

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF PULPWOOD LOGGING IN
NEWFOUNDLAND DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION

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A Social History of Pulpwood Logging
in Newfoundland During the Great Depression

By

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Abstract

The Great Depression which struck all western nations in the 1930s was a period of great hardship for Newfoundlanders. Its burdens fell particularly hard on the island's loggers and their families. During the 1930s, for at least part of the year, nearly 6,000 Newfoundlanders toiled in the woods. While some worked full-time, many laboured part-time to supplement their meagre earnings from the fishery. Their labour contributed significantly to a forest products industry which, during the 1930s, was regularly valued at over \$15 million a year and, in many years, made up over 50 per cent of the value of the island's exports. And yet, despite their numbers and their contribution to Newfoundland's economy we have heard very little of these loggers' lives and as Greg Kealey puts it, "their struggles to minimize their oppression and to improve the lives of their families and their class." This thesis examines the working lives of Newfoundland loggers during the Great Depression, their labour processes, strikes, collective actions and attempts to organize in the latter half of the decade. In 1930 there were no unions specifically for loggers. By 1939, however, there were three unions, the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association, the Newfoundland Labourers' Union, and the Workers' Central Protective Union all of which represented loggers in the regions where they were

based. The Fishermen's Protective Union was also still active in the 1930s negotiating agreements on behalf of loggers on the northeast coast of the island. This thesis looks at the emergence, structure, and effectiveness of the unions and at their damaging rivalries. In doing so, it charts the changes these organizations forged in the relations between labour and capital in the Newfoundland woods before World War II.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Table and Maps	vi
Introduction	1
Chapter 1. "The Men Went To Work By The Stars And Returned By Them:" Life and Work in the Newfoundland Woods during the 1930s	17
Chapter 2. "We Never Knew There Was Such A Meany Company In This Old World:" Loggers' Strikes and Collective Actions and the Emergence of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association, 1929-1937	78
Chapter 3. The Loggers' Unions and Labour Relations in the Newfoundland Woods, 1937-1939	139
Conclusion	188
Bibliography	194
Appendices	207

List of Table and Maps

vi

Table

Newfoundland Loggers' Strikes and Collective Actions, 1929-1939	136
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Maps

1. Principal Logging Districts in Newfoundland	27
2. - Aubrey Tizzard's Journey from Hillgrade to Millertown	33
3. Bowater's Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Mills Ltd.'s and Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. Ltd.'s Timber Limits in Newfoundland, 1940	140

Introduction

The Great Depression which struck all western nations in the 1930s dealt Newfoundland yet another severe economic blow. Its burdens fell on a dominion already buffeted by the problems posed by outrageous expenditures on public works at election time, the kickback scandal involving Prime Minister Richard Squires, a railroad which was losing money and costing a great deal to maintain, an enormous war debt and a failing fishery. By 1933, the Amulree Royal Commission on Newfoundland's "financial situation and prospects therein" described the people as "living in conditions of great hardship and distress."¹

Clearly included amongst the "distressed" were Newfoundland loggers and their families. During the 1930s, for at least part of the year, nearly 6,000 Newfoundlanders toiled in the woods.² While some worked full-time, many laboured part-time to supplement their meagre earnings from the fishery. Their labour contributed significantly to a forest products industry which, during the 1930s, was regularly valued at over \$15

¹Newfoundland Royal Commission 1933 Report, (London: n.p., 1933), paragraph 222. Referred to as the Amulree Report.

²PANL GN 31/3A/C3 p.24. Forestry Branch Report 1936. The estimate is for a "bright" year when the mills at Grand Falls and Corner Brook were operating at nearly full capacity. For comparative purposes, the pulp and paper mills employed about 3400 men during the peak period of production.

million a year and, in many years made up over 50 per cent of the value of the island's exports.³ And yet, despite their numbers and their contribution to Newfoundland's economy we have heard very little of these loggers' lives and, as Greg Kealey puts it, "their struggles to minimize their oppression and to improve the lives of their families and their class."⁴

The primary reason why we know so little about Newfoundland loggers is that historians and other social scientists have tended to portray Newfoundlanders in G.M. Story's terms as, "Fishermen, Hunters, Planters, and Merchants."⁵ That students of Newfoundland have focussed on the importance of the sea in the economic and social lives of the island's people is not surprising because in many ways Newfoundland is, as an Undersecretary of State reported to the British House of Commons in 1793, "a great ship moored near the banks" and thus possesses a maritime culture.⁶ However, the fact that the sea has been such a dominant force in the island's history has led scholars to

³James Hiller, "Newsprint Politics," unpublished paper, Memorial University, 1987, Table 1, p.33.

