“A Grim and Costly Business”

The Mechanization, Modernization, and Decline of Pulpwood Logging in Central Newfoundland

by

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For Pop, whose post-secondary education was on the Rattling Brook Line, Bishop's Falls Division, in the latter part of the old bucksaw days.

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

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Abstract

Between 1907 and 1927 the seasonal foray into the "lumberwoods" to harvest pulpwood for the Grand Falls and Corner Brook newsprint mills became an entrenched part of outport life in many Newfoundland communities. After World War Two, stabilized and growing markets for newsprint meant that thousands of rural Newfoundland men found work harvesting and delivering pulpwood. Beginning in the 1950s, mechanization and modernization dramatically reduced the labour requirements of Newfoundland's pulpwood industry, creating a "corps of professional loggers" that constituted a fraction of the workers employed previously. In the 1950s, the Grand Falls mill's importance to the province's economy meant that few imagined that it would ever close. However, when the mill closure came in 2009 it did not have a catastrophic impact on the economy of central Newfoundland. This was due to a fifty-year decline in the economic importance of the pulp and paper, and pulpwood industry in Newfoundland. By 2009 more jobs had been lost in the preceding four decades than were lost by the complete closure of the mill. Had the closure of the mill occurred forty or fifty years previous, because of the dependence on the pulp and paper industry and the much larger number of jobs at stake, the region would have been economically devastated. The long-term impacts of mechanization and modernization meant that the deindustrialization of central Newfoundland was a slow process with an abrupt ending. For those loggers that remained after the mechanization efforts of the 1950s and 1960s, the process of mechanization did not stop, nor did the challenges faced in supplying the Grand Falls pulp and paper mill with wood. Using archival materials, company newsletters, local newspapers, and oral history, this thesis examines central Newfoundland's loggers, the changing nature of their work, and how mechanization dramatically reduced their numbers ultimately diminishing the economic importance of the pulpwood harvest to the provincial economy.

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Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Sean Cadigan whose words of encouragement decades ago came back to haunt him. This thesis benefitted from the assistance of the following people: the staff and volunteers of the Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society, particularly Audrey Burke, Robyn Warren, and Les Wheeler; Linda White with the Archives and Special Collections Division of Memorial University; the staff at the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, in particular Melanie Tucker who greatly aided me in accessing the Abitibi mill materials; Chris Mouland with the Folklore and Language Archive at Memorial; David Mercer with the Map Library at The Queen Elizabeth II Library at Memorial University; Dan Myles for providing me with a collection of technical reports on logging systems; the Harrington Family for the generous award of the Michael Harrington Research Prize in Newfoundland History. I would also like to thank Mac Squires who encouraged me to do something academic with my logging research; and the late Otto Verge, who was an encyclopedia of logging knowledge gained through climbing the ranks from logger to second in command of the Woods Department. Lastly, I would like to thank my family, including my parents who encouraged me every step of the way, my children for whom looking at old newspapers and *News-Logs* became a bedtime routine for several months; and my wife Sara, who has endured more talk about logging operations in central Newfoundland than she would care to mention.

Explanatory Notes

The Harmsworth Brothers, owners of London's *Daily Mail* newspaper, formed the **Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited** (**AND Co**) in January1905 to develop the resources of central Newfoundland and specifically to build a paper mill on the Exploits River. The mill went into production in October 1909. **AND Co** owned and operated the mill until merging with Price Brothers in 1961. The mill continued to operate under the name Anglo-Newfoundland until April 1965 when the name was formally changed to Price (Nfld.) Pulp and Paper. Logging and forestry activities for the Grand Falls mill were directed from the **Woods Department. AND Co** was also part owner of the Buchans base metal mine through its subsidiary Terra Nova Properties.

Price (Nfld.) Pulp and Paper-the Grand Falls mill operated under the name Price (Nfld.) until the early 1980s, despite the takeover of Price by Abitibi in 1974 and the formation of Abitibi-Price.

Abitibi-Price- owners of the Grand Falls mill from 1974 until 1997 when Abitibi-Price merged with Stone Consolidated creating Abitibi-Consolidated.

Abitibi-Consolidated-Owners of the Grand Falls Mill from 1997-2007.

Abitibi-Bowater-formed from the merger of Abitibi-Consolidated with Bowater. Last owners of the mill, 2007-2009. After the closure and a bankruptcy Abitibi-Bowater merged as **Resolute Forest Products**. For convenience in this paper Abitibi-Price, Abitibi-Consolidated and Abitibi-Bowater are referred to as "Abitibi."

Archival Records-many of the records that came from the mill have not been thoroughly arranged and classified, thus many, especially those in the Provincial Archives which were generously brought out of storage for me, and do not have detailed file numbers.

Bowater's-Bowater's Newfoundland Pulp and Paper owned and operated the Corner Brook newsprint mill from 1938 until 1984. Although based in western Newfoundland, Bowater's had timber limits adjoining AND Co's limits, specifically in the Glenwood and Hall's Bay areas. Both companies cooperated in organizations such as the Newfoundland Forest Protection Agency; and participated in exchanges of pulpwood and timber areas. Bowater sold the Corner Brook Mill to Kruger in 1984 which has since operated in Newfoundland under the name Corner Brook Pulp and Paper (CBPP).

Cord of Wood. A cord of wood is a stack of wood measuring 4x4x8 adding up to 128 cubic feet. It took roughly 1.3 cords of wood to produce a ton of newsprint, although it was claimed by two interviewees that this may have been reduced to 1.1 cords per ton in later years. After the changeover to the metric system pulpwood was measured in square meters. However, there is no accurate conversion for comparison between the two units as

there are technicalities with rough cubic meters and solid cubic meters. One cord is 3.62 cubic meters stacked, but it is also 2.265 cubic meters solid wood. Unfortunately, the amount of wood harvested by the Grand Falls each year after 1972 could not be found despite my best efforts.

Gender. For almost the entirety of the time studied, the pulpwood industry was overwhelmingly male dominated. A small number of women worked in the divisional offices and at headquarters in administrative and communications roles, but loggers were nearly always men. When silviculture operations ramped up in the 1980s a fair number of women found work in planting operations.

Grand Falls Mill. The pulp and paper mill located in Grand Falls continued to be referred to as the Grand Falls mill by the owners even after the amalgamation of the towns of Grand Falls and Windsor in 1991. I use the same terminology.

Red Indian Lake (Beothuk Lake). During the writing of this thesis, the name of Red Indian Lake was appropriately changed to Beothuk Lake. This thesis adheres to the old name as it existed when logging operations were taking place there.

Chapter One: Introduction

The pulp and paper industry built and sustained the economy of central Newfoundland, and for nearly one hundred years the forests of that region fed the paper machines of the Grand Falls newsprint mill. On January 7, 1905, press barons Alfred and Harold Harmsworth, owners of London's *Daily Mail* newspaper, formed the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited (AND Co) to exploit central Newfoundland's timber and water resources for newsprint production. That following spring, AND Co began work at the Grand Falls of the Exploits River; a site chosen because of its hydroelectric potential and proximity to abundant timber resources. Work on the paper mill complex began in 1907 and in December of 1909 the first newsprint produced in Newfoundland came off the paper machines of the Grand Falls mill. Grand Falls was the first pulp and paper mill in the new dominion, and the fact that it succeeded in partially diversifying the economy and settling a frontier area led others to try and replicate its model.[1] In 1901, the interior region of Newfoundland's Exploits Valley was home to fewer than 200 people, three quarters of whom clustered around the sawmill complex at Millertown on Red Indian Lake.[2] Ten years later, the region had ten times as

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[1] See James K. Hiller, "The Origins of the Pulp and Paper Industry in Newfoundland," *Acadiensis*, 11(2), (1982): 42. Retrieved from https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/Acadiensis/article/view/11572.; John Munro. "Public Timber Allocation Policy in Newfoundland," unpublished Forestry Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1978, for further details. Between 1897 and 1923 there were at least six pulp mills that got to the construction stage: Black River, Grand Falls, Bishop's Falls, Campbelltown, Angle Brook (Glovertown) and Corner Brook. Numerous other projects that did not come to fruition include proposals for the Bay D'Espoir area, Orange Bay and Hampden in White Bay, Indian Bay, and the Gander watershed.
[2] Newfoundland. Colonial Secretary's Office, *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1901, Table 1,* (St. John's: 1903).

many residents.[3] By 1949, when Newfoundland entered Confederation with Canada, the pulp and paper mills at Grand Falls and Corner Brook led landward industrialization in a province otherwise economically dominated by the cod fishery. The paper mills, and their associated planned communities, were shining examples of modernization and industrialization in comparison to the hundreds of coastal fishing settlements that lacked electricity, running water, and year-round employment. In 1951, 16,936 people lived in communities directly dependent on the Grand Falls pulp and paper mill.[4]

In 1959 the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company marked its fiftieth year of newsprint production. The preceding decades had seen considerable expansion of the pulp and paper industry in central Newfoundland. Despite two World Wars and the Great Depression, the mill at Grand Falls survived, expanded, and was in a favorable position to take advantage of the postwar boom in the newsprint market. The anniversary was overshadowed by a bitter labour dispute between loggers and the AND Company during the opening months of the year. The 1959 Newfoundland Loggers Strike by the International Woodsworkers of America (IWA) was a labour dispute that AND Co management and the Newfoundland government claimed to put the entire economy of central Newfoundland in jeopardy. In 1959 this claim was not hyperbole; AND Co employed 1,703 people at the mill, on its railway, and at the shipping port.[5] The

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[3] Newfoundland. Colonial Secretary's Office, *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911, Table I: Population, Sex, Condition, Denomination, Profession, Etc.*, (St. John's: J.W Withers 1914).
[4] Dominion Bureau of Statistics Canada, *Ninth Census of Canada, 1951*. (Ottawa: 1954). Compiled from information for the communities of Grand Falls, Windsor, Botwood, Badger, Millertown, Bishop's Falls and Terra Nova.
[5] F.A Price, *50 Years of Progress at Grand Falls*, (St. John's: Guardian, 1959), Appendix.

newsprint manufacturer was the largest employer in the towns of Grand Falls, Windsor, Bishop's Falls, and Botwood. Outside of newsprint production and shipping, the Woods Department of the AND Co employed between 1,200 and 2,700 loggers and woods support staff for about eight months each year. These forestry workers were scattered in 201 communities, mostly in northeastern Newfoundland, communities that would be greatly impacted by the loss of logging employment.[6] This thesis will examine the woods labour force, the changes that occurred in woods work, and how mechanization, and modernization altered the pattern of woods employment that existed in the 1950s, causing a dramatic decline in the economic importance of central Newfoundland's pulpwood harvest. I will argue that technological change in logging was the key factor in the displacement of forestry workers in central Newfoundland, and that the shift from labour intensive to mechanized methods of logging diminished the pulpwood industry's importance in numerous communities, and to the provincial economy overall.

From the beginning of the Grand Falls mill's production in 1909, newsprint output governed the number of loggers employed. Newsprint production steadily increased from around 60,000 tons per year in 1909-1910 to well over 200,000 tons in 1950 (See Table 5, Appendix I). Each ton of newsprint required approximately 1.3 cords of pulpwood to produce. An average wood cutter could cut and pile a little more than that 1.3 cords in one day using a bucksaw. Once cut, the pulpwood still had to be transported to the mill, a seasonally dependent process that might take 18 months.[7] By the 1950s, to

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[6] Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company*, Daily Production List for Piecework Cutters -1959 Cutters for 1959 Season,* (Grand Falls*:* Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, 1959*).*
[7] *AND News-Log,* January 1961.

expand production at Grand Falls, AND Co management could either continue with the status quo and hire more seasonal labour with high turnover to meet the demand for wood or mechanize to meet the demand with by stabilizing their current labour force.

In his 1965 thesis on the Newfoundland pulpwood industry R.D. Peters notes, when referring to the gross domestic product of Newfoundland, that:

> Forest industries contributed fourteen per cent in 1956, followed by mining with eleven per cent and fishing with six per cent.[8] …. the importance of forest industries decreased from twenty-one per cent to fourteen per cent, representing a decrease in value from forty-five million dollars to forty-three million dollars. The relative decline in importance results largely from the gains in mining (from nine per cent to eleven per cent), from increases in other commodity production, and from increases in the tertiary industries. Even the primary producing sector of the forest industries contributed more than fishing, which is popularly regarded as the base of the Newfoundland economy.[9]

In 1958, AND Co's payroll amounted to $16 million, this was five million dollars more than the value of the fish caught that year.[10] The Grand Falls mill's importance to the province's economy meant that few, in 1959, would imagine that it would ever close. However, when the mill closure came in 2009 it did not have a catastrophic impact on the economy of central Newfoundland. This was due to a fifty-year decline in the economic importance of the pulp and paper industry in Newfoundland. By 2009 more jobs had been lost in the preceding four decades than were lost by the total closure of the mill. Had the closure of the mill occurred forty or fifty years previous, because of the dependence on the pulp and paper industry and the much larger number of jobs at stake, the region

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[8] Which was down from 21% in 1951.
[9] Robert David Peters, "The Social and Economic Effects of the Transition from a System of Woods Camps to a System of Commuting in the Newfoundland Pulpwood Industry," Unpublished Economics Thesis, Memorial University, 1965, 7. Peters later became the Deputy Minister of Natural Resources for the Newfoundland Government.
[10] "Drop in 3 Industries, Slump Extends into '59," *Evening Telegram,* St. John's, Feb 3, 1959, 3.

would have been economically devastated. If no other land or forest-based industry taken its place, central Newfoundland may not have recovered. Because of the impacts of mechanization and modernization the deindustrialization of central Newfoundland was a slow process with an abrupt ending.

This study focuses on the forestry sector in central Newfoundland as a case study of how mechanization and ultimately deindustrialization unfolded in a natural-resource processing region. My focus is on the pulp and paper complex at Grand Falls, the loggers, and their communities that supplied it, as well as the "lumberwoods"-the timber harvesting areas of the hinterland. In the 1960s and 1970s there were substantial job losses in the pulpwood industry. These job losses were due to an increase in mechanization and the fundamental changes in logging practices that removed the seasonal nature of logging and allowed for reductions in the woods labour force while maintaining the same levels of production. Unlike the collapse of the cod fishery in the early 1990s, this decline was not sudden and dramatic, but nonetheless impacted many communities greatly. In the background is the decline of the once prosperous newsprint industry, illustrated by layoffs and shutdowns at the Grand Falls Mill beginning in the late 1960s, escalating with market fluctuations in the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s, and culminating with the final closure of the mill in 2009. This closure came in the wake of a dramatically declining newsprint market compounded by the global recession of 2008. Foresters Pollard and McLaren summed up the situation in central Newfoundland by stating that, for the parent company, "even a single mill in Grand Falls–Windsor,

operating with subsidized energy costs and generous tenure arrangements, was too much for Abitibi to operate sustainably in a global marketplace."[11]

Background/Context

This project explores how the pulp and paper mill at Grand Falls did not just provide jobs for people living in the company town of Grand Falls, but also to many workers in communities across Newfoundland who were seasonally employed in pulpwood production and transportation. Not only was Grand Falls a company town, the importance of the pulp and paper industry meant that from 1910-1960 central Newfoundland was essentially a *company region*, with several satellite towns and over six thousand square miles of forest lands that supplied wood fiber for Grand Falls.[12] Grand Falls (and to a lesser extent Bishop's Falls) was an industrial enclave and it supported the continued existence of previously established industrial towns built on forestry. Millertown, Badger, Terra Nova, Norris Arm, Point Leamington, Peterview, Springdale, Gambo, and Botwood, were all the sites of foreign and domestically owned lumber mills, while Angle Brook (Glovertown), and Bishop's Falls hosted foreign owned pulp mills.[13] Between 1909 and 1923 the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company absorbed most of the mills in these communities and, more importantly, the timber limits

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[11] Brian McLaren, and Jason Pollard, "Restructuring of the Boreal Forest and the Forest Sector in Newfoundland, Canada," *Forestry Chronicle* 85, no. 5 (2009): 772-82.
[12] "Grand Falls – Newfoundland's First Pulp & Paper Mill," *Daily News,* St. John's, December 31, 1929. The actual timber holdings of AND were over 7500 square miles but that included 1109 square miles on the Northern Peninsula from which little wood was harvested. In 1929 the AND Co's holdings amounted to 6367 sq. miles. An additional 32 sq. miles were acquired in 1948. See John Munro, "Public Timber Allocation Policy in Newfoundland," 1978.
[13] The Angle Brook Mill did not go into production.

associated with them. Incorporation into AND Co relegated these communities to depot and satellite towns, or they became dependent on woods work with AND Co for their existence. [14] A few communities such as Millertown, Badger, Botwood, Bishop's Falls, and Terra Nova did partially benefit from paternalistic practices of AND Co, which in some cases included better access to education, healthcare, housing, electricity, and social activities.[15] These are the communities depicted years ago as a cluster of dots on a map in Rex Lucas's *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown*, but anonymized as single industry towns in the "rugged interior of Newfoundland."[16] This study will be bringing Lucas' dots in central Newfoundland into focus. Moreover, this project examines the actual work undertaken by loggers, where it was undertaken, and the significant role that mechanization played in changing this work and the number of workers. Additionally, it considers the external challenges forestry workers faced.

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[14] Buchans was established because of a mineral discovery on AND Co properties and a resulting partnership between AND Co and the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO). Botwood is included above but is unique as it served as the shipping port for Grand Falls and Buchans but did supply some woods labour.

[15] The AND Co built two small hospitals-at Grand Falls and Millertown prior circa 1910. In addition, for many years they paid to have a doctor in each of their divisional headquarters, mainly for the welfare of the loggers in the dozens of camps in each division. PANL AND Co Files, Box 75, Accident Reports 1921-35. See also information compiled from The *Western Star* 1948, and Price, *50-Years of Progress at Grand Falls*.

[16] Rex Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry*, (Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2008). It is interesting to note that in central Newfoundland there was a minetown, a milltown, and a railtown; Buchans, Grand Falls, and Bishop's Falls. Though seemingly diversified the pulp and paper industry predominated the economy of the region, the owners of the Grand Falls mill were part owners of the Buchans mine and owned their own railway. For many years the Newfoundland and later Canadian National Railway was the predominate employer in Bishop's Falls, however, there was a pulp mill there from 1911-1951 which was integrated into the Grand Falls mill after 1923. Bishop's Falls was also headquarters for a logging division and increasing numbers of loggers also lived there. The 1980s saw the closure of the Buchans mine, the shutdown of the CN railway in Newfoundland, and paper machine shutdowns at Grand Falls.

Pulpwood logging was an ingrained part of the rural Newfoundland economy in the 20th century, yet historically very little has been written on the subject, and much of it generalized. J.D Sutherland did extensive work in the late 1980s and early 1990s that focused on loggers in the period from 1929-1959. Though he conducted a substantial amount of research, his focus was on labour organization in logging rather than on logging itself. Since it is viewed as the great watershed in labour relations in the Newfoundland logging industry, Sutherland's end point is the International Wood Workers of America Strike of 1959. This bitter labour dispute, one of the most violent in the province's history, focused provincial, national, and international attention on the plight of Newfoundland pulpwood loggers. Despite the intense attention on the 1959 strike, the strike's repercussions for the consequent developments in the pulpwood logging industry have been little explored. The following examines the decline of pulpwood logging in economic importance, as well as the general decline of the pulp and paper industry in central Newfoundland in the fifty years after that strike.

The 1960s was a crucial decade for Newfoundland woodsworkers. In the aftermath of the IWA Strike, "the corps of professional loggers" anticipated by Newfoundland Premier J.R Smallwood and by Economist Parcival Copes became a reality. Mechanization finally broke the seasonal pattern necessitated by "conventional logging" methods, and the loss of seasonality in the production cycle of logging meant that it no longer accommodated those that primarily worked in the fishery. The goal of woods management in Newfoundland, and across Eastern Canada, was to professionalize logging, and to one day break with the seasonal dependence for transportation and labour

that existed in the logging industry, which would allow for a fresher wood supply, and a stabilization of the of the workforce that supplied it. Professionalization also represented a considerable displacement not only for fisherman-loggers, but for many that relied on logging for year-round income. J.D. Sutherland argued that pulpwood logging supported the inshore cod fishery by providing off-season wage labour to fishermen.[17] Research suggests that the yearly logging cycle was not as straightforward and seasonally alternate to the fishery as previously thought.[18] The common view is that logging took place during the fall and winter, the off season in the fishery. As noted, for many years the periods of peak employment actually varied, and with mechanization the logging season changed a great deal.[19] I will also explore where many of these displaced loggers went in terms of employment, unemployment and migration.[20] I will address the view that the companies had no problem instituting the changes that were requested by the strikers when they were forced to by labour, government and public opinion, and looking at how

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[17] John Dufferin Sutherland. *"*We Are Only Loggers" Loggers and the Struggle for Development in Newfoundland, 1929-1959." Unpublished History Dissertation, Simon Fraser University, 1995.

[18] John P. Curran, *"*The Process of Mechanization in the Forest Industry of Newfoundland: An Analysis of Technological Change and Worker Resistance to Change," Unpublished sociology thesis, (Memorial University, 1971. The conventional logging cycle is described in several of the works that are cited in this paper including: Sutherland *"We Are Only Loggers",* John Kitchen, *By the Sweat of My Brow: The Life of a Newfoundland Logger*, (St. John's, N.L: J. Kitchen, 2005). and John Ashton "A Study of the Lumbercamp Song Tradition in Newfoundland," Unpublished Folklore Dissertation, Memorial University, 1985. The traditional view of the conventional logging system is that there were three seasonal stages in the logging cycle: The cut-taking place in the fall, the haul-which took place in the winter, and the drive-which took place in spring and summer.

[19] Frederick G Bradley, *Report of Enquiry into the Conduct and Conditions of the Logging and Lumbering Industries in Newfoundland,* (St. John's, Nfld.: Government of Newfoundland 1934). This report states that the AND cuts most of its wood in the summer, accident reports from the same period at the Provincial Archives also support this. In general, some wood was being cut most of the year, even when other logging activities were taking place.

[20] As this period did encompass the wave of Newfoundlanders that went to Ontario for work.

the changes were part of a wider, and ongoing process.[21]At the time of the IWA Strike the AND Company operated over sixty camps and employed over 2000 loggers during peak periods.[22] By 1969, the number of camps operated by the Grand Falls mill was reduced by 80 percent and the maximum number of woods employees was just over one thousand during peak weeks of production.[23]

In 1961, the ownership of the Grand Falls Mill changed when Quebec-based Price took over the mill and brought a new management approach.[24] The integration into a larger conglomerate led to the shrinking of the presence of Anglo-Newfoundland and Price (Nfld.), a move away not only from running the company town of Grand Falls, but a drastic withdrawal and divestment from the satellite logging towns, and a concentration of logging activities.[25] During the 1970s, the population of central Newfoundland stopped growing *because* the pulp and paper industry stopped expanding.[26] Later the area's population entered into a period of stagnation, but eventually stabilized *despite* the decline of the pulp and paper industry. As noted by historian Stephen High, pulp and

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[21] See Bill Gillespie, *A Class Act*, (Second edition, Portugal Cove-St. Philip's, Newfoundland and Labrador: Boulder Publications, 2016), 114-116; and Kitchen, *By the Sweat of my Brow,* 152-156.
[22] *The Newfoundland Logger, 1959-1960,* for number of camps and loggers the average number excluding January, for which there are no numbers, is 1182, the peak in June 1959 was 2272, however from May until October there were an average of 1663 men in the woods.; F.A Price, *Fifty Years of Progress at Grand Falls*.
[23] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization."
[24] The AND Co owned another mill in Chandler, Quebec though a subsidiary.
[25] The Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company merged with Price Brothers in 1961. The Newfoundland operations operated under the old name until April of 1965 when it those operations were rebranded as Price (Newfoundland) Pulp and Paper. At the same time, the administrative structure of logging operations was also consolidated, with the four divisions that had existed since the 1920s being merged into two. At the peak of AND Co's presence in Newfoundland the Company had de-facto control of Grand Falls, Badger, Millertown, Terra Nova, and Botwood, with a strong presence in Bishop's Falls, Gambo, Glenwood, and Heart's Content.
[26] Compiled using data from Newfoundland and Canadian Census 1901-1986.

paper communities had always been subjected to the ups and downs of the international market.[27] These fluctuations trickled down into the woodlands, impacting logging employment. In retrospect, it was not shocking or unexpected that the Grand Falls mill closed, the more important question is how it stayed open for so long, when more modern and more favorably located mills in mainland Canada closed before it. One reason might be the high quality of the paper, which was due to the species makeup of the mill's timber limits, and how though a variety or measures the delivery of this fibre was kept economical.

Historiography

The historiography of the forest industries of Newfoundland is not extensive, and academic material covering the period after 1959 is rare. An unexpected source of information comes from early Memorial University History Professor Charles Fay. Fay gives us an interesting snapshot of Grand Falls and its associated logging operations that fall more into the realm of a primary source than secondary, but his work is beneficial nonetheless as it gives a good description of logging operations in the late 1940s and early 1950s. For example, Fay visited the logging areas in the Sandy District of Badger Division and gives an account of the transportation system that existed there at the time. He describes the scow ferry that crossed the Exploits River at Badger, and emphasised the modern methods of woods road building, but gives little mention to the loggers, their

[27] Steven High, "The Wounds of Class": A Historiographical Reflection on the Study of Deindustrialization, 1973–2013." *History Compass* 11, no. 11 (2013): 994-1007.

work, and their living conditions.[28] A product of his times and his Cambridge education, Fay gives us a Whiggish narrative that highlights the progress of the pulp and paper industry in industrializing the interior of Newfoundland.

In *Life and Labour in Newfoundland*, Fay also noted, when referring to the history of the then young community of Grand Falls that: "I plead earnestly that the school teachers and clergy of Grand Falls should collect every piece of local history that is to be obtained and put it for the young people into a story."[29] To this end quite a lot was written on the history of the pulp and paper industry at Grand Falls prior to 1959. The most notable being F.A Price's *50-Years of Progress at Grand Falls*. Originally written for the Pulp and Paper magazine of Canada for the 50th Anniversary of paper production at Grand Falls, this is a detailed history of the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company and its operations in Newfoundland. *50-Years of Progress* is a top-down corporate history, which is full of facts and figures. It highlights the achievements of the AND Co in overcoming the adversity of the Great War, the Great Depression, and World War Two, while continuously growing and contributing to the Newfoundland economy. Incongruent to many might be the fact that *50-Years of Progress* also covers some of the history of Buchans and the once rich base metal mine there, since AND Co owned fifty percent of that mine.[30]

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[28] Charles Fay, "Grand Falls and Corner Brook," in *Life and Labour in Newfoundland*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 197. Fay was likely taken to a newer camp located somewhere, judging from the description of the brooks he crossed, near Sandy Brook.
[29] Fay, "Grand Falls and Corner Brook," in *Life and Labour in Newfoundland,* 197.
[30] I have reason to believe that it may have been used in the writing of *50-Years of Progress at Grand Falls.*

In 1960, Memorial University economics professor Parcival Copes published his examination of Newfoundland's forest industries in an article for the *Forestry Chronicle*. Copes' "The Place of Forestry in the Economy of Newfoundland*"* highlights the importance of the pulp and paper industry in Newfoundland, while also making some accurate predictions about the future of forest industries in the province. Copes noted that "Amongst Newfoundland's autonomous industries forestry still holds first place and is therefore still the strongest pillar supporting the provincial economy*."* He also foresees the increase in mechanization, the professionalization of the logging workforce, and predicts an expansion of the present newsprint mills coupled with the possibility that other mills might be established. Copes sees mechanization as an inevitability that "must be expected to continue" and that the increases in productivity would lead to "fuller year-round employment" and help close the income gap between loggers and mill workers. Copes also feels that this shift should involve the movement of loggers to communities closer to woodlands and that future developments in pulp and paper would likely grow the populations of central and western Newfoundland. Rich in details regarding the pulp and paper industry's contribution to the provincial economy, this article focuses on the logging workforce and the disparity with mill workers.[31] Copes was influential in later scholarship on the subject, assisted Peters in his work, and later sat as one of the external examiners for Sutherland's Ph.D. dissertation.[32] Of significance is the fact that most of

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Parzival Copes, "The Place of Forestry in the Economy of Newfoundland," *Forestry Chronicle* 36, 4 (1960): 330-41.

[32] Peters, "The Social and Economic Effects of the Transition from a System of Woods Camps to a System of Commuting in the Newfoundland Pulpwood Industry"; Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers."

Copes' predictions regarding Newfoundland's forest industries came to fruition, though he did not foresee the significant challenges caused by these developments and external forces like insects that he likely never accounted for.

The woods operations that supplied the Grand Falls mill are very well detailed in John Kitchen's *By the Sweat of My Brow*, which uses a unique narrative style and acknowledgment of source material to make a readable account of logging operations in the Millertown area from about 1931 until the early 2000s. Kitchen provides detail on the different roles a logger may have filled during the days of conventional logging, although he only focussed on the Millertown logging area. This said, Millertown was the largest Logging Division supplying the Grand Falls mill, and Kitchen does give insight in some chapters into some of the more unique processes that took place in the other three logging divisions.[33] Overall, Kitchen provides an excellent introduction to anybody that might be interested in the history of logging in Newfoundland, and unlike many other works, Kitchen's story continues past 1959, addressing some of the technological changes and mechanization that reshaped the industry from 1960 until circa 2004.

Two of the most important academic secondary sources that cover logging in the period immediately after 1959 are not historical works. These are Robert D. Peters' "The Social and Economic Effects of the Transition from a System of Woods Camps to a System of Commuting in the Newfoundland Pulpwood Industry," an economics thesis from 1965, and John P. Curran's "The Process of Mechanization in the Forest Industry of

[33] Namely the pipeline and early wood trucking from Bishop's Falls, pontoon loading, and rail transport of wood from Terra Nova and Gambo.

Newfoundland: An Analysis of Technological Change and Worker Resistance to Change," a sociology thesis completed in 1971. It is apparent that both Peters and Curran had considerable cooperation from both Bowater's Newfoundland and the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company/Price (Nfld.) in conducting their research. Both are relevant to the work of this project. Both Peters' and Curran's theses were written with the cooperation of the paper companies. Curran had enviable access to information from Price's Woods Department and was able to use sources in his research that no longer exist, making it both beneficial and frustrating for future researchers.[34]

The single industry town was an enormous fixture in the development of Canada during the twentieth century. Lucas's 1971 *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown* is a pioneering and foundational sociological study of single-industry towns, and describes them as:

> The one-industry town exists to house the employees who exploit the area's natural resources; the location of the community, within a few miles, is predetermined by the location of the resource, the electric power necessary for the process, or the technical requirements imposed by the transportation system that moved the products. For this reason, the communities are, almost without exception, found in the sparsely settled parts of the country. Indeed, if we trace them by province we find many communities of single industry in the rugged interior of Newfoundland…."[35]

Lucas, as a sociologist, also wanted to model the single-industry towns and their development. He identified stages in the development of single industry towns as: Stage i: Construction of the Community, Stage ii: Recruitment of Citizens, Stage iii: Transition, and Stage iv: Maturity.[36] Since Lucas was writing in the early 1970s, he did not account

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[34] Malcolm Squires, Personal Communications. Squires worked in the Forestry Control Department at the time of Curran's research, along with Curran's father.
[35] Rex A Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown*.
[36] Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown*.

for the additional stage as noted in Norcliffe: Decline.[37] With the addition of the decline stage, Lucas's classifications are solidly applicable to the resource communities of central Newfoundland. Though there is a generalised acknowledgement of the single-industry towns of central Newfoundland in Lucas, this project will focus more on the historical dynamic of the economic history of the region, and address what happened in the logging industry in the wake of the IWA Strike.

There are very few published sources that directly deal with the history of central Newfoundland and the pulp and paper industry, and of these even fewer are academic. Most secondary sources in the academic realm exist in the form of unpublished theses and papers, most completed for Memorial University, although the most extensive comes from Simon Fraser University. In his Ph.D. dissertation, "We Are Only Loggers" Loggers and the Struggle for Development in Newfoundland, 1929-1959," J. D. Sutherland argues that uneven development by capital:

> left Newfoundland with an archaic fishery, enclaves of modern industry dependent on outport labour and external forces, and a state which lacked sufficient resources to save itself or its people during the Great Depression. The uneven pattern of development also impeded the full development of a proletariat which might have challenged the island's dominant interests and created a more equal and prosperous society. The outcome of these 'developments' was confederation with Canada and enduring economic and social problems.[38]

He makes a convincing argument that, in the earlier period from 1929-59, "forest capital's reliance on seasonal outport labour in its woods operations propped up merchant

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[37] G. B Norcliffe, *Global Game, Local Arena: Restructuring in Corner Brook, Newfoundland*, (St. Johns, N.L, ISER Books, 2005.)
[38] Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers," iii.

operations in the inshore fishery."[39] In the period covered by Sutherland, occupational pluralists (fishermen-loggers) cut, hauled, and drove pulpwood. Woods work allowed many fishermen to make cash wages which they used to offset their accounts with local merchants.[40] Sutherland is also building on the work done by James K. Hiller on the development of the pulp and paper industry, agreeing with Hiller that, while the agreements that led to the development of the industry may have been on the surface overly generous to the developers, the arrangements "with the Harmsworths and A.E Reed created a badly-needed [sic] new industry which gave central Newfoundland a permanent population and, by 1921, employed some 4,500 men, roughly 5.6 per cent of the labour force."[41] These agreements gave central Newfoundland a substantial temporary population and workforce at the outset, a permanent population of thousands, and enabled the survival of many communities established during the lumber boom of the 1890s-1900s.

The latter part of Sutherland's Ph.D. dissertation is most relevant to this project, largely because of the abutting period to this project. The last chapters in "We are Only Loggers" use the minutes of the Woods Labour Board as the major primary source. Though looking at the loggers' situation through a Marxist framework of class conflict which may have skewed the viewpoint, Sutherland fortunately contextualizes one of the most repeated and misused quotes with regards to living conditions in Newfoundland

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[39] Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers," iii.
[40] Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers."
[41] Hiller, "The Origins of the Pulp and Paper Industry in Newfoundland," 42. Hiller notes that this may be a generous number as it assumes that all engaged in lumbering supplied the pulp and paper companies and notes a more conservative estimate may be 3000.

logging camps, this being the now well-known quote from the 1960 Royal Commission on the Logging Industry that stated:

> We gave a little study to a couple of such (jobber) operations, and viewed the buildings etc. of several more, some at the time unoccupied. There extemporized habitations of the men, made out of anything that came to hand, and equipped with "bits and pieces" are really dark and squalid hovels, which would not be used as hen houses except by the most primitive farmer. Dirt is everywhere. Rats are common. Dilapidation is the rule.[42]

Some, such as Bill Gillespie have used this quote, but have rather conveniently left off the part that mentioned that the report was referring to the camps of small jobbers, small contractors who built their own small camps. Most of these small contractors operated on the West Coast and Northern Peninsula, supplying small amounts of wood to Bowater's, and the quote does not refer the more uniform company-run camps of AND Co.[43]

To understand how deindustrialization affected logging communities, pulpwood logging in Newfoundland in the past 60 years must be viewed through the lens of professionalization. Prior to about 1965 most loggers received very little training, indeed, prior to 1955 most loggers worked with simple hand tools. Some loggers drove trucks and tractors, and for the most part they learned to do these tasks on the job. I propose that professionalization went hand in hand with mechanization in the logging industry. The power saw brought an increased element of danger into the felling stage, which necessitated increased training and an emphasis of occupational health and safety.[44] The

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[42] Brian Edward S Dunfield, *Report of the Commission of Enquiry on the Logging Industry* (St. John's, 1961). Quoted in Sutherland, "We are only Loggers," 1995, 417.
[43] Bill Gillespie, *A Class Act*, 105; and Dunfield, *Royal Commission,* 1961.
[44] Mark J. McLaughlin, "Power Tools as Tools of Power: Mechanization in the Tree Harvest of the Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Industry." *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies,* 21, 2 (2006): 235.

upswing in mechanization in the late 1960s meant that there was a need for trained operators and truck drivers, to safely run skidders, slashers, loaders, larger trucks, and later harvesters.

Building on some of the same central themes and using some of the same primary source material as Sutherland, Mark McLaughlin gives a very good overview of the pulpwood logging industry in Newfoundland on the eve of this project's historical period. Both Sutherland and McLaughlin explore Fordism in the industry, described by McLaughlin as entailing: "a formal industrial legality based on employers' and unions' accommodation of each other through collective agreements," this would avoid labour disruptions, and thus maximize efficiency and profitability.[45] His findings were published in "Power Tools as Tools of Power: Mechanization in the Tree Harvest of the Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Industry." Although McLaughlin's oral history research was undertaken with loggers that had largely worked for Corner Brook, he illustrates enough information about the operations of AND Co to give an understanding of the dynamics of their woods operations and of the history of the industry in central Newfoundland. The theoretical construct of Fordism is an important theme for both Sutherland and McLaughlin. Fordism is a system that leverages higher-than-normal compensation, fair working conditions, welfare programs, and union protection to create a workforce that is disciplined and content. In the pulp and paper industry Fordism is often applied in the study of the secondary production facility: the mill. The argument

[45] McLaughlin, "Power Tools as Tools of Power," 235.

about the Fordist compromise is that the paper companies applied Fordist practices such as offering good wages, a higher-than-average standard of living, and other benefits to avoid labour disruptions, and create order in company towns.

Neither Hiller, Sutherland, nor McLaughlin cover much of the period after 1959. Nor has labour historian Bill Gillespie, who, in his ambitious and comprehensive treatment of the Newfoundland labour movement, gives considerable attention to loggers, an entire chapter on the IWA Strike, but almost no attention to the loggers or any workers in the pulp and paper industry after 1959.[46] Even after the chapter on the IWA Strike, Gillespie mentions that strike several times, but as for the overall labour situation in the pulp and paper industry after 1959 there are only references to the declining numbers in traditional union membership.[47]

Since so little has been written, we are entering into the realm of "new history" with regards to central Newfoundland. There are, however, studies from other regions to use for guidance and comparison. Only a few hundred kilometers to the west of Grand Falls is Newfoundland's only surviving pulp and paper mill. Corner Brook and Kruger's newsprint mill there have been the subject of at least three in-depth studies, two of which were academic, and the other journalistic; these being geographer Glenn Norcliffe's *Global Game, Local Arena*; historian Neil White's comparative *Company Towns: Corporate Order and Community;* and Harold Horwood's *Corner Brook-Social History of a Paper Town*. Of these Norcliffe's study is by far the most informative and useful. It

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[46] Even though there were numerous strikes, and increasingly militant unions in the pulp and paper industry from 1975-2009.
[47] Gillespie, *A Class Act*.

is very well researched and contains numerous references to Grand Falls in addition to the studied area. Another benefit from *Global Game* is that it has good background information on the global newsprint industry, which must be considered when looking at changes that occurred in the industry.[48] White's *Company Towns* is a comparative history which compares Corner Brook to the mining community of Mount Isa, Australia. The comparative approach here works, but the author is more concerned about relationships between various entities, company/workers, company towns, and outlying settlements, rather than the industries themselves. White's study has relatively little to say about logging, loggers, or their communities.[49] Much more useful for my project is White's article "Satellite, Planned Resource Communities: Deer Lake, Newfoundland, 1923-35." This article details the development of Deer Lake, initially for the generation of power for the Corner Brook paper mill, and then as a logging community, and its role as a satellite community for the owners of the mill.[50] White's idea of the satellite pulp and paper community will play an important role in the development of this project. Both Norcliffe and White extensively cite the last work that should be mentioned: journalist and labour activist Harold Horwood's *Corner Brook: A Social History of a Paper Town.* This 1986 popular history is a relatively detailed account of the history of Corner Brook and the mill there. It is clear the Horwood knew the right people to interview to compile this, but it lacks accurate sourcing. It was used as a source by both White and Norcliffe.

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[48] Norcliffe, *Global Game, Local Arena: Restructuring in Corner Brook, Newfoundland*.
[49] Neil White, *Company Towns: Corporate Order and Community*. (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2012).
[50] Neil White, "Satellite, Planned Resource Communities: Deer Lake, Newfoundland, 1923-35." *Planning Perspectives* 22, no. 2 (2007): 225-43.

providing both with an overview history of Corner Brook; Norcliffe also notes the lack of sources in Horwood as an obstacle. *Corner Brook: A Social History of a Paper Town* contains smatterings of information on Grand Falls and on pulpwood logging in Newfoundland that were useful in this project. Another work examining western Newfoundland operations is "The Changing World of Andy Gibson: Restructuring Forestry on Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula." By sociologists Peter Sinclair, Martha MacDonald, and Barbara Neis. This study addresses developments in pulpwood logging using the career of a unionized logger who worked supplying the mill at Corner Brook beginning in the 1970s and culminating with the uncertain future faced by manual fellers in the early 2000s. "The Changing World of Andy Gibson" addresses restructuring in logging and the impact that mechanical harvesters had on the Northern Peninsula.[51]

Some of the more relevant and useful studies come from Ontario, and deal with the forest industries there. There are the works of Ian Radforth, Steven High, and Mark Kuhlberg. In the 1970s and 1980s Ian Radforth conducted significant research into pulpwood logging and loggers in Northern Ontario. Much of this was published in *Bushworkers and Bosses*. This work covers a considerable period and studies all loggers in Northern Ontario up until 1980. *Bushworkers and Bosses* contains sections on mechanization and professionalization directly relevant to my project. Even more applicable to this project is Radforth's 1982 article "Woodsworkers and the

[51] Peter R. Sinclair, Martha MacDonald, and Barbara Neis, "The Changing World of Andy Gibson: Restructuring Forestry on Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula." *Studies in Political Economy* 78, no. 1 (2006): 177–99

Mechanization of the Pulpwood Logging Industry of Northern Ontario, 1950-1970." Here he substantiates the view that:

> a distinctive pattern of development emerged because the mechanization strategy of the pulp and paper corporations was shaped by the decisions and behavior of workers and by physical factors such as the great variety of topography, terrain, and forest characteristic as well as the changing weather and seasons of the north.[52]

One could argue that the word "north" could be replaced with "Newfoundland" and the statement would still prove to be true. Radforth focusses a lot of research on the Ontario pulpwood industry and his knowledge of the technical aspects of labour processes and machinery show in his final products. Steven High on the other hand focusses his attention on the secondary processing side of the forestry industries of Northern Ontario, and to a great extend on how the decline of these industries affected the people involved in them. High's 2015 *One Job Town* chronicles the story of the pulp/wood products mill at Sturgeon Falls, Ontario. The actual plant studied by High differs substantially to the Grand Falls newsprint mill; it also did not have its own woods operations, and it was much smaller than Grand Falls at its peak. Given these considerations, the similarities that existed in Sturgeon Falls Mill with the Grand Falls mill are striking. This is made clear by the extensive use of oral history, and the sense that High was immersed in the community while researching this book, he understands the culture that exists for workers in these types of settings. High himself, had earlier noted that de-industrialization in forestry communities had been neglected and here he addresses the neglect.[53] His

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[52] Ian Radforth. "Woodsworkers and the Mechanization of the Pulpwood Logging Industry of Northern Ontario, 1950-1970." *Historical Papers - Canadian Historical Association* 17, 1 (1982): 71-102.
[53] Steven High. "The Wounds of Class": A Historiographical Reflection on the Study of Deindustrialization, 1973–2013." *History Compass* 11, no. 11 (2013): 994-1007.

research methodology is so robust that it could serve as a template for similar studies across the pulp and paper industry.

Lastly, but particularly important with regards to the area of forest mechanization, is *Broadaxe to flying shear: the mechanization of forest harvesting east of the Rockies* by forester C. Ross Silversides. Although described by one reviewer as a "peculiar publication" that "reads more like a forestry manual than a narrative history" it is nevertheless very important.[54] Although largely influenced by Silversides' own experience, it appears his travels made him acquainted with the two paper companies active in Newfoundland, and this encyclopedic reference has information not found elsewhere on some of the machines and methods used in Newfoundland. It is also a good companion piece to *Bushworkers and Bosses* and was very useful for a broad overview of the technological developments that were occurring in the timber harvest in Eastern Canada that influenced and was influenced by mechanization in Newfoundland.

Theoretical Framework

When discussing deindustrialization and mill closure in Northern Ontario Steven High stated that: "The story of Sturgeon Falls is thus best understood as a slow-death closure as one production line after another fell silent."[55] This is the best way to address the same issues in central Newfoundland. Deindustrialization there was also a slow, and some may say inevitable, death. I agree with Michael Beaulieu's review of *One Job Town*

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[54] J.K Gerland, "Review: Broadaxe to Flying Shear: The Mechanization of Forest Harvesting East of the Rockies, by C. Ross Silversides." *The Public Historian*, 20(4), 1998, 92–94. https://doi.org/10.2307/3379733

[55] Steven High, *One Job Town*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press): 8.

– that it is "the book I had always hoped to write." Although I conceived of my project before I studied Steven High's *One Job Town*, it, along with Ian Radforth *Bushworkers and Bosses*, provided a significant theoretical and methodological underpinning for my work. Broken down into its raw form, *One Job Town* is a labour and social history based on a Marxist framework -- emphasising the nuances of the struggle between workers and capital. Both in Sturgeon Falls and central Newfoundland the story of deindustrialization is characterised by working-class resistance to the detrimental actions of capital. High's interpretation of deindustrialization is one that is flexible; this is because the traditional view of deindustrialization comes from the more populated areas of the North American heartland, where these views were applied to closures in the auto and steel industries in the face of globalization.[56] Traditionally, economic change in forestry communities has been viewed in relation to boom-or-bust cycles tied to the world market. As High notes, this view now must change in light of the large number of permanent mill closures that have "devastated dozens of forestry communities in recent years."[57] The permanency of these closures, and in the case of both Grand Falls and Sturgeon Falls, the failure of a redevelopment of local forest resources to materialize has shifted these places in the resource periphery into the realm of deindustrialized areas, thus requiring "a more flexible understanding."[58]

Class is a very important concept to High, as he sees problems with the "retreat from class as a category of analysis and identification." Like High I cannot agree with

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[56] High, *One Job Town*, 13.
[57] High, "The Wounds of Class," 1010.
[58] High, *One Job Town*, 13.

those that see mill and factory closures as the coming of a "bright new age." Those scholars that see the environmental benefits, or the closures as the dismantling of male dominance in industrial towns, fail to recognize that these closures represent "rituals of status degradation that strip industrial workers of their pride and validation, as well as wages and benefits."[59] I, like High, recognize that in many cases of deindustrialization in remote areas people are not just fighting for their jobs, they are also fighting for the survival of their communities. As we will see in central Newfoundland, this struggle becomes more pronounced after Price acquired the Grand Falls mill in the 1960s. *Bushworkers and Bosses* also employs a class-based theoretical framework for a social history, illustrating the conflict between loggers and capital in Northern Ontario. Just as High's framework and flexible concept of deindustrialization are applicable to this project, so are Radforth's ideas about the struggles between loggers and capital, as well as the agency of loggers. During the period between 1959 and 2009, the power of both loggers and mill workers was tremendously eroded. In this period, mechanization and professionalization undercut the significance of logging as a major source of employment in Newfoundland, thus depriving loggers of the agency they had in earlier decades.

