New Star, 1996), 179-206.

[56] For the various amalgamations and mergers that led to the formation of the UFAWU, see Stuart Jamieson and Percy Gladstone, "Unionism in the Fishing Industry of British Columbia," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 16 (February 1950): 1-11; and ibid., (May 1950): 143-71.

III

George Miller's funeral service, described in his obituary published on 1 December 1961, opened with his "favourite piece," "The Road to the Isles." The song, which recalls Highland places on the route to the Isle of Skye and the Hebrides, had been translated from the original Gaelic folk song in 1917 and quickly became a standard for Scottish music hall performers such as Sir Harry Lauder. The kilted balladeer persona developed by performers like Lauder can be viewed as part of the kitsch Highland imagery, also reflected in Henry O. Bell-Irving's "Wee Scottie Brand," which had come to represent Scotland in the marketplace.[57] David Frank has noted in Cape Breton that Scottish music hall songs, along with earlier Gaelic tunes, were part of a "generalized cultural resource" used to help create solidarity among the region's coal miners, and there is some evidence that other aspects of Scottish popular culture were employed by trade unionists in British Columbia between the world wars.[58] But, while some fishers had joined formal organizations like the Burns societies or branches of the Sons of Scotland, unlike Cape Breton, none of these bodies was dominated by working men and women. Indeed, in the case of the New Westminster branch of the Sons of Scotland, the fishers who were present on the membership roles at the turn of the century had disappeared by the interwar period to be replaced by skilled artisans, white-collar workers, and middle-class professionals. Rather than providing a vehicle for union organization,

[57] *The Fisherman,* 1 December 1961. The "Road to the Isles" was first published by Marjory Kennedy-Fraser in *Songs of the Hebrides, vol. 2* (London: Boosy, 1917). See J.L. Campbell, "Fraser, Marjory Kennedy (1857-1930)," *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). For early examples of Scottish music hall artists touring Canada, see Paul Maloney, *Scotland and the Music Hall, 1850-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 172-80.

[58] David Frank, "Tradition and Culture in the Cape Breton Mining Community in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Cape Breton at 200: Historical Essays in Honour of the Island's Bicentennial, 1785-1985*, ed. K. Donovan (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1985), 205-06. Maurice Rush, the Toronto-born son of a Jewish shoemaker, recalled as a boy going with his father to the Royal Theatre in Vancouver to hear Allan Campbell speak and being enthralled by the recitation, at the same event, of Robert Burns' "A Man's a Man for a' That" by nine-year-old Elspeth Munro dressed in a "Scottish outfit." See Maurice Rush, *We Have a Glowing Dream: Recollections of Working-Class and People's Struggles in BC, 1935-1995* (Vancouver: Centre for Socialist Education Society, 1996), 2-4, app. 1. In the mid-1930s Rush would become a leader in the Young Communist League in British Columbia, the national paper of which, the *Young Worker*, ran a regular comic strip in 1934 entitled "Red Haggis." The author is grateful to John Manley for pointing this out.

formal Scottish societies provided opportunities for tradespeople and leading capitalists alike to enhance their businesses.[59]

As a consequence, it was Scottish canners like Henry O. Bell-Irving, rather than trade unionists like George Miller, who were most keenly interested in promoting stereotypical Scottish images in the BC fishing industry. Bell-Irving's "Wee Scottie Brand" reflected both the prevailing stereotypical popular culture and the importance of Scottish connections for raising the capital necessary to run the ABC Packing Company. These celebrations of Scottishness represented in the product labels and cannery names of the businesses run by Bell-Irving and his contemporaries were, however, relatively easily assimilated into the generalized "British tone" that Cole Harris argues was established in early twentieth-century BC society.[60] For the majority of fishers who landed their catches at the Caledonia, St. Mungo, or Kildonan canneries, the Scottish names would, as Harris suggests, have held little specific meaning, divorced as they were from their original contexts, but they did reflect the early importance of homeland connections and capital for those who had named them.

But continuing links with the homeland went beyond Scottish capitalists in the BC fishing industry. Angela McCarthy has demonstrated the importance of personal connections based on family or region for directing interwar Scottish emigration, and this is borne out in British Columbia.[61] As this discussion has shown, fishers in northern Aberdeenshire had a particularly strong connection with the province, as apparently did those in the Wick region of Caithness. While the proposed interwar-assisted emigrations would have greatly increased the number of Scots in the BC fishing fleet, fishers from the north and northeast of Scotland continued to emigrate from those regions without any government aid. Undoubtedly, support from friends and relatives already in the province would have helped to ease the transition. For some, return visits also helped to maintain the link with Scotland, and several Scots-born fishers made the journey. Although most travelled after the Second World War, a few interwar sojourners fished for a time in Scotland before returning to British Columbia. Indeed, enough BC

[59] See New Westminster City Archives, IH 000.11, Sons of Scotland Fonds, "Lord of the Isles Camp," box 1, files 1, 3, and 4. For a discussion of the generally elite nature of early Scottish societies in Canada, see Vance, "A Brief History of Organized Scottishness in Canada."