⁴Greg Kealey, "Introduction" to Bill Gillespie A Class Act (St. John's: Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour, 1986), p.6.

⁵George M. Story, "Newfoundland: Fishermen, Hunters, Planters and Merchants," in Christmas Mummings in Newfoundland, edited by Herbert Halpert and G.M. Story (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp.7-33.

⁶Ibid., p.13.

neglect the role played by Newfoundland's other great resource, its forests, in the province's social and economic development. Folklorist John Ashton described well the present and historical relationship of Newfoundlanders and their woods:

Even today, the majority of Newfoundlanders are woodsmen. In the rural areas of the province (and this still encompasses much of it) a large number of inhabitants spend much of their working lives and an even greater proportion of their leisure time in the woods. From the early days of settlement until the present time, the forest has provided the people of this island with a readily available source of food, fuel, shelter and employment. The material and spiritual cultural traditions of the region bear witness to the fundamental prominence of the Newfoundlanders' relationship with the forest which, like the sea, has both provided and threatened, is viewed as a friend, yet treated with awe and respect.⁷

Along with being "Fishermen, Hunters, Planters and Merchants," Newfoundlanders have always been and continue to be woodsmen.

Fortunately in the past decade, as part of the growth in interest in social history, Newfoundland's historians have begun to refine the traditional view of Newfoundlanders described above as "Fishermen, Hunters, Planters, and Merchants," to include a variety of historically sig-

⁷John Ashton, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition in Newfoundland," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Memorial University, 1985), p.5.

nificant Newfoundland workers such as craftsmen, long-shoremen, factory operatives and domestics. There are now some excellent studies and works in progress on the growth and activities of the island's urban working class in addition to material on workers found in larger studies on the development of Newfoundland's manufacturing and resource industries.⁸ This thesis fits within this recent historiographic tendency. One of this work's major aims is to take a large and significant group of Newfoundland workers about which little is known and recreate the world of these workers in the 1930s, an economically difficult decade during which these men organized for the first time.

Beyond a social history of a critical industry in Newfoundland, this thesis will attempt to make a broader contribution to Canadian labour history. Labour historians, in order to understand the daily lives of men and women in the past, have recreated their worlds of work. In this area, labour historians in Canada have examined in detail the response of nineteenth century craftsmen to the

⁸See, for example, Jessie Chisholm, "Organizing on the Waterfront: the Longshoremen's Protective Union, St. John's, Newfoundland, 1900-1914," Paper presented at Canadian Historical Association Conference, Windsor, June 1988; Peter McInnis, "Newfoundland Labour and World War I: the emergence of the Newfoundland Industrial Workers' Association," unpublished MA thesis, Memorial University, 1987; Nancy Forestell, "Women's Paid Labour in St. John's Between the Two World Wars," unpublished MA thesis, Memorial University, 1987.

growth of industrial capitalism.⁹ Scholarly attention, especially in the Atlantic region, has not focussed as intensively on the twentieth century worker. With the exception of Maritime coal miners, further, historians have paid almost no attention to resource workers. A social history of Newfoundland loggers, by examining a workforce over a ten year period will attempt to further our understanding of workers and the nature of work in the twentieth century.

Although writers have neglected the Newfoundland woods labour force, they have not completely ignored the island's woods industry. These works on forestry from a variety of academic disciplines provide the context for my study of loggers during the Great Depression. James Hiller's essays on the origins of the pulp and paper industry in Newfoundland to 1939 carefully reconstruct the political and business aspects of the history of the woods industry, while W.J. Reader's Bowater places the corporation's Corner Brook facility within the history of the company's international operations.¹⁰ W.C. Wilton's

⁹See, for example, Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980); Bryan Palmer, A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1800-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979).

¹⁰James Hiller, "The Origins of the Pulp and Paper Industry in Newfoundland," Acadiensis, XI:2 (1982), p.45; Hiller, "Newsprint Politics"; W.J. Reader, Bowater: A History (Cambridge: 1982).