High's use of the concept of industrial colonialism is an important example of the nuances he sees in the class struggle that defined deindustrialization in Sturgeon Falls. Although applicable to Grand Falls, High's concept requires some modification to be used in the Newfoundland setting. The mill at Grand Falls was established in a British

[59] High, *One Job Town*, 13.

colony, by a famously unabashed imperialist Lord Northcliffe. High argues that in Sturgeon Falls the "culture of industrialism" was based around the destruction of Indigenous culture, emphasized and solidified a gendered division of labour, and entrenched a Anglo-centric hierarchy of power in a largely French-speaking community.[60] Contrary to High, the culture of industrialization in Grand Falls and central Newfoundland was not predicated on the mass destruction of indigenous culture, the small resident Mi'kmaq population continued their traditional hunting and trapping activities while also working for the paper company for wages, supplementing, rather than subverting their previous use of the interior forests.[61] Unlike High's Sturgeon Falls, Grand Falls did not have a marked ethnic component, but it did, for many years, entrench a gendered division of labour, which changed over the course of my historical time period. In Grand Falls, and the associated timber areas, the use of ethnicity as a classification is problematic, by and large the population that settled there, worked in the mill, and worked in the woods were of British, and Irish extraction, with smaller numbers of workers of French, Mi'kmaq, mixed Inuit, and Scandinavian decent; this study contends that the strongest classifications are more accurately drawn between Newfoundlanders and non-Newfoundlanders. The employment hierarchies put in place by AND Co and how locals filled positions and the roles of non-Newfoundlanders changed over time. The industrial colonialism that established Grand Falls came with a

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[60] Joseph Burton, "Review of One Job Town: Work, Belonging, and Betrayal in Northern Ontario, by Steven High," *The Canadian Historical Review* 100, no. 2, 2019: 308-310. muse.jhu.edu/article/726534.
[61] The original inhabitants of interior were the Beothuk people. Although they had an extensive presence on the Exploits River watershed, the last know Beothuk died in 1829. There were a small number of Mi'kmaq families at Badger Brook and Glenwood prior to the establishment of the AND Co.

high degree of paternalism, which engrained itself in the culture of mill workers and their families. The cash wages paid for logging meant that outport people held the "The A-N-D Company" in high esteem. The post-confederation era saw the end of British industrial colonialism that had established the mill, and the coming of a new type of industrial colonialism directed from mainland Canada.

Methodologically, I follow High's model by employing archival records, primary sources, and oral history. High used oral history to "circumvent the destruction of mill records by the company and to demonstrate that de-industrialization, as a culturally negotiated phenomenon, constitutes a living history too easily erased by commentators keen to promote the 'creative class' and to relegate industrial workers to the past."[62] Radforth also employed these methodologies, and he had enviable access to files from the Woodlands Section of the Canadian of the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, which I unfortunately do not. Unfortunately, time constraints, and a diminishing number of informants, meant that the number of interviews originally visioned were not undertaken. Nonetheless, I was fortunate to be in contact with some informants that had valuable and high-level accounts of the period in question.

Methodology

Methodologically, this project was modelled on High's research in Sturgeon Falls as it is based on the detailed examination and analysis of archival material, local

[62]Michel S Beaulieu, "Steven High. One Job Town: Work, Belonging, and Betrayal in Northern Ontario." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 89, no. 3, 2021: 570-71.

newspapers, company newsletters, and oral history. Because of the circumstances surrounding the closure of the Grand Falls mill I have access to some of the records created by the owners of the Grand Falls paper mill. Unfortunately, I was unable to access any significant amount of material from the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, other than what was already deposited in outside archives. However, I was able to consult some government records relating to forestry and the pulp and paper industry and was provided with several beneficial reports on logging systems by Mr. Dan Myles, Supervisor of Forest Roads with the Provincial Government. Both qualitative and quantitate analysis was be applied to the relevant materials from these collections.

I was able to examine primary source material that came from the Abitibi mill at Grand Falls. These records are in the Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (PANL) and the Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society (GFWHS). To the best of my knowledge, I am the first person to have research access to these records, some of which seem to have not been handled for many decades. Several visits were made to the Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society where a significant amount of the material taken from the mill is deposited. I am fortunate that in the PANL files I have come across several maps which detail logging camps and logging infrastructure in areas in central Newfoundland, from 1939, 1955, 1957, and 1960. These are invaluable as they can help highlight the decline of the pulpwood industry, since they illustrated how some logging divisions had twenty or more camps, with accommodations for 30-60 loggers. The maps from 1955, 1957, and 1960 enabled me to establish a baseline to illustrate the changes in the woodlands. The GFW Heritage Society holds maps from the 1960s and early 1970s that

provided a poignant comparison and juxtaposition with regards to the number of camps and extent of logging operations. Additionally, in this material I have found sources that give insight into logging operations in the early (1922-25) period, and the immediate pre-war and Second World War period, which allowed for an explanation of some of the technological changes that came to shape the logging industry as it existed in the 1950s. Surprisingly, there was not a treasure trove of Woods Department related records in either of these archival collections, especially post-1959 material. Two more valuable file collections were found in the collections of the Provincial Archives. These files, which originated from the Department of Natural Resources, revealed valuable information regarding what conditions were like in AND Co and Bowater's logging camps in the years immediately before the 1959 Strike.

I have examined many, if not all, of the employee newsletters that were produced by the Grand Falls mill. The newsletters produced from the 1959-68 period are a great source for raw information about both mill and woods operations and were used extensively. Unfortunately, after 1969 any Newfoundland news gets folded into a company-wide paper called *Price Projections* distributed nationally by the parent company. To create a narrative for this post-1968 period I have devoted considerable attention to local newspapers especially the *Grand Falls Advertiser.* Additionally, *The Western Star, Daily News* and *Evening Telegram* carried a respectable amount of material regarding the pulp and paper and logging industries during the 1940s-1960s. The *Daily News, Evening Telegram,* and the *Western Star* are available online through Memorial University, digital copies of the *Advertiser* were made available by the GFW Heritage

Society. Unfortunately, even though the *Advertiser* printed considerable detail regarding mill and woods operations between 1946 and 1953, the amount of coverage dwindles off, especially into the 1970s and 80s. Because of this, and the changes in the company newspaper between 1969 and 1981, investigating logging operations during the 1970s was challenging.

The *Grand Falls Advertiser* (later *The Advertiser*) was the community newspaper for Grand Falls and the surrounding area.[63] From 1936 until the 1970s it mainly covered news from Grand Falls and early additions contain a large allotment of commercial advertising. The treatment of the company owning the mill varies throughout the period, with a very positive view in earlier years becoming more and more balanced after the 1960s. Like most businesses and establishments in Grand Falls the publishers of the *Advertiser* had a close relationship with the paper company, in fact the founders were mill employees who were still employed at the mill early in the paper's existence.[64] By the late 1960s, the view of the paper company begins to change, both in terms of coverage and in attitude.[65] *The Western Star,* a Corner Brook newspaper, was understandably interested in the pulp and paper industry as a whole and carried news from both Grand Falls and the logging operations of the AND Co. So detailed are the sections of AND News, that it is possible to get a very accurate representation of

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[63] The scope expanded over the course of publication eventually becoming the community newspaper for the Exploits Valley area from Leading Tickles in the north, to Buchans in the south. In earlier publications little news was carried outside of Grand Falls, Windsor and Botwood.
[64] Teresa Kidd, Teresa; Lisa Snow, Lisa, and Walter Blackmore. *Blackmore, Walter. Interview about Moving from Glenwood to Grand Falls, His Jobs, and Starting the Grand Falls Advertiser*, 1995, Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society 95-028.
[65] *The Grand Falls Advertiser*, January-December 1969.

employment numbers in the woods during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Surprisingly the St. John's *Daily News* also carried stories from AND woods operations in the 1950s and early 1960s, which in some cases fill a gap where there was no employee newsletter or other account.

Another source of material exists in the Canadian Voters lists, which are available online through Memorial University's Library. These lists are an impressive source of raw data on employment, as each elector is listed with their profession. Unexpectedly, these lists have uncovered the fact that polling stations were set up at logging camps and will give a rough indication of employment numbers and the hometowns of many of the loggers cutting for AND Co and Price (Nfld.) Pulp and Paper during election years from 1949 to 1972. In the absence of nominal census material for this period these lists provided valuable occupational information.

As with any examination of an industry there will have to be significant efforts made in the illustration of prices, wages, production quantities, numbers of workers, numbers of machines, and numbers of logging camps. Therefore, it will be necessary to undertake a degree of statistical and quantitative analysis to illustrate many of my main points. Fortunately, many of the required numbers and statistics are available in both primary and secondary sources, though others may have to be extrapolated from databases compiled exclusively for this project. In a similar vein, there is some use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) to illustrate the scope of logging activities and infrastructure in central Newfoundland, as well as indicating where loggers lived.

An important component of this project is oral history. Since so little has been written with regards to the pulp and paper industry in central Newfoundland after 1959 it was necessary to conduct interviews with people that worked in the industry including management, union leaders, loggers, foresters, and mill workers. Some were easily identified or came forward upon learning of the project. Posts were made on various Facebook groups looking for informants, but few were able to be interviewed over the telephone. Several attempts were made to get informants from the South Coast, specifically Seal Cove, but none came forward. The informants had experiences in the pulp and paper industry from 1947-2009. The public health crisis which was ongoing through most of this research made face-to-face interviews difficult, however any examination of this subject matter would be incomplete without the voices of those that were involved and affected by the events in question. Ethics approval was granted for these interviews and all proper procedures were followed in accordance with Memorial University Guidelines. Most of the interviews took place over the telephone, with at least one via video conference. As with most oral history there were challenges with establishing chronology, specifically referencing the years in which certain events occurred, and with how people's perspectives and recollections of events change over time. The pool of people involved in the industry was not deep. Some prospective interviewees passed on during this project, as did one very knowledgeable informant. Unfortunately, because of other commitments and challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic I was unable to interview many rank and file woods workers, and most of the informants were at a high level. However, two of the informants who went on into management

positions began their careers as ordinary woods workers, giving them unrivaled debt of knowledge regarding various aspects of woods operations.

Why Grand Falls and Why Now?

So why, you may ask, is this important? My first answer is that no one has studied the impact of the industrial decline in the central Newfoundland pulp and paper industry on the logging communities of the region. There is no concise academic history of the central Newfoundland region that encompasses the period after 1959. The primary sources are out there in their fragmented forms in various repositories, but they have yet to be compiled. In doing so it may prove to bring a better understanding to what happened in a once thriving industrialized region, a region that profited greatly from the "wooded wealth" of the surrounding forests; but has since been struggling to find a new economic identity.

The pulp and paper industry in central Newfoundland has a defined beginning and a tangible end. A small crew of AND Co staff arrived on site in the Spring of 1905, and Abitibi-Bowater ceased production at the same site in March 2009. By 2016 nearly all the mill complex was demolished. There is a gap in the historiography that constitutes nearly half of the mill's lifespan. Due to the closure of the mill, there are more archival resources readily available than there has been at any time in the past. In addition, because the period is largely in the realm of contemporary history, there are still informants available to gain first-hand accounts. As such I hope that this project will serve as a resource for future historians interested in this subject matter, and in Newfoundland and Labrador history in general.

Chapter Two: Where AND Co Loggers Came From.

It is easy to lump loggers as an occupational group and not take into consideration the fact that their permanent homes were away from the worksite in the lumberwoods. For the two paper companies active in Newfoundland, the hometowns of loggers varied. AND Co drew most of its workforce from the northeast coast. After 1925 loggers on the west coast of the island worked mostly for the owners of the Corner Brook mill (Newfoundland Power and Paper (NPP), International Power and Paper (IPP) and Bowater's; but because of its far-flung timber limits the opposite cannot be said in the eastern and central portions of the province. In Notre Dame, Bonavista, and Trinity Bays many loggers worked for both Bowater's and AND Co. The number of loggers employed by either of the paper companies can be difficult to determine. As far back as 1965 Robert Peters recognized the problem when he stated that: "It is difficult to establish an accurate estimate of the number of persons in Newfoundland at any given time who derive the major part of their incomes from the pulpwood industry."[66] Most loggers, especially those that fall under the classification of "woods labourers," were not permanent employees of either paper company. A logger might work in one of more phases of logging anywhere from less than a day to over 250 days in any one year. It was reported that the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company kept meticulous

[66] Peters, "The Social and Economic Effects of the Transition from a System of Woods Camps to a System of Commuting in the Newfoundland Pulpwood Industry," 62.

employment records, and at the mill itself employed a dedicated tabulating staff.[67] Unfortunately, no employment records prior to 1959 could be found in any of the collections of materials that came from the AND Co. For the 1920s and 1930s the most useful records with regards to the woods labour force come in the form of the hundreds of accident reports that were filled out during a period from about 1922 to 1935. Each of these slips contain demographic information on loggers including their hometown. The biggest issue with this information is that it was only recorded for loggers who suffered an injury, however, injuries were so commonplace that these records give a rough sampling of where the woods labour force was coming in the 1920s and 1930s. Not surprisingly, the hometowns of injured loggers are places in Notre Dame, Bonavista, Trinity, and Placentia Bays.[68] Auspiciously, more consistent information with this respect can be found for the late 1950s and early 1960s.

According to statistics provided in an early issue of the *Newfoundland Logger*, 4,146 loggers were on the payroll of the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Woods Department at some point in 1958. Of this total, 57 percent came from Notre Dame Bay. Notre Dame Bay included, it appears for the purposes of the AND Co, that stretch of the northeast coast of Newfoundland from Cape Freels, near Lumsden to Cape St. John on the Baie Verte Peninsula. The second largest proportion of loggers came from Trinity Bay at 18 percent of the logging workforce. Third largest was the Bonavista Bay

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[67] Peters, "The Social and Economic Effects of the Transition from a System of Woods Camps to a System of Commuting in the Newfoundland Pulpwood Industry"; Curran, "*The Process of Mechanization."; AND News-Log,* 1961.
[68] Accident Reports 1922-1935, Box 75 Abitibi Mill Collection, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland, and Labrador.

area, providing 15 percent.[69] Peters found similar numbers in his 1965 study, but also gives a breakdown for all loggers in the province in 1963. Thirty-three percent of all loggers came from Notre Dame Bay, and thirteen percent from Trinity Bay North and Bonavista Bay. The numbers reported in the *Newfoundland Logger* appear to be inflated, especially considering further analysis, but the percentages do correspond with other records analyzed. The inflated number might be explained by a phenomenon reported by Mr. Otto Verge. Verge was employment clerk at the Badger office of the AND Company from 1956-61. He explained that a rolodex was kept with a card for each hire rather than individual loggers. This meant that the same logger might have more than one card in the rolodex, and it is likely that the Company was reporting on each hiring. [70] At no point during the 1957-58 logging season were there over 4000 loggers working for AND Co.

To get a more accurate picture of the logging workforce, quantitative analysis was undertaken on two sources of employment information: the 1959 cutters production list as provided by the AND Co to the 1960 Royal Commission, and the Federal Government of Canada list of electors for February 1958, which provides a snapshot of the number of loggers working in the haul-off that month. There are, however, some issues with how the data was collected. One major issue is the fact that in three of the divisions the hometown of each logger was recorded, but in a few camps in Terra Nova Division each elector was listed with Terra Nova as their hometown when it was not.[71] Another

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[69] *Newfoundland Logger,* August 1959, 8.
[70] Otto Verge Interview, July 22, 2022.
[71] The total number of loggers that recorded Terra Nova in this case was 117. The total population of Terra Nova in 1961 was 194.

problem comes from the fact that the voting age in Canada at the time was 21, and there would have been a considerable percentage of loggers in the camps that were below this age. Peters' sampling of 67 loggers in 1963 found that approximately twenty-seven percent were under the age of 25.[72] The last problem is the fact that the electors list was taken at the end of February, and it is very likely that there would have been several camps that may have already completed their hauls for the year and closed. Nevertheless, this data gives a rare snapshot of where loggers came from, what work they were doing, and approximately where they were doing it. These were the loggers that would have been on strike the following winter.

The lists of electors contain 1,005 names. The proportions roughly correspond to the proportions in the *Newfoundland Logger*, with some noticeable differences. Fifty-four percent of the loggers came from Notre Dame Bay, fifteen percent came from Bonavista Bay, with ten percent coming from Trinity Bay. In the numbers provided in the *Newfoundland Logger*, central Newfoundland was not included as a geographical area, however, fifteen percent of the winter workforce in AND Co camps came from inland communities.[73] This number presents an interesting comparison as only 2.7 percent (70) cutters came from inland communities in central Newfoundland.[74]

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[72] Peters, "The Social and Economic Effects of the Transition from a System of Woods Camps to a System of Commuting in the Newfoundland Pulpwood Industry," 104-105.
[73] Mostly from Badger, Bishop's Falls, and Millertown, with smaller numbers from Windsor, Glenwood, and Grand Falls. Of note is the fact that most of the workers listed for Grand Falls are either foremen or sub-foremen, with only two lumbermen.
[74] Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company*, Daily Production List*.

Notre Dame Bay had always traditionally provided a large amount of labour to the AND Co for several reasons. Geography was a prime factor in this. Communities in Notre Dame Bay were the closest to the harvesting areas of AND Co, or had road and rail access to Bishop's Falls, Badger, and Millertown. Additionally, some of the sawmills that had cut in the region prior to the establishment of the AND Co were located in Notre Dame Bay in places such as Norris Arm, Point Leamington, Campbelltown, Springdale, and Botwood.[75] The largest of these was the mill at Botwood which logged in the Exploits Valley by employing local loggers and foremen during the 1890s, and contrary to local folklore about "French Loggers," loggers from Quebec bought in by the Quebec City Company that once operated there.[76] The consolidation of lumber operations by Harry Judson Crowe between 1903 and 1909 meant that many loggers now had more opportunities to move between logging operations, since Crowe's operations stretched from Gambo to Millertown.[77] By 1914 the major lumber operations had ceased or were swallowed up by AND Co, or AE Reed; but by then most workers in the lumbering communities of Notre Dame Bay had transitioned to full-time logging.[78]

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[75] Hiller. "Origins of The Pulp and Paper Industry," 54.
[76] Hiram Silk, *Henry Hutchings Interview;* Newfoundland*. Royal Commission on Forestry. Report of the Royal Commission on Forestry, 1955.* David R. Thistle, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, 1955.
[77] Hiller.
[78] See 1921 Census for Point Leamington and Norris Arm.

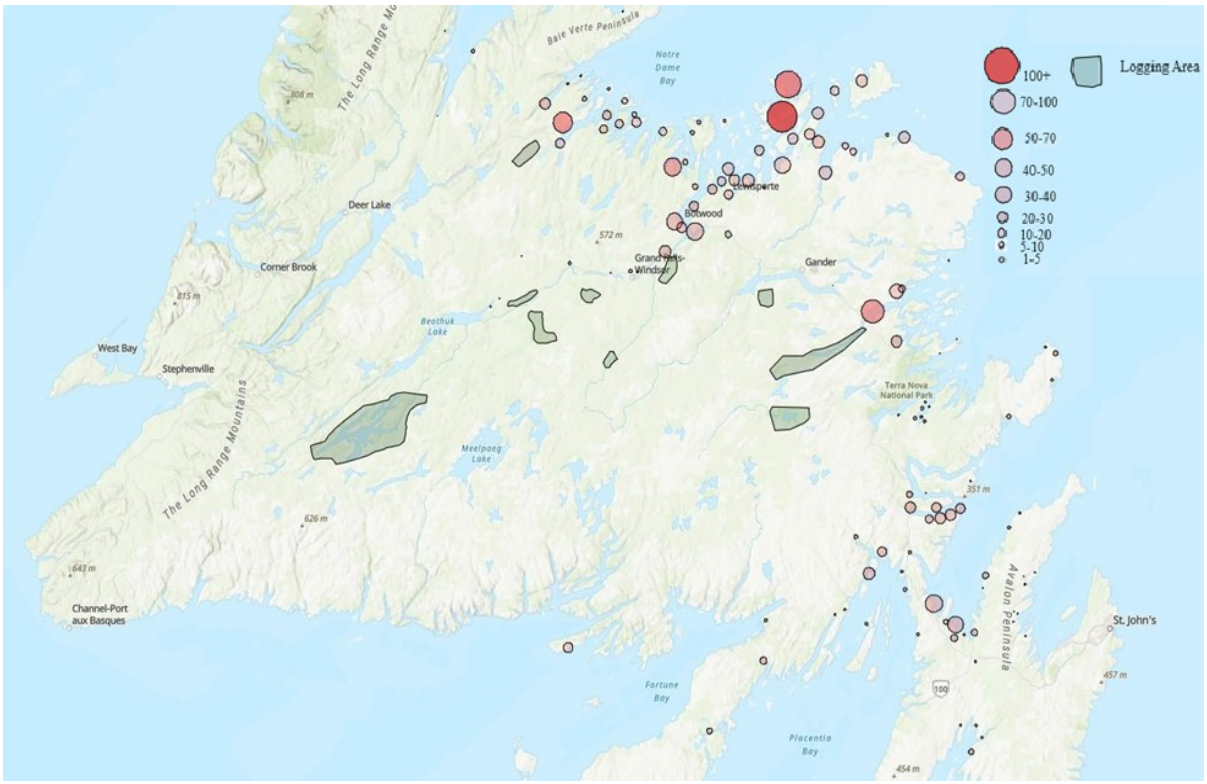

Figure 1 AND Co Cutters hometowns and logging areas, 1959

Unlike parts of Notre Dame Bay and the Freshwater Bay area of Bonavista Bay there were few large lumber mills in Trinity Bay with comparable labour requirements. There was, however, a thriving small-scale sawmilling industry in Trinity Bay going back into the mid-19th century. These mills were mostly water powered, family owned and sporadically operated, but their operations necessitated a knowledge of logging, log driving, and handling horses. In Trinity Bay, loggers working for AND Co were found in most of the communities on both sides of the bay. The most significant clusters are found in the very southern portion of Trinity Bay in the communities of Chance Cove, Norman's Cove, Chapel Arm, Long Cove, and surrounding area, which provided approximately 135 cutters for the AND Company; and the Southwest Arm of Random

where a little over 200 cutters resided in a dozen communities.[79] Hodge's Cove, although noted as being "primarily a fishing community," had 47 loggers working in the logging operations of the AND Co in 1959.[80] Nearby Little Heart's Ease, with a population of 468 was home to 60 loggers.[81] The communities of Butter Cove, Caplin Cove, and Gooseberry Cove, within the same area, provided at least an additional 53 loggers. Closer to the railway are the communities of Hillview, Hatchet Cove, and Northwest Brook where another 43 cutters resided.[82]

The are several reasons why so many loggers came from the Southwest Arm of Random area. One of the most obvious, was ease of transportation, which was true for many of the communities on the lower part of Trinity Bay; most of the communities were close to the railway. Another reason was occupational tradition and familiarity. There was a long tradition of ship and boat building, wood cutting, and sawmilling.[83] These traditions meant that area residents were often skilled woodsmen, and the prevalence of small family-owned sawmills meant that many of them either owned or were skilled in the use of horses. These same factors came into play in a handful of Placentia Bay communities which provided a relatively large number of loggers as well. Most Placentia Bay loggers resided in an area in the northern part of that bay, closer to the railway.[84]

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[79] Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company*, Daily Production List.*
[80] *Newfoundland Logger,* June 1960, 13.
[81] *Newfoundland Logger*, September 1960 back cover.
[82] Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company*, Daily Production List.*
[83] Les Vey, *Random Reflections,* Clarenville, 1996.
[84] One factor that may be contributory was the brief operation of the pulp mill at Black River, Placentia Bay between 1897 and 1903. This mill was near both the communities of upper Placentia Bay and to the communities of the Southwest Arm of Random in Trinity Bay. Although the output of this mill was

If the 1958 statistics in the *Newfoundland Logger* are to be trusted, 746 men from Trinity Bay worked in AND Co logging operations in some capacity. The 1959 cutters list places the number of Trinity Bay cutters at just over 500.[85] In either case, this is a significant number, especially when looking at the impact that future developments had. By 1963 the number of Trinity Bay loggers decreases to 256.[86] In 1970 the number of loggers working for Price (Nfld.) living in Trinity Bay was 22; a dramatic decrease in a seven-year period.[87] Unfortunately there are no detailed records to indicate in which communities the remaining 22 Trinity Bay loggers resided.

The bulk of the AND Co loggers from Bonavista Bay were concentrated in the communities nearest the logging operations at Gambo and Terra Nova. 630 loggers hailed from Bonavista Bay in 1958.[88] The 1961 Master Hiring list for the AND Woods Department has over 400 names just from the communities of Glovertown, Traytown, Gambo, and Hare Bay.[89] The tradition of woods work in this region stretched back into the 19th century and was a major impetus for the region's settlement. Gambo was the site of Newfoundland's first steam sawmill in 1862-63. It would be joined by others, but after 1903 the acquisition of the local mills by Newfoundland Timber Estates integrated the area into the emerging pulp and paper industry; AND Co reportedly conducted pulpwood

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relatively small, and very little is known about logging operations for it, there can be little doubt that woods labour would have had to have been drawn from this same area.

[85] Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company*, Daily Production List*.

[86] Peters, "The Social and Economic Effects of the Transition from a System of Woods Camps to a System of Commuting in the Newfoundland Pulpwood Industry," 70.

[87] Price Submission, 1973.

[88] *Newfoundland Logger,* August 1959, 8.

[89] Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited, *Woods Department Master Hiring List January 1961.*

operations and owned a sawmill at Gambo since 1911.[90] Shipments of pulpwood by rail to Grand Falls from Gambo were taking place by at least 1928.[91] Gambo pulpwood operations would significantly ramp up after the construction of a loading plant at Gambo Pond in the late 1940s.[92] The lumber and pulpwood industries led to the migration of a large number of families from more remote areas in Bonavista Bay to Gambo. The Glovertown area had less of a history with lumbering but had been a ship building center in the 19th century. Major development of the pulpwood resources in the area began with the formation of the Terra Nova Sulfite Company in the early 1920s. This Norwegian firm intended to build a chemical pulp mill and draw its wood supply from the Terra Nova River watershed. The Sulfite Company managed to begin construction of a mill, but unfortunately, the project stopped because of the devaluation of the Norwegian currency and the failure of the company. The AND Company had difficulties obtaining wood in 1919-21 but was also looking to expand capacity. In 1922 AND Co bought the assets of the Terra Nova Sulfite Company but were then faced with the option of either continuing construction or utilizing the timber limits for production at Grand Falls.[93] The acquisition was met with much controversy, especially after the decision not to continue construction was made public. AND Co insisted that the amount of employment provided by harvesting operations was far greater than the number of jobs that would have been

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[90] Gambo, *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador,* 466.
[91] *"*Much Pulpwood being Moved," *Western Star,* June 26, 1928.
[92] "Notes from our Industry", *Grand Falls Advertiser,* 1946-48.
[93] Glovertown, *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*.

generated by the small pulp mill.[94] This trend of the Newfoundland's two large pulp and paper interests swallowing up smaller operations and/or failed ones was repeated a number of times, including in the Gander River watershed, and in White Bay, where both AND Co and IPP acquired extensive limits in the 1920s and 1930s.[95] Unlike Terra Nova for the AND Co, the scope local employment in White Bay by them compared to the size of the timber holdings was negligible.

The anomaly in the logging workforce for the Grand Falls mill were loggers from Fortune Bay on the south coast of Newfoundland. In 1959, south-coast loggers were a relatively new addition to the AND Co workforce, yet years after the mill's closure there were 74 former loggers counted in the small town of Seal Cove, Fortune Bay.[96] Around 1988 when Ron Smith visited Seal Cove during the Canadian Union of Paperworkers' (CUP) efforts to organize loggers, he noted that there were 71 loggers in the community.[97] The Bay d'Espoir area of Fortune Bay in the early part of the 20th century had been a speculative site for a pulp and paper mill, but that development had never materialized.[98] Although Seal Cove had its beginnings as a fishing community, there were some factors that led many residents to eventually become loggers. Low flat land in

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[94] "House of Assembly Proceedings", *Evening Telegram,* March 31,1925. https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/telegram20/id/24668/rec/30

[95] Sean Cadigan, "Restructuring the Woods: Timber Rights, Power and Agency in White Bay, Newfoundland, 1897-1959," in Peter Sinclair and Rosemary Ommer, eds., *Power and Restructuring: Canada's Coastal Society and Environment* (St. John's: Institute for Social and Economic Research, 2006): 54-81.

[96] Garrett Barry, "A decade on, workers — and town — still mourn loss of Grand Falls-Windsor mill" https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/mill-closure-anniversary-grand-falls-windsor-1.5020839

[97] Ron Smith Interview.

[98] Hiller, "Origins of the Pulp and Paper Industry in Newfoundland."

the area led to agricultural development and the keeping of livestock, including horses. The keeping of horses was also necessary because the forests used for firewood were located inland from Seal Cove. Through farming and firewood cutting, residents developed skills that would be of use in commercial logging operations.[99] There were commercial forestry operations in the Bay d'Espoir area for most of the first part of the twentieth century; and the most extensive of these were carried out by Bowater's. Bowater's commenced operations in the area in 1942.[100] Because Seal Cove residents were experienced in the handling of horses they were easily able to find work in the woods with Bowater.[101] In 1958 Bowater pulled out of the Bay d'Espoir area, and left a sizable workforce of loggers without work.[102] Although the knowledge and skills gained in handling horses may have given rise to the tradition of woods work for Seal Cove, it was their reputation as good woodcutters that endeared them to foremen and woods managers. In 1959 several loggers from Seal Cove went to work in Badger Division where they developed an enviable reputation for wood cutting. That spring, thirteen Seal Cove loggers cut over 1020 cords of wood over a 21-day period. The average amount of wood that Seal Cove loggers cut and piled was around four cords per logger per day. The biggest issue for south-coast loggers was the distance from home. Coming and going from the camps in central Newfoundland at the time required a journey on the coastal

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[99] "Seal Cove, Fortune Bay" *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland & Labrador.* Vol 3. St. John's, Nfld: Harry Cuff Pub., 1994, 116.
[100] Tall Trees and More...Milltown-Head Bay d'Espoir Museum Milltown, Newfoundland and Labrador https://www.communitystories.ca/v1/pm_v2.php?id=story_line&lg=English&fl=0&ex=00000582&sl=4679&pos=1&pf=1
[101] "Seal Cove, Fortune Bay," in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador,* 1991, Harry Cuff Publications.
[102] Horwood, *Corner Brook.*

boat from Seal Cove to Argentia or Port Aux Basques, then via railway to Badger. This was later mitigated when the Bay d'Espoir Highway was built from the south coast to Bishop's Falls. In the summer of 1959 that highway was still twelve years away, but a group of Seal Cove loggers earned enough cutting pulpwood to charter a float plane to fly them home from Rushy Pond near Grand Falls.[103]

By the end of the 1959 cutting season, forty men from Seal Cove cut pulpwood for AND Co. No Seal Cove loggers still used a bucksaw, and overall, their average daily production cutting and piling pulpwood was 2.85 cords per logger per day, over two thirds of a cord higher than the average production per man day for all AND Co loggers that year.[104] In total, the 40 loggers from Seal Cove cut over 8000 cords of pulpwood that season. Thus, it is no surprise that *The Encyclopedia of Newfoundland* noted that: "Seal Cove was known throughout Newfoundland for its woodsmen." By the 1960s "it was estimated that more than 80% of the male workforce were working away from the community as loggers."[105] Whereas woodswork declined for residents of the Trinity and Bonavista Bays in the 1960s, it experienced an upsurge in parts of Fortune Bay, a radio piece reprinted in the *News-Log* in 1964 noted that "About 200 men from the Hermitage Bay settlements of Grole, Hermitage, Seal Cove [sic]and, Pass Island find employment annually in the woods of the AND."[106] Contractor Glenn Peyton, who employed many loggers from Seal Cove, noted that not only were they exceptional wood cutters, but they

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[103] *Newfoundland Logger,* August 1959, 9-10
[104] Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company*, Daily Production List*; Curran, "*The Process of Mechanization,"* 73.
[105] "Seal Cove, Fortune Bay" *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland.*
[106] "Loggers Earn Top Wages," *AND News-Log,* September 1964.

also took great care of their tools. Peyton recalled one group of Seal Cove loggers that used the same chainsaws for eleven seasons during the 1970s and 1980s, a remarkable accomplishment for tools that normally lasted only a few seasons of heavy use, and a testament to the Seal Cove Loggers' loyalty to their work, and to individual foremen/contractors.[107]

The number of loggers that worked for both paper companies is not known and beyond the scope of this project, however there were places where this practice was common. Loggers from the Southwest Arm area of Trinity Bay traveled as far as Howley and Deer Lake to work in Bowater woods operations, in addition to working at the closer Glenwood operations. Bowater's also conducted operations in Robert's Arm and Baie Verte which were conveniently located for many loggers in Green Bay. There, Bowater's limits were sandwiched between the Hall's Bay and Twin Lakes operations of AND Co and thus there was ample employment for area loggers. A similar situation existed in the Gambo and Hare Bay area, where in addition to the AND operations, Bowater's was harvesting and exporting pulpwood from nearby Indian Bay. Interestingly, it appears that Bowater's, despite closing operations in Bay D'Espoir, was still employing some men from the South Coast after 1958, specifically in their Baie Verte and Deer Lake Districts where they had to reopen camps after a major shift towards commuter operations, logging operations close enough to communities that loggers could drive to work from home, in the early 1960s.[108]

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[107] Glenn Peyton Interview, November 28, 2022.
[108] "Camp close program decided," *Evening Telegram,* July 5, 1962.

According to Peters, using statistics from the 1961 Census, the average age of loggers in Newfoundland was thirty-two. In 1951, 65.3% loggers were under the age of 35, ten years later the number stood at 61.9%. AND Company statistics recorded that in 1958 the average age of their logging workforce was 30, in 1963 it was 35. Peters draws the conclusion that "the rise in the average age of about one year per year suggests that many of the same loggers are coming back each year and are merely one year older." [109] A comparison of the names from the 1958 voters list, the 1959 Cutters List, and the 1961 Master Hiring List, serves to strengthen this hypothesis. Further to this, not only were the same loggers coming back each year, but many of them were no doubt second and third generation pulpwood harvesters.[110]

In 1959 AND Co cutters lived in just over 200 communities spread out from Placentia and St. Mary's Bays, westward to the Bay Verte Peninsula, with most loggers residing in the middle, in Notre Dame, Trinity, and Bonavista Bays. The tradition of seasonal woods work had developed in the lumber industry of late nineteenth and early twentieth century and was enabled by access to the railway, and by proximity to logging operations. The concentration of cutting and hauling operations in fall and winter also allowed for the employment of large numbers of fishermen in woods operations. The geographical distribution of loggers changed during the 1960s, as the pulpwood harvest moved away from the decades old, and seasonally dependent cut-and-pile system. The new system, which moved towards more intensive operations during warm weather and

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[109] Peters, "The Social and Economic Effects of the Transition from a System of Woods Camps to a System of Commuting in the Newfoundland Pulpwood Industry." 72-73.
[110] Some families had four generations that engaged in the pulpwood harvest.

was more mechanized, no longer accommodated the occasional woods worker and made it harder for fishermen-loggers to engage in both industries.

Chapter Three: The Old Bucksaw Days-The Conventional Pre-Mechanized, Semi-Motorized System of Logging 1946-1953

The late 1940s and early 1950s saw the end of what Ian Radforth accurately refers to as "the middle period of development" in pulpwood logging in Eastern North America. He illustrates this twenty-year period as one where:

> ….the pulp and paper sector of the logging industry that took the initiative and began to innovate by searching for new technologies and ways to deploy labour. As a result, the pulpwood logging labour process became different from that of the lumber industry. Yet the pace of mechanization remained slow, largely because of the relative cheapness of labour-intensive methods during the Great Depression.[1]

Although this was written about the industry in Northern Ontario, woods operations in Newfoundland solidly fit into this model, but here the period extended beyond 1945, with a period of slow and sporadic experimentation and transition before dramatically changing. With a few localized exceptions, and some changes in labour processes and scale, pulpwood operations in Newfoundland were undertaken in the same manner in 1948 as they had in 1928.

On the first page of the 1951 publication *Grand Falls, Botwood, Bishop's Falls, Badger, Millertown, Terra Nova, Newfoundland: Paper and Pulpwood Towns of the Interior* there is a map that depicts the island of Newfoundland (See Figure 2). This map depicts much of the interior of the island as a patchwork of green-shaded shapes, stretching from watershed of the Terra Nova River in the East all the way a point on the

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[1] Ian Radforth, "In the Bush: The Changing World of Work in Ontario's Pulpwood Logging Industry During the Twentieth Century." *Material History Bulletin* 19 (1984): 13–.

Southwest corner of the island about 30 miles (48.3 km) from La Poile.[2] This green-shaded area represents the timber areas of the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited. The combined territory covered by these areas added up to over 7,500 square miles or 19,500 square kilometers.[3] During the late 1940s and early 1950s, between 200,000-350,000 cords of black spruce (Picea mariana) and balsam fir (Abies balsamea) were harvested annually for the Grand Falls pulp and paper mill (See Table 5 Appendix I).[4] At the time the harvesting of this wood was carried out and administered in four divisions: Millertown, Badger, Bishop's Falls, and Terra Nova. Depending on the years and the quota of pulpwood demanded from the mill, there would be 50-60 logging camps opened to accommodate the loggers harvesting this wood.[5] Each of AND Co's logging divisions was independent from the others, as was each camp.

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[2] *Grand Falls, Botwood, Bishop's Falls, Badger, Millertown, Terra Nova, Newfoundland: Paper and Pulpwood Towns of the Interior,* Montreal: Guardian Associates Ltd., 1951, 1. Additionally, there is a large block of timber areas on the Great Northern Peninsula, these are known as the Mooney Limits. AND Co acquired these limits in the early 1930s, yet because of distance and geographical limitations, they were not exploited to a significant enough extent in warrant inclusion. Most of the areas between AND holdings, especially those between Gambo and Bishop's Falls were licenced to Bowater's.

[3] *Grand Falls, Botwood, Bishop's Falls, Badger, Millertown, Terra Nova, Newfoundland: Paper and Pulpwood Towns of the Interior,* (St. John's Guardian, February 1951).

[4] And the Bishop's Falls Pulp mill, the latter of which was an integrated part of the former, this mill was phased out as a pulp producer between 1951 and 1953. See Price, *Submission to the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador for the Federal-Provincial Task Force on Forestry in Newfoundland*. (N.L: Price Nfld. Pulp & Paper Ltd., 1972.)

[5] Harry Inder, *Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Ltd.* (St. John's: Unpublished Business Paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1964,) Appendix.

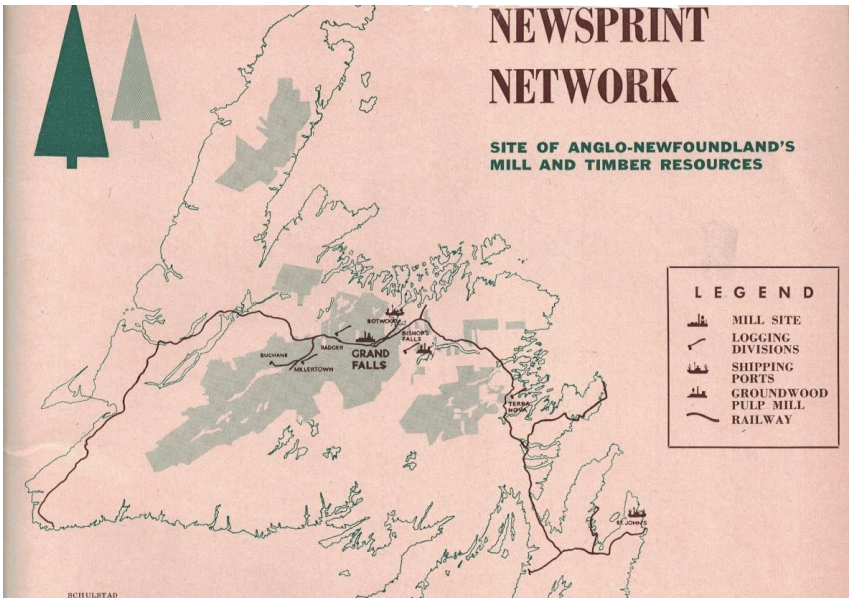

Figure 2 AND Co's presence in Newfoundland, showing extent of timber areas, mills, railways, and shipping ports, 1951. From: Grand Falls, Botwood, Bishop's Falls, Badger, Millertown, Terra Nova, Newfoundland: Paper and Pulpwood Towns of the Interior.

The popular view of pre-mechanized logging in Newfoundland has been oversimplified and generalized. The Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador website states the following:

> Newfoundland and Labrador loggers usually harvested spruce and fir trees for manufacture into newsprint. They did this in three phases over a nine-month period: first was the cutting phase in the fall and early winter; followed by the mid-winter haul-off, when loggers transported pulpwood to a pond or river; and the spring river drive, which brought the wood to the mill site. The cutting phase was the longest and employed the most men.[6]

The reality, at least for the operations of the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, is more complex. To fully understand logging operations with AND Co on the eve of large-scale mechanization I conducted an in-depth examination of primary sources

[6] Jenny Higgins "Early 20th Century Loggers" *Heritage NL*, https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/loggers.php

from 1948-1951, focusing principally on the 1949-50 logging season. This was possible because of detailed weekly newspaper reporting. From December 1946 until about 1952 the *Grand Falls Advertiser* carried a section called *Notes from Our Industry.* This, often full-page section, was subtitled "A Review of Activities Throughout All Branches of the AND Company, with Personal Notes on the Doings of Employees." Essentially, *Notes from Our Industry* was an early form of an employee newsletter. In most editions, in addition to coverage of activities at the mills, most of the material that was printed dealt with activities in the four logging divisions and in the headquarters communities. At times it can be quite high level, with the amount of wood cut or hauled and numbers of camps and loggers, and at times it can be quite intimate, noting details regarding the comings and goings of individual woodworkers, foremen, and supervisory staff. With the numbers of surviving loggers who worked in this era now very small it is a useful repository of social history. Using *Notes from our Industry*, I will illustrate in detail a semi-mechanized logging season from beginning to end. This chronological window, and specifically the 1949-50 season was chosen because of consistently available information, and because there were no extraordinary events that altered the logging season.[7] Coincidentally, the 1949-50 season was the first in which Newfoundland was part of Canada. Also, importantly for the future of the operation at Grand Falls, 1949 saw the cancellation of long-term contracts between the AND Company and the British newspapers it had been established to supply.

[7] For example: the summer of 1947 saw a very large forest fire which disrupted operations, and 1951 when a mild winter dramatically affected hauling operations.

It is difficult to clearly define the beginning and end for a logging season. Writing in 1964 in his undergraduate paper for the Faculty of Business at Memorial University, Harry Inder noted that the fiscal year for the Woods Department of the AND Company ran from November 1 to October 31.[8] From examining at least three years' worth of information it is hypothesized that unique fiscal year was chosen because all wood cut in the previous season should have been at the mill by October 31, meaning all log-drives should have been finished up, and all deliveries of railwood completed. Because of this, it should be stressed that what existed was a logging cycle that had many moving components. J.P Curran gives a good illustration of the popular and simplified view of the logging cycle (See Figure 3). It is also important to note that he does explain that: "Some cutting, on supplementary contracts, occurred in the spring and summer but this was small in comparison with the amount cut in the primary fall cutting phase."[9] This is a factor that will emerge as the logging phases are examined.

[8] Inder, *Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Ltd.*
[9] Curran, "*The Process of Mechanization*."

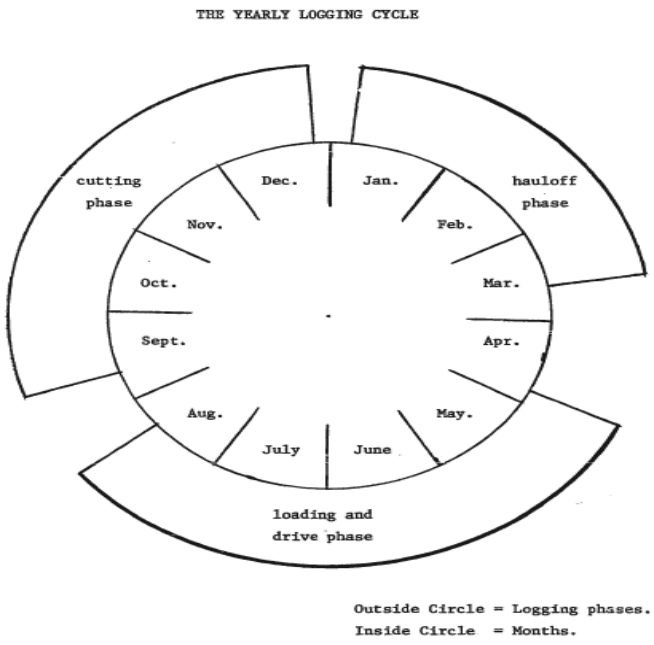

Figure 3 Yearly Logging Cycle from Curran, 25

This has some merit as a generalization of all pulpwood operations on the Island, and in parts of Eastern Canada from 1925 until mechanization. The reality in central Newfoundland was that in 1950 nearly half of all the wood cut in most of the divisions of the AND Company was cut before the end of September.[10] Pegging down the start of the cutting season is problematic. Even when using detailed primary sources, it is difficult to determine when the cutting season began. This is because cutting was less determined by climatic or weather conditions than any of the other stages. Cutting could take place most any time of the year as long as the weather was not extremely hot, or extremely cold, if the snow was not too deep to hinder movement and cutting, or the ground wet enough to

[10] **"**Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*; September 22, 1950, 5b; "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*; September 29, 1950, 7b.

hamper local transportation of loggers to the cutting area. Since loggers still walked to work from camps, cutting operations could take place as long as loggers were already in camp, even if the main roads were impassible. When camps were open, cutting pulpwood was a fall-back form of work. If conditions were not favorable to hauling, a camp crew might be put to work cutting to earn some money while in camp. The same was true during the log drive, if water levels or wind conditions were not conducive to driving, a crew might be put to work cutting until driving conditions improved. The wood being cut during the haul off presents the problem of when to define the beginning of the logging season, since depending on the individual situation it may be being hauled for that year's drive or yarded for the following year under a new contract. The most practical start date for the cutting season is at the beginning of May, directly coinciding with the start of the log-drive. The driving of wood required the fewest number of loggers, but in many locations, especially for small drives, foremen would need to open their camps for the drivers, and to roll the wood from the landings. Although these tasks might be completed quickly this still required the expense of employing cookhouse staff. Therefore, it was also practical to have crews cutting as well, or as was the case with foreman Amos Feener in Bishop's Falls Division in May of 1950. Feener, after having his crew complete a drive in two weeks, kept them on cutting.[11] While cutting pulpwood, loggers were technically independent sub-contractors, hence they had a great degree of independence

[11] Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*; May 5, 1950, 5b; and Notes from our Industry" *Grand Falls Advertiser*; May 19, 1950, 5c.

in how long they stayed working.[12] This proved to be a challenge to the employer during the summer, as there were numerous forms of alternate employment as well as other essential household activities such of small plot farming that drew away loggers. This was the case for the week of June 18, 1949, when *Notes from Our Industry* reported that there were nine camps cutting and nearly full to capacity in Badger Division, but also reported that there would likely be vacancies in camps as the inshore cod fishery and the planting of gardens picked up in the outport communities.[13] By the middle of July there was only one camp open for cutting in neighboring Bishop's Falls Division.[14] Spring and early summer cutting would attract many workers. For many in Notre Dame, Bonavista, Trinity, and upper Placentia Bays, even those from areas that traditionally concentrated their summer work on the fishery, it was possible to venture into the logging areas for a few weeks during this season. This was even truer for those in areas such as Green Bay, and the Bay of Exploits where, since the late 1930s, there was a road connection to the headquarters towns of Bishop's Falls and Badger. Most loggers avoided working in mid-summer for several reasons. Heat was a major deterrent. The average temperature in Badger, Newfoundland in July is 23º Celsius, but at times it can be much higher than this, additionally it can be quite humid in which case the temperatures can climb well over 30 ºC. This was found to be the case in Millertown Division during the middle of July 1950. *The Grand Falls Advertiser* reported that:

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[12] This had been the case since at least the 1920s and piecework became universal in cutting with the introduction of the short-wood cut and pile system in that era.
[13] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*, June 18, 1949, 15.
[14] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*, July 15, 1949, 11.