[60] Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 263-64.

[61] Angela McCarthy, "Ethnic Networks and Identities among Inter-War Scottish Migrants in North America," in *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities since the Eighteenth Century*, ed. A. McCarthy (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006), 203-26.

fishers returned to Scotland after a career of fishing on the west coast that several Scots felt compelled to explain why they would not visit.[62] These ongoing links with the homeland ensured that, while Scots remained a minority in the interwar fishing industry, their presence was sustained. In fact, the visible presence of immigrant Scots in the general workforce drew the attention of several commentators, including Willie Gallacher, the Glasgow-born Communist MP for West Fife, who toured Canada in 1936. Gallacher claimed that, when he addressed his Vancouver audience, "it sounded [as] though I was in St. Andrews Hall in Glasgow. The shouts of 'good old Wullie!' in braid Scots were a delight to hear and I decided to give them all I had."[63]

The enthusiastic reception given Willie Gallacher and the prominent role that George Miller played in the fishing industry's trade union movement highlights the broader significance of the Scots in British Columbia's radical working-class politics. Unlike the societies that promoted the stereotypical images of the Scots, or the general movement of population represented by the Scots in the interwar fishing industry, the importance of migrant Scots for promoting radical socialism in North America and in the British Empire is relatively understudied. Nevertheless, radical Scots were found in disproportionate numbers at the forefront of anti-capitalist agitation from South Africa to Australia to Canada.[64] And, as we have seen, Miller was supported by fellow Scots within the fisherman's union movement. It could be that the Scottish origins of men like Miller have been overlooked largely because the individuals themselves did not emphasize their Scottish identity. Indeed, rather than joining the anti-Asian chorus as some Scottish groups had done, especially during the infamous Janet Smith case of the 1920s, George Miller's Scottish associates in the Red unions insisted on

[62] Upon his retirement in 1963, Jim Samson, who had arrived in Canada in 1913, explained that "he wouldn't mind taking a trip back to Scotland" but that his wife was "not keen on the idea." For mentions of return migration, see *The Fisherman*, 19 April 1963, 18 October 1955, 12 December 1958, 17 July 1964; and Harper, *Emigration from Scotland between the Wars*, 109 n.26.

[63] William Gallacher, *The Last Memoirs of William Gallacher* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1966), 252.

[64] See, for example, Jonathan Hyslop, *The Notorious Syndicalist, J.T. Bain: A Scottish Rebel in Colonial South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jacana Media, 2004); or Stuart MacIntyre, "Blood Wattle or Red Heather? The Scottish Strain in the Australian Labour Movement," *Australian Studies* 12, 2 (1997): 99–103. In British Columbia, other contemporary radical Scots would include the Greenock barber and radical socialist, Old' Bill Bennett; the Lanarkshire-born Ladysmith miners' leader and CCF MP, Sam Guthrie; the Glasgow-born longshoreman's union leader, Charles McKendrick; and the St. Andrews native and Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union secretary, Bill Stewart. See *The Fisherman*, 3 January 1950, 29 January 1960, 19 June 1959, 3 May 1974.

organizing across ethnic lines.[65] True to the Comintern line, these Scots saw their struggle as being with international capitalism and Fascism, not with other workers. In these circumstances, ethnicity, including one's own, was irrelevant in the wider struggle.

While collectively the Scots had been a longstanding element in the diverse BC fishing fleet, the overt symbols of Scottishness had been employed largely by capitalists rather than trade unionists. At the end of the interwar period, the influence of the Scots capitalists who had promoted Scottish brands had waned, with essentially only the cannery names remaining to reflect their early importance. In contrast, the Scots who contributed to the radical labour movement could look back with satisfaction at the growth of trade unionism in the BC industry and to prospects of even greater accomplishment. In this light, it was perhaps fitting that George Miller's funeral ended with Paul Robeson's recording of "Joe Hill," the tribute to the Industrial Workers of the World organizer and folk singer executed in Salt Lake City in 1915.[66] Rather than the sentimental tune that opened the ceremony, this selection called for the international trade union organization and solidarity that Miller had devoted most of his life to achieving. It was this legacy of industrial union militancy, not the stereotypical Scottish product imagery, that survived the interwar period to help shape the character of British Columbia's industrial relations throughout the remainder of the twentieth century.

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[65] For the Janet Smith case, see Ian MacDonald, Ian O'Keefe, and Betty O'Keefe, *Canadian Holy War: A Story of Clans, Tongs, Murder, and Bigotry* (Surrey, BC: Heritage House, 2000); and Edward Starkins, *Who Killed Janet Smith?* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1984).