> We have been experiencing exceptionally warm, sultry weather during the past few days, with temperatures registering in the high eighties at times. The effect of this is shown in out week's production of pulpwood which despite the fact that our logging crew was only 18 men less, is some 600 cords short of last week's amount. Owing to extreme heat and very high humidity prevailing our men have been unable to maintain their previous production and in some camps they have had to quit work during the hottest part of the day.[15]

Hot and dry conditions also led to another obstacle to effective summer cutting operations: fire. A forest fire could not only shut down cutting operations, but it also meant that loggers had to be mobilized to fight it. A major forest fire required hundreds of loggers to fight it and was one of the rare instances in which there would be the transfer of resources from one division to another.[16] Firefighting was hot and dangerous work, and while performing it loggers were put on wages. This factor itself may have played a role for large volume cutters who would earn much more cutting than they would fighting fires. Lastly, and perhaps foremost in the challenges of summer woodswork, was the torment of insects. The forests of central Newfoundland abound with uncountable bogs, gullies, and small ponds from which millions of black flies and mosquitos breed. In the deep woods of the interior there can be clouds of these pests, making any activity outside impossible for a few weeks during the summer. Kitchen summarized the fly "seasons" in central Newfoundland as beginning in June with swarms of small black flies, then progressing to mosquitos which "burn off" during the hottest

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[15] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*; July 21, 1950, 5b.
[16] Bryan Marsh, "The Stony-Great Rattling Fire of 1935," https://anglonewfoundlanddevelopmentcompany.wordpress.com/2021/01/07/the-stony-great-rattling-fire-of-1935/

weeks only to be replaced by "stouts," a type of deer fly which leaves a large bite.[17] To combat these pests, camp "vans" stocked copious amounts of fly repellents. Still, there were cases over the years in which operations shut down because flies made work unbearable.[18] Because of these factors most woodsmen, especially those engaged in some fishing, preferred to work in the woods during the fall. The nature of this employment can be summed up by this account from the fall of 1945.

> The Cross country express arrived at Norris Arm four hours behind her regular schedule, a railroader informed this Dept on Monday. The Delay was attributed to the fact that nearly three hundred men, discouraged by poor fishing results in Twillingate, Fogo and Green Bay areas during the summer decided to blaze their trail in the direction of Lumber camps for the winter.[19]

Since the beginning of the pulpwood industry in 1907-08, paper companies had dealt with a near constant obstacle in obtaining woods labour -- a good fishing season, and a good price for codfish meant a scarcity of labour, and a poor year in the fishery usually meant an abundance of men willing to work in the lumberwoods. This can be seen in 1945, and in fact the next few years present an interesting case. Allied bases on the island were downsizing or closing, leaving hundreds out of work, thousands of servicemen were returning home and looking for work, and the pulp and paper industry was stabilizing and expanding due to healthy post-war markets. Thus, the poor fishery in the summer of 1945 was only one of the reasons so many sought out work in the woods. Although Radforth highlights a labour crisis in the lumberwoods of Northern Ontario in the post-war period

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[17] John Kitchen, *By the Sweat of My Brow,* 58. Anybody that has spent time in the woods of central Newfoundland can attest to the fly seasons. Of the three, although leaving the largest bite, the stout is perhaps the most benevolent being less in number and the bite being less irritating.
[18] Kitchen, *By the Sweat of My Brow.*
[19] "Woodsmen Delay Express," *Grand Falls Advertiser* November 10, 1945, 3.

as being one of the impetuses towards mechanization, this was not the case in Newfoundland, where chronic unemployment and underemployment made a willing pool of workers available to work as loggers.[20]

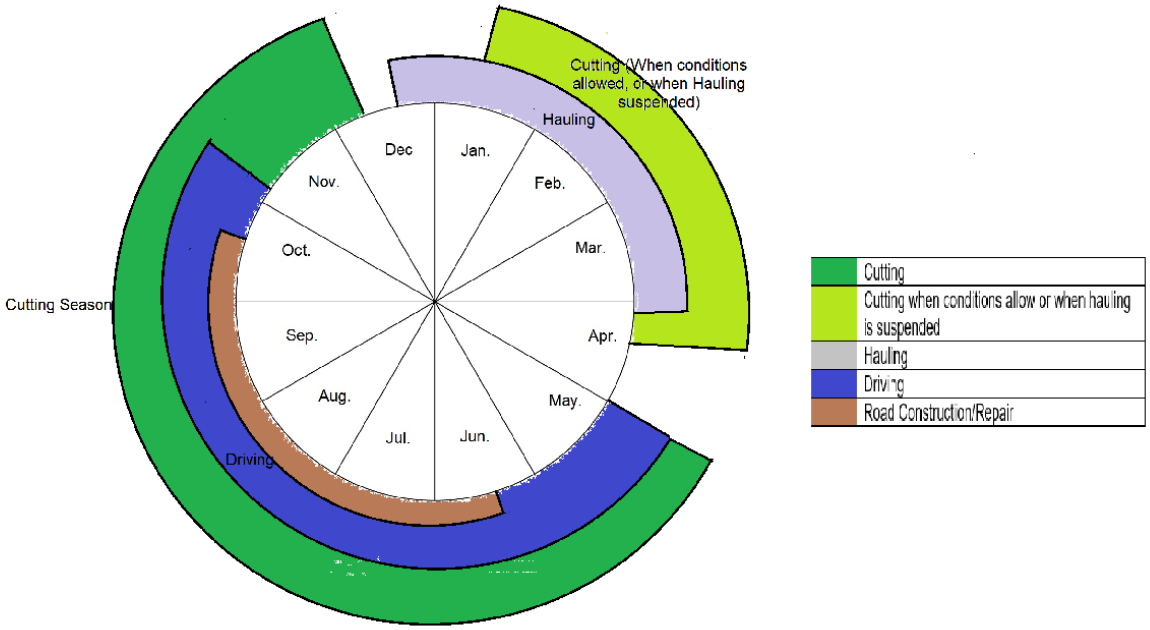

Figure 4 The logging cycle according to analysis of the 1949-50 logging season.

Cutting Pulpwood

To better understand the conditions faced by cutters, the work performed in logging must be explained. At the time the cutting of pulpwood was done on a piecework basis, loggers were paid by the cord, which in 1950 amounted to a stack of pulpwood measuring 4x4x8 feet, or 128 cubic feet. By the early 1950s both AND Co and Bowater's cut only four-

[20] Radforth, "Woodworkers and Mechanization," 75.

foot wood.[21] Prior to 1953-54 all wood was felled (cut down), limbed, and bucked (cut up) using hand tools. The primary tools were the bucksaw, a metal framed bow saw with a thin blade, and the single bitted axe. The first step was for a logger to make a notch on the tree on the side in which they wanted the tree to fall. This was accomplished with the axe. Then the logger would cut from the opposite side of the notch with the bucksaw. Once the tree was felled the limbs were trimmed off with an axe. Next the tree would be bucked into four-foot lengths, up to a four-inch top. The next, and perhaps an overlooked stage, was to pile the logs in a "brow" in the cutting area.[22] There was no rule on the order in which this work took place. Some loggers might cut, limb, buck, and pile each individual tree, whereas some preferred to cut, limb, buck, and then devote a portion of the day to piling.[23] Despite appearing to be straightforward work, great skilled needed to be exercised to be able to cut wood efficiently and safely. In order to ensure that cutters had some training following World War Two, AND Co employed cutting instructors in each division.[24] The Bradley Report of 1934 reported in relation to individual production in pulpwood cutting that: "The general average for the AND Co was 1.45 cords per day."[25] Although this information comes from figures taken in 1932, little changed in the actual cutting process that might have affected production. If anything, the switch to four-

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[21] The Corner Brook mill used four-foot wood since at least 1932. AND, having started earlier using a cut-up mill had cut numerous different lengths of wood since 1907, but had changed to four-foot beginning in 1948. This was initially a phased transition brought about by new grinders and wood handling system, and the phase out of the Bishop's Falls pulp mill. By 1952 all pulpwood in all divisions was four-foot.
[22] A Brow is a nearly stacked pile of wood, usually supported by smaller diameter logs driven into the ground.
[23] Kitchen, *By the Sweat of My Brow,* 82-83.
[24] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser;* December 7, 1946, 11.
[25] Bradley, *Report of the Commission for Investigating Forest Operations*, 21.

foot wood may have added a small amount of labour to the production of each cord of wood. Additionally steady wage increases since 1934, accelerated by wartime labour shortages, cut down on the hours each logger put into each day, which Bradley had found to be well over twelve hours for many cutters. This was especially true since the difference between the price of a cord of wood and the cost of board had grown considerably during this time as well.[26] In 1940-41 the average price for a cord of pulpwood in AND Co operations was $2.10, by 1948-49 it had risen to an average of $4.45 (See Table 1). At the same time, the price for board in the camps increased by only 20 cents, despite an enormous rise in the cost of living brought about by the Second World War.[27] An average logger in average wood in 1940-41 earned $3.06 and paid .60 for board, which was twenty percent of their earnings. In 1948-49 that same average logger would have earned $6.45 for cutting 1.45 cords of wood and paid .80 which was twelve percent of their earnings. Both Sutherland and McLaughlin see the post-war pulpwood industry in Newfoundland as one built on a foundation of Fordist accommodation between labour and capital. As McLaughlin describes Fordism "a formal industrial legality based on employers' and unions' accommodation of each other through collective agreements."[28] Sutherland illustrates how the main tool of this Fordist order was the Woods Labour Board.[29] For the loggers, it was a limited degree of Fordism,

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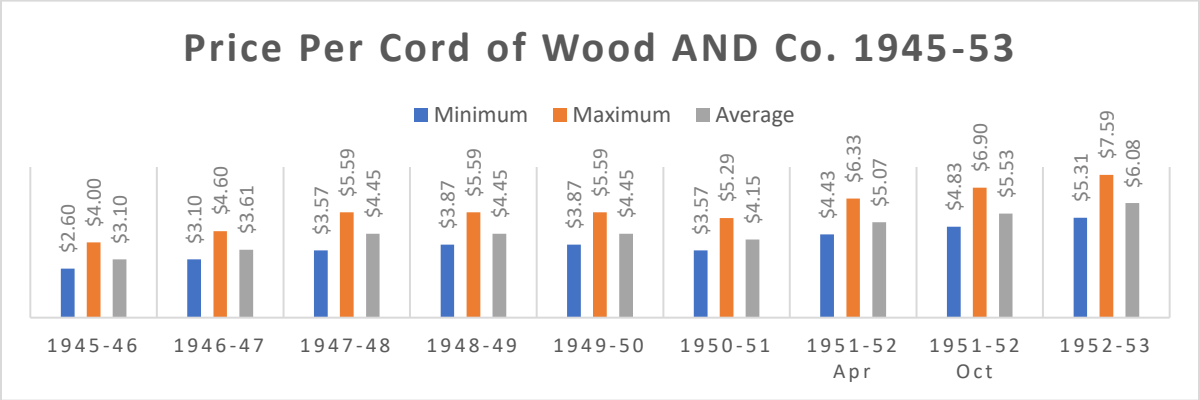
[26] Sutherland cites numerous cases where inexperienced loggers were unable to make enough to pay for their board during the early 1930s. This was a period in which some camps were paying as low as .90 cents per cord, but board was almost universally set at .60 cents per day.
[27] *History of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association from April 1936 to September 1956: Souvenir of the Sixteenth Convention Opened at Grand Falls, Oct. 15, 1956.* (St. John's, Nfld:), 1956.
[28] Mark McLauglin, "Power Tools as Tools of Power," 236.
[29] Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers."

uneven with that advanced to mill workers. Loggers did not receive nearly the same the pay or benefits as mill workers, but little by little conditions and pay in the woods improved. Whether or not this was through the good graces of the company, or because they were forced to by the extreme labour shortages and competition for workers brought on by the War; or even because camps became more accessible and potentially visited by outsiders who might have decried the conditions present up to 1946. Additionally, although loggers benefitted from the industrial legality of the WLB and their collective agreements, they still maintained their independence, which was reinforced by the seasonal nature of the work.

Table 1 Price Per Cord of Wood AND Co. 1945-1953[30]



The Haul Off

The only definitive stage in terms of timing was the winter haul off. This is because the success of the haul off was so firmly tied to favorable winter weather conditions. Thus, the haul off was usually confined to the period between late December

[30] *History of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association.*

and late March. With good conditions the haul-off might require a month to six weeks for completion. But as we will see, Newfoundland can have variable and inconsistent winters.[31] Hauling usually began for all practical purposes, just after Christmas or New Year. In earlier decades, with more draconian labour practices a logger may have gone into camp for the cut during the fall and not come out until spring.[32] Loggers, naturally preferred to be home with their families during Christmas; by the late 1940s the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company finally accepted the fact there would be difficulties in maintaining a logging work force during the Christmas holiday. Therefore, during the timeframe studied operations were regularly at a standstill in late December.[33] There was also another more practical reason for this break. Usually, winter conditions do not fully take hold in the central interior until late December or early January. A good layer of snow was one prerequisite for good hauling conditions, but more important was a suitable stretch of very cold weather to freeze the ground, wetlands, and water bodies. These two factors combined were needed for tractor hauling. The tractors being utilized by the AND Co during this time ranged in weight between 7500 pounds on the smallest machine, the D2, to 24,000 pounds for the much larger Caterpillar D7.[34] A considerable

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[31] This is the reason that 1951, the year that *Grand Falls, Botwood, Bishop's Falls, Badger, Millertown, Terra Nova* was published was an incredibly problematic year for hauling.
[32] Interview with Clayton Jones Bowater Oral History Collection, Memorial University, https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/bowater/id/165/
[33] See "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*, January 1, 1949, 5.
[34] https://www.tractordata.com/farm-tractors/tractor-brands/caterpillar/caterpillar-tractors.html There was at least one D8 machine in use, these machines weighed some 36,000 pounds, these were not common, and it is known that the one in use was used hauling large sled trains in conduction with a Hayes Truck and a Caterpillar DW10, on well built haul roads.

period of freezing weather was needed for these heavy machines to safely land wood on a lake or pond.

Broken down into its simplest components, the haul off was the process of loading horse or tractor sleds with pulpwood, the hauling of those sleds and the offloading of the pulpwood on, or on side of, driving waters and streams. Of all the stages of logging during this period the haul off was the most mechanized, but this mechanization only permeated into the transportation of pulpwood to driving streams. As such the system in place in Newfoundland, might be described as semi-motorized, rather than mechanized. The effects on employment and labour echo the findings of Radforth in Northern Ontario, who noted that "As impressive as all this new equipment was, it affected the labour process very little." Even though by 1950 logging operations in Newfoundland lagged behind those in Northern Ontario technologically, AND Co was a pioneer in the use of crawler tractors for hauling. In Northern Ontario, gasoline-powered crawler tractors became common in the late 1920s, but in central Newfoundland, they were successfully introduced between 1920 and 1923.[35] Three major factors influenced AND Co's early mechanization: scarcity of horses in Newfoundland, the expense of importing them from Canada, and the increasing distances between timber stands and suitable driving streams. For these reasons, tractors were first used in AND Co operations around 1920-21. By December 1923, the AND Company owned at least ten Holt Caterpillar tractors, a larger number than any other paper or lumber company in

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[35] Ian Radforth, "In the Bush: The Changing World of Work in Ontario's Pulpwood Logging Industry During the Twentieth Century." *Material History Bulletin* 19 (1984): 13–; Bryan Marsh, "The Caterpillar Tractor Comes to Newfoundland," *Forestory*, 2019, 10(1), 18-21 Toronto: FHSO

Canada.[36] The Caterpillars were used on long hauls over the next decade. In 1928-29 seven tractors hauled thirty-eight percent of the cut in Badger Division.[37] A major proliferation of tractors occurred between 1934 and 1938 when at least twenty Caterpillar 22s were purchased by the AND Co and camp contractors.[38] The introduction of more powerful and efficient diesel-powered machines after 1936 led to a further increase, and by 1946 the number of tractors owned by AND Co was 77.[39] AND Co developed a unique system to maximize the efficiency of its tractor fleet. It was labelled the "shuttle system." The method is based on three sled trains, with one sled being loaded, another being unloaded, and the third in transit. This avoided bottlenecks and maximized the productivity of tractors using various sized machines for pre hauling, shunting, and main road hauling.[40] The number of tractors owned and/or utilized by the AND Co in 1950 is not known, but it is likely that the number increased after 1946 due to the increased cuts carried out in the wake of the post-war boom in the newsprint industry. Bowater's in Corner Brook, who (with their predecessors International Power and Paper) seem to have been slower to mechanize; embarked on an intensive program of haul mechanization in

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[36] *Canada Lumberman,* December 1923; https://archive.org/details/canadianforjuldec1923donm/page/n1139/mode/2up?q=Anglo ;Nelson Williams, "AND Logging Techniques Mechanization Aspects 1907-1963", *AND News-Log,* March 1964. Additionally, AND also purchased two Linn Tractors. There were indications that these were purchased in 1921. Holt, after a merger with rival Best, would become Caterpillar in 1925.

[37] "Grand Falls – Newfoundland's First Pulp & Paper Mill," *Daily News,* St. John's, December 31, 1929.

[38] Registry of Deeds, Service NL, 59 Elizabeth Ave., St. John's, vol. 139, 189-193. About 20 Caterpillar 22 tractors were mortgaged to camp Contractor-Foremen, who paid them off through yearly deductions. Generally, the machines, valued between $1500-2000, depending on how many additional sets of sleds were included, were paid off in $500 installments over 5-7 years.

[39] Marsh, "The Caterpillar Tractor"; Williams, "AND Logging Techniques Mechanization Aspects 1907-1963."

[40] Williams, "AND Logging Techniques Mechanization Aspects 1907-1963."

the late 1940s. They purchased 15 D7 Caterpillars, 20 D2 and D4s and a staggering 70 International TD-18s, the latter of which were purchased as surplus from the United States Army.[41] With the aid of this fleet of 105 tractors Bowater's harvested approximately 480,000 cords of pulpwood.[42] Even with this amount of machinery, AND Co employed more tractors than Bowater's proportionate to the amount of wood harvested.[43] Despite the high level of haul mechanization, horses were still essential for hauling in many harvesting areas, especially on short hauls. Horses could also be used earlier in the season before sufficient ice had formed on the lakes and streams to support the weight of tractors. The number of horses used by AND Co during the 1940s and 1950s was not found in an aggregate number, but it is known that it varied by Division. In January of 1949 there were 110 horses in use in Terra Nova Division.[44] Seven years later in the winter of 1956 there were 194 horses in use in Bishop's Falls Division.[45] Not all horses would be owned by the company, of the 110 horses noted in Terra Nova in 1949-50, 60 of them were contracted from their owners.[46] With these numbers it can be estimated that upwards of 400 horses were in use in 1949-50. Although it is not known how prevalent the practice was by 1950, oxen and even dog teams were used in some

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[41] "Bowater's Hits Wood Costs New Equipment Halves Logging Season," *Pulp and Paper,* March 1949, 71-82. Bowaters appears to have availed of war surplus more than AND Co; it is known that Bowaters also purchased surplus Sea Mules for driving and towing operations.

[42]"Bowater's Hits Wood Costs New Equipment Halves Logging Season," *Pulp and Paper;* the Corner Brook mill consumed 480,000 cords of wood a year. Bowaters normally exported a maximum of 100,000 cords of wood a year to Great Britain, but this had been reduced and in 1949 no wood was reported to be exported.

[43] In 1950, AND Co harvested 348,079 cords of pulpwood, which adds up to roughly 72% of what Bowaters cut in recent years.

[44] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser;* January 15, 1949, 9.

[45] "Woods News," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* January 26, 1949, 1.

[46] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* January 15, 1949.

camps to haul wood. There were still provisions in place in the 1948-49 collective agreement that mention camps where dogs were used for hauling.[47] Dogs teams saw only limited use for small amounts of wood in hard-to-reach areas, and the animals were privately owned.[48]

Although the actual transportation of wood from the stump was highly mechanized, the haul off required a large amount of manual labour in the loading and unloading of sleds. Loading was done by hand with the aid of pulp hooks and pickeroons; axes were used to dislodge frozen wood as well.[49] A piece of pulpwood might be loaded and transferred three or more times before it reached its destination. For example, a pile of wood might be loaded onto a horse sled, hauled out to a landing area, and then reloaded onto a tractor sled, then brought to the frozen water and unloaded again. Horse sleds and tractor sleds were different, with the former being of lighter and more flexible construction than the latter.[50] An attempt by AND Co to mechanize the loading and unloading of tractor sleds was carried out in late 1940s. This experiment took place at A.F. ("Ford") Ball's operation at Noel Paul Brook in Badger Division.[51] Ball had two camps and was cutting upwards of 10,000 cords of wood a year; thus, making his one of the higher volume operations conducted by the AND Company.[52] The mechanical

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[47] *Agreement Between Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Ltd. and The Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association 1948-49,* Grand Falls, Nfld: Blackmore, 1948, 9.
[48] Barker, *Logging History,* (Grand Falls, Nfld: Mary March Museum/National Exhibition Centre, 1979), 297.
[49] A pulphook is a tool consisting of a hook on a handle similar to a shovel handle. A pickeroon consists of a short-spiked head attached to a short axe-like handle. The latter was far more prevalent and used when piling during the cutting season.
[50] Otto Verge, Interview.
[51] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* Feb 1, 1947.
[52] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* October 20, 1950, 5 third section.

loading experiment hinged upon the use of two 30-foot Hyster "Hystaway" cranes which were mounted on the back of Caterpillar D6 tractors.[53]One-cord bundles of pulpwood were bound with cables and loaded onto tractor sleds with one crane. At the unloading area another crane unloaded the bundles, thus eliminating the hand loading and unloading.[54] Initially, crews were able to load, haul, and offload about 100 cords per day.[55] Later this was improved and production more than doubled, to an average of 212 cords per day during the 1949 hauling season.[56] Despite the improvements, this experiment was not a success. The AND Co Woods Department found that costs were forty percent more than traditional hand loading methods.[57] Because of the increased cost, and possibly because some 2000 cords of wood had to be left in the woods after the spring thaw in 1949, AND Co discontinued the mechanical loading experiment.[58] Similarly, the major mechanization project undertaken by Bowater's, which had employed Hyster logging arches to haul wood in the spring-summer-fall season, was abandoned by 1952, for similar reasons.[59] Although the haul off was labour intensive, it required less manpower to undertake than the cut. The haul-off was also undertaken at a time of the year when forms of alternative employment were scarce, since cod fishing and construction were both confined to the summer and early fall. Thus, the major

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[53] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser* February 1, 1947, and February 20, 1947.
[54] Nelson Williams, "AND Logging Techniques Mechanization Aspects 1907-1963 Part II" *AND News-Log,* April 1964, 4.
[55] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* February 1, 1947.
[56] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser;* February 5, 1949, 9.
[57] Williams, "AND Logging Techniques Mechanization Aspects 1907-1963 Part II"
[58] Williams, "AND Logging Techniques Mechanization Aspects 1907-1963 Part II"
, and "Notes from our Industry" *Grand Falls Advertiser*; March 19, 1949, 9.
[59] Silversides: Former Bowaters employees have noted that the arches were ill-suited to boggy terrain and thus useless in summer operations on soft ground.

obstacle to hauling was not a shortage of labour, but weather conditions. During the years surveyed, there was no mention of a shortage of loggers during the haul-off.

The 1948-49 hauling season in all divisions had ended abruptly during the middle of March 1949 when a rain storm swept through central Newfoundland.[60] The 1949-50 season began in Badger Division during the first week of January, but mild weather in some areas put them on hold after a few days.[61] By the week of January 21 hauling operations were in full swing in all Divisions except Terra Nova, which had yet to receive sufficient snow.[62] Nearly all of the wood cut in the 1949-50 season was hauled by March 31, 1950; despite some mild spells earlier in the season.[63] Conditions in Badger Division allowed the haul-off to continue until the middle of April.[64] Because of these favorable conditions during the winter of 1950 very little wood had to carried over for hauling the following year. As we will see, the winter of 1951 would be one of the worst hauling seasons ever experienced.

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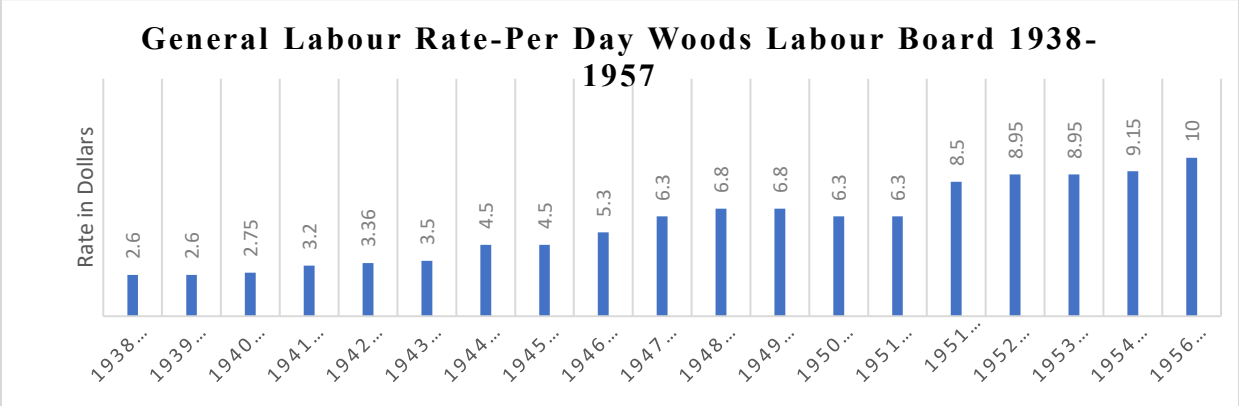
[60] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*; March 19, 1949, 9.
[61] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* January 7, 1950.
[62] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*, January 21, 1949.
[63] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*, March 31, 1950.
[64] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*; April 14, 1950, 5b.

Table 2 General Labour Rate Per Day 1938-1957[65]



The Log Drive

The last stage of the pulpwood harvest was the log drive. As previously discussed, this involved the transport of pulpwood by water; with the advent of short-wood cutting by AND Co in the 1920s it proliferated on rivers, brooks, and other tributaries on the Exploits, Gambo, Gander, and Terra Nova systems. The log-drive depended on lakes, ponds, and streams being free of ice, and sufficient rain or melt water in which to flush, or in logging terminology, sluice the logs down stream. Preparations for the drive began in late April or early May when dam tenders arrived to assess the condition of the dams and to monitor water conditions for driving. Once permission was given to start the drive, the dam tenders' job would be to raise and lower the gates to control the movement of wood.[66] No matter how the pulpwood was finally delivered to Grand Falls, in this era nearly all of it was driven at some point. AND Co conducted drives on at least five river systems, with the largest being on the Exploits River, taking in most of the wood cut in

[65] *History of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association.*
[66] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*, May-June 1949.

Millertown and Badger Divisions. All wood cut east of the plant at Grand Falls had to be delivered by other means, mostly rail, after driving. One exception was the wood cut on Great Rattling Brook in Bishop's Falls Division, which was driven to the groundwood mill at Bishop's Falls where it was pulped then transported to Grand Falls by a pipeline. This process changed in the early 1950s, after which, the wood was driven to Bishop's Falls, then trucked to Grand Falls.[67] Between Bishop's Falls and Gambo there were isolated pockets in which wood was driven by water to rail loading areas for Grand Falls, these included from west to east: Jumper's Brook, Neyle's Brook, Indian Arm Brook, and Glenwood. Glenwood wood was delivered from some blocks on Gander Lake. At Gambo, a large timber area fed into Gambo Pond where the wood was driven and floated to a loading area, likewise with Terra Nova Lake, which has its own large log drive that terminated at a loading area. Because the water systems were so spread out it would be unusual for all the drives to start and finish at the same time. In 1950 the main driving streams in Millertown and Badger Division were Noel Paul's Brook, Michael's Brook, Badger Brook, Victoria River, and Sandy Brook. Except for Michael's Brook these systems were large tributaries of the Exploits covering hundreds of square miles. Badger Brook was fed by North and South Twin Lakes, which are relatively large bodies of water; South Twin being approximately 17 kilometers in length and 3 kilometres wide, with North Twin Lake being a few kilometers shorter in length. Thus, dozens of camps

[67] "Pulpwood Trucking Season Ends," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* September 30, 1954.

were located around them which produced tens of thousands of cords of wood each season from the 1910s until the late 1950s.

During the 1949-50 season, the turnaround time between the end of the haul and the beginning stages of the drive was very short. The haul-off in Badger Division ended around April 14, less than a week later dam tenders in neighboring Millertown Division arrived and were taking up their posts. This was, however, precautionary to ensure that the dams were in good order as the snow melted. There was still two feet of ice on some ponds in Millertown Division two weeks into May when the holding boom was put in place at Grand Falls.[68] At the same time crews began rolling wood in Bishop's Falls Division. As the ice cleared in May the tributary drives started in all Divisions.[69]

The work of the log driver changed dramatically since the first decades of the twentieth century. Like other facets of logging, these changes were brought on by the changeover to short wood in the 1920s.[70] Longer wood caused frequent jams which had to be cleared manually or by using explosives, both incredibly dangerous processes. In the first twenty years of AND Co. logging operations at least 16 loggers were killed on log driving operations on the Exploits watershed.[71] The shorter wood cut since circa 1928 jammed less and required less skill to handle in all stages. The first stage of the log drive was "watering" the wood. This was only necessary where pulpwood was landed on the

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[68] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser;* April 14, 1950, 5b and "Notes from our Industry" *Grand Falls Advertiser*; May 12, 1950, 7b.
[69] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, May 1949.
[70] Nelson Williams, *News-Log,* March/April 1964.
[71] Bryan Marsh, "Casualties of the Woods," https://anglonewfoundlanddevelopmentcompany.ca/2019/04/04/casualties-of-the-woods-fatalities-in-the-lumberwoods-of-central-newfoundland/ May 5, 2023.

side of the water rather than on the ice. Here loggers tossed or pushed the brows of wood into the water. In some cases, beginning in the late 1940s, bulldozers were used to speed up this process. Once in the water the wood would start moving when the gates of a dam were raised. As the wood started flowing the driving crews would then follow the wood down stream clearing any jams with long spiked "pick poles." Wood that was caught on the banks of the stream would be watered when the stream was "reared" or "sacked."[72] On larger lakes and steadies driving was a more complicated process and sometimes involved the use of a motorboat to tow booms of wood. Boats were also used towing booms during the sack when a boom was filled from shore by the sacking crew. Because of the timing of the drive the work could be unpleasant. Spring conditions in Newfoundland can be cold and damp, this was amplified by having to be near and in water with little chance to dry one's clothes.[73] Where log-drivers slept and eat depended on where the drive was taking place. In earlier times drivers often slept in tents, but decades of logging meant that there were "drive camps" located on most of the Exploits watershed. Driving camps were usually old or temporary camps, located a few miles apart. In some cases, they were little better than tents, being sheeted over with "mill canvas" a heavy cloth material used in paper making.[74] By the 1950s only a few places required drivers to stay in tents, surprisingly one of these places was at the tiny hamlet of Water Chute, the nearest campsite to Grand Falls and the traditional end point for "Main

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[72] The process of cleaning up stranded logs after the main drive went though.
[73] Aiden F Roberts, "An Overview of "The Badger Drive*,"* Unpublished Folklore Paper Memorial University, 1974.
[74] Kitchen, *By the Sweat of My Brow*; Millertown 1960, Badger 1957 Maps in the PANL Grand Falls Mill Collection, Box 140.

River Drive."[75] Because log-driving depended so much on water supply and wind conditions, the drive might be suspended because of low water, a sudden freeze, or winds blowing in the wrong direction. These holdups were so common that they prompted special clauses in the collective agreements between loggers and the paper companies. These clauses allowed for the cutting of wood by drivers if conditions did not allow for driving; and for five hours of pay when drivers were called out to drive but were forced to stop after less than five hours. In cases where no cutting or driving could be undertaken the men were to be given free board. The rate of pay for normal river drivers from 1948-50 was 71 cents an hour.[76]

Despite it being viewed as a spring or early summer activity, sometimes even being called the "Spring River Drive," local conditions often proved otherwise.[77] Because of wind and water conditions, the drive on the Exploits system might take all summer and into the fall, especially on the section between Badger and Grand Falls. This section of the Exploits has areas with turbulent rapids contrasting with wide, calm, and shallow sections with numerous sand bars where wood was easily stranded. Marshalling tens of thousands of cords of wood though this section of river was a challenging task and on September 15 of 1950 it was noted that: "Willis Bauld and his crew of expert main river drivers will be arriving on Wednesday's train to do this job."[78] This meant that the drive

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[75] *Newfoundland Logger* 1959-60. The drive on the main stem of the Exploits River was referred to as the "Main River Drive."
[76] *Agreement Between Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Ltd. and The Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association.* St. John's, Nfld: Blackmore, 1948, 6.
[77] "Early 20th Century Loggers Heritage NL," https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/loggers.php May 24, 2023.
[78] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*; September 15, 1950, 7.

had yet to be taken from Badger to Grand Falls. By October 12, 1950 exceptionally dry conditions meant that the pulpwood had only progressed as far as Leech Brook, about seven kilometers from the main holding boom at Boom Landing.[79] It would take until the end of the month for the drive to reach its final destination, and thus ending the 1949-50 logging year in line with the fiscal year as noted by Inder.[80] Once the pulpwood reached Boom Landing it became the responsibility of the wood preparing department at the mill which directed the years harvest into the saws of the cutting up mill.[81]

Jackladder and Bundle Loading of Railwood

In areas east of Bishop's Falls, a supplementary phase of operations occurred in concert with the drive. This was the process of loading railcars. In some cases, loading was done, at least partially, by mechanical means using a *jackladder.* A *jackladder* was a type of inclined conveyor that hauled logs from a body of water. Although the *jackladder* took the logs from the water they would still have to be loaded securely on railcars by hand. *Jackladders* had been in place at places like Terra Nova and Gambo by 1949, but most of the railwood was loaded using slings and pontoons.[82] In this process, crews of loggers worked on a semi-submerged platform called a pontoon within a log boom, here loggers piled pulpwood into cable slings. Once filled, the slings were bound together, and a crane hoisted the bundles onto a waiting flatcar. This work could be wet and

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[79] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*; October 13, 1950, 7b.
[80] "Notes from our Industry" *Grand Falls Advertiser*; November 3, 1950, 7b; Inder, Harry "Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company."
[81] *Western Star,* November 11, 1949, https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/westernstar/id/21624/rec/15
[82] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*; June-July 1950.

uncomfortable depending on the weather, and crews also worked in shifts. Some loggers who worked at the loading plants described it as the worst kind of woods work.[83] A major impact that sling and bundle loading had was that it streamlined the unloading process at Grand Falls. Instead of requiring crews to offload and sometimes stack the wood at the mill pond, unloading bundles was accomplished by a crane that simply dumped the bundles into the river. Although railwood was more expensive to transport, it normally came in during the summer before the bulk of the Exploits River Drive had arrived at the mill, and when stockpiles of pulpwood were low.

The amount of infrastructure needed for woods operations in an area as large as that controlled by the AND Co cannot be overlooked. Motor roads in the logging areas had existed since the 1920s. Some of the main supply motor roads, like the "Rattling Brook Line," The "Sandy Motor Road," and the road from Lake Ambrose to Noel Paul Brook were started during the 1930s. Since the network of woods roads grew continuously with harvesting operations by the 1950s AND Co maintained hundreds of miles of roadway. These early woods roads were mainly used for transporting loggers, horses, equipment, and supplies, and not for hauling wood. Typically, road building operations were carried from June to October. There were some camp foremen that specialized in building roads because of a familiarity in the use of tractors.[84] By the 1950s, tractors, graders, and dump trucks made road building much less labour intensive. In addition to road transportation infrastructure, an often overlooked but impressive

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[83] Kitchen *By the Sweat of my Brow";* Curran, "The Process of Mechanization."
[84] Andrew Barker, *Logging History,* (Grand Falls, Nfld: Mary March Museum, 1979)

amount of work was done to harness waterways for log driving. This work included the building of dams, wings, piers, and sometimes canals on waterways, as well as the blasting of rocks and obstructions in streams that made log driving difficult.

Difficulties in the Reliance on Weather for Hauling-1951

Eight years after the fact, F.A. Price noted in his history of operations at Grand Falls that in 1951 "The target for the year was set at a cut of 400,000 cords, the largest in company history."[85] Interestingly, the amount that was actually delivered or recorded was much less, depending on which years would count as the 1951 season: either 348,000 or 326,000 cords of wood were cut, in either case the amount delivered was far short of projections.[86] F.A. Price's account of 1951 is simplified: "operations in the woodlands was satisfactory though a lack of snow prevented a small portion of the cut from reaching the river.[87] Contrary to this, the actual details of the hauling season are a damning condemnation of the seasonal nature of the cut-and-pile logging system.

The 1951 hauling season got off to a poor start with temperatures hovering close to 5° C and heavy rain hampering progress in Millertown and Badger Divisions during the beginning of January.[88] These conditions also caused unseasonably high levels of runoff, making it impossible to land wood even if it was able to be hauled.[89] Hauling crews in Bishop's Falls were not at full capacity two weeks into the New Year.[90] By the

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[85] Price. *Fifty Years of Progress at Grand Falls,* 66
[86] Tables from Price (Nfld), *Submission Federal-Provincial Task Force*, 1972.
[87] Price, *Fifty Years of Progress at Grand Falls*. 66
[88] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser.* January 9, 1951, 5b.
[89] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser.* January 9, 1951, 5b.
[90] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*, January 12, 1951.

beginning of February, the hauling situation was still not good. In areas of Millertown Division, ice had yet to freeze to the necessary depth for tractors to safely land wood; while in Badger, Bishop's Falls, and Terra Nova Divisions mild and wet weather caused the loss of entire days of work and caused the curtailment of hauling.[91] To further aggravate a bad situation, an epidemic of influenza found its way into both the camps and the depot towns of all four divisions. The weather did not improve much for the rest of February, in Badger Division came the following anecdote:

> The weather continues to hold the spotlight this week, the past three or four days have been almost summer like and many people are beginning to think that our winter is about to disappear. In fact, Mr. Walter Strickland reports having seen a bear near his camp on Sandy on Tuesday morning, and if the bruin has left his winter quarters so soon, old timers say there is a very poor chance of having a very long winter.[92]

Crews struggled to haul when conditions allowed, still managing to transport hundreds of thousands of cords, but under great duress. Then at the end of April heavy downpours throughout central Newfoundland dashed any hopes of hauling the remaining wood still in yards. Ten camps in Millertown were unable to haul their quotas of pulpwood. Some foremen held out and hauled during a late winter or early spring snow fall, while some put crews to work cutting "face wood", wood located within easy hauling distance of water for delivery that spring.[93] The mild winter also wrought havoc with woods infrastructure, washing out roads and making truck travel impossible. Supplies had to be dragged into camps by tractor. In Millertown Division it was noted that "The Noel Paul

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[91] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* February 2, 1951, 5 second section.
[92] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* February 23, 1951.
[93] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*, April 5, 1951, 3.

Motor Road is in worse shape at present than at any time since its construction [1936-39].”[94] In Terra Nova Division, out of 84,600 cords cut, only 44,000 were hauled by the beginning of April.[95] With thousands of cords of wood left in the forest, scalers set to work assessing the aftermath of the poor hauling season.[96] Otto Verge was a scaler in 1951, he witnessed piles of wood collapsed and foundered because of freezing, thawing, and melting, making the brows very difficult to accurately access and measure.[97] To add insult to injury, a late snowfall at the beginning of May blanketed the Noel Paul and Sandy logging areas with 5-6 inches of snow at the beginning of May, with as much as a foot of snow being reported in more remote areas in the Millertown Division due to another storm the following week.[98]

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[94] “Notes from our Industry,” April 26, 1951, 7.
[95] “Notes from our Industry,” *Grand Falls Advertiser,* April 5, 1951, 3.
[96] “Notes from our Industry,” *Grand Falls Advertiser,* April 26, 1951, 7.
[97] Otto Verge, Follow Up Interview. November 2022.
[98] “Notes From Our Industry,” *Grand Falls Advertiser,* May 6, 1951.

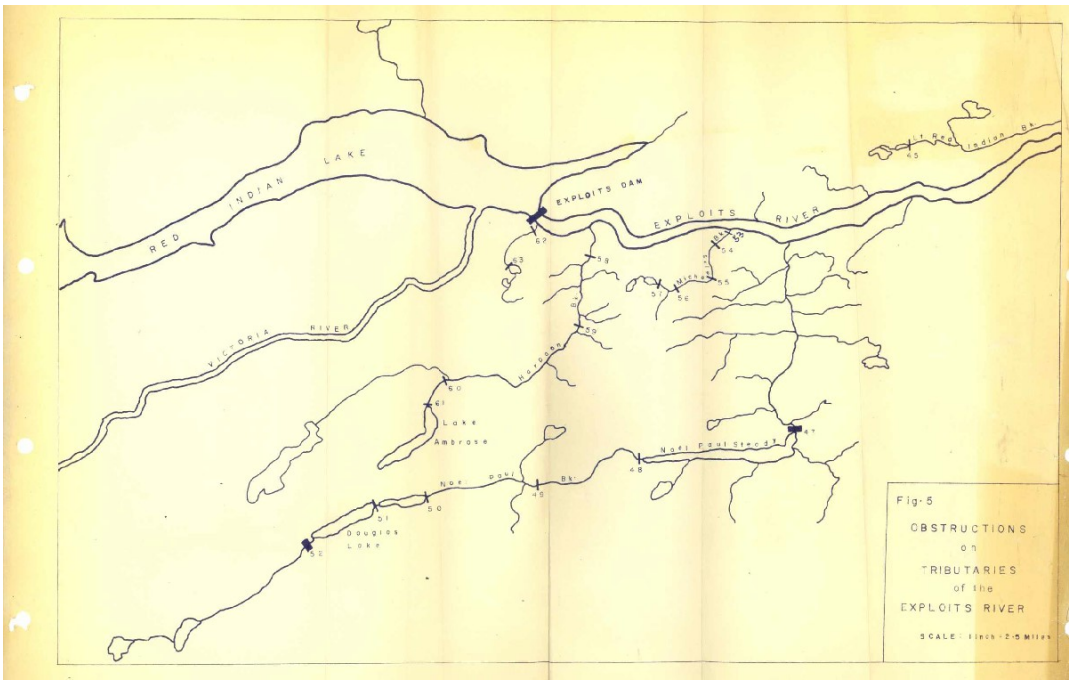

Figure 5 Exploits River and Tributaries, Millertown and part of Badger Divisional Areas (O'Brien, DFO)

An intense spring and summer cutting operation was pursued with "face wood" being cut and delivered directly to the rivers. Towards the end of June 1951, the numbers of loggers coming into the camps started to dwindle.[99] This is because many outport men would have been setting root crops and engaging in the cod fishery. Additionally, as summer progressed, heat and flies made conditions less comfortable. The reluctance (albeit justified) of loggers to work during July is evident form a report from Millertown Division, where eight logging camps were open during July, but with an average crew of 35, compared to the normal number of 48. The same report notes that there is "plenty of employment for an indefinite number of loggers in this Division."[100] In Terra Nova,

[99] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* June 21, 1951.
[100] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* July 12, 1951.

where more wood had to be left than in any other Division, only three camps were still opened with a total of 81 loggers at the end of July.[101] In order to facilitate this "face cutting" in some cases new, usually temporary, camps had to be built, as was the case in Badger Division where at least four foremen were forced to do this.[102] These summer camps were much rougher than normal camps, and would sometimes still be sheeted over with mill canvas rather than wood because they were usually used only for part of one season.

In 1964 AND Co's Nelson Williams reported that 102,000 cords had to be left in the woods in 1951.[103] This was a substantial blow especially since newsprint markets were doing very well. The 40,000 cords left in Terra Nova Division amounted to 30,000 tons of newsprint not produced; indirectly it also represented a significant loss in revenue for Canadian National in Newfoundland, which would have transported all this wood to Grand Falls by rail. Subsequent years were a little better, but there were extended periods of poor hauling weather in 1952, 1953, and 1954, with the latter looking like a repeat of 1951 until normal winter conditions in March salvaged the season.[104] 1958 was a near repeat of 1951 and 74,000 cords were left in yards.[105] In 1955, the first documented AND Company newsletter *AND News* lamented the challenges that had been faced with inconsistent winter weather the previous season:

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[101] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* July 26, 1951; this does not appear to account for the number of loggers that would have been working at the loading plants at Terra Nova and Gambo, which had opened earlier that month.
[102] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* May 24, 1951.
[103] Williams, "AND Logging Techniques."
[104] 'Fabulous Fifties," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* December 22, 1959.
[105] Williams, "AND Logging Techniques."

> The continuing deterioration of our winters make hauling a difficult problem so much so that quite an amount of the wood could not therefore be hauled. If necessary we, therefore, had to cut more wood in the spring from areas close to the rivers so that the full quantity could be delivered to the streams.

It went on to note that:

> While poor hauling conditions occur and that while we have to go further from the mill for our pulpwood requirements, it does not mean that these conditions are accepted as being an inevitable burden in costs. The Company is continually seeking improvements in the logging operations and in many cases have, by new and varied methods, reduced costs appreciably.[106]

As this was being written some of those improvements were already changing the face of logging operations in central Newfoundland. One improvement was depicted in a photograph in the same article, something that had been being investigated for the past few years, and something that might finally improve the stagnated daily cutting production: the gasoline powered chain saw. But cutting was not the only area where there were challenges, as we have seen with the abysmal 1951 hauling season. Cutting could be improved with one tool, but economically and effectively hauling wood in all weather and on varied terrain would require considerable investigation, experimentation, and investment.

The Post War Labour Situation in the Newfoundland Woods

Since 1940, loggers working for Newfoundland's two paper companies were members of four labour unions: The Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association (NLA), the Newfoundland Labourers Union (NLU), the Workers Central Protective Union (WCPU), and the Fishermen's Protective Union (FPU). The NLA, founded at Point

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[106] "Woods Department" *AND News,* vol.1 No.1 1955, 8.

Leamington in 1935-36, was the first union exclusively formed to represent woodsworkers. The NLU and the WCPU were based in western Newfoundland and had broken off from the NLA in the late 1930s. The FPU had represented loggers since at least the 1910s and had done considerable work between 1913 and 1917 in attempting to improve conditions in the camps of the AND Co, A.E Reed, the Horwood Lumber Company, and Newfoundland Pine and Pulp. By the 1930s, when the NLA was formed, the FPU had largely faded away as a force, but reemerged in a jurisdictional dispute in the Indian Bay area where many of the loggers were still FPU Members.[107] The squabbling between the four unions and the outbreak of the Second World War led to the formation of the Woods Labour Board (WLB). The Board, which consisted of representatives from the four unions and the two paper companies would dictate collective bargaining for woods workers until 1958. Under the WLB, wages and per-cord rates were uniformly set for both paper companies.[108]

The Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association had its beginnings in Joseph Thompson's potato garden in Point Leamington. It was sometime in August of 1935, Thompson, a long-time woods worker, but now a game warden, was trenching his potatoes when two of his sons arrived from the log drive on Great Rattling Brook. The paltry amount that his sons earned between them disgusted Thompson to such an extent

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[107] Gillespie, "A Class Act."; Gillespie describes the FPU as being "dead" by the late 1930s but claiming to represent about 1500 loggers.
[108] "Woods Labour Board," in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador,* 1991, Harry Cuff Publications 679; *The Evening Advocate*, 1913-24, contains many references to W.F Coaker working to improve conditions in logging camps. His efforts were intense between 1913 and 1917 which culminated in the passing of the Logging Bill by the House of Assembly in 1915.

that he called a meeting.[109] The majority of the men in Point Leamington were loggers, and there were several contractors in town, most of whom had camps in the Bishop's Falls Division of the AND Co; thus, there was a considerable nucleus for a union in that community. After a series of strikes in 1937 the NLA gained recognition from AND Co, IPP, Bowater, and some of the larger remaining lumber concerns such as Saunders and Howell. Just two years after the first meetings in Point Leamington, the NLA boasted a membership of 7,611.[110]

Even though a logger only had to be a member of one of the four loggers' unions, most loggers working for the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company were members of the NLA. Sutherland estimates that in the immediate post war period the NLA represented "two thirds of Newfoundland loggers."[111] There are some important factors that contributed to this higher membership. The NLA was the only one of the loggers' unions exclusively for loggers. The NLU and the WCPU were based in western Newfoundland, but the NLA appealed to the vast numbers of loggers, especially the seasonal fishermen-loggers, who lived in Notre Dame, Bonavista, and Trinity Bays. AND Co's operations were concentrated in central Newfoundland. Bowater's also employed hundreds, if not thousands, of loggers in the region in its Glenwood, Robert's Arm and Baie Verte operations. Another reason to discount the NLU, FPU, and WCPU's relationship with the AND Co is that there is no mention of representatives from any of

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[109] Rolf Hattenhauer interview with Joseph J. Thompson, Point Leamington, 1967, Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive tape, 84-224 C7231 and C7232.
[110] Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers," 207-208, 235-236. Bowater commenced pulpwood export operations in Newfoundland in 1937 before acquiring the Corner Brook mill in 1938.
[111] Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers," 389.

the other loggers' unions made in *Notes from our Industry,* whereas there are numerous references to delegates and executive members of the NLA visiting AND Co camps.[112]

By 1950, NLA President Thompson was over sixty years old, and although nearing retirement age, he showed no sign of wanting to relinquish control of the union. Membership in the post-war period was sometimes over 10,000. Thompson's perceived power was likely a catalyst in his running for election to the Newfoundland National Convention in 1946 for the district of Lewisporte. Although the district contained numerous logging settlements, including Thompson's home of Point Leamington, he came second in the four-way race, losing to Lewisporte businessman Archelaus Northcott.[113] Although characterized by Gillespie as "little better than a compliant company union" the NLA had lost most of its initial militancy only in the era of the Woods Labour Board.[114] However, Sutherland found that the NLA was the most militant of the four unions, and the most dominant. Thompson had threatened strikes during meetings of the Woods Labour Board throughout its existence, including in 1950 when he reported that NLA loggers had voted to "put up a fight" if there was a reduction of wages. The dominance of the NLA was such that in 1947 a resolution was passed at their annual convention, much to the chagrin of the other unions and the paper companies, towards the NLA becoming the only bargaining agent for pulpwood loggers in Newfoundland.[115] Although Thompson and the NLA executive withdrew this resolution,

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[112] "Notes from our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser* 1947-1952. passim.
[113] "Elections," in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador;* "Archelaus Northcott," Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador.
[114] Gillespie "A Class Act," 105.
[115] Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers," 389.

the ambitions of the NLA did not fade away. During the NLA convention during the fall of 1951 amalgamation was one of the major topics. According to the NLA paper, *The Log*, Thompson, Piece Fudge of the NLU, and WCPU's current president, Douglas Wilton, had met and made a resolution towards the unification of all loggers' unions subject to a ballot among their respective memberships. The new union would be known as the Newfoundland Brotherhood of Loggers. [116] Early in 1952, Thompson was quoted in the St. John's press saying that "I am wholeheartedly in favour of amalgamation of the three unions now representing the loggers of Newfoundland or the bringing of the loggers together under one organization." Thompson had the most to gain from such a move, since he was the president of the largest of the three unions, and thus he likely presumed he would be leader of the new union. The *Daily News* echoed the report from *The Log* that the leaders of the NLA, NLU, and WCPU (but not the FPU) were in talks to this end and that a "plebiscite" was being undertaken among loggers. At the time of the report, January 1952, the results were expected within two months.[117] Sutherland does not note this, nor does the *Grand Falls Advertiser*. The only results reported were those that came from a premature distribution of ballots to 600 WCPU members, with preliminary reports resulting in 442 in favour and 8 against from 450 returned ballots.[118] Ultimately, the results of the plebiscite are not known, and it appears that the issue did fade away for at least three years, and there would not be any Newfoundland Brotherhood of Loggers.

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[116] "A Brotherhood of Loggers," *The Log,* November 1951.
[117] "Supports Single Union of Loggers," *Daily News*, St. John's, January 12, 1952, 3.
[118] *The Log,* November 1951.

The accomplishments of the NLA were quantified mainly in monetary gain, even though union representatives had thoroughly investigated and fought for improvements to living and dietary conditions, especially during the Second World War.[119] In a the twenty-year history of the NLA, produced in 1956, most of the union's accomplishments were summed up in improvements in wages, with very little mentioned with regards to living conditions.[120] Realistically, the successive wage increases that had been granted since 1940 were as a result of negotiations within the Woods Labour Board, acute labour shortages in the woods, and because of enormous increases in the cost of living caused by the Second World War. During the war, sleeping arrangements remained primitive, in situations loggers slept on extemporized mattresses fashioned from fir boughs. In the files of the NLA there was no record of a request for spring beds in the camps. This improvement does not seem to have come because of union pressure. The addition of spring bunk beds to bunkhouses was a result the availability of cheap war surplus, especially from the Gander and Botwood military bases. By November 1946, spring beds were appearing in the camps in Millertown Division, each with a "good wool mattress and white detachable cover."[121] The separate and more comfortable bunks served to cut down on the spread of vermin such as lice.[122] Washing facilities for loggers still remained very primitive, but it should be taken into context that most homes outside of major

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[119] Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University, Collection 261 Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association Collection.
[120] "*History of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association."*
[121] "Notes from Our Industry" *Grand Falls Advertiser* November 11, 1946. Since Millertown Division was further away from the bases, it is likely that it might have been the last area for which beds arrived; it is also expected that this was a company-wide initiative.
[122] Kitchen, *By the Sweat of My Brow*.

centers like St. John's, Grand Falls, and Corner Brook were without running water in 1950. Camps could be inconsistent and varied according to who built them and the foreman running them. During the 1940s the log camp had, in some areas, given way to camps constructed from sawn lumber. The biggest problem with this was that the lumber was often sawn in the woods and used for construction while it was still green. Often this led to gaps and drafts due to the shrinking of the lumber which made the new camps harder to heat than old ones.[123] For this reason some foremen would continue to build log camps into the 1950s, and in fact, some were still around after the Strike of 1959.[124]

On the surface the WLB agreements meant that wages and piecework rates were uniformly set for all pulpwood operations in Newfoundland, with one small nuance. Piecework rates were set in two different schedules, one for cases where companies cut roads for loggers, and another with a slightly higher scale for cases where they had to cut their own roads. This differentiated between the two companies because AND Co loggers had their roads cut or "swamped" for them, whereas Bowater's loggers made slightly more per cord because they had to clear their own roads. However, all other wage rates for woods labour were set the same for both companies. This meant that a logger earned the same for loading tractor sleds, driving a truck, cooking, or driving wood for either Bowater's or AND Co. This, no doubt, made matters easier for the paper companies, as they did not have the issue of wages when competing in the same labour pool.

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[123] Kitchen, *By the Sweat of My Brow*.
[124] *Newfoundland Logger,* October 1959, 6.

When economic conditions became even remotely tough, the paper companies were apt to, as Sutherland notes, become prone to "melodramatic statements."[125] Some of these reactions came with good measure. Bowater's took over the Corner Brook Mill in 1938, but the years from that mill's opening in 1925 until then had been plagued with economic misfortune, exacerbated by the Great Depression, thus Bowater were the third owners. Dependent on American markets the Corner Brook mill had rarely shown a profit until after the Bowater acquisition. AND Co and the Grand Falls mill had been more fortunate. Because the Grand Falls plant was integrated with the Associated Press it was built with a guaranteed customer for most of its paper, thus it had weathered much of the economic turmoil of the early twentieth century.[126] Still, its executives were prone to similar melodrama when faced with demands. During negotiations in January 1950 the matter of a 5 cent an hour raise came up, for which the rebuttal was something along the lines that such a concession would "close down [the] industry." The timing of this demand was during the haul-off since parties were negotiating in terms of hourly wages. In this case, the maximum number of loggers in the haul off might be in the vicinity of 1,800 men, and they worked 10 hours six days a week. Hypothetically speaking the maximum length for the haul off might be 12 weeks. Paying those 1800 loggers and extra 5 cents an hour would have amounted to approximately $64,000. This figure would have been much less, as most camps hauled their quotas in far less time even under less-than-ideal circumstances. Even if this cost was distributed to the hauling of the small cut

[125] Sutherland, "We are only Loggers", 398.
[126] Sutherland, "We are only Loggers," 92.

undertaken in 1949, of just 158,000 cords, it would amount to an additional 18 cents in the overall cost per cord. In 1949 and 1950, the AND Company showed profits of $3.61 million and $5.84 million respectively.[127]

Perhaps one of the greatest areas of discontent among loggers was the disparity in wages compared to paper mill workers. Exceptional wages, unprecedented community services, access to recreational activities, and advanced living conditions in Grand Falls created what Sutherland refers to as a "Newfoundland labour aristocracy."[128] Even within the town and the mill there was a rigid hierarchy. Discounting upper management, at the top were the paper makers and machine tenders, who could make between $3,700 and $4,800 a year in 1948.[129] But it is the disparity between the rank-and-file mill workers and loggers that no doubt provided the most discontent among the latter. A riverman did essentially the same work as a log driver but was under the supervision of the mill. A riverman's hourly wage in 1948 was 88 cents per hour, 16 cents higher than the hourly wage for a log driver, whose work was often more challenging and dangerous. Likewise, a "town carpenter" working on house building or repair in Grand Falls earned 14 cents an hour more than a "camp carpenter." Likewise, an ordinary labourer working for the "Town Department" of the AND Co at Grand Falls earned 75 cents an hour, compared to 68 cents an hour for woods labour, which could include anything from loading tractor sleds in freezing temperatures to road construction in the heat of summer, all while living

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[127] Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers," 371.
[128] Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers," 371.
[129] According to the analysis of the 1935 Newfoundland Census, which is the only one that can provide an accurate account of wages since the 1945 Census was misaligned in binding.

in a remote camp in the interior.[130] An aggravation to these disparities was the fact that all of these workers were working for the same company, and were essentially drawn from same pool of labour, since many of the town carpenters and rivermen were temporary seasonal workers much the same as loggers.[131]

The status quo of AND Co loggers being represented by an independent union with their wages and rates being negotiated under the auspices of the Woods Labour Board continued until 1956. In the mid-1950s NLA was faced with the spectre of affiliation with a major Canadian logging union. Its options were limited to a choice between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (UBCJ), and the International Woodsworkers of America, bitter rivals, ever since the latter's break from the former in the late 1930s.[132] This problem of affiliation would bring a five-year period which would see the disbandment of the NLA, the rise and the dramatic fall of the IWA, a five month period of labour violence unprecedented in the province, and the eventual ascension of the UBCJ as successor to the NLA and representative for all loggers working in the pulp and paper industry in Newfoundland.

The dominance of the NLA among AND Company loggers was certainly a reason why the IWA targeted the NLA and major reason why the IWA went on strike against the AND first. Organizing Bowater's loggers was a more difficult prospect for the IWA

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[130] *Agreement Between Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Ltd. and The Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association.* (St. John's: Nfld: Blackmore, 1948*); Agreement Between Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Ltd. and The International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of Pulp, sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, and International Brotherhood of electrical Workers. St. John's, Nfld: Blackmore, 1947-1948*

[131] The author's maternal grandfather was a "town carpenter" between 1947 and 1951 who would work in Grand Falls during the summer while his permanent home was in Hillview, Trinity Bay.

[132] Gillespie, *A Class Act.*

because most loggers were not hired on directly by the company but by at least 60 private contractors. Additionally, absorbing the NLA membership would have created one of the largest locals of the IWA in Eastern Canada.[133]

Much has been said about Harvey Landon Ladd, the Eastern Director of the IWA. Gillespie describes him as a "bright and ambitious young man who had risen out the ranks of the IWA in British Columbia."[134] A presentation by Ladd to Memorial University, twenty-four years after 1959, still exhibited the fiery oration of an evangelist of labour.[135] When compared to Ladd, the Carpenter's representative in Newfoundland Andrew Cooper is discounted as "a competent union official" but lacking in Ladd's charisma. Further to this, his obituary notes that he was "a quiet spoken and unexcitable man." What most if not all historians of the IWA Strike have failed to note or know was that "Andy" Cooper was advantageously positioned in co-opting the NLA. There are several reasons it would have been easier for Thompson and Cooper to find common ground. Although, Cooper had risen through the ranks of the UBCJ in Ontario, he was born and raised in Twillingate, Newfoundland. Additionally, Cooper was close in age, if

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[133] Henry John, "International Woodworkers of America (IWA) locals 1937-1955" https://depts.washington.edu/moves/CIO_IWA_locals.shtml , March 13, 2024.
[134] Gillespie, *A Class Act*.
[135] Memorial University of Newfoundland. Department of History Memorial University of Newfoundland. Canadian Studies Programme. *Canadian Labour and Working-Class History Lecture Series. 8. H. Landon Ladd. The I.W.A. and the Newfoundland Loggers' Strike. Tape 01 and 02*. Memorial University of Newfoundland. Educational Television Centre, 1983.

not the same age as Thompson.[136] The common bonds of age and locality likely came into play, along with the UBCJ's reported offer of a job and a pension to Thompson.[137]

The Loggers Local of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was the spiritual successor to the NLA. Although not widely known, the NLA affiliated itself with the UBCJ in August of 1957.[138] After the dissolution of the ill-fated Newfoundland Brotherhood of Woods Workers (NBWW), the UBCJ operated out of the former NLA headquarters in Grand Falls.[139]

The AND Co, the I.W.A, and the Aftermath of 1959

The International Woodsworkers of America Newfoundland Loggers Strike took place during the "haul off" season of 1958-59. It is a watershed event in the history of the labour movement and the working class in Newfoundland and Labrador, and it is also often where the history of Newfoundland pulpwood logging and the Newfoundland pulpwood logger ends. This study does not analyse the strike to a large degree; however, it is impossible to ignore it given its importance. The IWA Newfoundland Loggers Strike officially started at midnight on December 31, 1958, and stretched through January and February before rapidly disintegrated after the Badger Riot of March 10, 1959. Some strike actions took place prior to the official start of the strike and the roots of the

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[136] United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, *The Carpenter*, 1974 https://archive.org/details/carpenter94unit/page/n15/mode/2up?q=cooper Because of the degree of interconnectivity in Newfoundland and because several families in Point Leamington originated in Twillingate, there is a possibility that Cooper and Thompson may have known each other previously.
[137] Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers."
[138] Walter Scott Collection/UBCJ, Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society.
[139] 2016.860.1, Walter Scott Collection/UBCJ, Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society.. Ironically, the NLA headquarters was located within sight of the mill and the Grand Falls House, the Tutor style mansion built by Lord Northcliffe and used for dignitaries.

confrontation went back much further.[140] The IWA had been in the process of organizing AND Company loggers since 1956, and a public relations war between the British Company and the Western North American Union was ongoing since at least 1957.

Adding fuel to an already incendiary situation, the Newfoundland economy immediately preceding the Strike was in a slump. A summary of economic conditions in Newfoundland during 1958-59 illustrates a grim picture:

> the almost complete failure of the codfishery on the northeast coast and the business recession which was evident throughout the whole country in 1958 together with the curtailment of logging operations by the paper companies, a lockout in St. John's, a strike in central Newfoundland, a work stoppage on the west Coast and the most unusual weather conditions created a situation which it is hoped will not occur again in the foreseeable future.[141]

The recessed economic conditions contributed to unrest throughout the pulp and paper industry. In 1958, the mill unions at both Grand Falls and Corner Brook came close to going on strike, with a conciliation board settling the impasse between AND Co and the unions at Grand Falls.[142] The workers at the Grand Falls mill had not gone on strike since 1921. If the most well paid and taken care of workers in the industry were on the verge of labour action, then the situation in the woods, where unrest was already brewing, was a difficult one. A report to the Minister of Natural Resources regarding work in the woods for the upcoming fall stated that the "Outlook for employment in cutting pulpwood" was

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[140] "Chronical of Labour Dispute Happenings", File 2016.785.1, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Collection, Grand Falls Windsor Heritage Society.
[141] "Welfare Payments Reach All-Time High of $15,116,394.58," *Daily News.* St. John's, October 31, 1959 https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/dailynews/id/27105/rec/5 also All time cutting record Badger
[142] Royal Commission on Labour Legislation in Newfoundland and Labrador, *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour Legislation in Newfoundland and Labrador*, The Commission, 1972. 112

"not encouraging."[143] Lurking in the background during this period was approximately five-years of labour turmoil, disputes between the IWA and the NLA, embroiled as part of the larger IWA-UBCJ conflict, and then the conflict between the IWA and the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company. Furthermore, The IWA was perceived as having sympathies towards the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF predecessor to the NDP) which elicited considerable opposition to the union from Premier J.R Smallwood.[144] The dispute culminated in the calling of a Strike on December 31, 1958. Strike actions started at some AND Co camps in mid-December prior to the official start of the strike.[145] Although AND Co was targeted by the IWA and is portrayed as the antagonist in the narrative of the Strike, conditions in their camps were found by government inspectors to be better than conditions in camps operated by Bowater's contractors. This was largely because AND camps were company owned, with some degree of centralized control. This, however, was a major factor in why the IWA went on strike against AND. Simply, the AND Co was an easier target than the sixty separate Bowater's contractors.

As the Strike progressed into the hauling season, AND Co officials scrambled to get strike breakers though the picket lines, mainly in Badger and Millertown Divisions. To bolster the ranks on the pickets the IWA brought in strikers from all over the island, regardless of whether they had worked for AND or not. The tensions boiled over on the

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[143] *Position of Camps Operating and men employed by Bowater and AND Co, as of Aug 20 – 1958.* PANL Box 82 File 382/13
[144] Sean Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History*, (Toronto: 2009), 245-246.
[145] United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Collection, Grand Falls Windsor Heritage Society.

night of March 10, 1959, when strikers and police clashed on the Buchans-Millertown road in Badger. In the clash, a member of the Royal Newfoundland Constabulary, Constable William Moss, was fatally wounded by a blunt object. He later died in hospital in Grand Falls. His death and the unprecedented violence of the Strike rapidly turned public opinion against the IWA. As Moss's body was loaded onto the train at Windsor the IWA office near the station was pelted by the rocks thrown by an angry mob.[146] A few days later, the IWA office in Bishop's Falls was ransacked by another incensed group wielding axes.[147] As public opinion turned against the IWA most AND Co loggers either by choice or necessity, joined the government sponsored NBWW. The controversial NBWW existed for two years before disbanding and its membership absorbed by the UBCJ in late 1961.[148]

The IWA Strike can be seen as a catalyst for the changes in the logging industry that occurred in its aftermath. The reality is the strike served as an accelerant, spurring on processes that had already been taking place within the AND Company Woods Department. Camp living conditions had always been an area of contention between loggers and management, going back as far as 1913. Successive legislation and collective agreements had led to some improvements, but the standards still varied and sometimes left much to be desired. Before trucks were common in operations, camps were built to last around five years, or the length of time it took to harvest the forests within walking distance. Thus, camps were rough and temporary structures, sometimes closed for months

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[146] *Evening Telegram,* March 13, 1959.
[147] *Evening Telegram*, March 18, 1959.
[148] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* October 2, 1961.

of the year. Additionally, conditions in logging camps were regulated by the 1938 *Logging Act,* which by 1957 needed a thorough overhaul.[149]

The Global Non-Violent Action Data base sums up a generalized view of what happened in Newfoundland logging camps after the IWA Strike:

> The strike ended, and soon the workers returned to camps that were transformed with new showers with both hot and cold water, cooks that made healthy stable meals, and warmth and relative comfort in their sleeping areas. They were also compensated with a sufficient wage increase that compared to loggers in other provinces.[150]

Despite this over-generalization, these changes did not occur over night, and the fact of the matter is that some of the changes were already in motion prior to the Strike. The Strike occurred during a period of rapid change for both camp conditions and logging methods.

Logging camp food for much of the first five decades of commercial logging in Newfoundland consisted of whatever rough food could be preserved, transported, and kept in a remote camp. To this end staples consisted of beans, flour, peas, salted beef and pork, salt fish, molasses, dried apples, raisins and prunes, and tea. Various accounts, including Kitchen, loggers interviewed by Barker, CBC's Hiram Silk, and informants interviewed for this project, noted the availability of fresh beef and pork, depending on

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[149] "An Act Relating to Logging Camps," *Statutes of Newfoundland*, *1938*,https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/statutesnl/id/23239/rec/9

[150] "Newfoundland loggers strike, win better working conditions, 1958-59," *Global Non-Violent Action Database* https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/newfoundland-loggers-strike-win-better-working-conditions-1958-59

the time of year and the era.[151] Even into the 1950s, beans could be found on the menu every day, and just months before the IWA Strike camp food consisted of: "Pork and beans, porridge (sausages), corn beef, vegetables, steam puddings, salt fish, prunes, apricots, and the usual assortment of cakes and pies. Fresh meat and fresh fish in season."[152] Camp cooks trained on the job though an informal apprenticeship, starting out as assistant cooks known as "cookees."[153] Sometimes this apprenticeship could take years, occasionally it was short, depending on the need for trained cooks. Generally, if a cook could make good bread, beans, and "rough grub" they had a future in the cookhouse. Because of the informal appointment of cooks there was very little standardization or training for camp cooks, however, a cook with a good reputation made a camp more attractive. Until union seniority became a factor after 1959 each foreman generally had a preferred cook who worked with them each season. Judging from examination of photographs in the *Newfoundland Logger,* and through interviews conducted for this project, those done by Andrew Barker in the late 1970s, and those found in the Memorial University Folklore Archive, it can be concluded that by the 1960s a corps of experienced cooks staffed the cookhouses of AND. An estimate of 13 years experience was reported for one group of AND cooks in 1961.[154] Even with experienced cooks, there was room for improvement. A 1958 report to the Minister of Resources

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[151] Kitchen, *By the Sweat of my Brow.* Andrew Barker, *Logging History*; Hiram Silk Collection.
[152] Minister Deputy Minister of Resources, Re: Existing Conditions in Logging Camps operated by Bowater's Nfld. Pulp & Paper Mills Ltd. And the Anglo-Nfld. Development Co. Ltd. July 22, 1958, PANL, Box 82 File 382/13.
[153] Andrew Barker, *Logging History,* 280-283
[154] *AND News-Log,* June-July 1961.

posed "… a $64 question, -what is a competent cook? There may be a few in the logging woods but have the majority any training as cooks?" the report went on to state that "Men who leave the table satisfied are in a happy mood. Every effort should be made to have properly trained cooks assigned to all camps."[155] To this end, in the immediate aftermath of the IWA Strike, the AND Company brought in a catering supervisor from mainland Canada.

Wolfred "Bob" Nelson had around thirty years experience in the restaurant and food service industry in Quebec before joining AND Co in January 1960.[156] His mandate was a "broad programme of cookhouse staff training and overall improvement in camp food" and to help standardize the menu (See Appendix figure 18). One of his first duties was a "cooks tour" of the "camps on Sandy", the epicenter of the Strike the previous winter.[157] After this Nelson carried out a series of four one-week training courses for cooks during downtime in April and May of 1960. The course was held at Mac Peyton's Jumper's Brook Camp, a brand-new showpiece camp used often by the company for public relations. Besides the obvious public relations advantage of using the new camp, there were several more practical reasons to have conducted the course there. Jumper's Brook was centrally located, near a highway, and it was one of the few camps operating during the down weeks of April and May. Since it was a state-of-the-art camp, it also was

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[155] Minister Deputy Minister of Resources, Re: Existing Conditions in Logging Camps. PANL Natural Resources Box Number 26.
[156] *AND News-Log,* July 1962.
[157] *Newfoundland Logger,* February 1960; "Sandy" was generally used to describe the area south of the Exploits River in Badger Division, even though by 1960 most if not all camps were not close to Sandy Brook or Sandy Lake.

an opportunity to introduce the cooks to the modern appliances like freezers and oil ranges that were gradually making their way into all camps.[158] Each group consisted of seven to nine cooks, and in total 32 cooks received training that first year, the following year another 13 were trained.[159] Notably, Bowater's sent two cooks to "participate as observers" indicating that they did not have such a program, despite the fact that the food in their contractors camps was noted in the Dunfield report to be inferior to the food on AND camps.[160]

After the appointment of the catering supervisor and the retraining of cooks in more modern methods and improving and standardizing the menu there is very little reported on the cookhouse side of logging operations until 1966. By then Nelson had left his position with Price and was replaced by Ken Wilson, who had worked in a similar capacity for a mill in Quebec.[161] Like his predecessor, Wilson set about holding a week-long cooking course for the company's cooks. For most of them, it refreshed what they had learner in the earlier course. Much the same as in the earlier course, groups of eight went through the training, except this time only 24 cooks attended.[162] This is not a reflection of lack of interest on the part of the cooks or the company, but a result of the reduction in the number of camps in recent years.

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[158] *Newfoundland Logger,* April 1960.
[159] *Newfoundland Logger,* May 1961, *AND News-Log,* June-July 1961.
[160] Dunfield Report; this is not as scathing an indictment of Bowater's as it appears, since the way their camps were being run, by private contractors, would have made a training program of this nature much more difficult. Oddly, it was noted that Bowater's did have a cooking instructor employed in 1946. https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/westernstar/id/17194/rec/3
[161] *Price (Nfld.) News-Log,* February 1966.
[162] *News-Log,* May 1966.

Unbiased photographs of Newfoundland logging camps before the IWA Strike are uncommon, even rarer are interior photos of bunkhouses. Extant photos came from opposite sides of the spectrum. AND printed photos of a select few prefabricated bunkhouses (See Figure 6), and of a spotless cookhouse, making a point to show the dividers between bunk compartments, and in one case showing a lightbulb, indicating the camp had electricity.[163] On the other side of the spectrum, the IWA News printed photos of a cramped bunkhouse, with sagging bunks surrounding an oil drum stove. One exterior shot shows a tiny studded camp sheeted with mill canvas referred to as a "pre-fabricated tent (See Figure 7)."[164] Since most camps were outfitted to accommodate around 48 loggers, it is likely that the camp depicted by the IWA was a temporary one built for the log-drive or for the cutting of summer wood.[165] These extemporized campsites would have been welcome ammunition to counter AND's public relations campaign. AND operated 62 camps during the 1958-59 season, thus truth, and the reality of most camps, would have fallen somewhere in between (See Figures 6, 7, 8, 9).[166]

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[163] "Visit to AND Woods Camps Gives Insight into Set-Up," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* January 30, 1958. The author has viewed hundreds of photos of logging camps and can only think of one interior shot taken before the late 1940s, this being the inside of a cookhouse circa 1919. The lack of flash photography can largely explain this dearth of photographic evidence during that period. The author cannot recall a single photo of the infamous bow bunks.

[164] *IWA News,* November 1957.

[165] There is a place in Sandy-Badger called "Canvas Shack Road" where George Hayden had a summer woods camp set up near Noel Paul's Brook in the 1950s.

[166] Inder; It should also be noted that until at least 1959, log drivers still camped in tents at least one location on the Exploits River. A strange combination of logging and fire history meant that there were no older camps to use on the section of the river between Badger and Grand Falls.

Figure 6 Pre-Fabricated 70-Man Bunkhouse

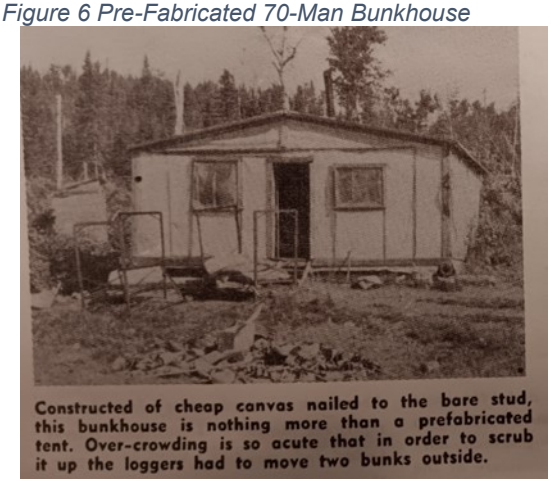

Figure 7 Camp sheeted in Mill Canvas. (IWA News, 1957)

A report compiled from inspections of all camps found that "Practically all the camps operated by the AND Company are of portable sectioned camps." Despite finding that Bowater's camps were inferior, with many constructed of logs or studs (in this case a "stud" refers to a vertical log), the same report also notes that the sectioned camps used by AND were not perfect as they were "becoming dilapidated" from being moved multiple times. The same 1957 repot, goes on to state, regarding AND camps, that:" It is understood that these are becoming lined and will be replaced with prefabricated seventy-

man camps, on a new scene of operations."[167] These old portable camps mentioned were much different than the prefabricated panel camps being introduced at the time. These old portable camps were in use since 1941, when the concept had been introduced by a Divisional Superintendent who had observed them in Nova Scotia.[168] Up until that point most, if not all camps, were built from logs, but where warranted, a camp built from lumber was more economical since it could be built from a fraction of the number of logs needed for a log camp. The portable camps were built either in sections, which were reassembled at the site, or in whole and transported by tractor and sled. The latter type usually consisted of a small twelve-man bunkhouse. Although these camps were more economical to build, could be reused, and were easier to keep clean, they did have draw backs. Heating was the biggest issue encountered. The use of green lumber caused shrinkage and drafts, and the single-layer raised floor caused drafts to come in from under the camps.[169] Since there were challenges in heating lumber-sheeted camps, there were still a few log camps in the AND Divisions in 1959. The building of a log camp depended on the quality of timber in the area or the personal preference of the foremen. Although it is difficult to fathom in an era where Eastern White Pine is a rare and protected species, it had no value for newsprint manufacture, and it was commonly used in both the construction of log camps and used as lumber for sectional-lumber-constructed camps, for dams and for bridges. The prefabricated and sawn lumber

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[167] Department of Mine and Resources, *Report on Logging (Pulpwood Camps) 1957* (November 1957), PANL, Box 82.
[168] Correspondence, Brian W. Potts to P.J Murray, Deputy Minister of Resources, January 1, 1958, PANL File 382/13 Box 82.
[169]Camp inspections 1947, Box 82 File 382/13 PANL.

constructed camps simply looked like many buildings constructed in rural Newfoundland.

Gaps, drafts, and insulating against the elements were issues with all camps in use by AND Co. Although the log camps provided more insulation, they required regular stogging with moss, or else they would be drafty in cold weather, and let in insects during the summer months. Around 1957 AND Co made the decision to put some sort of wall board in all of its camps, even those nearing the end of their useful lives, which would have helped seal the buildings.[170] Woods Manager Brian Potts also mentions experiments that AND Co was undertaking with the construction of camps in the woods using plywood on the outside and insulated wallboard on the inside.[171] This may have given a more comfortable camp, but this type of construction gave the camps an ugly and temporary appearance. This type of plywood construction also appears to have been used in the construction of the various outbuildings, even in camps using prefabricated camps. The prefabricated seventy-bunk bunkhouse was publicized many times by AND before, during, and after the 1959 strike. The first four prefabricated bunkhouses were bought in 1956, with another three being purchased in 1958.[172] Although a great improvement, seven seventy-bed bunkhouses were only enough to equip a little more than ten percent of the 62 camps operated by AND Co during the 1958-59 season. Still, government inspectors found that AND was far ahead of Bowater's when it came to camp conditions. While kerosene lamps were still normal in Bowater's camps in the late 1950s it was

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[170] Correspondence, Brian W. Potts to P.J Murray. PANL Box 82 File 382/13.
[171] Correspondence, Brian W. Potts to P.J Murray.
[172]Correspondence, Brian W. Potts to P.J Murray.

reported that all AND camps had electricity generated on site with diesel generators.[173] AND Woods Manager Potts explained that this had been the result of a program between 1946 and 1950 that saw electricity installed in all Company camps.[174] In practice, the generators were used mainly to power a few light bulbs and a radio. However, the electrical lighting was a marked improvement over the kerosene lamps that were reported in all Bowater's camps.[175]

No matter how modern or insulated a camp might be there were still substantial challenges in terms of hygiene and cleanliness. AND Co camps reputedly had hot water by 1946.[176] This by no means meant a freely flowing supply hot and cold running water. This referred to a limited amount of hot water obtained via a system of coils using heat from the cookhouse stoves, and it may have been made available to loggers to do some washing up, but more likely the cookhouse staff used it.[177] Logging camps lent themselves to dirtiness. In Newfoundland's patriarchal society, men did little cleaning at home, and while in the woods they were either too tired or unwilling to undertake much of it. As a precaution against forest fires camp sites were bulldozed off before construction, in wet weather this caused the ground to become muddy. This was made all the worse during the haul-off when horses were being used. The manure of the horses and churning of the ground by trucks and tractors created a sloppy morass and a general

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[173] Minister to Deputy Minister of Resources, *Re: Existing Conditions in Logging Camps operated by Bowater's Nfld. Pulp & Paper Mills Ltd. And the Anglo-Nfld. Development Co. Ltd*. July 22, 1958, PANL Box 82 File 382/13.
[174] Correspondence Potts to Murray.
[175] Box 82 File 382/13.
[176] Potts to Murray, PANL.
[177] The author's great-grandfather was a cook in AND Co camps and installed a similar setup in his home; this would have been circa 1945.

report found that "Horse manure and mud is continually brought into the cookhouse and the bunkhouse on the logans of the loggers. This would have been a continuous headache for bunkhouse men and other cookhouse staff, and a suggestion was made to instal [sic] boardwalks."[178] By their very nature logging camps are temporary works camps, and as such there was little incentive for the production crews to treat them as they would a home. The attitude of loggers, as observed by the Chief Camp Inspector summed up his observations in July 1958: "The logger, is in my opinion, the worst offender – he simply has no regard for company property – he more or less takes things for granted. I'm only here for a month or so – so what."

The same report found that found that the unions needed to be more active in working with both companies and loggers to provide camps that loggers would have more respect for. The report recommended that any logger who purposefully destroyed camp property be suspended from the union, thus being unable to work. Otherwise, a logger who was a good producer with a good reputation if dismissed from one camp could just move to another camp with little consequence.[179]

To mitigate some of the issues that precipitated the discontent of loggers, the installation of improved washing and toilet facilities was accelerated by the aftermath of the IWA Strike. A washing machine was installed at Clayton Holloway's camp in Badger

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[178] Department of Resources, *Report on Logging (Pulpwood Camps) 1957*, November 1957 Box 82 File 382/13.

[179] E.R Bearns, Camp Inspector, *Re: Existing Conditions in Logging Camps operated by Bowater's Nfld. Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd. And the Anglo-Nfld. Development Co. Ltd.* July 1958. PANL Box 82 File 382/13.

Division in 1959.[180] This would have required a good supply of water, and pipes and water mains were found at the site of this camp, although it is not known if they were hooked up to a dug well or a nearby brook. Holloway's camp was built around 1956 and operated until 1964; it was one of the very last of the old-style camps to operate. Holloway's camp likely incorporated many of the improvements that came with the newer camps built during that period, otherwise it would have been a challenge to attract workers, when better camps were available. In the fall of 1963 AND Co built a new camp twelve kilometers from Holloway's, at Cripple Back Lake that included running water, urinals, and showers.[181] Two 140-man camps in Millertown Division installed by AND Co at the same time also included the same facilities.[182]

Figure 8 Later Log Camp, George Hayden's Camp Circa 1955-60. (GFWHS)

[180] *Newfoundland Logger,* 1959.
[181] "New Camp Includes Showers," *AND News-Log,* September 1963.
[182] "Two 140 – Man Camps Operate in Millertown Division," *AND News-Log,* November 1963.

Figure 9 Typical AND Company logging camp of the mid-1950s. (Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society)

Rats were a prevalent and difficult problem to deal with in logging camps and had been since the beginnings of the industry in the late 19th century. On visiting Badger Brook in 1894 noted geologist, explorer, and chronicler J.P Howley found that:

> The place is infested with rats which create great havoc on the cattle feed and provisions. They have been introduced by the steamers coming to Clode Sound and the Exploits with supplies for the Railroad and are spread out all along the line in swarms.[183]

Once in the interior the pests were there to stay if there were human hosts to scavenge from. Once a camp was built, it did not take long for rats to find their way to it from earlier camps. In 1933, during the British Public Schools Explorations expedition, which transited part of AND's Bishop's Falls Division. Expedition member Dennis Clake explained:

> Brown rats were fairly often seen amongst the remains of the old lumber huts, and often suspected of entering the store tent. I was told at 30-Mile Depot, the lumber

[183] James Patrick Howley, *Reminiscences of Forty-Two Years of Exploration in and About Newfoundland.* (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2009), 1493.

> camp which we passed on out way to the Base Camp, that they nearly always begin to appear about one year after the formation of a new lumber camp.[184]

When camps were located within a mile of each other this spread was easily facilitated, and as in the days of Howley, the pests no doubt hitchhiked in bales of hay and other supplies. Logger David Marsh recalled some years later that he had to leave a camp once because of the prevalence of rats. The camp mentioned by Mr. Marsh was a 100-bunk camp, and thus, very likely to have been after the IWA Strike.[185] Rats could arrive in many ways, but it was the fact that each camp maintained a dump that sustained them and caused them to proliferate. Examinations of old sites, and reports from the 1950s, suggest that a camp dump was simply a hole dug out in the ground, with some rough log crib work around it, where all manner of refuse was thrown. The refuse produced by a logging crew was considerable, each camp would have dumped over 2,000 empty milk tins in a season, not to mention the thousands of pounds of peelings, table scraps, bottles, and cans. The prevalence of the rodents meant that a permanent fixture of most logging camps was the "rat proof" or "tin shed" a metal lined, or metal constructed storehouse for the camp provisions. The prevalence of rats diminished with better garbage disposal methods. In later camps, such as Harpoon, Dowd Lake, and Miguel Lake "dry garbage" was trucked off to a dumpsite away from the camp, and routinely covered and bulldozed. "Wet garbage" which included table scraps and other associated kitchen garbage was

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[184] Dennis Clarke, *Public School Explorers in Newfoundland*, (London: Putnam, 1935).
[185] Hiram Silk. "Dave Marsh Interview, March 29, 1988," 1988, https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/ich_oral/id/324

dumped into an improved type of "sink" which was sealed off and equipped with a cover like a septic tank. The last camps, including Black Duck, used commercial dumpsters.[186]

There was little in the way of recreation in the camps before the 1940s. Loggers that had any energy left after a day's work could be found engaged in games of cards or checkers. In 1946, the Boy Scouts in Grand Falls initiated a campaign to collect used books and magazines for distribution in the logging camps.[187] In earlier years a strong musical culture had developed in logging camps, which included the practice of making up and performing songs dealing with the lives of loggers, but this seems to have faded out after radios came into camps in the 1940s.[188] By the 1940s most AND Co camps had radios, although some more remote areas had poor reception, it could be picked up as far inland as Sandy Lake in Badger Division.[189] At the time of the IWA Strike television service had not reached the central portion of the province, in fact television service would not reach Grand Falls until February 1960. Television came into the camps in surprisingly short order, with the first set being installed at Jumper's Brook camp on May 11, 1960. At the same time plans were announced to install television in every camp within range of the transmitters.[190] Considering that television sets at the time were incredibly expensive, and that owning and watching a television was likely financially and practically out of reach for many loggers in their home communities, there is little surprise that the new entertainment medium was a very popular addition to camps.

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[186] Glenn Peyton Follow-Up Correspondence, March 2024.
[187] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* October 12, 1946.
[188] John Ashton, "A Study of the Lumbercamp Song Tradition in Newfoundland," 24, 126.
[189] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, February 22, 1947.
[190] "Television Comes to Woods Camps," *Newfoundland Logger*¸ May 1960.

Even taking AND Company propaganda and public relations material with a grain of salt, the evidence provided in government records is much more forgiving to AND Co than it is to Bowater's. A general report on Bowater's camps noted that "The camps generally speaking were in a dilapidated condition and in need of considerable repairs and improvements."[191] Another, following up on inspections a few months later, reported "Since the camps were inspected in October, 1957 and our recommended improvements forwarded to the Company -little or nothing has been done to have this work carried out."[192] Fourteen logging camp inspection reports from Bowater's camps were forwarded to the Department of Justice, for infringements and possible prosecution, while none were forwarded from AND camps.[193] Some months later in January 1959 during the strike against AND a logger from Birchy Bay wrote Premier Smallwood describing one Bowater's Camp in Glenwood: "There are pig pens just as good for men to sleep in with cracks in the walls you could see though."[194] "The AND Co. Ltd. are doing a very good job of improving conditions in their camps and are 100% behind a general cleanup and improvement plan." The same report stated that "Bowaters have plans for camp improvements but are waiting for some reason or another before implementing them."[195]

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[191] E.R Bearns, November 6, 1957, PANL File 384/13, Box 82.
[192] E.R Bearns, *Report on logging operated by Bowater's Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd.* February 14, 1958.
[193] Correspondence Deputy Minister of Resources to Deputy Attorney General, June 17, 1958. PANL, File 384/13, Box 82.
[194] Edgard Osmond, Birchy Bay Letter to Premier Smallwood January 19, 1959. PANL, File 384/13, Box 82.
[195] E.R Bearns, Chief Logging Camp Inspector to Minister and Deputy Minister of Natural Resources, Re: Existing Conditions in Logging Camps Operated by Bowater's Nfld. Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd. And the Anglo-Nfld, Development Co Ltd, July 22, 1958, PANL File 384/13, Box 82.

The irony is that the impetus for improvements in Bowater's camps would be a Strike mainly levied on AND Co.

The tenure of the UBCJ as bargaining agent for Newfoundland's pulpwood loggers appears from available sources as a rather peaceful one. There were some notable exceptions. Negotiations between the Union and the two paper companies broke down after several weeks in the Spring of 1966. The negotiations went into conciliation and an agreement was reached by the beginning of September, and according to the Price, provided for "substantial increases in wage and piecework rates, liberal vacation allowances, an additional paid holiday, and a reduced workweek with maintenance of pay."[196] Another strike was threatened in 1969, but did not materialize. By 1972 it was reported that the UBCJ had accumulated a considerable strike fund which gave them leverage in negotiations.[197] There is one startling reason reported for the complacency of the UBCJ in dealing with the owners of the Grand Falls Mill; a representative of a rival union representative claimed that, under the UBCJ loggers had a class of membership in which they were not entitled to strike pay.[198]

Between 1925 and 1950 the work of the Newfoundland pulpwood logger was largely unchanged, especially during the cutting and driving phases. Since the early 1950s, living conditions in AND Co camps changed for the better. Although the poor conditions existent in some camps in the province are highlighted in relation to the IWA

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[196] *Price (Nfld.) News-Log,* July 1966.
[197] Dennis M. Cauvin, and Stefan S. Bandrowski. *Capital and Labour in Newfoundland Forestry*. (Ottawa: 1972), 127.
[198] Ron Smith Interview.