[66] Miller may have heard Paul Robson sing "Joe Hill" at the Peace Arch concerts he performed on 18 May 1952 and 17 August 1953. At the time, Robson was not permitted to leave the United States because of his "radical" activities. Joe Hill had visited British Columbia in 1912, when he wrote "Where the Fraser River Flows" in support of striking CN workers. See Rush, *We Have a Glowing Dream*, 182 n.8; Mark Leier, *Where the Fraser River Flows: The Industrial Workers of the World in British Columbia* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1990), 50, 95; and Ben Lefebvre, "Joe Hill: 'I Never Died, Said He,'" *American History* 40, 5 (2005): 56-62.

APPENDIX A: SCOTTISH-BORN UNION MEMBERS IDENTIFIED IN THE FISHERMAN, 1938-86

Name	Birthplace	Year of birth	Occupation	Issue
Matthew Brown	Glasgow	1906	shoreworker	Sept.4/70
Jimmy Cameron	Scotland	?	fisher/organizer	June 21/46
Alex Campbell	Lossiemouth	?	fisher	Jan. 28/41
Alexander R. Campbell	Scotland	?	fisher	Mar. 18/66
Bill Davidson	Aberdeenshire	1900	shore worker	Oct.13/67
Jack Donaldson	Scotland	?	fisher/miner	June 6/38
Billy Donaldson	Glasgow	?	fisher	Aug. 14/56
Alex Duthie	Fraserburgh	1895	halibut fisher	Feb.2/64
Harry Fairley	nr. Edinburgh	1906	fisher	Mar. 5/65
Alexander Finlayson	Nairn, Invernesshire	1892	seine fisher	Nov. 20/64
Jimmy Goodlad	Shetland Islands	1891	seine fisher	Mar. 18/49
John Goodlad	Shetland Islands	1893	seine fisher	May 16/69
Joe Hay	Scotland	1902	gillnet fisher	Dec. 15/72
Gavin M. Henderson	Shetland Islands	1903	fisher	Aug. 11/61
Jack Hewison	Westray, Orkney	1899	fisher/organizer	Oct. 8/71
Alex Imlach	Buckie	1881	gillnet fisher	Dec. 21/64
Cathol Kerr	Clashnessie, Sutherlandshire	?	gillnet fisher	Oct. 18/55
Charles Kerr	Arran	1906	pilchard fisher	May. 13/66
Charles Leslie	nr. Edinburgh	1887	gillnet fisher	July 17/64
Dave Mackay	Dunbeath, Caithness	1881	gillnet fisher	Nov. 13/51 Jan.13/61
John Mackay	Caithness	1894	gillnet fisher	Jan.10/58
Ian V. Mackay	Inverness	?	troll fisher	Jan. 28/41
Alexander Main	Burghead	1904	seine deckhand	Aug. 16/55
Martin G. Martin	Fife	1883	trawl fisher	Mar.15/63 Feb.3/67

Name	Birthplace	Year of birth	Occupation	Issue
Alex McDonald	Scotland	1880	fisher	Oct.12/38
Donald McKenzie	Scotland	?	fisher	Apr. 19/46
Murdo McLeod	Isle of Skye	1918	fisher	Aug. 5/66
Roderick W. McLeod	Scotland	1887	halibut fisher	May 5/42
John McLeod	Scotland	?	fisher	Mar. 10/53
James McLeod	Isle of Lewis	1888	fisher	Nov.1/55
Dan McLeod	Sutherland	1902	fisher	Aug. 17/79
Archie Miller	Wick	1882	gillnet fisher	Nov. 16/54
Bill Miller	Wick	1894	fisher	Nov.18/60
Archie Miller	Wick	1910	fisher	July 10/64
George Miller	Caithness	1892	fisher/organizer	Dec.1/61
Don Miller	Caithness	1901	tenderman	May 15/70
Ian Munro	Loch Lomond	1912	fisher	Sept. 5/75
Richard Patterson	Eyemouth	1910	fisher	June 23/86
Donald Reid	Scotland	1903	fisher	July 7/63
Bill Ross	Burghead	1902	fisher	Apr.23/82
John Ross	Scotland	1892	fisher	Oct. 14/37
Jim Samson	Scotland	1893	shore engineer	Apr. 19/63
Bertrand W. Sinclair	Edinburgh	1881	fisher/novelist	Oct.27/72
Jimmy Skinner	Scotland	1885	halibut fisher	Jan. 17/64
Ken R. Slater	Glasgow	1905	fisher/ cartoonist	Oct. 23/70
Arthur H. Smith	Shetland Islands	1897	fisher	Aug. 21/64
Robert Smith	Scotland	1871	fisher	June 1/62
Alexander Souter	Lossiemouth	1880	seine fisher	Dec.11/64
John Souter	Lossiemouth	1902	seine & troll fisher	Apr. 22/66
Donald Watson	Cromarty	1879	fisher	Dec. 20/76
Edward Wilson	Buckie	1891	shore worker	June 9/76