Strike, wages and hours of work were more of a concern to the rank-and-file loggers. By 1966 nearly all Price (Nfld.) camps were of the insulated prefabricated panel type with running water, indoor toilets, and oil heating. Loggers slept on two-tiered bunkbeds in partitioned cubicles; by 1974 single tiered bunks and two-man cubicles or rooms became the standard.[199] These improved camps were far more expensive to build than earlier types, although setting them up was quicker and less labour intensive. The problem of having more expensive camps was mitigated by not only operating larger camps, but also by operating far fewer camps. By 1966 the number of camps operated by the Grand Falls mill had been reduced to less than twenty.[200] Six years later, Price (Nfld.) had 12 "Operating Units."[201] What enabled this shift towards fewer camps was a change in working conditions and methodology which, in little more than a decade, had fundamentally altered how pulpwood was harvested in Newfoundland. To understand this, we must go back into the forests of central Newfoundland, to 1953 when pulpwood was still manually cut and its transport seasonally dependent.

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[199] *Agreement between Price (Nfld.) Pulp & Paper Limited and Loggers' Local 2564 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America,* 1969, 21.
[200] Price (Nfld.) *Visitors Map, 1965*. GFWHS 2020.2199
[201] Price (Nfld), *Submission Federal-Provincial Task Force*, 1972, Appendix 12.

Chapter Four: Chainsaws, Trucks, and Experimentation: Mechanization 1954-1964

The view of mechanization in the Newfoundland woods varies depending on the person or source. Some trace it back to the coming of the chainsaw, others the skidder, while many people do not consider the woods having been mechanized until the introduction of single grip harvesters and the elimination of manual cutting. As Curran found, mechanization was more of a process than it was a sudden change, and furthermore it was a process that stretched extremely far into the history of the industry. Despite the desire to mechanize all aspects of logging, until the early 1950s the only stage that had been at least partially mechanized was hauling. The mechanization of hauling eliminated very little physical labour from logging. Thus, if one were to look at mechanization being a process in which pieces of mechanical technology eliminated or eased labour then one would have to go back to the early 1950s and look at the introduction of the single-person operated gasoline-powered saw.[1]

Powersaws/Chainsaws

After the introduction of the metal framed bucksaw in the mid-1920s, no record could be found at any attempt to mechanize the cutting of pulpwood in central Newfoundland. Although power saws had been in use in other places as far back as the 1920s, they were cumbersome and normally required two or more men to operate. The

[1] The term powersaw and chainsaw will be used interchangeably. Initially, there were chainsaws and the Wright Saw, which had a rigid reciprocating blade. However, most saws used were chainsaws.

weight and size of early powersaws made them completely unsuited to the smaller diameter trees cut as pulpwood in Newfoundland. In addition, any attempts at adoption would have meant a significant change in logging methodology, and likely a significant outlay of capital by the paper companies, since most loggers could not afford such expensive pieces of equipment, nor could they practically transport them. Simply put, the bucksaw worked, and it worked well for thirty years; until the emergence of a practical replacement; but certain criteria had to be met before that replacement could be accepted.

The Newfoundland Tractor and Equipment Company appears to be the first firm to attempt to bring powersaws to the Newfoundland market. In late 1949 an advertisement appeared in the St. John's *Daily News* for the Pioneer "one-man power chainsaw."[2] Revolutionary in its day, this model was one of the earliest saws designed to be operated by one person. At a factory price of $265 the only potential customers would have been loggers, larger sawmill operators, or the two pulp and paper companies.[3] There cannot be any doubt, especially considering the long and close relationship between AND Co and Newfoundland Tractor, that these saws were demonstrated to AND Co woods staff. It is not surprising that the first account of a chain saw being demonstrated to AND Co loggers, actually predates the advertisement in the *Daily News;* this demonstration took place in Terra Nova Division in October of 1949: "Messrs. Chapman, Leger, and Bessey have been here during the week demonstrating the use of the chainsaw to

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[2] *Daily News*, December 6, 1949, 19.
https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/dailynews/id/82633/rec/120
[3] David Lee, *Chainsaws a History* (Pender Harbour, BC: Harbour Publishing, 2020),125.

woodsmen."[4] Unfortunately, who Messrs. Chapman, Leger, and Bessey represented was not reported, nor was the type of saw, performance, or the reaction from loggers or management. In any event the power saws did not appear to have met much interest as it would be at least another 3-4 years before loggers in the AND Co logging divisions began to use power saws.

Newfoundland came somewhat late to the game in powersaw usage. According to Silversides (quoting the Woodlands Section of the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association (CPPA)), in 1952 twenty percent of all pulpwood cut in Eastern Canada was cut with powersaws, and that same year estimates placed the number of powersaws in use in all woods operations in Quebec at around 2,000.[5] The reasons for this low adoption rate were likely because of cost and maintenance, and although powersaws were catching on in Eastern Canada the productivity advantage in 1952 was not yet high enough to warrant full adaption. Radforth cites a 1949 study by the Woodlands Section of the CPPA that noted that, although loggers experienced in the use of powersaws could improve their productivity by as much as 190 percent, loggers inexperienced in the use of powersaws increased their gross productivity by only 14 percent, which was further reduced when considering cost and maintenance.[6]

Radforth refers to the gains in productivity offered by powersaws between 1949-52 as "unimpressive"; but he also notes that despite these modest gains, sales in Ontario

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[4] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* October 15, 1949, 9.
[5] Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear,* 21.
[6] Ian Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses - Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980*, 181-2.

were impressive.[7] Powersaws began to appear in Newfoundland logging operations after they had proven their worth in Ontario and Quebec. Strangely, considering that many loggers worked for both paper companies, it appears as though power saws first started to be used in Bowater's operations. Bowater's had experimented with "a light endless-chain type D.T Terrill 42-Inch one-man saw made in Bangor Maine" sometime in 1949 or before; but the same 1949 report noted that buck saws were still used for felling and bucking logs.[8] Powersaw experimentation appears to have continued with some success and by the summer of 1953, powersaws were to be found in many Bowater's camps, though still on a limited basis. In August of that year an article on Bowater's woods operations noted:

> The Chief purpose of the trip to Taylor's Brook was to see how the power saw recently introduced in that area is making out.
>
> It is Mr. Loughlin's opinion that it will take a very long time for the men to get used to the idea, and he doubts if it will ever take the place of the bucksaw in small wood and under poor cutting conditions. Quite a few of these saws have been tried out and nearly every camp has one or more. Two men at camp 112 have a saw between them and so far they have increased production by at least 40%. They say that while the power saw keeps working they will never use a bucksaw again.

This same piece goes on to mention that there is a "great variety of opinion" on powersaws, and notes that its limited adoption was because they were "a rather delicate instrument" and needed to be "used with care and looked after properly."[9]

Comparatively, bucksaws required very little care, and little skill to sharpen and

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[7] Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*,182.
[8] "Bowater's Hits Wood Costs New Equipment Halves Logging Season," *Pulp and Paper,* March 1949, 71-82.
[9] *Western Star*, August 21, 1953, 6.

maintain. This was especially true in the case of AND Co camps, since they employed full-time saw filers during the cutting season.

In January 1952 Mr. Leger "demonstrated a chain power saw" at a small operation in Badger Division. This time it was recorded that both the superintendent of the division and the assistant woods manager from Grand Falls were present.[10] It is very likely that this demonstration was more successful than the one in 1949, and it is now clear that representatives from the woods department had seen these tools in action. No doubt, powersaws were a topic of discussion at the meeting of the Woodlands Section of the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association that March in Montreal, which had representatives from at least two logging divisions of AND in attendance.[11] The next stage was to get powersaws into the hands of loggers, something that would occur with little to no investment from the AND Company itself. In June 1953, the Corner Brook Garage, which had a branch in Grand Falls known as the Exploits Valley Garage, announced that it was distributing the PM Chainsaw.[12] Advertisements for the "Mall" chain saw start appearing in the *Western Star* in November of 1953.[13] Lemery Distributers of Montreal placed an advertisement in the November 19, 1953 edition of the *Grand Falls Advertiser* offering three different models of McCulloch power chainsaws, one at 20 pounds being touted as the lightest, and another, more expensive model being offered as the "fastest cutting one man chainsaw ever developed." This later model also

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[10] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* January 24, 1952.
[11] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser*, March 27, 1952.
[12] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* June 11, 1953. It should also be noted that the Exploits Valley Garage was located next to the headquarters of the NLA.
[13] *Western Star,* November 5, 1953.

offered a bow bar, likely to entice loggers who were used to that set up in manual saws.[14] Another early ad for a powersaw appeared in the *Advertiser* in May 1954. It was a general advertisement from the same Mall Tool Limited of Montreal appearing in the *Western Star*, this advertisement was not directed toward loggers themselves, but rather seems to be looking for those interested in selling their saws.[15] The first advertisement for a power saw directed at loggers appeared in the August 19, 1954, issue of the *Grand Falls Advertiser*. The advertisement is for the P.M Rocket K being sold at the Exploits Valley Garage.[16] As noted by Mark McLaughlin in his examination of mechanization in the woods, this advertisement omits to note an increase in cutting speed or a potential to increase productivity.[17] Also surprising is the fact that the weight of the Canadian made saw is not noted, though the power unit minus the bar and chain, were a relatively (for the time) light 24.5 pounds.[18] During this early stage of mechanization, power saws were not just limited to chainsaws; Grand Falls Motors publicized the Wright Saw in September of 1954.[19] The Wright saw was a gasoline-powered reciprocating saw, which judging from the advertisement was touted as safer than a chainsaw, and possibly easier to sharpen for those used to conventional handsaws. It should be noted that in the early 1950s Grand Falls was not in the cutting areas, and it would be more likely for a logger to see or buy a saw in Badger, Millertown, or Bishop's Falls. Former Abitibi-Price Chief Forester, and

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[14] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* November 19, 1953, 4 third section. It should be noted that the weight is likely only that of the engine unit and does not include the bar and cutting chain.
[15] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* May 20, 1954.
[16] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, August 19, 1954.
[17] Mark Mclaughlin, *Powertools as tools of Power*, 245.
[18] David Lee, *Chainsaws a History*, 146.
[19] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* September 30, 1954; other than this type of saw all other powersaws were chainsaws and the term is used interchangeably.

logger, Malcolm Squires, who grew up in Millertown, noted that the first time he saw a chainsaw was a Homelite with a bow bar at the Royal Stores in Millertown.[20] J.P Curran attributes the early introduction of powersaws to "a group of salesmen that first appeared in the woods in 1954."[21]

Sometime in 1953, *Notes from our Industry* was discontinued from the *Advertiser*, which presents a challenge in tracking the initial stages of powersaw use. In 1955, the AND Co began periodically to produce a newsletter. The first issue of this shows a picture of a logger with a McCulloch 33 chainsaw, and notes in the caption, and in the accompanying article the "increased" and "wider" use of power saws is mentioned.[22] By June of 1955 T.J Hewlett and Son, announced that they were now dealers for McCulloch chainsaws.[23] The Hewletts, who contracted for both AND Co and Bowater's, were based out of Springdale in the Green Bay area, which was home to hundreds of loggers and close to both AND Co and Bowater's operations.[24] This advertisement boasted three different models of one man saw that were "engineered for every cutting need."[25] The McCullochs sold by Hewlett and other dealers became popular saws because of their relatively light weight and reliability, although some loggers noted that early models were comparatively slow.[26]

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[20] Malcolm Squires Personal Communication February 2022.
[21] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization," 74.
[22] *AND News*, 1955, 8.
[23] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* June 9, 1955.
[24] According to Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company*, Daily Production List* there were over 200 loggers in that area of Green Bay from Triton to South Brook.
[25] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* June 9, 1955.
[26] Art Marsh Interview, March 2003.

Initially, the rate of powersaw adoption was sluggish. In October 1955, out of 670 loggers in Millertown Division, only 65 had powersaws, less than ten percentIn Bishop's Falls Division, the number was higher with 125 powersaws in use out of a cutting force of 556, twelve percent more than in Millertown. The same report stressed that the number of power saws was "resulting in the earnings of subcontractors being increased considerably."[27] The final tabulation for the 1955 cutting season surmised that about fifteen percent of AND Co's pulpwood was cut by powersaws.[28] The 1956 cutting season is a watershed in the mechanization of woodcutting in the central wilderness. 1956 saw the percentage of wood cut by powersaws jump from 15.1% to 62.6%.[29] A few factors can explain this. The available saws rapidly became faster and more reliable. After at least two years of use, their effectiveness was demonstrated to those reluctant to use them. This also translated into an increase in earning power. In the fall of 1956 AND Co loggers using chainsaws reportedly made, on average, $3.85 per day more than loggers using bucksaws.[30] Curran argues that the chainsaw's usefulness in rural Newfoundland's non-cash economy was also a contributing factor towards proliferation, specifically for cutting firewood, saw logs, and rough carpentry.[31] This usefulness at home served to further justify the expense of acquiring a chainsaw.

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[27] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* October 13, 1955. The higher proportion in Bishop's Falls Division might be attributed to the fact that that Division employed a large number of "professional loggers" from places like Norris Arm, Bishop's Falls, and Point Leamington who had more to gain in purchasing powersaws, whereas Millertown Division employed many "fishermen loggers" from Trinity and Bonavista Bays who might be slow to make such a large investment for something that may take longer to payoff.
[28] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization."
[29] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization.", 73.
[30] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization," 73. Adjusted for inflation, the amounts to $43.84
[31] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization," 76.

The push for loggers to adopt chainsaws came from all sides: the paper companies, the loggers themselves, retailers, contractors, and even the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association.[32] In September 1956, the NLA announced that it would award a new chainsaw to the logger who earned the most money during September, with another being awarded for the same the following month.[33] A power chainsaw is a relatively complicated, motorized piece of equipment, which cost anywhere between $185-$350 during the 1950s.[34] Comparatively, a bucksaw was a simple tool, with about five parts in total, and the entire unit was cheaply and easily replaceable at every AND Co camp. If a chainsaw broke down, repairs required some knowledge and might warrant replacement parts, which would have been difficult to obtain early in their introduction especially in more remote camps. 1956 appears to be the year this, too, changed as more suppliers and dealers entered the market, which further accelerated adoption by loggers.

Increased productivity was a prime factor in powersaw adaption, in the eyes of both workers and management, but the factor of physical exertion also played a role, especially as the saws became lighter. Although a powersaw could weigh over twenty pounds, loggers using them did not have to push and pull a bucksaw blade through a tree trunk. When used properly, the engine and cutting chain of a powersaw does most of the work. Generally, chainsaw blades rarely got stuck, nor did they bind like the thin blades of bucksaws. For years, pulpwood cutting was the domain of young men, but eventually,

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[32] It is interesting to note that the offices of the NLA was located next door to the Exploits Valley Garage, which was one of the very early chainsaw retailers noted.
[33] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* September 27, 1956.
[34] Between $2062 and $3902 in 2023.

the transition to the powersaw would enable many cutters to cut long after they would have had to give up cutting with the bucksaw. In one such case, a 49-year-old logger was able to maintain a production of 4.77 cords per day with a chainsaw over the course of 20 days.[35] Using a bucksaw, this would have been an extraordinary, if not impossible feat for even a logger half that age.

Although AND Co cut wood during Spring and Summer, the bulk of the wood was still cut in the Fall. By 1956, the proliferation of the chainsaw and the noticeable increase in productivity meant that peak production periods were being re-examined. This was evident that fall in Badger Division, where it was noted:

> The loggers using chainsaws are realizing greater earnings which are in some cases three times as great as the bucksaw operator. This increased production has brought about a considerable drop in the time taken for camps to reach their respective quotas. For the present season it is expected that 2 months will be cut from the normal cutting period which starts in May and ends in November, as the company anticipates having all wood cut by the end of September.[36]

Not only did powersaws proliferate in the latter half of the 1950s, but so did the number of places to purchase them. A full-page advertisement for McCulloch Chainsaws from 1959 lists twenty-five dealers from Clarenville in the east to Robinsons in the west. Included are several dealers located in logging communities such as Point Leamington, Gander Bay, Gambo, and Springdale. Of note is that among the dealers listed is M.G Peyton at Jumpers Brook-Mac Peyton; in this case, saws could be purchased at the camp itself.[37] Peyton's son noted that this made his father one of the larger chainsaw dealers in

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[35] 'Top Loggers Earn High Wages at Price (NFLD)," *Price (Nfld) News-Log,* August 1965, 1.
[36] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* September 27, 1956.
[37] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* September 30, 1959.

the region and cut down on overhead being able to source parts directly from the supplier.[38]

Curran found that, "since 1962 the two paper companies have begun purchasing their own equipment and today own practically all the power saws in operation."[39] Interestingly, there is no citation on this statement, nor has there been any written or anecdotal evidence uncovered to support it. There is no reference to this at all in any of the *AND News-Log* for that year despite quite a lot of coverage of woods activities. One key point towards validity of Curran's statement comes from the 1964 Collective Agreement between the paper companies and the loggers local of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Here, it is stated that employers were responsible for supplying powersaws for mechanical skidder operations.[40] In one respect it would have made some sense for the paper companies to purchase all the saws used in the woods, especially in the interest of standardization of parts, repair, training of mechanics, and training of cutters. However, even if just for skidder operations, it would have been a considerable investment of capital with a very conservative estimate coming in around $300,000, for the saws alone.[41] Additionally, photographic evidence from *News-Logs* indicates an overwhelming predominance of one brand of chainsaw, the IEL (Industrial Engineering

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[38] Glenn Peyton Interview.
[39] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization," 78.
[40] *Agreement Between Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited - Bowater's Newfoundland - Newfoundland Contractors' Association - Loggers' Local 2564 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America 1964-1966*, 1964, 16.
[41] This is making a conservative estimate of the purchase of 1500 saws, taking into consideration that they could be purchased wholesale for around $200, considering a normal sale price of around $230 for commonly used models.

Ltd.) Pioneer.[42] This standardization on one model or brand made repairing saws and providing replacement parts more practical. The predominance of the Pioneer is not surprising since it accounted for 13% of the Canadian market, more than any other chainsaw.[43]

In spite of the significant impact of the chainsaw on productivity and the potential effect on reducing overall employment, Curran found among loggers that there was "no resistance from the workers to its use as a cutting instrument on the job."[44] There is little recorded resistance to the adaption of the powersaw, but there was some skepticism and reluctance on the part of some loggers, which lessened significantly as powersaws improved. The fact of the matter remained: logging camps still had bucksaws on hand for any logger wishing to use them. Their use does not appear to have been encouraged. The *Newfoundland Logger* is full of photos of loggers working with chainsaws; however, in the two years it was published, there are only two photos of men working with bucksaws, and in both cases, these are older loggers.

One September 1960 *Newfoundland Logger* photo depicts Mr. Samuel Worthman of Heart's Delight sharpening his bucksaw (See Figure 10). The caption noted that Mr. Worthman (erroneously referred to as Workman) was 62 years old, and "too old to change his ways" where using a chainsaw over a bucksaw was concerned.[45] It was mentioned that Mr. Worthman had cut 5.5 cords of wood with the bucksaw in less than

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[42] *AND News-Log* 1961-1962. The various Pioneer models had a distinctive shape as well as a logo on the gas tank which can easily be identified.
[43] Silversides, 111.
[44] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization."
[45] *Newfoundland Logger,* September 1960.

three days.[46] This amounted to a production of around 1.8-2 cords a day, which, according to statistics compiled by AND Co, was an impressive tally for any logger with a bucksaw, much less one nearing retirement age, but nonetheless far less than what could be cut by a good chainsaw cutter.[47] By 1961, the average production per day for AND Co loggers using chainsaws was 2.23 cords; although not staggering, this was a sixty fiver percent increase in productivity compared to what Bradley found for bucksaw production in the 1930s.[48] A more accurate comparison made by Nelson Williams in 1964 found that cutter productivity increased by thirty six percent with the introduction of the chainsaw.[49] In one extraordinary case, at Stewart Chapman's Camp at Cripple Back Lake in Badger Division, his 54-man crew averaged 4.93 cords per day, with some highliners producing an astonishing 7-8 cords per day for short periods.[50] Numbers compiled at the end of September 1961 reveal that of the 2,370 loggers engaged in cutting operations at that time, 1746 owned power saws.[51] The perplexing issue with this number is that it would lead one to believe that there were still 600 loggers using bucksaws, and that the number is higher than the 487 loggers that had used bucksaws two years previous.[52] In any event, the bucksaw completely faded away from AND Company operations at some point in the early 1960s; realistically, the era of the buck saw as the

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[46] *Newfoundland Logger,* September 1960.
[47] Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company*, Daily Production List*.
[48] Peters, "The Social and Economic Effects of the Transition from a System of Woods Camps to a System of Commuting in the Newfoundland Pulpwood Industry," 24; Bradley, *Report of the Royal Commission*.
[49] Williams, "AND Logging Techniques."
[50] *AND News-Log,* December 1962.
[51] "AND Cutting Quota Reached" *Grand Falls Advertiser* October 16, 1961, 2.
[52] *Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Daily Production List;* Only 22 cutters were found to have used both a bucksaw and a power saw in 1959.

primary cutting tool ended in 1956 when the powersaw overtook it as the primary tool of production. Thereafter, the bucksaw became a rarity used by older and part-time loggers, or others unwilling to invest in chainsaws because they did not spend enough time in the woods for the purchase to pay off.

Figure 10 Samual Worthman sharpening bucksaw, 1960.

In the 1920s, the bucksaw made pulpwood logging more accessible to part-time loggers. The bucksaw was a tool that, with very little or no capital investment by the logger, enabled them to make more money and increase productivity. The adoption of the powersaw represented the single most significant investment that would ever be made by loggers themselves, but the substantial increase in productivity and pay justified this investment. Although powersaws were the most important tool to be introduced to logging since the mid-1920s they also came with a cost in safety.

All cutting implements used in logging can be dangerous. Archival records from the 1920s are filled with accident reports recording when loggers were injured by cuts from saws and axes, as well as several eye injuries from woodchips and sawdust. At the time there was no thought given to the use of any protective equipment, and at the time

labour and life was, to use an overused adage, cheap. In the 1920s the amount paid by AND Co to the families of loggers killed on the job was in the vicinity of $1,300-1,500.[53] The chainsaw appeared in the woods after Confederation with Canada, and a stricter workman's compensation regime. The powersaw improved productivity, but the accidents incurred in its use could be horrific. One of the most significant risks presented in chainsaw operation came from kickback; this occurred when the cutting chain became snagged, causing it to jolt upwards.[54] In a worst-case scenario, this was towards a cutter's head or face. Hypothetically, the hard hats, introduced mainly for hauling operations, and for protection from falling limbs, could mitigate this. Many chainsaw accidents also occurred to the legs and knees. Radforth found that in 1946 in Ontario only two percent of serious disabling accidents in logging involved machinery. In contrast, ten years later, because of mechanization, the percentage increased to fifteen percent with forty percent of accidents caused by chainsaws.[55] In central Newfoundland, the situation was similar; a decade after the powersaw was introduced, there were still significant lost time accidents due to these powerful cutting tools. In 1964, there were sixty two accidents involving AND Co loggers using chainsaws, and both 1965 and 1966 saw sixty five lost time accidents due to chainsaw cuts, despite the introduction of safety patches.[56] Safety patches were introduced to AND Co. operations in the summer of 1962. They were

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[53] Accident Reports 1922-1935, PANL Abitibi Records, Box 75
[54] In modern chainsaws a device called a chain brake mitigates this by stopping the chain, but these were not developed until later. https://www.waldwissen.net/en/learning-and-teaching/forest-history/the-history-of-the-chainsaw#:~:text=1927%20Dolmar%20developed%20the%20first,1972%20chain%20brake
[55] Radforth. *Bushworkers and Bosses.*
[56] *Price (NFLD) News-Log,* March 1967, 2.

constructed of four layers of nylon covered in a waterproof covering. The patches were designed to catch on the cutting chain and stop it before it was able to injure a logger. Patches were sold to loggers, but they were sold at thirty percent of cost to increase their use.[57] Initially, the patches required special pants, but soon after their introduction, a machine was purchased by AND Co that allowed safety patches to be attached to regular work pants with dome fasteners.[58] The patches were made mandatory in Price logging operations in the summer of 1965.[59] Additional measures to mitigate chainsaw accidents included the introduction of an improved cutting chain that was supposed to reduce kickback, introduced in 1965.[60] Still, in 1967, it was reported that "The most common injuries during the year were these caused by power saws." But it was also noted that "there were numerous incidences where the knee patch prevented serious injury to the knee."[61] Safety shoes had been encouraged and in use at the Grand Falls mill since before 1964.[62] In such an industrial environment, there are many ways for a foot to be crushed in machinery or hurt by dropped tools or other materials. In the woods, feet were especially susceptible to cuts from chainsaws, but they could be crushed under the wheels of skidders or the tracks of tractors. Pulpwood, especially heavy when freshly cut and green, might be dropped during any number of phases and injure a foot. Trials of different types of safety boots began in 1965. For the most part, the boots offered were rubber boots with

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[57] *AND News-Log,* March 1963, 3.
[58] *AND News-Log,* May 1963, 3.
[59] "Loggers Must Wear Safety Patches," *Price (Nfld.) News-Log,* July 1965.
[60] "Loggers Must Wear Safety Patches," *Price (Nfld.) News-Log,* July 1965.
[61] *Price (Nfld) News-Log,* January 1968, 4.
[62] *AND News-Log,* January 1964, 6.

a steel nose and protected instep, like boots normally worn by loggers during non-winter operations.[63] These safety boots became available for sale in the camps in August of 1966. [64] Perhaps because of their added weight, safety boots took some time to catch on without an official policy mandating them. Nearly a year and a half after they appeared for sale in camps, Price (Nfld.) officials noted that foot injuries were still "an area of concern."[65] Another safety risk associated with chainsaws stemmed from the saws' engines which had the potential to start forest fires. Many fires were started by chainsaws early in their introduction but by at least 1963 it was AND Co policy for loggers to be equipped with some fire extinguisher when using chainsaws during the fire season.[66] The fire extinguishers allowed loggers to deal with fires started by saws quickly, and it allowed them to respond to fires from other machinery. By 1967, only two forest fires were noted to have been started by chainsaws.[67]

For the considerable impact that the powersaw had, they did little to change the actual work processes in the woods. For the most part, wood was still cut and piled in the same method as it had been previously. Ian Radforth found the same true in Northern Ontario, observing that: "After the arrival of the chainsaw, pulpwood operators did little to reorganize the work process; the pulp cutter continued to work alone on his timber strip."[68] Thus, Newfoundland's situation remained the same for about a decade after

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[63] *Price (Nfld) News-Log,* January 1966.
[64] *Price (Nfld) News-Log,* August 1966, 4.
[65] *Price (Nfld) News-Log,* January 1968, 4.
[66] Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Limited, Woods Department*, Regulations for the Protection of the Forests from Fires,* April 1963, Authors collection.
[67] *Price (Nfld) News-Log,* January 1968, 12.
[68] Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses,* 202.

powersaws were first introduced. A combination of smaller tractors and powersaws led to one change in work process. This came with the introduction of "cut and bunch" logging in the early 1960s. As noted, cut and pile had been the standard since the 1920s. In cut-and-bunch logging a logger felled the tree, bucked it into lengths, and left it in a rough bunch in the cutting area. This bunched wood was then picked up by "a tractor crew or teamster." From there, the junks were pre-hauled to a main road where it was scaled. The first operation to this method exclusively was in Millertown Division in 1962.[69] Cut-and-bunch logging served to simplify and speed up the work of the feller as he now mainly felled and bucked trees, eliminating the laborious and time-consuming task of stacking the wood. Naturally, because less work was involved, the rate of pay for cut and bunch wood was less than that for cut and pile, being $1.05 less per cord than cut and pile four-foot wood in 1962. In addition, there was a flat rate for cut and pile rather than rates for good, bad, and average wood.[70] Cut-and bunch logging would be present in logging operations for the next decades, but for the immediate future the method would take a back seat to other systems.

The introduction of the powersaw came during a period when both paper companies in Newfoundland were increasing paper production, which mitigated job losses. There was a reduction in the number of loggers hired by AND Co during the 1957 logging season, coincidentally after the large-scale adoption of powersaws. Many might

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[69] *AND News-Log,* December 1962, 2
[70] *Agreement Between Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Limited, Bowater's Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Mills Limited, the Newfoundland Contractors' Association and Loggers' Local 2564 of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.* Gander, Nfld, 1962. Schedule C.

have seen this as a direct correlation; although not universally adopted, the faster saws had already reduced the number of loggers. This case, however, was different. For the 1956-57 logging season, the Woods Department of AND Co was allocated an abnormally large cut. Since much of this inventory was still in piles at the mill, management decided to reduce the cut by thirty percent for 1957-58.[71] Because of softening markets the mill also planned on producing less paper. [72]

The reality was that powersaws only eliminated a few jobs. The introduction of powersaws allowed for increased pulpwood production by the same number of loggers: limited jobs were lost, some part-time loggers were driven away by the changes, but powersaws allowed the newsprint mills to increase production using the same labour pool. Since cutters were paid on a piecework basis, there was no actual reduction in the amount paid in wages to have the wood cut. The savings to the company came from the fact that they did not have to open more camps to get an increased amount of wood. Curran found there was very little resistance to the introduction of chainsaws and that loggers mainly introduced them themselves. He also noted that this method of introduction slowed the introduction process, as many loggers could not afford chainsaws immediately.[73] This delay was likely acceptable by the AND Co since it saved them hundreds of thousands of dollars and deferred the cost onto individual loggers, who, for

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[71] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* May 2, 1957.
[72] "Threat to Industry" *Grand Falls Advertiser,* January 9, 1958. 2B; these numbers are incredibly suspect. In 1934 the average production per cutter per day was 1.45 cords. Most likely this production per man day Moore is referring to is for the entire logging season, not just the cut. Thus .73 cords for each logger, cutting, hauling, and driving, and likely cooking, road building etc.
[73] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization," 166-117.

the most part, gladly accepted this new tool.[74] By the late 1950s timber was able to be cut faster than ever, innovation in logging shifted to transporting timber more quickly.

Hauling

The timing of the 1959 IWA Loggers Strike during winter was strategic. Under normal circumstances, pulpwood hauling would be underway at the beginning of January. In most years, the ground was frozen, and in central Newfoundland, there would be a base layer of snow to aid in sled hauling. The haul-off was more dependent upon weather conditions than any other stage of the logging cycle. Wood was cut during most of the year, only stopping because of the spring thaw, deep snow, extreme heat, and fire risk. Wood could be driven from May until November if needed, depending on levels of snow melt and rain. Using the short wood cut and pile method in place in 1958, if winter conditions were not ideal, or otherwise suspended, much of the wood would have to be left in the woods until the next hauling season, as was the case for a substantial amount of the wood cut in 1957-58. A strike during the cutting season could be dealt with simply by pouring manpower into the woods; cutters, albeit inexperienced, could easily be obtained, but the haul-off required specialized workers such as tractor drivers, mechanics, teamsters, and carpenters to keep the sled trains moving while weather conditions were favorable. A disruption of operations during the window of favorable winter weather was hard to mitigate. There is no doubt that the IWA recognized this; especially since there

[74] This is postulating that if AND had to purchase enough saws for all cutters, they would have to purchase around 3000 saws, including spares, plus spare parts. At a low-end average price of $200.00 this would have amounted to at least $600,000. This is not accounting for additional saws and spare parts.

had been several mild winters where hauling conditions were poor in recent years, the IWA wanted to cut off the wood supply by keeping it in the woods. As explained in some detail, 1951 had been particularly mild, leading to a sizable amount of wood being left; 1954's hauling operations were delayed until March when improved conditions salvaged operations.[75] 1955 had been challenging, especially in Terra Nova Division where mild weather prevailed in January.[76] Overall, there were several years during the 1950s when winter weather was unreliable for hauling, which spurred on a search for solutions.

A solution to the obstacles presented by weather and labour conditions was not peculiar to Newfoundland. Though not as reliant on winter hauling, Atlantic Canadian, Ontario, and Quebec pulpwood operations put considerable effort into finding an alternative to winter hauling and a mechanical answer to the issue of year-round hauling. Trucking was one obvious method, but it required the building of expensive woods roads, or at the very least favorable terrain to allow their use. Trucking is not practical in getting wood from the individual cutting roads, especially in spring, summer, and fall. Although widely used for skidding sawlogs in Ontario, horses were impractical for summer short hauls in the cut and pile system used in the Newfoundland lumberwoods.[77] Smaller crawler tractors could be used to haul from the stump; however, as we will see, this could require specialized equipment and was not ideal. Furthermore, Caterpillar stopped producing their D2 model, the machine most suited to this role and most used in

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[75] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* December 22, 1959.
[76] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* January 27, 1955.
[77] Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses.*

Newfoundland, in 1957.[78] The apparent solution appeared to be newer specialized tractors with rubber tracks, better suited to summer and fall operations. The ultimate solution would involve trucking; however, this would be in two chronological stages: from around 1955-63 and 1963-68.

The Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company had built woods roads since the 1920s. The first was built in conjunction with the Government as part of the Hall's Bay Line. The utilization of trucks on this early woods road came shortly after, but the trucks were used for hauling supplies, not wood.[79] The first experiments by AND Co. in using large trucks started in October of 1945 when a Hayes truck was brought into Badger Division. [80]The Hayes truck resembles a modern tractor-trailer logging truck, with a powerful diesel cab unit hauling a trailer with a payload of up to 17 cords of wood. Bowater's pioneered these trucks' use in 1944 and had proven their worth for long hauls. Besides the Hayes truck, AND Co. acquired a Caterpillar DW-10, a far different machine with a similar payload.[81] Both machines were deployed in Badger Division to haul wood from Mark's Lake "across the hump" to South Twin Lake, thus avoiding a complicated delivery via a log drive and ocean towing.[82] Once delivered to South Twin, the wood hauled by the trucks and trailers would still be driven on the Exploits system. Over the next few years these trucks hauled tens of thousands of cords of wood.[83] The operation

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[78] "Caterpillar D2," *Wikipedia*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caterpillar_D2
[79] Andrew Barker, *Logging History*.
[80] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* October 6, 1945, 1.
[81] DW-10s were wheeled tractors that usually towed road scrapers.
[82] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* December 22, 1959.
[83] *Western Star,* Jan-Apr 1948.

was discontinued in the early 1950s when the wood in the area was exhausted. A private contractor was one of the first to use smaller trucks for pulpwood hauling. In 1946, Goodyear's Construction truck hauled approximately 5000 cords of wood over winter roads from north of Windsor directly to the AND Mill.[84] Truck hauling was also undertaken in Terra Nova in 1951, with around 2000 cords hauled.[85] In subsequent years, pulpwood trucking became more widespread in the operations of AND Co. This development was due to the closure of the Bishop's Falls pulp mill.

The cessation of operations at Bishop's Falls meant that pulp was no longer pumped to Grand Falls via pipeline. Wood cut in that section of Bishop's Falls Division now had to be shipped to Grand Falls. The method settled upon was to load the wood via jackladder onto trucks, which then delivered it to Grand Falls via the Botwood Highway.[86] These trucks were loaded directly from the jackladder and were fitted with wooden cages in which the loose wood would safely be contained for the short haul to Grand Falls.[87] Seeing the success of this method here, woods managers began to look at how trucking could improve wood delivery in the timberlands. The Hayes trucks, used by AND Co and Bowater's, were part of specialized operations where wood was loaded by hand into cable-wrapped bundles while still in the water. These bundles were loaded onto the trucks using cranes. The immense weight of the bundles, and the fifteen-cord capacity of the Hayes trucks necessitated mechanical loading, which was not practical in far flung

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[84] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* October 1946-March 1947.
[85] "Notes from our Industry" *Grand Falls Advertiser,* June 21, 1951.
[86] Kitchen, *By the Sweat of My Brow*.
[87] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* February 24, 1955.

operations. Smaller trucks were more practical for pulpwood operations in most areas of central Newfoundland. Initially, these were ordinary heavy-duty stake-bodied trucks that were loaded and offloaded by hand. In practice, the hand-loading and offloading created bottlenecks in the process. A more efficient method was to adapt a conventional dump truck with a frame to hold wood. These trucks could be offloaded in the same manner as a dump truck by hydraulically tipping the back. An improved method was to adapt these trucks to load pallets handloaded at the cutting area. The pallets were winched onto the back of the truck and then offloaded in the same manner as mentioned above. This way, one truck could load pallets filled by several logging crews without waiting. Advertisements for fitting trucks with hydraulic dumps started appearing in 1949.[88] However, the first experimental self-loading pallet truck in AND Co operations arrived at Badger in December 1954.[89] The following December, there are references to truck hauling all over Badger Division. This truck hauling appears to have been confined to that division since the corresponding reports from Terra Nova and Millertown note heavy snow, which in the Millertown Division forced trucks used to transport supplies to be abandoned and their cargoes transferred to snowmobiles.[90] Not coincidentally, the introduction of pallet trucks and the proliferation of wood trucking was in concert with

[88] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, October 2, 1949.
[89] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* December 9, 1954, 3.; It is also worthy to note that this same piece references the arrival of 36 horses at Badger from Manitoba.
[90] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* December 22, 1955.

what Wood Manager William Johnston called a "gigantic road building program second to none anywhere in the Canadian industry."[91]

Initially, conventional and pallet trucks fitted into a niche in the conventional seasonal cut and pile logging system. Wood would be hauled out from the individual logging roads onto a main road by tractor and horse, then it would be reloaded onto a truck, which would bring it to the frozen lake or river; with conventional trucks, this required the manhandling of loads of logs, at least three times.[92] Their use in winter was limited to when conditions suited; as is evident above, they were used early in the hauling season, or they required roads to be plowed. Interestingly, the Hayes Truck and the DW-10 used at Twin Lakes in winter were employed in the same manner as tractors hauling sled trains over snow roads.[93] Utilizing trucks alone during the traditional haul-off season could not break the seasonal dependence or the vulnerability to winter strikes. The solution would be to build more woods roads and to look towards other methods of moving wood.

Intersecting with the main system partway between Badger and Millertown, Noel Paul's Brook is one of the larger tributaries of the Exploits River. Between 1936 and 1964, AND Co conducted logging operations from both the Millertown and Badger Divisions in the Noel Paul watershed, and Noel Paul and its tributaries were extensively

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[91] "The Future of AND Woods Operations: Full Text of Speech Given by Woods Manager W.J Johnston" *AND News-Log* Grand Falls, January 1961.
[92] Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, *Pulpwood,* 1957. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=42upVhNnmSE This film shows the use of horses, tractors, and trucks as it existed in 1957-58.
[93] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* 1946-52.

used for log driving.[94] By 1959, operations on the Millertown side had finished up; but there were still more than a half dozen camps on the Badger side. One of the nearest camps to Noel Paul was supervised by foreman Clayton Holloway. Before taking on the role of camp foreman Holloway had driven trucks and tractors for AND Co; in his former capacity he was one of the Hayes truck drivers at Marks Lake.[95] Holloway's contract in 1959 was on a relatively flat piece of country on a ridge above Noel Paul Brook.[96] The area's topography is dry by Newfoundland standards, with few bogs or brooks, making it suited to summer hauling, thus making it a good location for an experiment in motorized hauling. This hauling experiment was mechanically intensive: 13 trucks and 5 tractors were used in conjunction with a crew of 40 loggers. The project was to move 5,500 cords of wood an average of 2.25 miles (3.63 km) from the cutting area to Noel Paul Brook. In preparation, rough strip roads were bulldozed to each logger's cutting strip which allowed the trucks to haul directly from the stump to the stream; this was done for approximately 3700 cords of the quota. The remaining 1700 cords in less accessible stands were pre-hauled by tractors using a sort of heavy timber sled with a hand loaded pallet called a "Paul Bunyan."[97] Though not noted, the Paul Bunyan likely came with considerable challenges, with both tractor and load having to negotiate rough terrain, rocks, and stumps that might upset the wood. Once the loaded pallet reached the

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[94] The brook is commonly referred to as Noel Paul, or by some old loggers as "Ole' Paul." The brook is named for a Mi'kmaq trapper who trapped in the area in the 19th Century.
[95] "Notes from Our Industry," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* 1946-52, also see *Western Star,* 1946-1948.
[96] The author has an extensive of the area because his father built a cabin on the site of Holloway's camp where this experiment took place.
[97] *Newfoundland Logger,* August 1959, 7.

roadside, it was winched aboard a self-loading truck. Using this method, the forty-man crew accomplished their quota in just 18 days. The daily average was noted at 300 cords, with the peak reaching 527 cords in one day.[98] The latter number was considered a record for hauling at that time of the year and was in fact higher than most camps realized could ever realize during winter operations. The account of this operation appeared in the *Grand Falls Advertiser,* The St. John's *Daily News, Observer's Weekly,* and the *Newfoundland Logger.*[99] The reason why it received so much coverage was that it took place in June and proved that "where ground conditions permit, the hauling of pulpwood is not entirely dependent on Old Man Winter."[100] None of the article's reprints said this meant that Holloway's camp likely did not open for winter and that it was now possible to cut and haul an entire camp's quota of wood within a matter of weeks. It also proved that, cutting, hauling, and even driving could occur concurrently. The heavily publicized operation was also likely a warning to the IWA and the remaining militant loggers: if pushed, wood could be delivered just about any time of the year. The operation at Holloway's camp also utilized equipment in the AND Company inventory rather than having to invest in new machines. But there were limitations, this "doze to road method" was incredibly destructive. The bulldozed strip roads pushed off the layers of soil, and over sixty years later, they are still evident; very little regeneration has since occurred on

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[98] *Newfoundland Logger,* August 1959, 7; this is much higher than the amounts noted during the winter sled haul in 1949-50, further more it is 100 cords per day higher than what could be hauled and offloaded when using the Hystaway cranes. The terrain for Holloways operation was very similar to that in Ball's operation circa 1946-52, as it is withing a few kilometers of the earlier operation.
[99] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* June 24, 1959.
[100] *Newfoundland Logger,* August 7, 1959.

the exposed subsoil. From above, it still looks like a huge rake scoured the country, leaving symmetrical lines perpendicular to the hauling roads. Within a short time, foresters recognized that this method impeded regeneration, and the practice was discontinued in the 1960s.[101]

Using an apparatus like the "Paul Bunyan" was not a permanent solution. The description of the 1959 Noel Paul operation does not mention it; however, in a few photos of summer tractor hauling with what look like sleds, there appear to be several instances captured where the loads have toppled over and had to be reloaded. The reloading was time-consuming, and the instability of the loads could be dangerous to the tractor operator and any other loggers working nearby. The Bombardier Company in Quebec had come to specialize in rubber-tracked offroad vehicles. The most well-known at the time was the early Auto-Neige snowmobile. These had been used with both Newfoundland paper companies for winter transportation since about 1950. Price Brothers in Quebec began to use snowmobiles for sleigh hauling around the same time.[102] There is some evidence that these were used on a limited basis for hauling in Newfoundland, and it was reported that a privately owned snowmobile was being used for hauling in Badger Division in 1956.[103] The exact type of machine is not noted; however, in 1955, Bombardier developed their first machine specifically for forestry operations, the J5.[104] The J5 could be used to haul sleds, but more importantly, it came

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[101] Malcolm Squires Interview.
[102] Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear,* 24.
[103] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* January 5, 1956.
[104] *Musee De L'Ingeniosite J. Armand Bombardier*; https://museebombardier.com/en/joseph-armand-bombardier/

with a rubber-tracked trailer that was suited to summer hauling in rough areas. Two years later, the same company came out with a specially adapted version of their "Muskeg" tractor, the Muskeg HDW. These 15-foot long, 7-foot-wide machines were equipped with a 10-foot-long hydraulic dump, which was built to load 1-cord bundles of pulpwood. Being 7 feet wide, the Muskeg was equipped with wide rubber tracks which exerted very little ground pressure. On paper, it made them ideal to operate in wet and boggy areas.[105] AND Co started to experiment with Muskegs in 1959.

During the summer of 1959, the first Muskegs were used in Badger Division. These small tractors were employed in forwarding wood 400 feet from the cutting area to the haul road. Despite breakdowns and unfamiliarity on the part of the operators, a crew could haul 37 cords in one day. AND Co Woods management was so impressed with the machines that it put six in operation by the following summer. Besides the off-road capabilities, the Muskeg also brought another benefit; its utilization could be adapted to the cut-and-pile system. If the pulpwood was piled in suitably sized piles, it could be loaded onto the back of the Muskeg with only the addition of a "Binderman" to the crew to secure the cables that held the wood — during the summer of 1960, one Muskeg crew hauled 1,800 cords of wood on a 1,000-foot haul in 18 days. Although the distance was considerably shorter and the amount of wood much smaller, this operation was much more efficient than the previous summer's truck and tractor haul at Holloway's camp, fifteen kilometers up the road. Whereas Holloway's 5,000 cords had been hauled by 40

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[105] Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear*, 25.

loggers with 13 trucks and five tractors, those 1,800 cords hauled to Shoulder Blade Lake from Harold Dyke's camp required a crew of 3 with two Muskegs. During the first trials in 1959, the Muskeg was touted to be the solution to the issue of year-round forwarding as was reported in the *Newfoundland Logger*: "Quite a few observers feel that the Muskeg, or a closely related machine may be the answer to year-round all ground type of hauling."[106] In reality, the Muskeg was already obsolete and would be eclipsed by another machine within four years of its introduction. Despite the positive impression of the Muskeg purveyed by the AND Company, it experienced serious drawbacks in some areas. In the summer of 1962 or 1963, forestry student Malcolm Squires observed and reported on a Muskeg operation in Millertown Division. Squires found that there were issues with the tracks, which would come off, come apart, and sometimes tear in rougher terrain, and despite their name, Muskegs did not operate well in boggy ground.[107] The solution to year-round hauling and forwarding was not the Muskeg, but a wheeled machine that would restructure the entire labour process as it existed.[108] That very piece of equipment was already being trialed by Bowater in Glenwood, and on the Humber River.

Skidders

Skidding is the process of dragging whole trees or long logs from the cutting area. Logs were skidded in AND Co operations prior to 1914. At the time, loggers were cutting

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[106] *Newfoundland Logger,* October 1959, 3
[107] Malcolm Squires Interview July 3, 2022-additional notes.
[108] Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear,* 27.

full-length, and later 16-foot logs, and the cutting areas were within reasonable distances of driving waters. Various experiments were tried in mechanical skidding, including attempts at using standard stationary engines as used in boats and sawmills.[109] The most audacious skidding experiment came with purchasing and deploying a Clyde steam skidder in 1922. This machine was brought in to skid bundles of 16-foot pulpwood from the cutting area to a centralized landing, from where it was hauled by horse or tractor.[110] It appears that this machine may have been in use for a few seasons. Still, even if it was successful, the expense and labour required to bring this 25-ton steam-powered machine into the cutting area, as well as other factors such as the introduction of short wood and tractors, prevented any future exploration.[111] The issues with transporting the machine were such that the Clyde steam skidder was abandoned in the cutting area. This method, what Ross Silversides would later call "cable yarding of bundles," turned out to be relatively destructive depending on the ground conditions. Judging from the one existing photo of how the wood was yarded, this work was not exclusively done during the winter.[112] The effects on the landscape from repeated gouging by thousands of pounds of logs are still extant distinctive cartwheel patterns in at least at two of the sites where this machine was set up.

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[109] Williams, *News-Log,* April 1964.
[110] See Canada Lumberman 1922; and Bryan Marsh, "The Clyde Skidder of Kelly's Pond." https://anglonewfoundlanddevelopmentcompany.ca/2019/06/12/the-skidder-the-clyde-skidder-of-kellys-pond/
[111] Williams, "AND Logging Techniques"; *Canada Lumberman*,1922; "Biography of a Woodsman," *The Western Star,* February 7, 1947.
[112] Canada Lumberman, 1922-23.

The prevalence of the short-wood conventional logging system and cycle was not something that was peculiar to Newfoundland. Silversides reports, "In 1951, 95% of the pulpwood produced in eastern Canada was cut manually into short lengths and piled along strip roads before being hauled away."[113] The AND Company was not alone in being reliant on horses and crawler tractors to move its wood, nor was it alone in wanting a solution for year-round hauling. In Ontario, horses were still used for skidding in tree length and summer saw-log operations in the 1950s. It was from Ontario and points west where successful experiments with articulated wheeled skidders would emanate.[114]

The first operational use of articulated wheeled skidders in Newfoundland was undertaken by Bowater in 1962. Harold Horwood places this at Big Falls on the Humber River, while Curran places it in Glenwood District in central Newfoundland. The brand or manufacturer of the machine is not noted in either instance.[115] Horwood states that by June of 1963, Bowater's counted 52 skidders in their inventory, which dramatically decreased the overall cost of their pulpwood.[116] AND was not to be left behind and began their own skidder trials in the summer of 1963. At the time there were several different models of skidders or other hauling vehicles were being evaluated. They included the American Garrett Tree Farmer, which was a wheeled skidder that skidded full-length logs, and the International TC-5, which did the same but rode on tracks.[117] Two of each

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[113] Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear*, 19.
[114] Radforth, *Bushworkers,* 186-187.
[115] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization."; Horwood, *Corner Brook,* 131.
[116] Horwood, *Corner Brook,* 131.This is surprising considering the far-flung operations of Bowater's. It should be noted that AND Co's most distant railwood in 1963 was 145km closer to the mill than that of Bowater's
[117] *AND News-Log,* August 1963, 1.

were leased in June 1963 and tested through the summer logging season. It would be noted the following year that the wheeled type of skidder, the Garrett, was the better machine.[118] The wheeled skidder became standard in Newfoundland, with the Garrett Tree Farmer, the Hough Paylogger, and especially the Timberjack becoming the predominant machines. Moreover, skidders were competitively priced compared to crawlers. In the early 1970s the average price for a new skidder was $21,000, while the cost of a D4 Caterpillar was $25,000.[119] Therefore it comes as little surprise that Price (Nfld.) and its contractors acquired and deployed vast numbers of skidders (See Appendix I Table 8).

It was quickly apparent that the skidder was not just another logging tractor, and the machine's impact on operations would be immense. Silversides notes that:

> Skidders were first used merely to replace animals, but the consequences were far-reaching. The change from the cut-and-pile method of logging that accompanied the wheeled skidder resulted in restructuring the labour process. What had formerly been an individual operation became a group or team enterprise. Because the skidders could operate year-round, felling, skidding, and bucking operations all had to be coordinated.[120]

Whereas the chainsaw did little to change the labour process of logging, as it simply sped up production in the cut-and-pile system, the successful introduction of skidders into the logging equation completely reorganized the labour process.[121] Loggers no longer worked in very small or individual teams cutting and stump-piling wood at their own

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[118] *AND News-Log*, April 1964, 5.
[119] Dennis Cauvin, and Stefan Bandrowski. *Capital and Labour in Newfoundland Forestry*. (Ottawa, 1972), 69-71.
[120] Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear,* 19.
[121] Radforth, *Mechanization.*

pace, removed from the hauling process. Almost immediately, the skidder brought the introduction of skidder crews. A skidder crew generally consisted of five loggers: one operating the skidder, two fellers who carried out the normal logging task of felling and delimbing trees, and two "buckers" who cut the full trees into four-foot lengths at the roadside landing and piled them onto pallets (See Figure 11). The gains in efficiency and production that came with skidder crews were worth the fundamental change in the logging system. In 1963 an experiment with the Garret Tree Farmer at Harpoon Brook was undertaken over six months. During that time, an 11-logger team with two skidders and a pallet truck cut and delivered 3,500 cords of wood. Moreover, the average hauling distance was 4 miles (6.4 km), a considerable distance that, under normal conditions, might require hauling by horse, tractor, and truck. On this operation, the production per man-day was cited at 2.75 cords for the 11-logger crew.[122] This number represents 2.75 cords cut, hauled, and landed in the water—3,500 cords delivered to a driving stream by 11 loggers. During the late 1930s, the average camp of 48 loggers took a contract for 1500 to 2000 cords of wood. Hypothetically, it would take at least 40 loggers 2-3 months to cut this wood, around 25 loggers another 1-2 months to haul it, and then it had to be rolled into the water in the spring at further expense. In the new system that was quickly emerging, more work was accomplished by each logger with the aid of machinery, and by how this machinery facilitated the movement and delivery of wood.

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[122] *AND News-Log,* April 1964, 5.

Figure 11 the stages of skidder and pallet logging in the 1960s and 70s.

By 1964, the three constituent parts of mechanization were in place in AND Co operations: powersaws, skidders, and short to medium distance trucking. The skidder was finally the machine to fill the niche of year-round hauling from the cutting area to roadside. In 1964 AND Co purchased twenty skidders for their logging operations.[123] The following year, the skidder fleet grew to 62. By the end of the decade 158 skidders were supplying the Grand Falls mill. [124] The crawler tractor had coexisted and supplemented the horse in the woods since the 1920s. Although crawlers and machines like the J5 and Muskeg rapidly proliferated in the late 1950s and early 1960s, they did not completely replace the horse for short hauls in rough terrain.[125] As late as 1960, twenty-three percent

[123] *AND News-Log,* April 1964, 5.
[124] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization," 93.
[125] "Horses Obsolete? Nay Says Agar," *AND News-Log,* May 1962, 1.

of all AND Co wood was forwarded by horse.[126] The superior all-terrain capability, flexibility, and payload of the wheeled skidder quickly and unceremoniously removed the horse from Newfoundland pulpwood operations.

There is no definitive date for when the last horse was used in AND Company operations; but it appears to have been in the winter of 1964 or 1965.[127] In 1966, *Price (Nfld.) Facts and Figures* noted that the Company no longer owned any horses.[128] A headline from the March 1966 *News-Log* is titled "Transportation Modes Change Horses Disappear From Limits," alluding to their elimination, but gives no detail on the matter.[129] A detailed account of hauling operations in the Millertown Division in Winter 1965 noted that besides 300 woodsworkers there were: "50 pieces of equipment, ranging from D-7 tractors to rubber track J5's and 250 wood hauling sleighs."[130] Therefore with no mention of horses, it can be concluded that there were no horses in use in Millertown Division that winter, although an article from April of 1965 states that horses "have almost completely disappeared from the woods."[131] The consensus from some informants was that James Vincent was the last contractor-foreman to use horses in the winter of 1964 or 65, and their use was a matter of personal preference.[132] At the time, Vincent was set up in an older camp near Island Pond in the Sandy area of Badger Division. The next camp on the same branch road was a state-of-the-art prefabricated camp with running

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[126] *AND News-Log* April 1965, 5.
[127] Horse related duties were still noted in the 1964 collective agreement, and the possibility that some pulpwood was hauled by horses in small jobber operations in to the 1970s remains.
[128] *Price (Nfld.) Facts and Figures 1966*.
[129] "Transportation Modes Change Horses Disappear From Limits," *Price (Nfld.) News-Log,* March 1966, 1
[130] *AND News-Log* February 1965, 5.
[131] *AND News-Log* April 1965, 5.
[132] Squires Interview; Verge Interview.

water, showers, and a highly coordinated skidder operation. Newfoundland was not some vestigial backwater when it came to the continued use of horses. Radforth cites an example from 1966 in Spruce Falls, Ontario, where the elimination of horses was justified because their productivity was too low.[133] In Newfoundland, as elsewhere, it had been a case of waiting for the right piece of equipment suited for short hauls in high-density, small-diameter timber to finally displace horses.

Although there were 62 skidders in operation in 1965, the logging system in place then was one of transition. In the mid-1960s there was an eclectic variety of motorized hauling equipment in service with AND Co/Price (Nfld.), its company foremen, independent contractors, and small jobbers. The inventory included everything from state-of-the-art wheeled skidders and paypackers, Bombardier J-5s and Muskegs, small John Deere crawler tractors, and the tried and tested Caterpillar and International crawlers that had been used for decades.[134] During this brief period, all this equipment was employed in hauling. [135] The sleigh haul continued for three years after horses were eliminated. In winter, the new skidders were used to land and unload sleds on the lakes and rivers, supplementary to the system they would replace. Although the seasonal nature of logging had mostly been eliminated, geography still played a vital role in how operations occurred. Not all areas could be logged in warmer weather tree-length skidder

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[133] Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses, 206.*
[134] The paypacker appears to be a unique piece of equipment developed specifically for use in Newfoundland. It was an adaption of a skidder for use in cut-and-pile operations. Instead of a winch the machine had a claw-like cradle that picked up piles of pulpwood. It also appears that in some cases skidders were later adapted to "paypack" bundles of cut-and-pile wood.
[135] *AND News Log,* 1963-1965.

operations. Interior Newfoundland is heavily forested but has considerable wetlands. For most of the year, these waterbodies are obstacles, but for decades, loggers had learned to look upon a frozen bog as something beneficial since, in winter, it provided both access to timber and sometimes provided landing areas for tractor trains. Therefore, logging was still conducted in the winter as conditions allowed, or as required. Winter logging, in many ways, was less harsh on the natural environment; in some areas, it meant that elaborate access roads did not need to be built. The frost and snow also cushioned the underlying surface against the weight of heavy logging equipment and allowed access to islands of timber surrounded by wetlands. The demand for fresh wood meant that winter operations continued, albeit on a more limited scale, long after the need for snow and frost for hauling was eliminated. Although a satisfactory logging system that now allowed nearly year-round operations was now in place the mechanization process did not stagnate and the trend of more machines, and less loggers continued as Price (Nfld.) stayed abreast of developments in eastern North America. Less than a decade and a half after the chainsaw superseded the bucksaw as the main cutting implement, the spectre of fully mechanized logging lay just over the horizon.

Chapter Five: A Whole New Playing Field – Continued Mechanization, Infestations, and a Third Mill 1965-1980

If one had to point a finger and pin a date on the critical year for change for the Grand Falls mill's logging operations, it would be 1965 (See Appendix I Table 9). The first half of 1965 saw the official name change from the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company to Price (Nfld.) Pulp and Paper, and the total reorganization of the Woods Department. From February 1965 logging operations were folded into two administrative and operational divisions, Bishop's Falls and Millertown, rather than the four that had exited in 1959, and much of the management was moved to Grand Falls. Continued changes in the woodlands were accelerated by the acquisition of 37 additional skidders, 18 more tandem axle trucks, and 300 company-owned and supplied chainsaws, all the key ingredients for the tree-length system that would eliminate the old cut-and-pile system.[1] Not so coincidentally, the price per cord of cut and piled four-foot wood in 1965 reached a maximum of $10.23 for bad wood and of $8.45 for average.[2] However, because of those key ingredients noted above, the price per cord cut-and-piled was rapidly becoming obsolescent as the days of the traditional cut-and-pile system were numbered.

Hydraulic Boom Arms, Grapples, and Forwarders

One development that has been overlooked regarding mechanization in logging is the use of hydraulic grappling booms for wood handling. A seemingly insignificant photo

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[1] "Woods Supervisory Staff Attend Spring Conference," *Price (Nfld.) News-Log,* May 1965.
[2] *Price (Nfld.) News Log*, July 1965.

in the April 1963 *AND News-Log* depicts an experiment using a John Deere tractor with a rear-mounted rotor boom (See Figure 12). The purpose of the experiment was to determine the equipment's suitability in loading four-foot wood onto pallets.[3] The success of this is not known, however, this is important because within the next two decades equipment with hydraulic booms would be found in various forms in all logging operations. These booms may not have been effective with short wood, but in eight-foot and tree length operations they were a necessity as the wood was too large to be easily manhandled. Hydraulic booms would be particularly important with the introduction of the next important pieces of logging technology, the slasher, and the forwarder.

Figure 12 Rotoboom

The forwarder combined the offroad capability of the skidder with a hydraulic rotating boom; instead of a winch and A-frame, a forwarder had a rear base with a frame that carried a payload of eight-foot logs. Forwarders came into their own with the introduction of short-wood harvesters. However, there were still situations where they

[3] *AND News-Log,* April 1963, 3.

could be utilized to great value. Forwarders were ideal in eight-foot cut and pile operations, where they effectively mechanized the loading of wood in the cutting area. Forwarders, along with the very similar porters, would eventually be utilized with short wood harvesters and would eventually supplant the skidder.

The End of Tractor Hauling

Speculating on "When and if crawler tractors ever disappear" from Price (Nfld.) operations then Woods Manager Ross Sheppard reportedly said that "romance will be gone from the woods forever."[4] This ridiculous-sounding but prophetic quote appeared in the April 1965 *News-Log.* The "romance" he is referring to is the sleigh haul. Crawler tractors would never be eliminated from woods operations, at least not for road construction and maintenance, but for hauling sleds, their days were numbered even in the Spring of 1965. Even after four decades, the crawler tractor would never fully replace the horse; they had coexisted in their niches in hauling since the 1920s. Perhaps the romance was the imminent demise of a logging system that had existed for most of Sheppard's life, based around short wood, snow, and sleds.[5]

For Price (Nfld.), the hauling of pulpwood on sleds ended in the winter of 1968, only three or four years after horses were last used. In the winter of 1967-68, of the 30,000 cords slated for "winter delivery" in Millertown Division (which now contained parts of Badger Division), only 5700 were moved by tractor haul.[6] The last wood hauled

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[4] *AND News-Log,* April 1965, 5.
[5] Sheppard grew up in Badger in the 1920s and 30s.
[6] *Price (Nfld) News-Log,* January 1968, 13.

by tractor and sled was landed from Job Gill's operation near Victoria Lake in Millertown Division during February 1968, nearly fifty years after the first tractors had clanked into the woods of central Newfoundland.[7] All over the woodlands, tractor sleds were left to rot. From now on wood would be hauled by skidder (or some variation including the forwarder and paypacker) and truck.

The 1960s saw the elimination of most of the manual work in the woods, the early part of the decade saw the final elimination of manual cutting. During this same period, horses were rapidly eliminated, and much of the seasonality was eliminated from the industry.

Mechanizing the Log Drive

Oddly, one aspect of the traditional logging cycle still lingered, the log drive. Most accounts will refer to it as the "spring" log drive; however, during this period, the log drive in central Newfoundland extended from May until November. The move to shorter wood during the 1920s meant that most streams in AND Co timber limits were dammed and used to move wood. The move towards trucking and building more and more woods road gradually reduced the number of smaller drives. The years 1964 and 1966 saw the last drives on two of the larger tributaries on the Exploits-Noel Paul Brook and Great Rattling Brook. In the latter case, it was replaced by trucking. What remained in 1966 were log drives on Harpoon, Sandy (and its West Branch) Brooks, and on Victoria River to Red Indian Lake. In each of these cases, the wood was funneled into the

[7] *Price (Nfld) News-Log,* February 1968, 6-7, Interestingly one of the first tractor haul operations had been on the Victoria River System.

Exploits River. As with the other stages of logging, the number of loggers needed on the drive had been reduced over the years. The drive had always required the least number of loggers. Decades of "river improvements" had removed many trouble areas on larger streams. Although steam-powered boats had been used on the log drive since before the advent of the pulp and paper industry, mechanical equipment on the drive was limited. After the Second World War, bulldozers were used in many areas to roll brows of pulpwood into the water. This took a large amount of physical labour out of the watering process but was limited to places to which the machines were accessible. Once skidders became widespread, they, with their small front-mounted blades, were used in the same manner as bulldozers. Trucks were also used in conjunction with the drive. They were used to haul wood directly to the stream; often, ramps were built, and wood was piled in immense piles along the riverbank. Once trucks with hydraulic grab arms and knuckle booms became more prevalent, they could dump wood directly into the river from their racks.[8] In 1960, between 200-420 log drivers were employed by AND during the log drive season.[9] In 1961, ninety-six percent of all AND Co pulpwood was driven at some point, including the fifty percent share that came from areas east of Grand Falls.[10] By 1972 all wood east of Grand Falls was trucked to Grand Falls, but the amount of wood driven directly to the mill from points west still accounted for sixty-eight of total pulpwood deliveries.[11] The persistence of the log-drive on the Exploits was a measure of

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[8] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* September 16, 1985, 5.
[9] *Newfoundland Logger,* July-August 1960.
[10] *AND News-Log,* January 1961.
[11] *Price (Nfld.) Facts and Figures 1973,* (Grand Falls, Price (Nfld.), 1973).

economy; in 1961 the cost of driving wood on the main stem of the Exploits was just two percent of the cost of trucking.[12] The low cost of the log drive kept it going into the 1980s when it was undertaken by a small crew of specialized drivers and isolated to the Exploits River and two tributaries. Environmental concerns and regulations eventually trumped the savings and the last log drive on the Exploits was undertaken in 1992, after which all wood was trucked directly to the mill.[13]

The changes in labour process now meant that all the former stages of the logging process often took place in conjunction with each other. A "summer" logging operation in the mid-to-late 1960s would appear as follows. A team of two fellers cuts trees in the forest; the trees are collected and hauled by the skidder operator and chokerman. These trees are then skidded to a roadside landing, bucked into four-foot lengths, and loaded on a pallet by two buckers. The pallets are winched on a truck, brought to the river, and dumped, or trucked directly to the mill. A live tree could be on the way to the mill in a matter of hours. In this manner, it was possible to harvest and move an incredible amount of wood in an abbreviated period. Additionally, it allowed camps to be open and fully occupied by cutters, haulers, and drivers rather than having to reopen with smaller numbers of loggers in the respective seasons. What kept operations going into winter now was not sled hauling but the winter delivery of wood directly to the mill. During the 1960s and 70s the "Sandy," "New Bay," "Dowd Lake," and "Cornfield Lake" were utilized for the winter cutting and hauling wood directly to the mill. The large, centralized

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[12] Nelson Williams, "AND Logging Techniques."
[13] Glenn Peyton Interview.

camps that remained after 1965, along with the skidder crew-pallet truck method, were ideally suited to the next innovation in woods technology that would come to the forests of central Newfoundland, the timber slasher.

Table 3 Monthly Number of Loggers Working for AND Co./Price (Nfld.) 1953-1969

Monthly Number of Loggers Working for AND Co/Price (Nfld.) from Available data, Selected Years 1953-1969

	1953	**1958**	**1959**	**1960**	**1961**	**1962**	**1963**	**1964**	**1965**	**1969**
Jan	2009	N/A	1200	1502	1305	1217	510	N/A	N/A	745
Feb	1768	N/A	536	205	54	1244	N/A	1065	728	466
Mar	941	N/A	1372	328	47	278	76	198	N/A	39
Apr	1705	N/A	235	205	80	N/A	32	142	80	35
May	1537	N/A	1784	2285	256	543	642	528	131	634
June	1246	N/A	2272	2699	2082	2473	N/A	N/A	N/A	966
Jul	823	N/A	1785	2124	774	1390	1826	N/A	N/A	1034
Aug	1440	889	1298	1000	737	718	1360	1135	N/A	1052
Sep	2219	1388	1570	N/A	1985	1506	1056	608	N/A	958
Oct	2286	765	1270	1840	2707	1593	1292	1244	N/A	840
Nov	737	N/A	695	973	1973	308	1165	708	N/A	729
Dec	420	737	190	511	695	219	414	N/A	N/A	391

From Curran; *Newfoundland Logger, AND News-Log, Grand Falls Advertiser, St. John's Daily News*

The Slasher

The power chainsaw mechanized the cutting phase of pulpwood production over about five years. Other than making chainsaws lighter, faster, and safer, there was little that could be done to improve the cutting phase. Consider a substantial black spruce or balsam fir of approximately 40-feet, taking off a top of about 8 feet leaves the logger with 32 feet to cut into four-foot lengths. From this hypothetical 32-foot stem of black spruce, the logger would have to make one cut to fell the tree, and another to top the tree, then to reduce the stem into four-foot bolts, the stem was cut eleven additional times for a total of 13 cuts. If the length of the bolt was reduced to 8 feet, then the number of cuts required was then reduced to seven, which almost halved the amount of time and effort that was needed to process the tree. The trade-off was that an eight-foot log is twice as heavy and

more challenging to pile, throw and manhandle than a four-foot log. Because of the increased weight the first experiment with eight-foot wood necessitated the acquisition and use of a Caterpillar 977-H tractor with a grapple fork.[14] The Cat 977-H enabled the loading of the heavier lengths, but eight-foot logs still needed to be processed into four-foot logs before being fed into the mill's wood handling system.

Machines had been used to slash wood into bolts with various degrees of safety and efficiency for decades. It was relatively easy to attach a stationary engine to a cut-off saw, and there are photographs of these in Newfoundland during the 1920s, including one example at an AND Co camp.[15] Individual and ad-hoc systems were used in operations elsewhere. During the late 1940s, the Anglo-Canadian Pulp and Paper Company of Quebec ran an experimental tree length in bush slasher operations at their Forestville, Quebec camps. Not only were trees mechanically slashed, but with skidding sulkies and tractors, much of the wood was cut and hauled during spring, summer, and fall. This process improved productivity, but the slasher setups were large and not easily moved once the timber in their radius had been cut.[16] There can be very little doubt that the Woods Department at Grand Falls knew of this development, not only because of the coverage in industry papers but because of the shared lineage and ownership connections between the two companies.[17]

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[14] "1st Phase Completed, 8 ft Wood Experiment," *AND News-Log,* November 1962.
[15] "Pre-confederation Loggers," *Heritage NL*: the author speculates because of a few factors that this cut off saw was employed for firewood rather than pulpwood, and more specifically to supply firewood to a steam skidder.
[16] *Pulp and Paper,* June 1948.
[17] Anglo-Canadian was started by Lord Rothermere in the mid-1920s. It was a wholly different company from AND, but it had some of the same owners and executive. J.D Gilmour, the first professional forester to work for AND Co, left Grand Falls at the request of Rothermere to oversee operations in Quebec. Anglo-

The first experiment with eight-foot wood involved cutting on the New Bay Road just north of Grand Falls and trucking directly to the mill. Since the wood-handling system at Grand Falls was designed to handle the industry standard four-foot wood, the Woods Department at Grand Falls had to adapt. To process the eight-foot wood, AND Co built a purpose-built slasher mill near the Grand Falls Mill. This slasher mill, which appears from photos to be a creative adaptation of sawmilling equipment, worked in this manner: eight-foot logs were unloaded into a separate boom in the river, from this boom the logs were conveyed from the river to the blades of the slasher mill, then deposited on the other side in another boom as four-foot wood.[18] One issue was that the operation of this slasher mill required between 6-8 workers to operate and feed it.[19] In addition, it was not mobile and did not have any possible applications outside of the mill pond/yard. The replacement would be the thin edge of another wedge in an already drastically changing logging industry.

In February 1965, Price Brothers, the now parent company of AND Co, conducted a study regarding the introduction of tree length logging to its Sanguenay-Lake St. John operations in Quebec. The rationale was to "make more rational use of available manpower and eventually eliminate hand sawing and piling of pulpwood – the most arduous part of cutting operations."[20] The result was that Price woods management in

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Newfoundland Development Company Limited*,* Committee Management Meetings 1926-27*,* Box 155*,* Abitibi Mill Collection (PANL)

[18] *AND NewsLog,* November 1962, 6.

[19] *AND NewsLog,* November 1962, 6; in the photo of said slasher mill there appears to be seven workers engaged in the operation of the slasher mill; four feeding logs into its conveyor system from the water, three engaged around the mill, and it is possible there are workers on the other side ensuring logs are smoothly deposited in the river on the other side.

[20] *Price Projections,* September 1969, 8.

Quebec recommended the mechanized slashing of logs. Northern Engineering and Supply Company (NESCO) in Fort William, Ontario, had been building a suitable slashing machine for some time. This machine, called the "Slashmobile," became popular in Northern Ontario, so popular that NESCO reportedly could not supply any operations in Quebec or elsewhere, like Price.[21] To fill this need a machine shop in St. Prime, Quebec, was contracted by Price to build and furnish a self-propelled slasher based along the lines of the Slashmobile. The first machine was ready by September of 1966. Having perfected this type of machine, Les Industries Tanguay Ltee began a lucrative business supplying Price and other operators; within three years, they would build 30 of slashers at a price tag of around $100,000 each.[22] The February 1967 *News-Log* refers to a visit made by Bishop's Falls Divisional Superintendent Ford Budgell to observe tree-length logging operations in Quebec.[23] Thus, it comes as little surprise that less than a year after the first successful slasher operations in Quebec, a Tanguay slasher was in place at the mill pond in Grand Falls.[24] This slasher was put in place for the same reason the machines were deployed in Quebec – for tree-length logging.

Tree-length logging involved very little manual labour. Loggers felled and limbed the trees in the forest with chainsaws, then they were hauled to roadside or landing by skidders, loaded onto tractor trailers mechanically with a loader, then the full trees were

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[21] Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear*, 59.
[22] Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear*, 59. By September of 1969 Price (Nfld.) had three slashers-Mill Pond, Harpoon, and Sandy. A few months later two more were added.; *Grand Falls Advertiser,* May 21, 1970, 1.
[23] *Price (Nfld) News-Log,* February 1967, 12.
[24] *Price (Nfld) News-Log*, May 1967, 12.

trucked to the mill. The first tree-length logging operation conducted by Price (Nfld.) started in June 1967 in the Dowd Lake-Jumper's Brook area of Bishop's Falls Division. This operation was highly mechanized. The equipment required to handle and transport the projected cut of 35,000 cords included a crew of 70 loggers, 12 skidders, five tractor trailers, one specially designed Caterpillar loader, and one Hough unloader.[25]

The tree-length logging operation at Dowd Lake brought a new feature of the labour process into the woods: a night shift. The loading of the full-length trees was done on two nine-hour shifts, as was the trucking, unloading, and slashing. Night shifts had long been a feature of employment in the paper mill, but previously, an official night shift would have been too dangerous for most phases of wood production.[26] A significant reason for a shift towards this fast-paced industrial type of logging was the installation of a new high speed paper machine at the Grand Falls mill. The new machine, originally named "Moby Joe," replaced three of the original paper machines at the mill and increased production soon surpassing 400,000 cords per year.[27]

To cope with the increased demand for pulpwood, Price (Nfld.) purchased two additional slashers in late summer 1968. Instead of placing them at the mill pond, the two

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[25] *Price (Nfld) News-Log*, May 1967, 12.; The operation at New Bay Lake, which had initially produced eight-foot wood was converted over to a four-foot skid to roadside-pallet truck operation.
[26] *Price (Nfld) News-Log,* August 1967, 6. One exception to this rule came in the use of tractors. Some of the earliest tractor hauling operations operated with a night shift, or at least into the night on 20-hour shifts. See Marsh *Forestory*. Tractors were also reportedly used to break in horse trails during the night in some operations.
[27] *Commemorating the Official Opening of the New Machine Room Housing Price (Nfld.) Pulp & Paper Limited's Modern High-Speed Paper Machine "Moby Joe"* Grand Falls (Nfld.): Price Nfld. Pulp & Paper Limited, 1968. Note that within a very short time the name of "Moby Joe" was changed to "Number 3" to conform with Price's corporate accounting system. It was the third new machine installed by Price in Canada in recent years.

machines were deployed directly into the woods. A slasher each was placed in Millertown and Bishop's Falls Woods Divisions, respectively. Both machines were set up for the delivery of four-foot wood to the Exploits River system, the Millertown machine delivering to Harpoon Brook from Murdock Matthews' Harpoon Camp, and the Bishop's Falls machine delivering from William Armstrong's operations at "Sandy Badger Camp" to the Exploits River. The delivery method to the river was new. These two slashers were set up in clearings in the woods where full tree lengths were skidded for processing. Each slasher conveyed the processed four-foot wood into the boxes of specially constructed trucks, which then drove to the stream and dumped the wood.[28] In the case of the unit at Armstrong's operation, a road was specifically pushed to the Exploits River to truck this wood. Because of the relative location Armstrong's dumping site to Grand Falls, being only about 12 miles (19.3 Km), this can almost be seen as the final step in the industrialization of the Exploits River. Even more than ever before, the river was serving as a sluice for wood produced by machines to be fed into other machines at the other end. The slashers in use were reported to be able to produce 5 cords per hour.[29] The operations at Sandy and Harpoon in 1968-69 were a world away from operations at the beginning of the decade. As explained above, all the logging functions that once took place over a year now, at least partially, could take place during the run of a day, with the only exception being the final driving of the wood to the mill.

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[28] *Price (Nfld) News-Log* September 1968, 8-10.
[29] *News-Log*, Feb 1968, 7, 10.

Figure 13 Slasher and loader 1971. Note the size of the slasher compared to the front-end loader, early slashers were mobile in that they could be moved, in practice moving them was difficult. (GFWHS)

Price (Nfld.) continued to pour capital into slashers until most of their camps had an associated slasher. In November of 1971, a seventh slasher was delivered to Bishop's Falls. Since its start in 1967 the trucking of tree-length wood over the Trans-Canada Highway had proven to be difficult, due to the awkwardness of transporting full trees, and highway weight restrictions greatly hampering payloads. This slasher was bought to convert wood into eight-foot logs for delivery to the mill.[30] Capable of slashing over 100 cords in nine hours the replacement of manpower by this slasher was considerable. Contractor Glenn Peyton, who was involved with this operation, also noted that a higher volume of tightly packed eight-foot wood could be loaded on a trailer compared to full tree lengths.[31] The efficiency of transporting eight-foot wood meant that eight-foot eventually became standard for all wood trucked to Grand Falls.

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[30] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* February 15, 1971, 1.
[31] Peyton Interview.

In 1971, J.P Curran observed, "The full impact of the slasher has not yet been felt and thus the gross statistics do not reveal its full impact."[32] In May of that year, the number of loggers working for Price was noted to be a much-reduced workforce of 600; the low was reported to be due to a shutdown at the mill. The peak workforce the previous year was around 1000, dramatically lower than the decade before.[33] Curran, rather generously states, "The capacity of the slasher unit is about 150 cords per nine-hour shift" and 300 cords per day if operating a night shift.[34] This seems overly high since earlier accounts had noted a production of 5 cords per hour (45 cords per shift), 80 cords per shift, and over 100 cords per shift. Curran goes on to give a more general estimate that works with the production methods in saying that each slasher could handle the wood felled by 10 to 15 skidder crews, which under the "cut and buck" system represented between twenty and thirty "buckers" eliminated for each slasher. This gives an estimate for removing a maximum of 210 loggers with the seven slashers in use by 1971.

It took over two years for the Loggers Local of the UBCJ to raise an alarm about the utilization of slashers publicly. Local 2564 President Gonzo Gillingham noted that there had not been any problem with using the machines up to the Fall of 1970 but went on to state that eventually the slasher "would most certainly reduce the number of loggers required for the woods." The same piece, which is headlined "Automation Finding its way into the Woods," goes on to give some detail on a new machine being used in trials

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[32] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization," 102.
[33] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* May 27, 1971.
[34] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization." 102.

by Bowater's in their Glenwood operations. This machine was a "tree harvester," a machine that cut, trimmed, and piled wood, all in one unit.[35] In the ever-competitive pulp and paper industry, officials at Price were no doubt keenly aware of this machine in working in the neighboring timber limits.

J.P Curran postulated that: "The slasher has not yet replaced all buckers, although there is little doubt that it eventually will." As prophetic as this may seem, it did not happen. The woods operations of Price and Bowater's would continue to operate using many different systems, which were determined by various economic and geographic factors and would do so until at least the late 1990s.

In the 1970s slashers became smaller and lighter as their development progressed. The first seven slasher units in use by Price (Nfld.) were large enough to be described as complexes (See Figure 13). One slasher was so large that it could not be transported over the highway and had to be cut apart to be transported by rail.[36] Because of their size and weight slashers were installed in areas close to the main roads; otherwise, they could easily get stuck. Moving a bogged slasher could cause significant delay. In 2003, long-time woods contractor Winston Hollett described how it took four bulldozers and eight skidders to move one slasher.[37] Contractor Glenn Peyton echoed Hollett's comments, noting that one of the machines required two bulldozers with it nearly all the time because it became stuck so often on the rough logging roads.

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[35] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* May 27, 1971.
[36] A.R Penney, *A History of the Newfoundland Railway*. (St. John's, Nfld: H. Cuff Publications, 1988.); Otto Verge Interview.
[37] Heather Ednie, "Equipment Evolution on the Rock" Logging and Sawmilling Journal, July-August 2003. https://forestnet.com/LSJissues/July_Aug_03/contractor_profile1.htm

Smaller slashers, or so-called mini-slashers, arrived in Newfoundland in the mid-to-late 1970s. These smaller slashers did not have the disadvantage of size or complexity of the earlier type. Tanguay's one-person slasher consisted of a hydraulic knuckle boom loader mounted to a simple frame that held the logs and the slashing saw.[38] The concept of the mini-slasher was so simple that at least one local logging contractor fabricated one in the 1980s.[39] There were several different types, including one that used a chainsaw, though a circular saw was found to be superior.[40] The saw worked similarly to an oversized compound miter saw and chopped bundles of tree lengths to the required size. The hydraulic boom loaded and unloaded the wood. Over the next three decades these smaller one-man "mini-slashers" manufactured by several different manufacturers including Tanguay, Prentice, Copeland, and Forano, were a mainstay of Abitibi operations. Despite the coming of new and more advanced systems such as processors, feller bunchers, and harvesters, small slashers were still in use by at least one large Abitibi contractor until 2002.[41] The longevity of these machines was due to their suitability to local conditions and their efficiency in cutting bunches of smaller timber; however, regression in the industry was also a contribution to this longevity.

The First Mechanical Harvesters.

With the chainsaw, truck, skidder, and slasher all successfully in use, Price (Nfld.) utilized three logging systems in the early 1970s, all involving chainsaw felling and

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[38] Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear,* 60.
[39] Glenn Peyton.
[40] Glenn Peyton.
[41] Ednie, "Equipment Evolution on the Rock"

skidder hauling. The differences came at the end of the road, where there could be a team of buckers and pallets, a slasher, or a loader-equipped tractor waiting to handle the tree lengths. Except in the first system mentioned, much of the manual work had been eliminated. Complete mechanization now seemed within reach. Fully mechanized logging was the dream of paper companies and woods managers, including Price (Nfld.), who made few bones about how the existing systems could be easily adapted: "….as soon as a suitable small economic harvester is available. Each system will then be operated without men on the ground – a most desirable objective from many points of view."[42] When this was written, there had already been experiments with mechanical harvesting in the Price (Nfld.) woodlands.

The Pamehac Lake system, southwest of Badger, was last logged in the 1920s and was the site of some of forester J.D Gilmour's spacing and slash burning experiments.[43] Fifty years later, the new logging roads bulldozed into the area were the scene of another experiment. Timberjack, the same company so successful in producing skidders, had developed a prototype for a tree-length harvester. This harvester was mounted on a similar frame as a skidder, using the same type of high-flotation tires (see figure 14). Mounted on the crab-like frame of the machine was "a felling, delimbing and topping mast assembly." The machine felled a tree using hydraulic shears, then the log passed through delimber knives, which stripped all the branches off, and then the delimbed bolt was deposited on a grapple on the side of the harvester. The machine was designed to

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[42] Price (Nfld.), *Submission to the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador for the Federal-Provincial Task Force on Forestry in Newfoundland,* 105.
[43] Malcolm Squires Interview.

stop and harvest all the trees within an approximately 10-foot radius at each stop. Specific Records of how successful the Timberjack tree-length harvester was near Pamehac could not be found; however, one unit that was used and tested by Georgia Kraft Limited in the southern United States noted a production of 4.6 cords per hour. This production rate would have been lower in Newfoundland, but in any event, it was not the failure or success of this machine in Newfoundland that halted its adaption; Timberjack discontinued the development of the prototype soon after the trials.[44] This said, in September of 1972, Price (Nfld.) publicly announced that it was looking to introduce mechanical harvesters to its woods operations, albeit on a "slow scale."[45] The following winter, two Caterpillar 950 Harvesters and a grapple skidder were ordered. Little is known about the use of the Caterpillar 950s, none of the interviewees involved with the Woods Department at the time recalled their use, but Silversides notes that they were ill-suited to rough terrain which would have hindered them in central Newfoundland.[46] The "slow scale" of harvester introduction was sped up in 1973 and 1974 with the acquisition of 12 Timberjack RW30 harvesters. These were similar to the earlier Timberjack tree length prototype in design but were actually a licensed version of a simpler Australian design.[47] The RW30 differed the most in how the processed logs were transported; in this case, they were held in a basket until they were dumped.[48] A spokesperson for Price noted that this purchase was part of a program to completely mechanize all phases of

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[44] Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear,* 78.
[45] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, September 28, 1973.
[46] Otto Verge Interview; Malcolm Squires Interview; Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear,* 90-95.
[47] Silversides, *Broadaxe to Flying Shear*, 92.
[48] *Price Projections*, July/August 1974.

logging "with no conventional man on the ground logging." This drastic step, was dictated because of "rapidly increasing labour costs, and the scarcity of skilled loggers."[49] At $65,000 each, the machines amounted to a considerable investment but not cost-prohibitive, with the total cost coming in at less than $800,000.[50]

Figure 14 Prototype Timberjack feller-delimber, Pamehac, July 1971 (Malcolm Squires)

At the end of November 1972, the woods labour force for Price (Nfld.) was pegged at 871; of this total, 739 were classified as "production workers."[51]A 1973 pamphlet detailing facts and figures for the mill states the number of woods employees as 59 regular, 604 seasonal, and 1,013 for peak operations.[52] Compare this to June 1962, when the total woods workforce was 2,534.[53] Even considering the generous (and

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[49] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* July 15, 1974.
[50] *Price Projections*, July/August 1974.
[51] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* November 30, 1972.
[52] *Price (Nfld) Facts and Figures 1973*, 6. It should be mentioned that the number of employees at the Grand Falls mill and Botwood port was 1145.
[53] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* June 18, 1962, 1; Of this number 2029 were cutting, 71 hauling, 294 driving, and 140 engaged in other work such as road building, dam building, cooking, and other duties.

possibly outdated) figure of 1,013, a comparison of these numbers means that over ten years, the woods workforce for the Grand Falls mill was effectively halved. Surprisingly the UBCJ saw the job losses as unavoidable because it was occurring among all pulp and paper companies and adopted a position of seeking "higher wages for better productivity" for its remaining members.[54] During the 1970s mechanical harvesters would have a significant role in diminishing those numbers even further, but just not right away.

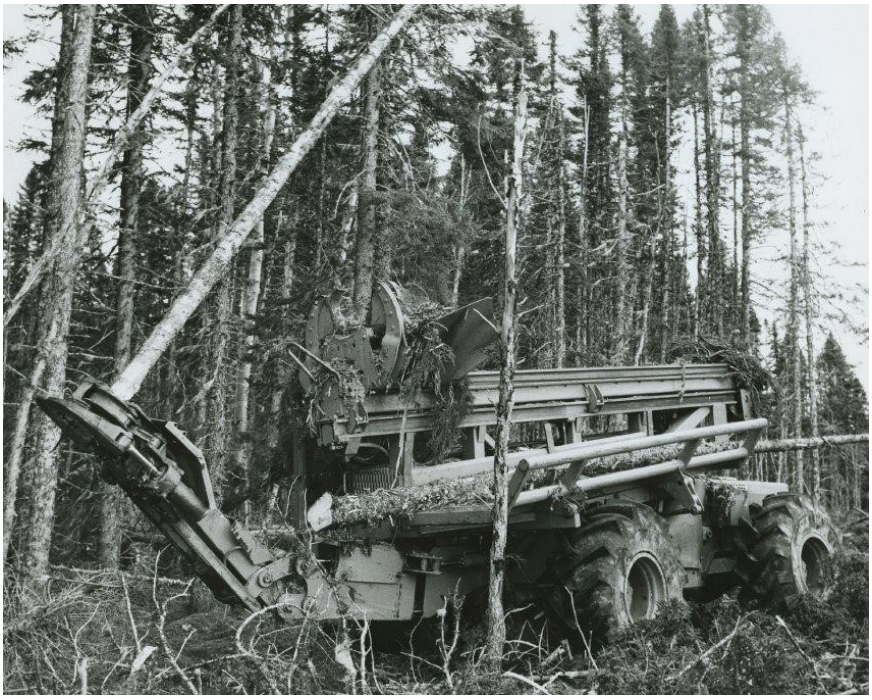

Figure 15 5 RW-30 (GFWHS)

A history of mechanical harvesters in the operations of the Grand Falls mill in April 1998 noted that, although machines classified as harvesters were introduced back in 1973, they had not proven successful.[55] The question is, why? The early harvesters were

[54] Dennis M. Cauvin, and Stefan S. Bandrowski. *Capital and Labour in Newfoundland Forestry*. (Ottawa: 1972), 127
[55] *Abitibi-Consolidated Grand Falls News*, April 1998.

too big, cumbersome, complicated, and expensive. Although they could hypothetically cut more in an hour than a logger could cut in a day, in practice, this was only sometimes the case. Some operators found the machines to be no faster than a logger with a chainsaw. In addition, some of these early machines were tree-length harvesters, which would still require additional processing by a slasher after the logs were skidded from the cutting area. Another major issue came with the cutting head that was used in the early generation of harvesters. These harvesters used a shear cutting head and a blade using hydraulic force to cut a log, much like garden loppers or pruning sheers cut branches. It was relatively uncomplicated compared to a chain but had one major drawback. The shears did not give a clean cut, splintering and cracking the butt ends of logs. This made a significant number of logs unusable as sawlogs. This would not have been a major issue in earlier years when four-foot wood was being cut for pulp alone. However, with the move towards eight-foot wood, Abitibi-Price was in sawlog exchange agreements with some sawmill operators, making the poor butt-end cuts a significant problem. Another issue was that in other areas, the practice used tree length harvesters with grapple skidders. Price (Nfld.) and its contractors did not have grapple skidders and had to use existing inventories of cable skidders, which were ill-suited to working with the RW30. This was because the machine dumped a load of processed logs, which usually scattered on the ground, making collection difficult. To mitigate this, at least one of the contractors using the RW30s acquired special cables, which were choked on the pile before being dumped from the harvester. These cables held the wood together so they could be

forwarded easily by a cable skidder. This system was developed by Bowater's, who also experienced similar issues with tree-length harvesters.[56]

The next move was towards short wood harvesters. These machines performed the feller, delimber, and slasher roles. On paper, they were the ideal machine for pulpwood operations, in practice the early models had problems, mainly due to the processing heads. In the late 1970s Price (Nfld.) brought in several short wood harvesters for their contractors. Two types were acquired, with cutting heads attached to a tracked excavator-type tractor; International made one model, while Drott produced another. These machines had nearly the same appearance as later harvesters, but the difference was in the processing head. Both harvesters used a "Timmins Head," which both felled and limbed the tree. Unfortunately, Timmins heads used cutting sheers, which still caused damage to the log. They caused more damage to more logs than earlier machines since the sheer was used cut the tree into individual lengths. The sheared logs were mostly unusable for anything but pulp, or as one user put it, "Forget about any of it for saw logs."[57] These early short wood harvesters were used at Dowd Lake and New Bay Lake, both east of Grand Falls. Photographs taken at operations at Pamehac Lake and on Red Indian Lake during the same period do not show any harvesters but depict manual felling operations where wood was slashed directly into the water.[58] Both the Dowd Lake and New Bay Lake operations trucked their wood directly to the mill. Thus, it is likely that

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[56] Glenn Peyton Interview.
[57] Glenn Peyton Interview.
[58] Andrew Barker. "A Report on the Development of Instructional Units Entitled 'Logging with the AND. Company, 1909-1960' and 'Logging with Price (Newfoundland)" Summer Operations.'" Education Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland., 1981.

the deployment of harvesters was an attempt to lower production costs and offset the difference in trucking wood rather than river driving. The Drott harvesters, at least, proved too expensive and slow; and they were not suited to low-volume, high-density stands common in Newfoundland.[59] The low speed compared to manual felling and roadside slashing was a significant factor in the failure of the first attempts at mechanical harvesting, as was the expense in their purchase and operation, especially as a downturn hit the pulp and paper industry in the early 1980s.[60]

Figure 16 Shear head on the prototype Timberjack harvester-processor. The pressure exerted by these felling heads tended to splinter tree trunks. (Malcolm Squires Photo).

The number of jobs eliminated by the first harvesters was smaller compared to the losses in the 1960s, especially considering the theoretical production potential for some of these machines. In the mid-1970s Price (Nfld.) employed about 700 loggers (See Table 8). By

[59] Peyton Interview
[60] Peyton Interview, Wellburn, G. V., G. Franklin, E. Heidersdorf, and G. V. (G. Vernon) Wellburn. *Logging Systems in Newfoundland: a Study*. St. John's, Nfld: Forest Products and Development Division, Dept. of Forestry, 1989, 11.

1981 the number of Abitibi loggers was "roughly 600."[61] And for a time it appeared that woods labour requirements might stabilize between 5-600 loggers with no significant changes on the horizon, and existing systems honed to an acceptable efficiency. The following year, the number was quoted as "close to 500."[62]

"Where Have All the Good Loggers Gone?"

So where did all the loggers go after mechanization halved Price Newfoundland's labour requirements? The highways that made it easier for loggers to get to work and for the paper company to truck wood was where many loggers found work. Before Confederation, Newfoundland possessed a sporadic patchwork of public roadways, some of which existed as islands connected by the railway. The early 1960s saw the push to complete and pave the Trans-Canada Highway across Newfoundland and to connect hundreds of isolated settlements to the road network. Much of the workforce in road construction was drawn from the same areas as the logging workforce, not only because of proximity but also because of relevant skill sets.

Since tractors, graders, and dump trucks were used in the pulpwood industry extensively in the years following the Second World War, a corps of trained operators had emerged there. Tractors were used for hauling logs, and often repurposed for road construction during the summer months. Thus, many AND Co employees had the skills the government and road contractors required on the Trans-Canada Highway and other

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[61] *Abitibi-Price Grand Falls News,* June 1981.
[62] *Abitibi-Price Newfoundland Newsletter,* March 1982.

road-building projects. Loggers' experience in building woods roads transferred easily to the rapidly expanding post-confederation construction industry. Before the 1960s, there were almost as many private wood roads as there were public highways. Sometimes, woods roads and highways were built by the same contractors; J. Goodyear and Sons, for example, built the Badger-Sandy Motor Road and the road from Millertown to Lake Ambrose for the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company. They also built the Buchans Highway, the Leading Tickles Road, Bonavista North Highway, and numerous other roads for the Newfoundland Government.[63]

The pulpwood harvesting and woods road building industries were a major area in which many learned how to drive large trucks. With the expansion of the highway system, the amount of goods that were transported by truck grew. In 1965, it was estimated that there were around 17,000 truckers in the province of Newfoundland, with the number expected to grow.[64] The growth in trucking presents an interesting dichotomy in pulpwood logging, as truck drivers were in increasing demand in that industry as ever-increasing amounts of wood were trucked to the mills.

The effects of mechanization were felt even before the skidder's proliferation or the slasher's introduction. The Annual Report for the Department of Public Welfare summarized the economic situation in parts of central Newfoundland and partially explained with other job options displaced loggers might have:

> The main sources of employment are with the paper company, the fishery and the mining companies. Since the mechanization of the logging industry fewer men find

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[63] David McFarlane, *The Danger Tree: Memory, War, and the Search for a Family's Past.* (Toronto: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 1991.)
[64] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* May 13, 1965, 1.

> employment in the bush but many of those who are unemployed have been able to find work in Labrador, in the mines on the Baie Verte Peninsula and in construction work.[65]

Mining provided an alternative to some of the displaced loggers in the Badger and Green Bay area. Some residents of Badger were able to find work at the Buchans Mine. Additionally, Gullbridge Mine, at Gull Pond between Badger and South Brook, and the Whalesback Mine near Springdale both went into production in the mid-1960s and employed hundreds. Mining, however, was a highly fluctuating and finite industry, and did not prove to be a solution for long-term employment. By the early 1970s, the Buchans mine was nearing the end of its lifespan. Despite hope that further deposits could be found by geologists, the mine wound down in 1979 and finally shut down totally in 1984. Its closure was a blow to central Newfoundland; not only were hundreds out of work, but Price (Nfld.) no longer profited from its share in the operation. Although Buchans mine operated for six decades, the lifespan of the much-anticipated Gullbridge Mine was much briefer, it closed in 1971; Whalesback closed the following year.[66]

As job losses mounted in the core pulp and paper industry, there were other economic opportunities within the province. However, much of this work was in Labrador, much further from home than even the most remote logging camps. Thousands of workers were attracted to the well-paying jobs at the Labrador City and Wabush iron ore mines. The Churchill Falls Hydroelectric project employed over 6,000 workers

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[65] Newfoundland Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare 1963*. Dept. of Public Welfare, St. John's NL, 1963, https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/annuals/id/2212 , 211.
[66] Rick Rennie, "Mining," *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador, https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/mining.php*

during construction from 1969 and 1974, but this was short-term employment.[67] Hydro development on the island provided more short-term employment.[68] Between 1964 and 1970 approximately 1,800 workers were employed on the Bay d'Espoir project. Construction of the Come By-Chance oil refinery at Come-By-Chance provided further temporary employment. By the summer of 1972 2,000 construction labourers were on site in upper Placentia Bay.[69] The refinery site was within commuting distance of several communities that had provided woods labour to AND Co, specifically the communities in the Southwest Arm of Trinity Bay, as well as the communities from which the bulk of the Placentia Bay loggers resided.

Although founded as a forestry center, Point Leamington had a mixed economy. The soil in the area was suitable for agriculture, there had been considerable farming since the late 19th century, and some larger-scale poultry and livestock farming developed in the 1970s. Despite being on the ocean, only the fishery for squid, salmon, and lobster were of any significance, and only pursued on a limited basis. In the early 1980s the squid fishery experienced a tremendous boom due to demand in Asia with prices hitting $2.00 a pound. Many Point Leamington and area residents engaged in catching and drying squid during this time. In the nearby forests, Harold Sheppard operated a sawmill and engaged eight men in the woods during winter in the 1980s. With Abitibi paying over $50 at cord for wood, there were some pulpwood cutting on the

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[67] Churchill Falls Generating Station https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Churchill_Falls_Generating_Station
[68] Melanie Martin, "Bay d'Espoir Hydro-Electric Project," Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador, https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/politics/bay-despoir-project.php
[69] Jenny Higgins and Melanie Martin, "The Come By Chance Oil Refinery," *Heritage NL,* https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/politics/come-by-chance.php , March 2024.

Crown limits in the immediate area. However, it was reported that a contractor might clear $4.60 a cord after expenses; it was not a lucrative undertaking to pursue on a small scale. Despite the job losses through mechanization, in 1980 it was estimated that half of Point Leamington's male workforce was still employed in Abitibi woods operations outside the community.[70] Some stayed in camps and some commuted depending on the location. Abitibi had licenses close to the community, which allowed for some to have a very short commute. However, it was also reported that some commuted daily as far as Millertown, two hours away.[71] In 1997 there were still 22 Loggers from Point Leamington working with Abitibi.[72]

Despite the reliance on forest industries, one of the oddest success stories of diversification occurred in Point Leamington when in 1988 Superior Glove Works opened a factory there. The Ontario manufacturer chose the site at the suggestion of Point Leamington native working for them at their Acton, Ontario plant. The glove factory has been open for over thirty years, and by 2022, it employed 150 people and had expanded with a new facility in Springdale.[73] Surprisingly, this number is more people than the paper companies ever engaged from Point Leamington. Despite the success of the glove factory, Point Leamington has been subject to the same decline as much of rural

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[70] *Decks Awash, Vol. 10, No. 05 (October 1981)*. Memorial University Extension Service, 1981.
[71] Glenn Peyton, Interview. Harpoon Camp was about 160 km from Point Leamington.
[72] Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union, *The Forestry: Its Contribution to the Newfoundland Economy and How Job Losses Have Impacted*, (CEP, 1998.)
[73] Barb Dean-Simmons, *Ontario glove manufacturer building $5-million factory in Newfoundland,* September 23, 2022. https://www.saltwire.com/atlantic-canada/business/ontario-glove-manufacturer-building-5-million-factory-in-newfoundland-100776308/ Accessed September 25, 2022.

Newfoundland; in 1961, the population was 901, hitting a high of 940 ten years later, but as of 2021, the population is 574.[74]

Areas in eastern Newfoundland were affected earlier by mechanization, modernization, and most importantly reorganization. Although Terra Nova was the last division opened by AND Co, the immediate area, including Gambo and Hare Bay, signified one of the largest concentrations of loggers living near operations. During the late 1950s, both output and employment in Terra Nova division increased as between 57,000 and 80,000 cords of wood were produced each year.[75] By 1963, most of the mature timber in the Terra Nova watershed was logged out, and the decision was made to close the Divisional Headquarters.[76] This came as a massive blow to the tiny isolated logging depot settlement of Terra Nova, as the supply store and office were closed. Numbers of contractor foremen who had operated camps in the division for years were now faced with varied options in terms of employment. Some were eligible for retirement, one foreman found himself as the gatekeeper on the woods road at Gambo; another was put in charge of an operation in Badger Division. A similar fate met most of the office and divisional staff; some moved to the vestigial operations in Gambo, while others were moved to the woods department in Grand Falls, including an Assistant Superintendent and an Accounting Clerk, the General Foreman of Terra Nova was

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[74] Historical Statistics of Newfoundland and Labrador, (St. John's Queen's Printer, 1994). ; Point Leamington, 2021 Census of Canada https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&SearchText=Point%20Leamington&DGUIDlist=2021A00051008049&GENDERlist=1,2,3&STATISTIClist=1&HEADERlist=0

[75] Inder, Harry *Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company*, 19. Between 1957 and 1962 approximately 346, 718 cords of wood had been brought to Grand Falls from Terra Nova Division by rail.

[76] *AND News-Log*, June 1963.

transferred to the same position in Badger Division.[77] The division's staff had been whittled away in recent years, and at the time of closing it did not have a dedicated Superintendent. In the mid-1960s the remaining operations consisted of two seventy-man camps and a commuter operation in the Gambo area. These supplied the loading plant at Gambo Pond, which still employed around 30 loggers during summer.[78] The reason for the closure of Terra Nova was vaguely explained by AND Co as being due to "the reorganizations of the company's woods operations." The remaining Gambo operations were now going to be under the supervision of Bishop's Falls Division, but the reasons behind the closure may be more complicated. As previously noted, the AND Co, for some years, had been examining how it could cut down on using expensive and far-flung timber supplies. The wood in the Terra Nova section was situated hundreds of miles from Grand Falls, but more importantly, hundreds of miles from Grand Falls and not on the Exploits system. Between 1957 and 1962, approximately 350,000 cords of wood were transported to Grand Falls from Terra Nova Division, each with a corresponding cost paid to Canadian National Railways for shipping.[79] In contrast, during that same time, 793,197 cords were delivered via the Exploits River to Grand Falls from Millertown and Badger Division at a fraction of the cost of the Terra Nova wood.[80]

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[77] *AND News-Log,* July 1964, 3.
[78] *AND News-Log,* June 1963, 1-2.
[79] Inder, 19. A contractor also had to be employed at Grand Falls to offload the wood as well. This was work was carried out by Mr. Ray Brown and later Mr. Elijah Price.
[80] Inder, 19.

After the closure of Terra Nova, Price's eastern operations shrank each year. By 1967, there were no operations in the Gambo area during the winter season.[81] Two years later, Price suspended their Gambo operations entirely, which impacted Bonavista Bay loggers. The 1969 Report for the Department of Public Welfare notes the following:

> During the year under review [1969], Price Nfld. Ltd,., closed out their entire operation in the Gambo area.
>
> While the large construction projects going on at Churchill Falls and other areas in the Labrador purportedly should make some appreciable difference in the unemployment picture, it has been found that this is far from the case. By and large the men who seek employment from this source are unable to qualify for a variety of reasons, the most common being the lack of required skills.[82]

The building and opening of Terra Nova National Park created a few jobs in the area, but not on the same scale as logging operations.[83] Despite considerable research, it could not be determined precisely when or if operations in the Gambo area resumed. At times, there were rumblings of restarting, but an aerial photograph taken in 1977 reveals a disused or abandoned railway siding and the ruined remains of buildings where the loading facility had been. However, in this photo there is a substantial sawmill on Gambo Pond, complete with booms, sourcing its log supply from the area around the pond.[84] This sawmill was opened by a company called Rayo Forest Industries in 1973.[85] Compared to many others on the island, it was very well equipped with machinery that included both a ring

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[81] *Price Newfoundland News-Log,* January 1967, 5.
[82] Newfoundland Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report of the Department of Public Welfare 1969* ,177.
https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/annuals/id/4156/rec/3 August 12, 2023.
[83] Sean Cadigan, *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History,* 245.
[84] Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Fisheries, Forestry and Land resources, Aerial Photographic Library, Roll 31109 Frame 150, Gambo Pond, 1976.
[85] "Rayo Forest Industries," Registry of Deeds and Companies, Newfoundland and Labrador, https://cado.eservices.gov.nl.ca/CADOInternet/Company/CompanyDetails.aspx , August 13, 2023.

debarker and a wood chipper, which allowed the mill to produce wood chips for pulp and paper production.[86] There was an arrangement for transporting wood chips from this mill to the paper mill at Grand Falls.[87] This allowed for the exploitation of Price's remaining timber stands in the area in a manner that still provided local employment. At its peak, the Rayo sawmill employed about 80 people.[88] Unfortunately, the lifespan of the sawmill was short as it was plagued with problems. Funding for the sawmill had come through a loan with the Newfoundland and Labrador Development Corporation. Within a few years, Rayo found itself unable to pay off its debt, and the machinery was put up on tender in 1977. The financial difficulties of Rayo were partly blamed on a lack of timber due the ongoing Spruce Budworm infestation.[89] In the words of the local Member of the House of Assembly, the mill was "too large for the wood supply."[90] Attempts were made at selling the Rayo mill and downsizing it in order to salvage wood from a fire that occurred around 1979 were made, but by the early 1980s, for all intents and purposes, the last vestiges of the Terra Nova Woods Division were gone.[91] Abitibi-Price still held the timber rights in the area, but very few stands had not been logged over, infested, or

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[86] *The Western Star,* September 22, 1977.
[87] https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/nl_gazette/id/15582/rec/2
[88] *Official Report of Debates (Hansard), House of Assembly of Newfoundland 1978,* (Newfoundland House of Assembly)https://www.assembly.nl.ca/houseBusiness/Hansard/ga37session3/April20-1978(ns).pdf August 14, 2023.
[89] *The Western Star,* September 22, 1977; Alec Stacey Newsclippings Collection, *Community Series Section 0041 Central Region Bonavista North District;* *https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/staceycoll/id/3195/rec/8*
[90] Alec Stacey Newsclippings Collection, *Community Series Section 0041 Central Region Bonavista North District*, 6.
[91] Alec Stacey Newsclippings Collection.

burned, and a new crop of trees was decades away. Despite the distance from operations seven loggers from Hare Bay still found work with Abitibi in the late 1990s.[92]

In some areas, where possible, fishermen-loggers and some former loggers returned to the fishery. Many residents of the Springdale, Pilley's Island, and Triton area of Green Bay found work in the logging camps, especially in the 1940s and 50s when AND Co was operating out of Twin Lakes and Bowater's was operating in Robert's Arm. AND Co finished at Twin Lakes in 1957, and Bowater's finished in Robert's Arm in the 1960s. In the 1970s and 1980s, the fishery began to redevelop in Green Bay, culminating in the opening of a large fish plant at Triton employing upwards of 90 people when it opened in the late 1970s.[93] Despite the fisherman-logger's perceived disappearance, some still pursued work in both industries becoming logger-fishermen. However, by the 1980s this was becoming a challenge as obtaining a part-time commercial fishing licence became increasingly difficult. The problem was summarized by Bramwell Flight of Cottles Island, Notre Dame Bay, who noted: "I have a choice. I can go fishing full time or I can work in the woods, but I can't do both." Flight, a timber loader operator, had worked in the woods since 1953 and was one of the 6-800 loggers still working for Abitibi-Price in 1981.[94]

The return of many outport workers to the fishery was eased by the social programs brought about by Newfoundland joining Canada. With Confederation in April 1949, loggers and lumbermen became eligible for unemployment assistance but not unemployment insurance. Fishermen, who were mostly self-employed, selling their catch

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[92] Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union, *The Forestry.*
[93] https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/staceycoll/id/2258/rec/4
[94] "Door Closing Fast on Loggers," *Abitibi-Price Grand Falls News,* June 1981.

to local buyers and merchants, were not eligible for benefits. At the time, there were two tiers of benefits: Insurance and Assistance. The difference needs to be clarified. Unemployment Insurance is what most would recognize as benefits based on work recorded in a book, where stamps were issued by the employer, and benefits based on the work done. Assistance appears to have been more of a form of relief, which was "payable for a maximum period of six months from the date of application."[95] This changed in April 1950 when "employment in logging and lumbering in all parts of Canada became insurable employment."[96]

In 1950, the Unemployment Insurance Commission Office for central Newfoundland and Notre Dame Bay was in Grand Falls. With a staff of 20, it processed 2,482 applications for employment in the first two months of that year.[97] Even with these numbers, when the IWA came to Newfoundland in 1956, they found that some loggers still needed to take advantage of the system in the off season and were provided with assistance filling out the forms.[98]

A fundamental change occurred in November of 1957 when the House of Commons passed an amendment to the Unemployment Insurance Act. The amendment extended the period in which benefits could be drawn, but most importantly, it extended unemployment benefits to seasonal fishermen.[99] The amendment had been spearheaded

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[95] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* November 5, 1949, 1.
[96] Jim Overton, "Original Intentions' and the War on UI: Newfoundland's Proposal for an Income Supplementation Program." *Canadian Review of Social Policy*, no. 36 (1995): 1–26. http://www.jstor.org/stable/45407463. August 13, 2023.
[97] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* March 17, 1950.
[98] Gillespie, *A Class Act*.
[99] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* December 19, 1957.

by Jack Pickersgill, the Member of Parliament for Bonavista-Twillingate, who had thousands of constituents that would benefit from this change.[100] Pickersgill was greatly encouraged on this matter by Premier Smallwood. Adam Vickers examined Employment Insurance and its effects on outport Newfoundland; he argues:

> Employment Insurance was meant to be a program that eased the transition between jobs when persons found themselves out of work. However, the history of the institution has morphed into an income supplement program and helped make possible increased participation in the fishery.[101]

In his examination, he fails to recognize the role of seasonal woodswork or the fact that the same program allowed UI to be a safety net for loggers in the off months. Nor does Vickers recognize the implications that with the extension of UI benefits fewer fishermen had to supplement their income with woodswork. The extension of benefits to fishermen broke what Sutherland saw as a decades long cycle of woodswork supporting the fisher-merchant relationship.[102] As early as 1954 AND Co published reminders to loggers to bring their unemployment insurance books when seeking work in the camps.[103] The Badger Division employment assistant in the late 1950s recalls issuing stamps for unemployment books as one of his key duties.[104] As operations become increasingly mechanized and the peak logging season shrunk UI would play an increasing role in the economic survival of the remaining woods workers, not out of choice, but out of necessity.

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[100] Adam Vickers, "A Historical Institutional Perspective on Public Policy and Employment Insurance in Rural Newfoundland." *Mapping Politics*, 2 2010, 21-31. 21
[101] Vickers, "A Historical Institutional Perspective on Public Policy and Employment Insurance in Rural Newfoundland," 24.
[102] Sutherland, "We are Only Loggers."
[103] "Memo to Loggers," *Family Fireside,* (St. John's, Gerald S. Doyle Ltd.), January 1954, 1.
[104] Otto Verge Interview.

In 1959, AND Co employed at least 1,200 loggers for seven months (See Table 3).[105] The following two seasons saw a larger number of loggers employed for a shorter period, with between 1,800-2,700 loggers employed for four out of twelve months in both 1960 and 1961. In subsequent years, the number of loggers employed began to drop, by no small coincidence, with the introduction of the skidder and the reorganization of operations. Price (Nfld.) stopped publishing Woods employment numbers during the period in which the numbers began to decrease; whether this was intentional or not is not known, but for public relations, a clear sign of job loss would have been hard to show in a positive light. Fortunately for displaced loggers, at the same time the mass job losses occurred, the construction industry was demanding workers for infrastructure projects. By 1972 the professionalization of logging had taken hold, and with competition for the same skills in the construction industry woods managers pondered the question, "Where have all the good loggers gone?"[106] After 1957 changes to UI made fishing possible as a sole occupation for many fishermen who had fallen back on woods work for supplemental income. Still for others looking for better opportunities or no longer able to exist in the rural economy, outmigration was the best option.

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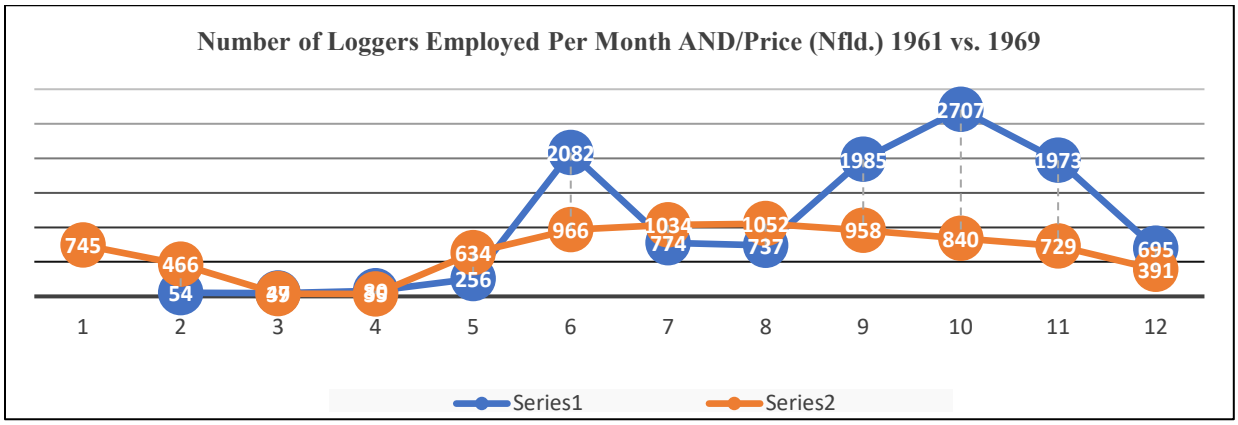
[105] There are no numbers for January 1959, however this was during the height of the IWA Strike and the numbers would not reflect a normal logging year. There are also unusually high numbers for July and August, most likely to make up for lost time during the strike.

[106] Dennis M. Cauvin, and Stefan S. Bandrowski. *Capital and Labour in Newfoundland Forestry*, Ottawa: 1972, 127-130

Table 4 Number of Loggers Employed Per Month AND Co/Price (Nfld.) 1961 (blue) and 1969 (orange).



Infestations and the Challenge to the Newsprint Industry

Since the beginning of the pulp and paper industry in Newfoundland fire has been the foremost natural threat to the wood supply. For several factors related to climate, insects had caused little concern. This would change in the late 1960s and no analysis of Newfoundland's woods industries in the 1970s and onward would be complete without addressing the effects of insect larvae on softwood timber. Two forest insects impacted Newfoundland's forests and the operations of the resident paper companies more than any other external natural factor. Hemlock Looper and Spruce Budworm infested and damaged immense stands of coniferous trees, damaging hundreds of thousands of cords of merchantable timber.

The Hemlock Looper is a moth larva and mainly affects balsam fir. This insect had caused known infestations at various locations on the island since early in the 20th century. Except for a small area around Badger Lake attacked around 1915 the impact of

the early infestations on AND timber limits were small.[107] The number of looper larvae collected grew in the mid 1960s, until the summer of 1966 when warm dry conditions, contributed to a dramatic increase in their number. While several small patches near Pamehac and Tom Joe Brooks were defoliated in 1966 and 1967, 1968 saw the spread from this area and a patchwork of destruction wrought throughout central Newfoundland.[108]

Fortunately, one of the heaviest impacted areas was near the existing New Bay Lake camp, which was site of an active logging operation. Likewise, the Pamehac infestation was close to the new Sandy Road, and easily connected to Grand Falls and the Exploits River. The salvage here, however, required building a new camp and altering cutting plans. Much of the area had been cut less than fifty years previous, and thus the wood was not at peak maturity. Because looper-damaged wood deteriorated quickly, it was urgent to harvest the wood before it became unusable for pulp. Before 1970 Price (Nfld.) and Bowater's estimated that they had salvaged some 800,000 cords of insect-damaged wood. At the time, there were still substantial stands of damaged timber in more inaccessible areas further from existing roads.[109] Nonetheless, 30.4% of Price's harvest

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[107] Imre S. Otvos, L. J. Clarke and D. S. Durling, *A History of Recorded Hemlock Looper Outbreaks in Newfoundland,* (Environment Canada, December 1979), 8. https://scf.rncan.gc.ca/pubwarehouse/pdfs/6737.pdf
Judging from the location depicted on the map, the area in question would have been undoubtedly logged over recent to the infestation (1894-1914), with the growth being no more than twenty years old at that point. A few small isolated areas around Badger Lake were logged during the 1950s, perhaps as a result of regeneration from this infestation.

[108] Otvos, Clarke and, Durling, *A History of Recorded Hemlock Looper Outbreaks in Newfoundland,* 19-23.

[109] "800,000 Cords of looper damaged wood salvaged", *Grand Falls Advertiser,* November 16, 1970

between 1968 and 1971 consisted of wood salvaged from infestations.[110] This infestation of Hemlock Looper began to collapse in the early 1970s through a combination of natural and human intervention that included spraying and introduced parasites, fungi, and disease.

Unfortunately, just as the looper epidemic began to decline another and even worse infestation was detected. Much like the Hemlock Looper, the Spruce Budworm is the caterpillar form of a moth. Although the budworm had caused small and sporadic outbreaks going back to 1942, the infestation beginning in 1971 would be devasting.[111] In August 1974, a colossal population bloom of budworm moths descended on central Newfoundland. The insects were so numerous that there were reports of planes flying through clouds of them and car radiators becoming clogged with the moths.[112] The descending plague of moths was a harbinger of a pending disaster. By 1977, the infestation spread throughout Newfoundland, encompassing most of Price's timber holdings.[113] Before the 1970s, little thought had been given to the threat of budworm. This was because most of interior Newfoundland receives frost in June, which kills off many of the larvae; unfortunately, for three years in the mid-1970s, these late frosts didn't materialize. This caused a situation where the pests multiplied exponentially, affecting tens of thousands of square kilometers of timber. As Malcolm Squires, Chief Forester with Price (Nfld.), puts it, "Spruce Budworm was never given credibility in

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[110] Otvos, Clarke, and Durling, 31.
[111] Imre Otvos, B.H Moody, *The Spruce Budworm in Newfoundland: History, Status and Control,* (Fisheries and Environment Canada, St, John's, April 1978).
[112] "Central area infested with the adult of spruce budworm", *Grand Falls Advertiser,* August 15, 1974.
[113] Otvos and Moody 18.

Newfoundland until the late 1970s, and by then, it was too late."[114] Without a natural control, the budworm infestations could not go unabated. By at least 1982, a spray program was initiated, with funding coming from the two paper companies and the provincial government, each paying a third of the approximately $900,000 program cost.[115] Aided by the spray program and environmental factors, the infestation would eventually collapse, but it would have severe and far-reaching implications for the pulpwood industry.

Enter the Labrador Linerboard Mill

Although never the intention when it was built, the fate of the Stephenville Linerboard mill would be linked to that of the Grand Falls mill because of Stephenville's troubled beginning. The fabled third pulp mill had been an aim of the Smallwood government ever since the 1950s. The Royal Commission on Forestry of 1955 determined that there was a hypothetically feasible wood supply for a third mill, considering the remaining limits not controlled by Bowater's or AND Co. Where the third mill was to be located was another question. Smallwood's Come-by-Chance industrial complex was one location, using labour from the resettled communities of Placentia Bay.[116] Argentia was apparently on the table after American base downsizing there.[117] The Lake Melville area was suggested but was unfeasible because ice blocked

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[114] Malcolm Squires Interview; "Spruce Budworm Problem," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* June 2, 1977.
[115] Budworm spray contract awarded six planes to be used, *Grand Falls Advertiser* March 26, 1984.
[116] Labrador Linerboard, *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador,* https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/politics/linerboard-mill.php
[117] Ron Smith.

the area for much of the year impeding shipments of any secondary wood products.[118] Enter industrialist John C. Doyle and Canadian Javelin. Javelin held the timber rights in the Lake Melville area and was developing plans to build a linerboard mill on the island, but the location had not been decided. The answer would be a political one. In 1966, the United States Military pulled out of Harmon Air Base in Stephenville, leaving 1,200 people out of work, and removing the economic base of the community. For the Smallwood government, Stephenville, now wracked with unemployment, was the perfect location for the third mill. The problem was that although there was a port and labour pool, a mill in Stephenville would be built without a power source or accessible fibre supply. The wood, it was envisioned, would come from Labrador. Linerboard, the outer layer of corrugated cardboard and the product of the proposed mill was fetching prices up to $500 a ton, justifying the cost of transporting the wood some 650 miles (1046 km) by sea.

Construction of the Stephenville Linerboard mill took two years, and the final cost on completion in 1973 was $155 million, more than double the initial projection of $75 million. During the time it took to build the mill, Smallwood and the Liberals had been ejected from office, and replaced by Frank Moores' Progressive Conservatives. The Moores government bought the mill from Canadian Javelin in 1972. From the beginning the Linerboard mill was plagued with issues on all levels. The cost of moving wood from Labrador was astronomical, $5.00 per cord by barges, from which large volumes of

[118] Labrador Linerboard, *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador.*

timber were lost, then an astounding $19.00 per cord when shipped by cargo ship.[119] Sawmill operators were offered over $30.00 a cord to sell pulpwood to Stephenville, a price noted to be the highest "East of Manitoba." Even at this inflated price, many operators in eastern and central Newfoundland found it more profitable to sell to the Grand Falls mill for about $10.00 a cord less, since trucking and shipping to Stephenville ate into any of that profit.[120] After just three years of operation, the provincial government appointed an advisory board to assess the mill's future. Oddly, but not surprisingly, there were both Bowater's and Price representatives on the board. This board found the continued operation of the Linerboard mill was not viable and shutting it down would save the government at least $38.4 million over three years. After spending some $300 million, the provincial government cut its losses and closed the Stephenville mill in August 1977.

In a strange turn of events a year and a half later, Abitibi-Price acquired the Stephenville mill for $43.5 million intending to convert it to a newsprint mill.[121] Malcolm Squires, Chief Forester with the Company during this era related that Price management had indicated to him that purchasing the troubled mill had been under consideration for some time, and warned him not to be publicly critical of the operation; despite his view that both mills could not survive with the existing woods supply.[122] When "Moby Joe"

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[119] HeritageNL-Linerboard.
[120] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* September 12, 1974.
[121] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* September 12, 1974. Although the Abitibi-Price Annual Report for 1979 pegs this number at $40.9 million. *Abitibi-Price Annual Report 1979,* https://digital.library.mcgill.ca/images/hrcorpreports/pdfs/A/Abitibi_Price_1979.pdf
[122] Malcolm Squires Interview.

was planned in the mid-1960s, there had been plans to build a second high-speed paper machine at Grand Falls; although not publicly announced, Stephenville suddenly became that second machine.[123]

The Abitibi purchase still did not solve the wood supply woes for Stephenville, but to Abitibi-Price head office, the solution rested within the existing timber limits of the Grand Falls Mill. There were areas, especially on the southwestern part of Red Indian Lake and on the Lloyd's Lake watershed, that were far closer to Stephenville than they were to Grand Falls (about 85km to 160km) via the newly constructed Burgeo Highway.[124] Because of this in early 1983, cutting operations for the Stephenville mill started in the Red Indian Lake watershed.[125] Just a year later, Abitibi announced that the much-rumored second high-speed paper machine for Grand Falls was shelved "indefinitely."[126]

Even before construction commenced on the Stephenville mill, logging operations were underway in the Lake Melville area. The workforce largely consisted of loggers from Newfoundland who had previously worked for the two established paper mills. Early estimates projected that 800 loggers would be needed in Labrador to supply this operation.[127] Like most other logging operations undertaken in Labrador, finding labour was an issue. The connection between the island and Happy Valley-Goose Bay was by

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[123] Ron Smith.
[124] However, wood could be transported to Grand Falls much more cheaply because nearly the pulpwood could be floated nearly the entire distance. This argument would become invalid with the end of the log drive.
[125] *Abitibi-Price Grand Falls News*, February 1983.
[126] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* February 23, 1984
[127] "Automation Finding its Way into the Woods" *Grand Falls Advertiser,* September 14, 1970.

ferry via Lewisporte, a journey of over a day. Thus, to compete with existing logging operations, and because logging rates were generally the same for all large operators, Linerboard had to rely on a" pleasing and attractive bonus system" to attract and retain the 497 loggers needed in Labrador.[128] Only months after the Linerboard mill went into operation, the limitations of the Labrador wood supply were being realized. Of the 200,000 cords cut in the 1973 season, only 120,000 cords reached Stephenville. To meet requirements, Linerboard set up camps on the island and took wood from wherever they could get it.[129] The wood demands of Labrador Linerboard created a boom in cutting pulpwood on Crown Lands. One hundred thousand cords were sourced from contractors, like T.J Hewlett at Lake Bond near Badger, and others in the Botwood and Point Leamington area.[130] Although sourced on the island, the wood was still relatively expensive since most of it was shipped by rail.[131] Most loggers engaged in these operations were former paper company loggers displaced by mechanization or hoping to make a more significant economic opportunity from cutting on Crown limits.

These smaller-scale logging operations were far less capitalized than those of Price, Bowater's, or some of the larger contractors supplying them. Often, the equipment and methods were a generation behind. One operation near Botwood in 1973 used J5s and employed thirty-two loggers who cut-and-piled wood in a manner much the same as

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[128] "Labrador Linerboard Requires Woodsworkers," *Grand Falls Advertiser,* August 19, 1974; *Grand Falls Advertiser,* August 6, 1973.
[129] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* December 31, 1973.
[130] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* July 27, 1973; October 1, 1973.
[131] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* September 20, 1973.

before the introduction of the skidder.[132] The paper companies would embrace the sourcing of wood from outside of their limits as challenges with wood supply were encountered in the coming decades.

The chainsaw, skidder, and pallet truck revolutionized pulpwood logging in the mid-1960s and led to a reorganization of logging operations that allowed for more wood to be harvested and delivered in less time, and by fewer loggers. Concurrent to these developments, AND Co/Price (Nfld.) re-examined its woods operations and began to look inwards, roads were now just important as rivers for transportation, and with the increased use of trucking it was now practical to harvest stands not connected to the mill by water. The reorganization of woods operations opened timber areas closer to Grand Falls, while at the same time eliminating employment in the most eastern areas of AND Co/Price's timber limits. The emergence of the timber slasher and employment of large tractor trailer trucks served to further reduce the need for loggers, as did the deployment of the first mechanical harvesters in the early 1970s. the hemlock looper and Spruce budworm infestations of the 1960s-1980s served to accelerate the adoption of mechanical equipment as hundreds of thousands of cords of wood needed to be safely and efficiently salvaged before it was able to rot. Increased employment opportunities in construction, transportation, mining, and a reliance on Unemployment Insurance served to cushion and hide the job losses that had occurred in the woods. In the 1970s the development of the Labrador Linerboard Mill at Stephenville served to put further strain on insular

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[132] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* September 20, 1973.

Newfoundland's wood supply, but also provided some opportunity for loggers displaced by mechanization. Ultimately the purchase of the Labrador Linerboard mill by the owners of the Grand Falls mill would have dire consequences for both mills.

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Chapter Six: "A Few Men to Run Machines": The Pulpwood and Pulp and Paper Industry in Central Newfoundland to 1980-2009

The 1980s is an odd era in the history of Newfoundland's industrial forests. The modernization and mechanization efforts of the 1960s and 1970s had taken root, but logging was something that attracted few new workers. The beginning of the decade also coincides with the coming online of the Stephenville mill as another newsprint mill owned by Abitibi-Price. Because Stephenville had a limited timber reserve there was a gradual shift towards using wood from the Grand Falls limits. This meant that when the total number of Abitibi-Price loggers was discussed anywhere in the media, it most often meant employees supplying wood to the Grand Falls and Stephenville mills. Generally, in the early to mid-1980s, there were approximately 800 loggers working for Abitibi, with 650 supplying Grand Falls and 150 directly supplying Stephenville.[1] The number of loggers still fluctuated from year to year and in 1982 Abitibi-Price had "close to 500 woods employees in both western and central Newfoundland."[2]

The 1980s saw the forest industries of Newfoundland having to deal with the threat of and damage caused by, both Hemlock Looper and Spruce Budworm. The 1981 logging season was affected by severe spruce budworm infestations and damage. Abitibi's chief forester at the time, Gordon Oldford estimated that eighty percent of Abitibi's 1981 harvesting effort was in stands that were in some way damaged by insects.

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[1] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, June 24, 1985.
[2] *Abitibi-Price News*, March 1982.

Most insect damaged wood is salvageable after attack, but the quality quickly deteriorates, and it needs to be harvested within a short time of being damaged.[3] This often meant a rapid replanning of cutting operations and redeployment of loggers and equipment, wreaking havoc with long-term cutting plans.

The early 1980s saw Canada in the grips of a recession. This was aggravated further by acute economic conditions peculiar to the newsprint industry. These factors included: growth in production capacity without an increase in demand, and the stockpiling of inventories in anticipation of a Canada wide strike by mill workers at eleven Abitibi-Price mills.[4] At the same time, interest rates were hitting all time highs, making the financing of newer and expensive equipment like harvesters and grapple skidders cost prohibitive. These conditions forced many operators away from using and maintaining those harvesters already in use and caused them to move back towards more traditional, albeit labour intensive systems; like the skidder-based ones that had developed in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This regression towards old methods was not isolated to Newfoundland, it was reported to have occurred elsewhere in Canada because of the same economic conditions.[5]

At the end of the 1970s there were at least six different logging systems in use in the Price (Nfld.) woodlands, most of which being tree length operations utilizing skidders. 1.) Mechanical harvester-processor skidder to roadside slasher tree length eight-

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[3] *Abitibi-Price News*, February 1982.
[4] *Abitibi-Price News,* June 1982.
[5] G. Franklin, E. Heidersdorf, and G. V. Wellburn. *Logging Systems in Newfoundland: a Study*. (St. John's, Nfld: Forest Products and Development Division, Dept. of Forestry, 1989), 11.

foot wood 2.) Mechanical felling, processing, and bucking to eight-foot 3.) Manual felling and limbing tree length to pallet trucks with manual bucking 4.) Manual felling skid to slasher four-foot to box truck 5.) Manual felling four-foot direct to river 6.) Manual felling slashed to eight-foot to tractor trailer.[6] What method was used where depended upon local conditions, and sometime on individual foremen/contractors. Sometimes different systems might be employed from the same camp or operation. The eight-foot systems were used in areas east of Grand Falls, where the wood trucked using tractor trailers, whereas four-foot systems were generally used in the operations on the Exploits watershed. When logging operations were seasonal, they were isolated from shutdowns at the mill. In the mechanized system this changed. In July 1980 a Strike at the mill resulted in the layoff of 600 loggers.[7] Fortunately the strike did not last long, and loggers were called back during the first week of August, but the layoffs caused considerable concern from loggers worried about qualifying for EI.[8]

During the summer of 1985 there were "approximately 650 loggers" working for Grand Falls. Another 100 were engaged in silviculture operations. Six camps operated that summer, they were as follow: Harpoon, and Rocky Brook in Millertown Division, Miguel Lake, Sunday Pond, and Northwest Gander in Bishop's Falls Division, and Pamehac south of Grand Falls in the Sandy area of Bishop's Falls Division. [9] That year

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[6] Andrew Barker "A Report on the Development of Instructional Units Entitled Logging with the AND. Company, 1909-1960 and Logging with Price (Newfoundland): Summer Operations."; Glenn Peyton Interview.
[7] "Strike Affects Millertown Logging." *Grand Falls Advertiser,* July 10,1980; and Grand *Falls Advertiser,* July 24, 1980.
[8] *Grand Falls Advertiser,* August 7, 1980.
[9] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, June 17, 1985.

Abitibi camps were slated to open July 2, an unusually late date of commencement which was blamed on bad weather, compounded by the fact that there was a supply of wood stockpiled at the mill; this was further heightened by a scheduled shutdown for two weeks in July.[10] In the previous twenty-five years the number of camps shrunk to about ten percent of what it was in 1960. The start of the 1986 season was interrupted by an enormous forest fire which burned large areas around Grand Falls, Windsor, and Badger, at times threatening houses, and nearly burning down Rocky Brook Camp. Another fire burned timber areas in the vicinity of Miguel Lake camp, truncating the life of that operation.[11] The 1987 season was met with trepidation, as dry conditions were again present, however no major fire materialized, and operations began in mid-June.[12] 1988 held promise for Abitibi woods operations. [13] For the first time in years, Abitibi were projecting "a normal cut" with plans to harvest approximately 331, 000 cords of wood.[14] This normal cut was partly due to an upturn in the newsprint industry, and partly because of the limiting circumstances with fire and infestations in previous years. Despite the promise of stability in 1988 the membership of the Loggers Local of the UBCJ was becoming disenchanted with their union.

The Canadian Paperworkers Union (CPU) had been interested in organizing loggers with the view that all workers in the paper industry should be under the same

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[10] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, June 17, 1985, 3, section A.
[11] Glenn Peyton Interview
[12] *Abitibi-Price Grand Falls News,* May 1987.
[13] "Mechanization Cuts Wood Cost," *Abitibi-Price Grand Falls News,* April 1989, 21.
[14] "Busy Year for Newfoundland Woodlands," *Abitibi-Price Grand Falls News,* May 1988.

union. By the 1980s loggers were becoming disenchanted with the UBCJ.[15] This was particularly true of loggers for the Grand Falls mill, who readily jumped from the UBCJ to the CPU when the latter launched an organizing drive towards the loggers in 1988-89.[16] Not long after the CPU organized the loggers as part of Local 60N they went on strike for the first time since 1959. The 1990 strike was a low-key affair when compared to the violence and tension of 1959, but, with just 580 loggers on the picket line, their power and agency was not what it was thirty-one years before. The 1990 strike ended after one month, with loggers getting a four year raise in pay, an increase in long term disability, and an extension in their weekly sick leave indemnity making it available for 52 weeks rather than just the period in which they were working. This strike was about change, the UBCJ had begun to suffer from the same problems as the NLA decades before, apathy and complacency. The executive had changed little since the 1960s, and the slow and steady gains had brought up wages but had not brought them on par with mill workers. As one of the loggers' most vocal organizers, Bill Mayne, declared "I guess the loggers just got tired of being pushed around and they proved that by changing unions and going on strike." [17]

The geographical distribution of camps around 1990 paints an altogether different picture to the one in 1959. In 1990 there were no camps east of Norris Arm. If there were any operations in the old Terra Nova Division, they would have had to have been small

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[15] Ron Smith.
[16] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, 1988-89.
[17] "Loggers sign contract," *Grand Falls Advertiser*, July 2, 1990.

commuter operations or conducted from Northwest Gander Camp.[18] Also, there were only two camps each in areas which once boasted dozens: Sandy-Badger and Millertown. Another point to mention is the age of at least half of the camps; Harpoon, Pamehac, and Rocky Brook had all been established during, and consisted of, buildings dating from the 1960s.

Although the preceding four decades of mechanization allowed for nearly year-round logging, the logging system had reached a degree of efficiency that there were some years when a fully logging season was not needed. In 1985 unionized loggers were only able to work for 12-15 weeks.[19] As recently as 1977-78 logging operations in central Newfoundland were conducted from June to March, with closures only due to the spring thaw.[20] There was, however another factor that the loggers' union blamed for the lack of work; this being the cutting of wood on Crown Land and sold to the paper companies.[21]

In 1959 the amount of wood that the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company consumed that came from Crown and private Land was negligible just 2.5%, amounting to 39,859 cords in the preceding five logging seasons, compared to 1.64 million cords harvested from their own limits during the same time.[22] The proliferation of rural highways, public forest access roads, as well as the increased access to financing now allowed for smaller logging operation to better access wood on Crown limits.

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[18] Northwest Gander camp was located south of Bishop's Falls and could access areas to the east that were once parts of Terra Nova Division. Northwest Gander had a unique geographical distinction of being an Abitibi-Price Camp located on Bowaters/CBPPL timber limits.
[19] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, October 10, 1985, 1.
[20] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, June 9, 1977.
[21] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, October 3, 1985.
[22] *Submission to Royal Commission to Investigate Conditions in the Woods Industry in Newfoundland*. (Grand Falls, Nfld: AND. Co., 1960), Appendix 1.

Cutting on Crown Lands could only be done with the permission and cooperation of the Provincial Government. It was this cutting on Crown Land and the sale of wood to Abitibi that the members of the Logger's Local saw as one of the main reasons for their lack of employment in the mid-1980s. It was noted that "A provincial government policy of issuing permits to cut pulpwood on Crown lands is depriving professional unionized loggers of their livelihood."[23] In part this was a strategy that had come about during the 1970s to make employment for loggers displaced by mechanization, and to use underutilized sources of wood for the linerboard mill in Stephenville. This presented an interesting dichotomy that pitted loggers against other loggers. It was even reported that one of the key members of the UBCJ Loggers Local was cutting pulpwood on private land and selling it to the company despite publicly decrying the practice of wood from outside company limits being used at the mill.[24] The unemployment rate in Newfoundland in June of 1985 was 23.3 percent, rising five percent over the previous June (at 19.3%).[25] The situation presented a dichotomy; the cutting of pulp on crown limits gave work to unemployed woods workers near their homes, but also appeared as a threat to the livelihood of unionized loggers in the company woodlands.

Whether or not these protests led to any positive reaction from the government or Abitibi is unknown, but it seems likely that there was little action in favor of unionized loggers. In 1994, out of the 1,035,500 cubic meters required for the Grand Falls mill, about fifty six percent was sourced from company operations, the remaining forty four

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[23] *Grand Falls Advertiser*, October 3, 1985.
[24] Interview.
[25] *Grand Falls Advertiser* July 22, 1985, Sec A4.

percent came from purchased round wood or wood chips. Earlier issues encountered with onsite chipping trials were mitigated using ring debarkers. These machines were more effective in removing bark from logs than earlier types. Ring-debarkers allowed for a much lower bark content in chips, and when used by sawmills, this meant that slabs and other waste parts of logs could be chipped and sold to the pulp and paper companies.[26] The influx of wood chips from outside of Company limits wasn't the only challenge on the horizon for unionized loggers.

In 1989 almost twenty years after the first harvester was used on Abitibi limits and just two years after their reintroduction twenty four percent of all wood cut in Newfoundland was mechanically harvested.[27] By 1997 the amount of mechanically harvested wood had grown to forty three percent The proportion of wood cut by harvesters would rise considerably after 1997. In 1987, Abitibi-Price was dealing with the aftermath of a spruce budworm infestation in an area that they used to supply the Stephenville mill. A large amount of this wood was in steep areas, difficult to harvest with conventional means. It was determined that harvesting this wood would be easier and safer if it were done by machine. The rationale was that an operator was protected by a cab, whereas a logger on the ground faced unnecessary hazards cutting the dead wood. The timeframes in source materials are vague, one source stated that: "After several years of successful testing, a total of ten mechanical shortwood harvesters were purchased by

[26] E. Young *FEIS Info Report 12. Newfoundland Timber Harvesting - Logging Systems in Use Today*, 2
[27] Young, *FEIS 12*.

Abitibi." [28] Another source claims eight machines appear to have been purchased by Abitibi in 1988 specifically for the Stephenville timber area.[29] In 1989, it was reported that Abitibi was "operating five Rottne and three Lokomo single grip harvesters."[30] Although the harvesters could, in the words of then woods manager Ron McKelvie, "work right through the winter, operating 24 hours a day, seven days a week," they still had an array of drawbacks. Ironically, these Scandinavian harvesters suffered from the same problems encountered with the first introduction of the Holt tractor, almost seventy years previous-operator inexperience, and difficulty obtaining spare parts. [31] They were also tremendously expensive; in 1989, the cost of a dedicated mechanical harvester was approximately $400,000.[32]

After two years of experimenting with harvesters, Abitibi management found the machines and the "mechanical shortwood system" offered no cost advantage over manual chainsaw felling systems. Despite these findings because of the steadily increasing price paid to cutters per cord of wood, and projected improvements in the machine's productivity "harvester systems would appear to hold long-term potential." Thus, the pace of mechanization continued and by 1994, the number of mechanical harvesters in Abitibi's inventory was twelve.[33]

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[28] Eric M. Young, *Forestry Engineering and Industry Services report #22 The Implications of Mechanical Harvesting in Newfoundland,*(Department of Forest Resources and Agrifoods, 1998).
[29] Abitibi-Price Grand Falls News "Busy Year for Newfoundland Woodlands" May 1988
[30] Wellburn, G. V., G. Franklin, E. Heidersdorf, and G. V. Wellburn. *Logging Systems in Newfoundland: a Study.* (St. John's, Nfld: Forest Products and Development Division, Dept. of Forestry, 1989), 15.
[31] *Abitibi-Price Grand Falls News* "Busy Year for Newfoundland Woodlands."
[32] Young, *FEIS 12*.
[33] Young, *FEIS 12*.

In a study done at the time of harvester reintroduction, it was noted that a major disadvantage caused by the regression away from mechanized logging in the early 1980s was that: "Most of the machines used in the 1970s are no longer available so the whole process of experimentation, machine trials, and adapting systems to local conditions will have to start over."[34] In the long run, this was far less of an obstacle, since the logging process remained much the same. By the time of the late 1980s and 1990s harvester reintroduction, the single grip harvester, and single grip processing head had been developed and successfully adopted, making the earlier types obsolete. This harvesting head, which consisted of a chainsaw and delimbing knives, felled, delimbed, and junked a tree into lengths. Some of these units were purpose-built machines. However, the processing head units had the advantage of being fitted to excavators and other similar tractors, which cut down on capital costs dramatically (See Figure 17). The chainsaw on the cutting head also made for a clean cut, making logs suitable for sawlogs. By the early 2000s computerized systems on harvesters also made them better able to sort sawlogs from pulpwood.[35]

The number of camps operated by Abitibi declined correspondingly with the reduction in labour needs due to mechanization. In 1992, there were only four Abitibi camps in operation; both Miguel Lake and Pamehac had been closed in recent years. With only four camps in operation, there were now only four camp foremen in the

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[34]Franklin, E. Heidersdorf, and G. V. Wellburn. *Logging Systems in Newfoundland: a Study.* (St. John's, Nfld: Forest Products and Development Division, Dept. of Forestry, 1989), 8.
[35] Peter R. Sinclair., Martha MacDonald, and Barbara Neis, "The Changing World of Andy Gibson: Restructuring Forestry on Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula." *Studies in Political Economy* 78, no. 1 (2006): 177–99

employ of Abitibi-Price (with an additional two supplying Stephenville). 1992 offered no relief to beleaguered conventional loggers. Fibre Resources Manager Gordon Oldford announced that conventional harvesting operations would be limited to twelve weeks from July to September because of a soft market and over supply issues. He also noted that two mechanical operations would be running until the following spring, even though no additional harvesters would be purchased that year due to the downturn in the market.[36] 1993 saw a slight upswing; Abitibi planned a sixty percent larger cut than 1992.[37] However, there would only be five camps opening for both Grand Falls and Stephenville mills; Rocky Brook was transitioning to a commuter operation, and Pamehac was reopened for Silviculture.

Throughout the 1990s there was a considerable outcry against the proliferation of harvesters. A report compiled at the time estimated job displacement for each harvester to be between 7 and 13 loggers, depending on conditions and a variety of other factors like maintenance and stand quality. The same report stressed that the actual number of loggers eliminated by each harvester rested somewhere in the middle.[38] One 1998 newspaper piece pegged the number of loggers displaced by each harvester at 24.[39] Another article the following year placed the number between 18 and 24.[40] Although there were advances in machinery in past nine years it is unlikely that it was enough to double

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[36] *Abitibi Price Grand Falls, News,* May/June 1992.
[37] *Abitibi-Price Grand Falls News,* April/May 1993.
[38] *Abitibi-Price Grand Falls News,* April/May 1993., 6.
[39] "Loggers' rage cuts deep: Mechanical harvesters slice through forestry jobs" *The Telegram*, June 15, 1998, 3.
[40] Benson, Bob. "Machines hurting logging towns: group" *The Telegram*. April 11, 1999, 1.

production. In October of 1998, the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union estimated that there had been the loss of 644 unionized logging jobs between the province's two paper companies between 1989 and 1997.[41] Nearly half of them had been lost in 1989 and 1990. [42] This coincided with both the closure of a paper machine at Grand Falls and significant purchases of harvesters by both companies. In 1989, there were 1,674 unionized loggers supplying Newfoundland's three pulp and paper mills; by 1997, that number had dropped to 1,030.[43] For comparison, during the early stages of mechanization, in the Fall of 1955, it is estimated that there were around 7000 loggers employed by Corner Brook and Grand Falls mills, Including 1100 in AND Co's Millertown Division alone.[44]

By 1998 fifty to fifty-five percent of Abitibi's pulpwood was mechanically harvested.[45]As a reaction to the proliferation of harvesters, an organization formed called the Forest Communities Organization. This group appears to have been created by loggers and others from forest-dependent communities in central and western Newfoundland such as Hampden, Horwood, and Stoneville, which had seen their populations decline because of job losses due to mechanization. It also included

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[41] Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union, *The Forestry*, 3.
[42] Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union, *The Forestry*, 3., Interestingly, the number of loggers engaged in pre-commercial thinning (PCT) was relatively constant ranging from 328-220 workers. PCT was not an activity that could easily be mechanized due to the potential to damage growing timber.
[43] Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union, *The Forestry*, 3.
[44] "20 Years Ago," *Western Star*, October 11, 1975, and *Western Star November 29, 1955.* In 1955 1100 loggers were reported in Millertown, Badger reached a peak of around 900. A conservative estimate taken from newspaper reports estimates at least 500 loggers in Bishop's Falls and Terra Nova Divisions, although the number may be higher for the former.
[45] Newfoundland and Labrador, Abitibi Consolidated Inc. and CEPU, Local 60N, December 10, 1998. https://docs.gov.nl.ca/lra/public/arbitration/detail/?id=2237&

representatives from environmentally minded groups such as the Humber Environment Action Group. The Forest Communities Organization argued that increased mechanization had the same effect on the remaining logging communities as the 1992 cod moratorium had on neighboring fishing communities.[46] Considering that fact that in 18 communities that traditionally supplied loggers to Abitibi there are nearly 4,000 less people in 2021 then there were in 1986, this is a valid point. Most of these communities saw their populations drop by between twenty-five and thirty-five percent, while Seal Cove, home of many manual cutters witnessed its population drop by over half.[47] These declines are easily lost sight of or lumped in with the wholesale exodus from rural Newfoundland that occurred after the 1992 northern cod moratorium, an event which left thousands of fishers and fish plant workers out of work. One would think that the proliferation of harvesters would have resulted in a sudden swath of layoffs in the forest industry, but surprisingly, the effect was mitigated by the CEP.[48] Jobs were most definitely lost, but the losses paled in comparison to those of the 1960s. The CEP softened job losses through an early retirement program that lowered the retirement age for loggers to 58, putting them in line with mill workers. This led to a considerable amount of attrition since so much of the logging workforce fell into an older age bracket, as they retired, they were simply not replaced. Many of the younger loggers availed of a retraining program, retraining them to operate the harvesters, forwarders, heavy

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[46] Bob Benson. "Machines hurting logging towns: group" *The Telegram*. April 11, 1999, 1.
[47] Census 1986 to 2021: Population by 5-year Age Groups and Gender Data Visualization and Mapping Suite, https://nl.communityaccounts.ca/MapCentre/dynamicmap.asp?_=zozLioaVqaKjl7JYhnCT
[48] Which had formed from the CPU.

equipment, and trucks still needed in the woods. A memorandum of understanding signed in the 1990s offered the most senior loggers between 18 and 22 weeks of employment each year. Abitibi and CBPP were so eager to fully mechanize and get feet off the ground in the woods that these older loggers were assigned to various "make work projects." These projects included cleaning up old woods campsites as part of the Abitibi Environmental Crew or, in the case of CBPP, landscaping work at the Deer Lake Powerhouse.[49]

Figure 17 Single grip short wood harvester in operation. (Abitibi-Consolidated Grand Falls News)

In the fall of 1999, a new logging camp opened in the Sandy Badger Area about 43 km southwest of Grand Falls, near Black Duck Pond. The foreman was Winston Hollett, a third-generation logging contractor from Norris Arm. Despite the cries from many outlying logging communities, there was no moratorium on the use of harvesters, and operations from Black Duck Camp were highly mechanized. In such an environment the paper companies could easily argue that harvesters were needed to remain

[49] Ron Smith Interview.

competitive with mainland operations, which all used them, thus they had to fully mechanize. Winston Hollett first purchased harvesters in 1997, and in 2000 purchased five more, this move reduced the size of his logging crew from 100 to 70.[50] By 2004 Abitibi operated only two camps: Portage Pond for Stephenville, and Black Duck for Grand Falls. The closure of Stephenville in 2005 led to the closure of Portage Pond, the loggers from this operation were shifted to wood closer to Grand Falls and boarded in a hotel at Buchans. This move was met with opposition from the logger's union which saw the move as detrimental when compared to housing the loggers in camps and filed a grievance. Although the union's grievance was denied by the Labour Relations Board, the findings of the report proved that there was still area within Abitibi's timber limits that were still impractical to harvest as commuter operations.[51]

By 2007, ninety five percent of the wood harvested on land managed by the Abitibi, and Corner Brook Pulp and Paper was mechanically harvested.[52] Speaking in terms of production measured in cubic meters per scheduled machine hour (SMH), in December of 2003 Abitibi's single grip harvesters reached a production of 5.2 m3 per SMH. This roughly translates into a production of approximately two cords per hour, or 22 cords during an eleven-hour shift cut, delimbed, and bucked, an impossibility for manual operations. With this level of efficiency few options remained for further

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[50] Heather Ednie, "Equipment Evolution on the Rock."
[51] Newfoundland and Labrador, *Arbitration Award Abitibi Consolidated Inc. and CEPU, Local 60*, February 12, 2007, https://docs.gov.nl.ca/lra/public/arbitration/detail/?id=3340&
[52] Jenny Higgins, "Heritage NL, Mechanization of the Logging Industry Since Confederation", https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/mechanization

mechanizing and streamlining Abitibi's woods operations. One option was a move towards chipping in the woods.

In forest chipping of pulpwood by contractors was one of the measures detailed in a leaked Abitibi document released by the Canadian Broadcasting Company (CBC) in August of 2008. The document outlined Abitibi's plans to completely reorganize the Woods Department, eliminating it and turning over all operations to a contractor. The manual cut and bunch classification would be formally eliminated, and Black Duck Camp would be closed.[53] Abitibi-Bowater would never get a chance to implement these plans. On December 4, 2008, Abitibi-Bowater announced that it would close the Grand Falls pulp and paper mill. The move was part of a plan to stabilize the company and reduce capacity in a troubled newsprint market. The troubled company had gone to the unions with cost and job cutting offers in September and November. Both offers which involved layoffs and cuts were rejected by the unions. Jean-Philippe Cote, Abitibi's Director of Public Affairs in Montreal offered the following:

> We, of course, had to take good note of the rejection of the plan back in November. But at the end of the day, the reality is that when you have to cut so much volume in production capacity, you have to look at your operations that are the most expensive to run, and Grand Falls is one of them.

[53] "Document reveals AbitibiBowater restructuring plan," *CBC NL*, August 26, 2008, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/document-reveals-abitibibowater-restructuring-plan-1.694762 , April 14, 2022.

The mill was slated to close at the end of the first quarter of 2009, although nobody expected it to continue operation until then.[54] The last order for paper was filled during the second week of February 2009.[55]

The end for Abitibi loggers came on Wednesday, February 4, 2009. Although not unexpected, the notice came as a surprise since the loggers were under the impression that they would get 4-6 more week of work before the planned closure. Although they were paid until the end of March, they were not entitled to a severance package under the collective agreement. At the time there were 235 "forestry workers" working for the Grand Falls mill.[56] By the time of the mill closure the logging workforce was no longer a corps of professional woodsworkers, but rather a residual nucleolus of truckers and logging machinery operators. After years of unequal treatment, loggers had benefits nearly comparable to mill workers, but the tradeoff was that there were few left to reap them. Fifty years of intensive technological change and mechanization meant the woods workforce was about 10 percent of what it was circa 1958-62, few communities outside of the central interior relied on the pulpwood harvest for survival. In the preceding decades Abitibi and its predecessors had effectively mechanized their way into economic unimportance in rural Newfoundland.

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[54] "Abitibi pulls plug on Newfoundland newsprint mill," *CBC NL,* https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/abitibi-pulls-plug-on-newfoundland-newsprint-mill-1.697173 , April 14, 2022.
[55]"AbitibiBowater production ends in Grand Falls-Windsor," *CBC NL*, Feb 12, 2009 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/abitibibowater-production-ends-in-grand-falls-windsor-1.786086 , April 14, 2022.
[56] "Forestry workers laid off early by Abitibi," *CBC NL*, Feb 5, 2009 https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/forestry-workers-laid-off-early-by-abitibi-1.795081 July 4, 2022

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

This project addresses a fifty-year gap in the historiography of Newfoundland's pulp and paper industry, rather than illustrating the industry's development, it addresses its peak and long decline. While some work was undertaken in other social science fields while the sector was mechanizing, namely by Peters and Curran, little academic historical work exists addressing what happened after the IWA Strike of 1959. Details illustrating the history of the pulpwood industry in central Newfoundland after 1970 are even thinner on the ground, but then again so were loggers.

The post-World War Two era was a booming time for Newfoundland pulpwood loggers, wages grew with the demand for newsprint, as did demand for labour. A startling finding was that some of the peak years of woods employment were in the early 1960s when the industry was mechanizing, and these peak years were followed by an abrupt drop in woods labour demand around 1965. No one piece of technology alone was responsible for this decrease. The decline in employment was because of three pieces of technology coming together, with the with the critical piece of the puzzle being the wheeled skidder. The reorganization and streamlining of woods operations that occurred with the introduction of the skidder not only broke with the seasonality of the industry, but it also significantly increased productivity and allowed for a fresher wood supply. Productivity was increased so much that it worked against the interest of the remaining professional loggers. Although later displaced by mechanical harvesting, variations of the

skidder to roadside system were used in central Newfoundland from 1963 until the 1990s. Skidder based logging systems reached a degree of efficiency such that it not only supplanted early attempts at mechanical harvesting, but also filled quotas on an on-demand basis, thus employing loggers for shorter periods. Mechanization was one of many external factors that worked against unionized loggers. Severe infestations in the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s destroyed hundreds of thousands of cords of wood, altered cutting plans, and left future wood supply in doubt. These outbreaks on company timber limits then enabled the cutting of pulpwood on crown land and increased the use of wood chips from sawmills by Abitibi. The necessity of cutting diseased and dead timber then accelerated the reintroduction of the mechanical harvester leading to full mechanization.

Loggers were once one of the most numerous groups of workers in Newfoundland. In the 1950s the Newfoundland Lumberman's Association claimed it had the largest membership of any labour organization in Newfoundland.[1] A considerable proportion of its members worked to supply the AND Co's Grand Falls mill. AND Co often operated more than sixty camps in four woods divisions in an area covering over 6000 square miles (9656 sq. km), employing 2-3,000 loggers from over 200 communities. When the mill closed in 2009, there were fewer than three hundred forestry workers employed by Abitibi; there was only one camp, one large contractor, and a handful of smaller ones.

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[1] *History of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association,* 20.

The spectre of the mill closure meant that few people planned for a career in either the mill or the woods. Thus, there was an aging workforce in both divisions, mitigating a sudden mass exodus of young people from central Newfoundland. In the fifteen years since the mill's closure, there has been no clear plan for the utilization of the forests of central Newfoundland. A sizable portion of what was, in 1959, Badger Division, was quietly licensed to CBPP. Likewise, sawmill operations at Cottle's Island, Notre Dame Bay, and Bloomfield, Bonavista Bay have been cutting sawlogs and pulpwood on old Abitibi limits, with no secondary processing jobs for the central region. These harvesting operations are fully mechanized, with harvesters, porters, and trucks levelling areas that it took two camps to cut, haul, and drive. There seems to be little demand for what many in the industry thought of as the finest paper-making material in the world.

Loggers working in central Newfoundland contended with a great deal of external pressure in the fifty years between 1959 and 2009. The pressure came from various sources such as, market demand for newsprint, and natural phenomena such as fire and infestations, but the primary pressure came from technological change and mechanization in logging. All these factors worked at times in concert and caused fluctuations and reductions in job numbers in the woodlands, and a corresponding diminishment of the economic importance of the pulpwood harvest throughout Newfoundland. On the front lines, it was the technological change that made the transformations. In the woodlands of the Grand Falls mill and in the communities in which AND Co./Price (Nfld.)/Abitibi loggers lived jobs were lost in chunks. These chunks of job loss correspond with some

form of technological change. Around 300 fewer loggers were needed at peak times immediately after the first batch of wheeled skidders came in. The resulting integration and reorganization of logging to a tree-length to roadside system using chainsaws, skidders, and trucks meant that during peak months there was a need for at least one thousand less loggers on the Price (Nfld.) payroll in 1966 compared to 1961. The arrival of seven timber slashers between 1967 and 1971 eliminated the need for around four hundred buckers from operations where slashers could operate. All the while the amount of wood consumed by the Grand Falls mill grew. The initial introduction of mechanical feller-processors had some impact, but this was limited, and the first introduction of harvesters was ultimately unsuccessful. For this reason, the use of more mobile mini slashers filled the void created by the removal of the first harvesters. Still, there were places where the terrain dictated that manual cut and bunch operations would still be carried out into the 2000s, but by the time of Abitibi's shutdown there was just a very small handful of manual cutters.

In the early 1970s Curran predicted what the future had in store for woods operations that future mechanization would "not be as dramatic as the changes outlined in this paper in terms of the impact on sheer numbers."[2] He was correct; no forthcoming technological change could match the job losses that occurred in the 1960s because there were simply not enough loggers. When the Canadian Paperworkers Union took over representation of most loggers in 1990, less than 2000 loggers were working for Abitibi

[2] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization," 182.

and CBPP.[3] Over the next decade and a half mechanical harvesters reduced this number considerably. When asked for their opinion about the recent changes in the late 1960s, one logger made the following comment:

> They (the companies) don't want loggers anymore. They want a few men to run machines and that's all. If they could get rid of us all they would do it…Well first they tried to work us to death with the skidders and since they couldn't do that they are now trying to put us out of the woods.[4]

In hindsight, this logger wasn't wrong. Woods managers made no secret that they wished to mechanize all aspects of the "fiber harvest" and they eventually would. It would take another three decades, but ultimately, the paper companies would eliminate all the manual cutters from the woods. The environmental assessment submissions from Abitibi submitted in the early 2000s speak for this. In the woods occupations included operators for mechanical harvesters, forwarders, excavators, and truck drivers. In total a logging crew consisted of 18-20 production workers including the foremen for each operation.[5] In total 235 unionized loggers were left in 2009; employed in over forty different jobs, mostly related to operating or maintaining mechanized equipment-a few workers running machines.[6] The role of the logger had so dramatically changed in the preceding decades that they would almost be unrecognizable to the cutters, teamsters, tractor drivers, sled loaders, and river drivers of fifty years earlier.

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[3] Ron Smith.
[4] Curran, "The Process of Mechanization," 136.
[5] Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, *Environmental Assessments,* https://www.gov.nl.ca/ecc/env-assessment/projects-list/ ,October 14, 2022.
[6] *Collective Agreement between Abitibi Consolidated and Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada, January 1, 2004, to December 31, 2008.* https://negotech.labour.gc.ca/eng/agreements/00/0005107a.pdf

This narrative continues the story of central Newfoundland's pulpwood loggers, and the pulpwood industry that supported the Grand Falls newsprint mill. I hope that this will contribute as a cohesive account of the fifty-year decline of the pulpwood industry in central Newfoundland. This first fifty years of the pulpwood industry in central Newfoundland saw the industry's development, saw the industry mature, and grow despite the upheavals of war and economic depression, this era saw pulpwood logging emerge as an important economic activity for thousands of Newfoundlanders. The second fifty years, although initially seeing the peak of the industry, ultimately saw technological change, mechanization, and the reorganization of work contribute to massive job loss in the forests of central Newfoundland, not only for the scores of part-time loggers, but also amongst the "corps of professional loggers" that existed in the lumbering and depot communities. The question might be pondered of what the main driver of this mechanization was, was it the rising wages of loggers, the need to reduce costs due to increasing competition from the Canadian mainland and the southern United States, of was it just because of a wider trend in the wood harvest sweeping though eastern North America-simply, that AND Co/Price/Abitibi mechanized because everybody else was doing it; the reality was an amalgam of all of these factors. Throw in the wild card of infestations, and an increased health and safety regime, and you have an industry that had no other choice but to mechanize and continue to embrace technological change in the woods. In the end it wasn't wood cost, or dwindling wood supply that caused the closure of the Grand Falls mill, the closure was because comparatively, the mill was an old,

unprofitable plant, with high labour costs, producing a product with a plummeting demand- newsprint in the age of digital media; but by then there were hardly any loggers.

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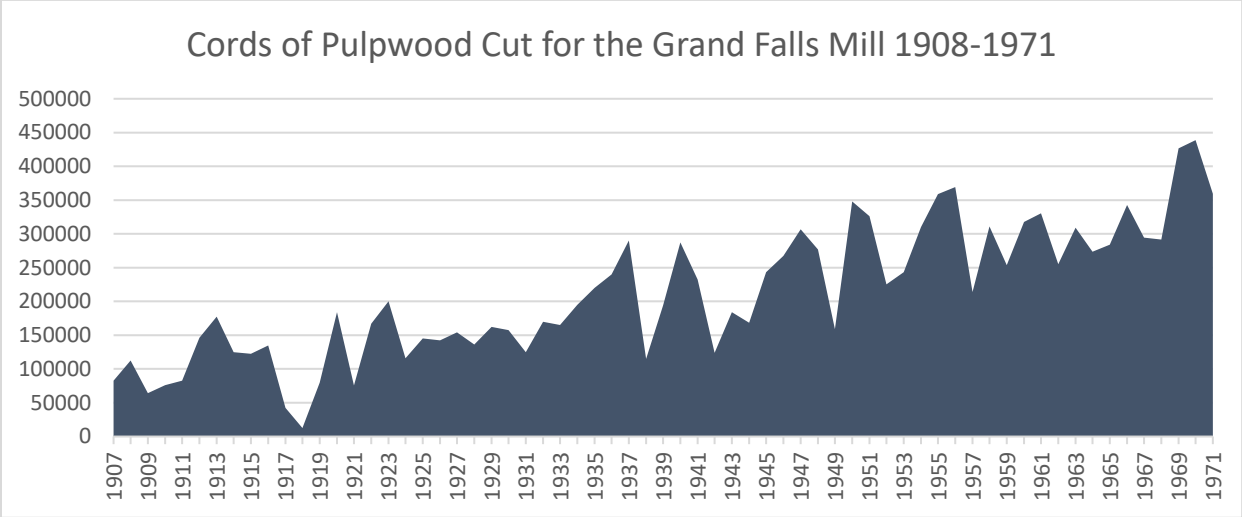
Appendix I

Additional Tables and Figures

Table 5 Cords of Pulpwood Cut for the Grand Falls Mill 1907-1971



Source: Price (Nfld.), *Price Submission to the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador for the Federal-Provincial Task Force on Forestry in Newfoundland*, Appendix.

Table 6 AND Co Cutters, Home Regions 1959

AND Co Cutters, Home Regions, 1959		
Region	**Number of Loggers**	**Percentage**
Notre Dame Bay	1346	53
Trinity Bay	506	20
Bonavista Bay	380	15
Placentia Bay	159	6
Fortune Bay	49	2
St. Mary's Bay	29	1
Central	24	1
Conception Bay	23	1
Western	13	.5
White Bay	12	.5
Total	2541	100

Figure 18 AND Co Logging Camp Menu, 1960[641]

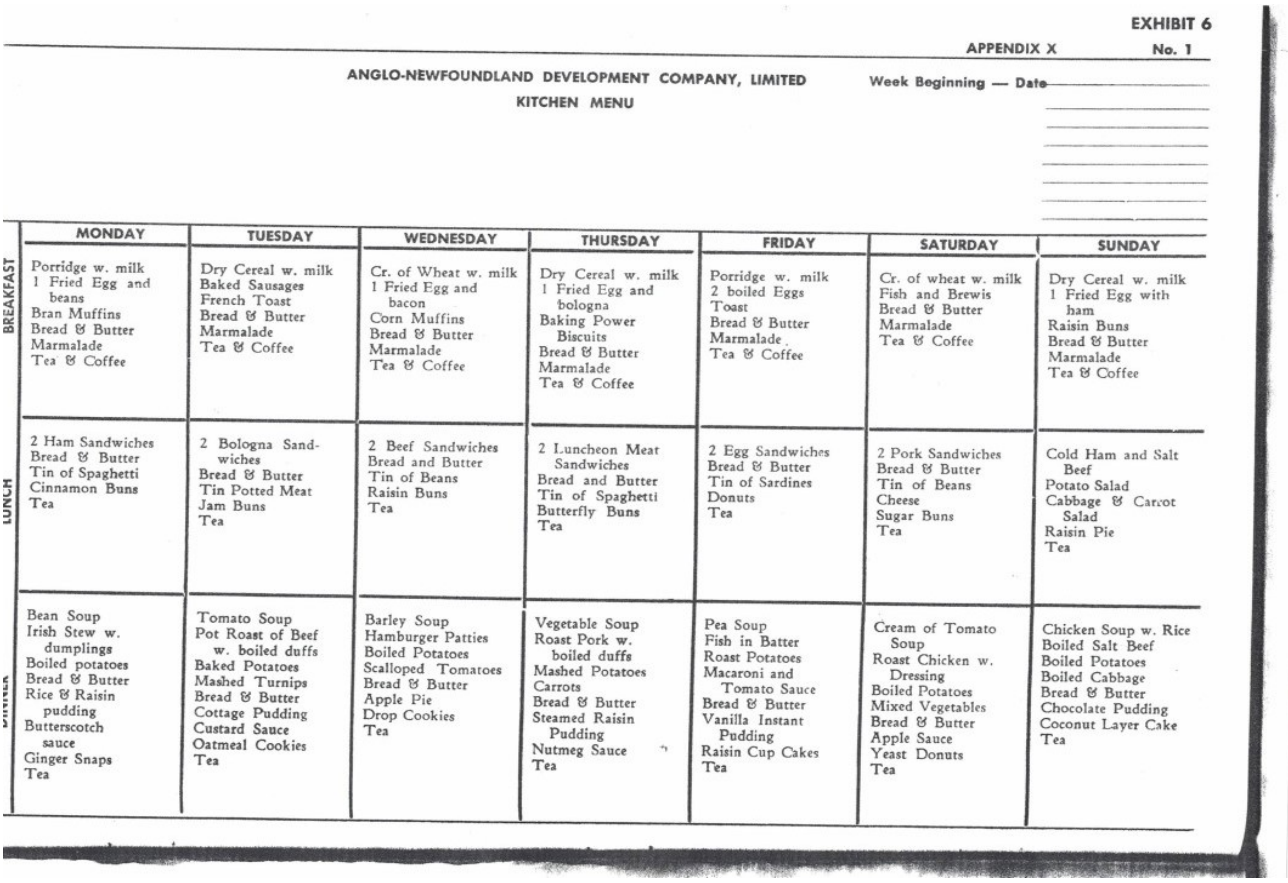


EXHIBIT 6

APPENDIX X No. 1

ANGLO-NEWFOUNDLAND DEVELOPMENT COMPANY, LIMITED

KITCHEN MENU

Week Beginning — Date

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
BREAKFAST	Porridge w. milk 1 Fried Egg and beans Bran Muffins Bread & Butter Marmalade Tea & Coffee	Dry Cereal w. milk Baked Sausages French Toast Bread & Butter Marmalade Tea & Coffee	Cr. of Wheat w. milk 1 Fried Egg and bacon Corn Muffins Bread & Butter Marmalade Tea & Coffee	Dry Cereal w. milk 1 Fried Egg and bologna Baking Power Biscuits Bread & Butter Marmalade Tea & Coffee	Porridge w. milk 2 boiled Eggs Toast Bread & Butter Marmalade Tea & Coffee	Cr. of wheat w. milk Fish and Brewis Bread & Butter Marmalade Tea & Coffee	Dry Cereal w. milk 1 Fried Egg with ham Raisin Buns Bread & Butter Marmalade Tea & Coffee
LUNCH	2 Ham Sandwiches Bread & Butter Tin of Spaghetti Cinnamon Buns Tea	2 Bologna Sandwiches Bread & Butter Tin Potted Meat Jam Buns Tea	2 Beef Sandwiches Bread and Butter Tin of Beans Raisin Buns Tea	2 Luncheon Meat Sandwiches Bread and Butter Tin of Spaghetti Butterfly Buns Tea	2 Egg Sandwiches Bread & Butter Tin of Sardines Donuts Tea	2 Pork Sandwiches Bread & Butter Tin of Beans Cheese Sugar Buns Tea	Cold Ham and Salt Beef Potato Salad Cabbage & Carrot Salad Raisin Pie Tea
DINNER	Bean Soup Irish Stew w. dumplings Boiled potatoes Bread & Butter Rice & Raisin pudding Butterscotch sauce Ginger Snaps Tea	Tomato Soup Pot Roast of Beef w. boiled duffs Baked Potatoes Mashed Turnips Bread & Butter Cottage Pudding Custard Sauce Oatmeal Cookies Tea	Barley Soup Hamburger Patties Boiled Potatoes Scalloped Tomatoes Bread & Butter Apple Pie Drop Cookies Tea	Vegetable Soup Roast Pork w. boiled duffs Mashed Potatoes Carrots Bread & Butter Steamed Raisin Pudding Nutmeg Sauce Tea	Pea Soup Fish in Batter Roast Potatoes Macaroni and Tomato Sauce Bread & Butter Vanilla Instant Pudding Raisin Cup Cakes Tea	Cream of Tomato Soup Roast Chicken w. Dressing Boiled Potatoes Mixed Vegetables Bread & Butter Apple Sauce Yeast Donuts Tea	Chicken Soup w. Rice Boiled Salt Beef Boiled Potatoes Boiled Cabbage Bread & Butter Chocolate Pudding Coconut Layer Cake Tea

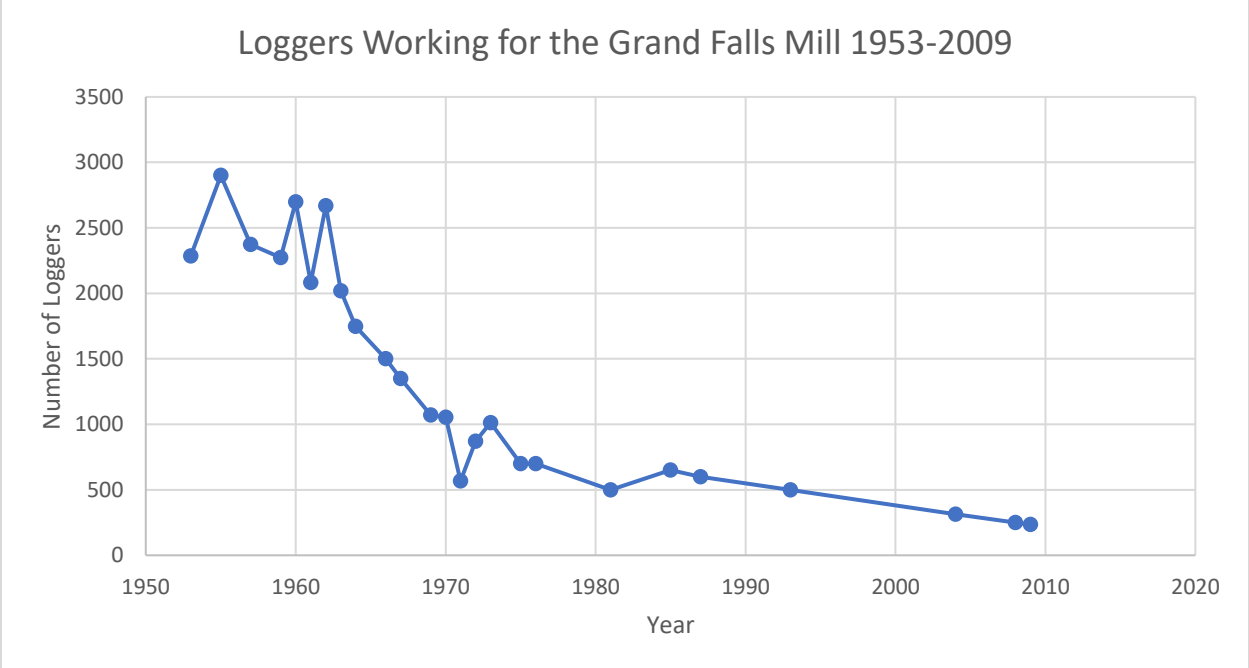
Source: *Dunfield Report* Appendix X.

Table 7 Number of Skidders in Operation, Price (Nfld.) 1964-1971

Year	Number of Skidders in Operation
1964	26
1965	62
1966	100
1967	N/A
1968	142
1969	158
1971	190

Numbers from; Curran, "The Process of Mechanization."; *Price (Nfld.) News-Log; Price Projections*.

Table 8 Loggers working for the Grand Falls Mill, from Available Data, 1953-2009



Appendix II: Interview and Ethics Documents
Informed Consent Form (2023055)

Title:	*A Grim and Costly Business-The Decline of the Pulp and Paper Industry in Central Newfoundland 1959-2009*
Researcher(s):	Bryan C. Marsh, Department of History, Memorial University, h12bcm@mun.ca, 709-765-1948
Supervisor(s):	Dr. Sean Cadigan Memorial University of Newfoundland St. John's, NL A1C 5S7 Email: scadigan@mun.ca

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled *"A Grim and Costly Business-The Decline of the Pulp and Paper Industry in Central Newfoundland 1959-2009."*

This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. It also describes your right to withdraw from the study. In order to decide whether you wish to participate in this research study, you should understand enough about its risks and benefits to be able to make an informed decision. This is the informed consent process. Take time to read this carefully and to understand the information given to you. Please contact the researcher, **Bryan Marsh**, if you have any questions about the study or would like more information before you consent.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in this research or if you decide to withdraw from the research once it has started, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future.

Introduction:

I am a Masters student with the Department of History at Memorial University. As part of my Master's Thesis I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Sean Cadigan on the history of the pulp and paper and logging industry in Central Newfoundland.

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of this study is to record valuable oral history related to the pulp and paper and pulpwood logging industry in Central Newfoundland.

What You Will Do in this Study:

I am asking participants to share their working experiences with the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, Price (NFLD), Abitibi-Price and/or Abitibi-Consolidated; as well as those with family members that worked in this industry. And/or their experiences growing up and/or living in logging and pulp and paper communities.

Length of Time:

The total commitment in time will vary according to how much information you wish to share. This may take up to 60 minutes or longer depending on time commitments of the interviewer and participant. Should a participant feel they have more information to share multiple sessions may be recorded.

Withdrawal from the Study:

Participants are free to withdraw from this study within three weeks of the interview, any information that has been collected will be securely destroyed. Should a participant wish for the recording to stop at any time during the interview they may do so. After three weeks the collection information may be included in the draft of the thesis and may not be able to be removed.

Possible Benefits:

Your participation in this study will be beneficial in preserving the history of the logging, and pulp and paper communities and industries of Central and Northeastern Newfoundland. This information will be valuable to future generations of researchers as well as for family members of the participants wishing to learn about the participants' lives.

Possible Risks:

Risks associated with this project are relatively low. Participation in this study is completely voluntary. The company which is being used as the centerpiece for the study has gone though many name changes and no longer has any operations in Newfoundland and Labrador. Should any participant wish to remain anonymous, but still share their information, measures will be taken to ensure their anonymity. Measures will include the removal of particularly identifiable employment, geographical, or other information. In these cases, names, or in some cases the names of communities, will not be used in the bibliography either.

Since the subject matter relates to difficult economic times and periods of uncertainty; as it may related to recounting negative impacts of job losses, and details about family moving away, there may be some emotional difficulty for some participants. Participants are free to skip any questions that may prove emotionally troubling or triggering.

Should a participant find that their recounting of events cause any mental distress they are encouraged to reach out to the Provincial Mental Health Crisis line at 811.

Confidentiality:

The ethical duty of confidentiality includes safeguarding participants' identities, personal information, and data from unauthorized access, use, or disclosure.

In some cases, because of the small size of the communities in the area and the small number of respondents it may prove difficult to protect the confidentiality of some participants. However, because of the nature of the project there is a very low risk of harm associated with participation.

In order to protect the information collected from unauthorized access interviews will be stored on password protected drives.

Anonymity:

Because the participants for this research project have been selected from a relatively small group of people, many of whom are known to each other, it will be impossible to remain anonymous, since the interviewer will have to know the identity of the participant. If you wish to maintain some degree of anonymity your data will be reported in the published results without identifiers if you choose.

Participants will be asked if they wish to remain anonymous and will be given a list of options on how they want to be described.

i.e) Job description and community, generalization such as "former logger" or "former paper mill worker"

Participants if they wish will have their interviews anonymized in the bibliography and citations. (i.e. Interview 6-Date)

If your anonymity is desired every reasonable effort will be made to ensure your anonymity. You will not be identified in publications without your explicit permission.

Recording of Data:

Interviews will be carried out by telephone, email (or through other electronic means such as Skype or Facebook Messenger), or in person where situation permits. Participants will be given options on how they wish to participate. Participants who wish to participate by email will be send a copy of a questionnaire that they may use as a guideline for their response.

Participants will be audio recorded in this study, except in cases where the response are written (email, etc.). In cases where and if the participants do not wish to be recorded, notes will be taken during the interview. Email addresses will not be shared and will be redacted from the print outs provided to the Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society. Alternatively the written information may be compiled in a PDF Document without email, phone number or other addresses prior to deposition with the Heritage Society.

If participants wish, an audio recording, or in case of written responses, a copy of the text of the interview will be provided to them for review.

Use, Access, Ownership, and Storage of Data:

The digital copies of the audio interviews will be stored on a password protected external hard drive. Notes will be taken in both paper and electronic format, the electronic files of the notes will be stored in the same manner as the audio files. These will be stored in locked cabinet. Consent forms will be stored in a password protected folder on my personal computer, any paper copies will be scanned, stored and the same manner and paper copies destroyed. \

During the writing pf the thesis only Bryan Marsh and Dr. Sean Cadigan will have access to this data. Once completed copies of the interviews (Audio recordings in digital format, notes, emails with any personal information, such as phone numbers and email addresses redacted, documents with written responses) will be deposited with the Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society and will be publicly available, pending the approval of the participant.

Data will be kept for a minimum of five years, as required by Memorial University's policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research.

Reporting of Results:

- Upon completion, my thesis will be available at Memorial University's Queen Elizabeth II library, and can be accessed online at: http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/search/collection/theses.
- Some information may be used in the publication of an article in a scholarly journal. Should this occur, a copy of the article will be provided at your request.

- The information collected in the interviews will be reported using direct quotations, paraphrased in the document, and/or in an aggregated and/or summarized form. Personally identifying information will only be used if participants give permission)

Sharing of Results with Participants:

Should the participant wish to have an audio copy of the interview an audio copy will be provided to them by the primary researcher (Bryan Marsh).

Questions:

You are welcome to ask questions before, during, or after your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study, please contact: Bryan Marsh, at 237-1439 or h12bcm@mun.ca; or his supervisor Dr. Sean Cadigan at 864-4898 or scadigan@mun.ca.

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as the way you have been treated or your rights as

a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Consent:

Your signature on this form means that:

- You have read the information about the research.
- You have been able to ask questions about this study.
- You are satisfied with the answers to all your questions.
- You understand what the study is about and what you will be doing.
- You understand that you are free to withdraw participation in the study without having to give a reason, and that doing so will not affect you now or in the future.

- You understand that if you choose to end participation **during** data collection, any data collected from you up to that **point will be destroyed**.

- You understand that if you choose to withdraw **after** data collection has ended, your data can be removed from the study up to ***three weeks after the interview***.

I agree to be audio-recorded	☐ Yes ☐ No
I agree to the use of direct quotations	☐ Yes ☐ No
I allow my name to be identified in any publications resulting from this study	☐ Yes ☐ No
Would you like to receive a copy of this interview?	☐ Yes ☐ No
Do you wish to receive a copy or the link	☐ Yes ☐ No
To the final draft of this thesis?	
Do you consent to a copy of this interview being made available through the Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society?	☐ Yes ☐ No

By signing this form, you do not give up your legal rights and do not release the researchers from their professional responsibilities.

Your Signature Confirms:

☐ I have read what this study is about and understood the risks and benefits. I have had adequate time to think about this and had the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered.

☐ I agree to participate in the research project understanding the risks and contributions of my participation, that my participation is voluntary, and that I may end my participation.

☐ A copy of this Informed Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

Should the obtaining of written consent by impractical or unobtainable, oral consent will be
Obtained from the participant. This consent will be recorded as part of the interview, and the form will be signed by the primary researcher.

I read and explained this consent form to the participant before receiving the participant's consent, and the participant had knowledge of its contents and appeared to understand it.

Researcher's Signature:

I have explained this study to the best of my ability. I invited questions and gave answers. I believe that the participant fully understands what is involved in being in the study, any potential risks of the study and that he or she has freely chosen to be in the study.

_____ _____

Signature of Principal Investigator Date

Looking for Participants.

Masters Project on the pulp and paper and logging industries in Central Newfoundland.

Hello,

My name is Bryan Marsh, and I am a graduate student with the Department of History at Memorial University.

I am currently working on a project detailing the history of the pulp and paper industry in Central Newfoundland. As part of this project, I am looking for former loggers and paper mill workers who might wish to be interviewed. Any insight from working in this industry is welcomed, and I am particularly interested in talking to those that worked as loggers from the 1950s up until the closure of the Grand Falls mill in 2009.

The interviews will be recorded and useful information incorporated into my Masters thesis. If you wish to participate in this project, please contact Bryan Marsh at 709-237-1439, or h12bcm@mun.ca.

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Thank you.

Bryan Marsh

Sample Questions for Participants.

Section A): General Questions

Q. Where were you born and where did you grow up?

Q. When did you start working in the woods/logging/pulp and paper industry?

Q. How did you get hired on?

Q. How old were you/what year would this have been?

Q. What type of jobs did you have?

Q. Where did you work?

Q. Did any family members work in the woods/pulp and paper industry?

Q. Were many in your community employed in the industry?

Q. What were the biggest changes that you saw in your time working with the pulp and paper company?

Q. Do you feel these were beneficial?

Q. When did you stop working in the industry?

Q. What was your favorite time of year to be working?

Section B): Logging.

Q. How old were you when you first went to work in the woods?

Q. Was there any reason you chose to become a logger?

Q. Where did you work?

Q. Who did you work for?

Q. What were the camps like?

Q. How did you travel to the camps?

Q. How did you travel to the work sites?

Q. What was the food like?

Q. Were there any problems in the camps?

Q. What kind of stuff was available at the camp vans?

Q. Why did you give up working in the woods?

Q. How long did it take you to get up in the woods?

Q. Did you work for AND/Price and or Bowaters? Was there a difference?

Q. Was there a noticeable difference when Price took over operations?

Q. Where were most of the men from?

Follow up-Did this change over the years?

Q: What did you think caused the biggest change in the woods? (e.g. Skidders, chainsaws, slashers, harvesters)

Q: How much of the year were you able to work in the woods? Did this change over time.

Q: Were there years that you worked for both paper companies?

Q: Did you work in all phases of logging operations?

Q: Did you have a specific job in the woods?

Q: Did you work in the woods before the IWA Strike?

Q: If yes to above, did you notice much of a difference after the strike?

Q: Besides working in the woods was there any other type of work that you did over your lifetime?

Q): Were there a lot of accidents in the woods?

Q): Did this change over time?

Q): Did you ever, or ever consider moving where you lived to be closer to logging operations?

Section C): Mill Workers.

Use general questions from section A with the below examples:

Q): Do you remember when Grand Falls was a company town (also specific questions if they are from other communities such as Bishop's Falls, Badger, Botwood, Windsor).

Q): What was it like working in the mill?

Q): How long did it take to become a permanent employee of the mill?

Q): Were most of the managers local or were they brought in from the mainland?

Q): Did you notice any specific changes that came with the changes in ownership?

Q): Did you think that the mill was destined to close even years before the final closure?

Q): Did you notice a change over the years in how the owners of the mill treated Grand Falls and the surrounding area?

Section D): All Workers

Q. Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about your working experience?

Section E): Family Members

Q: Was your husband/father gone in the woods a lot?

Q: Would he be gone for long periods of time?

Q: Did the amount of time he was gone change over time?

Q: Were there many other families in the same community in the same situation?

Q: How would you communicate with your family member when they were in the woods?

Q: Did this change over time? How?

Q: Would they bring gifts back?

Q: Did you have any other family members that worked as loggers?

Q: Is there anything else in particular that you would like to share that might be relevant to this project?

Section F): Community Members/Residents/Former Residents

Q: Did the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company (in this case also meaning Price, Abitibi-Price, and Abitibi-Consolidated) play much of a role in the running of the community you grew up in?

Q: Did you feel that people in Grand Falls benefitted from the “Company”?

- Follow up questions depending on community the participant grew up in:
    - Was Millertown/Terra Nova/Badger/Botwood/Bishop's Falls a "Company Town?

Q: Did this change over time?

Q: Did the AND Co treat its employees well?

Q: Did a large number of people in your community work for AND Co?

Q: Is there any other experiences of relevant information you might wish to add?