Forestry in Newfoundland is a scientific study of the Newfoundland woods industry in which loggers do appear but only as faceless factors of production employed in the exploitation of a natural resource.¹¹ Dr. John Ashton's folklore Ph.D. thesis, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition in Newfoundland," contains some excellent chapters on work in the woods but is based primarily on interviews, few of which are with loggers who worked during the 1930s, and contains almost nothing on loggers' collective actions and organizations.¹² Other works of folklore such as Aubrey Tizzard's, On Sloping Ground, Gary Saunders', Rattles and Steadies and Elmer Ball's essay, "The Badger Drive" also contain some fascinating glimpses of life in the woods but pose similar problems to the labour historian as Ashton's work.¹³

The pulp and paper mill towns, Corner Brook and Grand Falls, have each been the subject of recent community studies: Harold Horwood's Corner Brook: The Social

¹¹W.C. Wilton, Graham Page, and Tony Thomas, Forestry in Newfoundland (St. John's: Newfoundland Forest Research Centre, 1974).

¹²John Ashton, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition in Newfoundland" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Memorial University, 1985).

¹³Aubrey M. Tizzard, On Sloping Ground: Reminiscences of Outport Life in Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland (St. John's: Memorial University, 1979); Gary Saunders, Rattles and Steadies: Memoirs of a Gander Riverman (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1986); Elmer Ball, "The Badger Drive," in The Savour of Things Past, Vol. 1 (St. John's: The On-Going Book Committee, 1980).

History of a Paper Town and the Exploits Valley Senior Citizen's Club's, The Forest Beckoned: Grand Falls: 1905-1960.¹⁴ Both of these studies are popular histories which concentrate on the mill towns themselves and the pulp mill work forces rather than the woods labour force.

The loggers' unions formed in the 1930s are examined in a number of works.. Rolf Hattenhauer's The History of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland and Bill Gillespie's A Class Act: An Illustrated History of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland and Labrador both contain narratives on the unions' early years.¹⁵ Hattenhauer's coverage of the unions is substantial and in parts of my thesis I have relied on his judgement of events, but his work is strictly trade union history with hardly any reference to the loggers' work experience and early collective actions and strikes. Gillespie's book is an overview history of the Newfoundland labour movement which relies heavily on Hattenhauer's work on the loggers' unions. Gillespie's thesis on the Newfoundland Federation of Labour (NFL), however, does make many important points about the nature

¹⁴Harold Horwood, Corner Brook: A Social History of a Paper Town (St. John's: Breakwater, 1986); Exploits Valley Senior Citizen's Club, The Forest Beckoned: Grand Falls 1905-1960 (Grand Falls: Robinson Blackmore, 1986).

¹⁵Rolf Hattenhauer, The History of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland, (unpublished manuscript, Memorial University, 1983); Bill Gillespie, A Class Act: An Illustrated History of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland and Labrador (St. John's: Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour, 1986).

of the Newfoundland labour movement in the 1930s which are valid for the loggers' unions. He also describes how the failure of the loggers' unions to affiliate with the NFL weakened the federation.¹⁶ Although covering the period after the 1930s, Cyril Strong's memoirs My Life as a Newfoundland Union Organizer and H. Landon Ladd's essay "The Newfoundland Loggers' Strike of 1959" look at Joseph Thompson's and the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association's role in the 1959 IWA strike.¹⁷ Essentially Strong and Ladd write the final chapter of the story of Newfoundland's first loggers' union which I begin in this thesis.

Two other works on loggers in North America have a significant impact on the shape of this work: Ian Radforth's Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980 and Gordon Hak's thesis "On the Fringes: Capital and Labour in the Forest Economies of the Port Alberni and Prince George Districts, British Columbia, 1910-1939."¹⁸ I have tried to capture some of

¹⁶Bill Gillespie, "A History of the Newfoundland Federation of Labour, 1936-1963" (unpublished MA thesis, Memorial University, 1980).

¹⁷Cyril Strong, My Life as a Newfoundland Union Organizer edited by Gregory S. Kealey (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History); H. Landon Ladd, "The Newfoundland Loggers' Strike of 1959," in Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History, edited by W.J.C. Cherwinski and Gregory S. Kealey (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1985).

¹⁸Ian Radforth, Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging Pulpwood in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Gordon Hak, "On the

Radforth's enthusiasm and sensitivity for describing the way of life men followed in the woods. From Hak I have taken an interest in class formation among a woods labour force with special reference to the relationship between loggers and pulpmill workers.

This thesis is divided into three chapters followed by a conclusion. Chapter 1 begins with a brief history of work and industry in the Newfoundland woods to place the lives and labours of loggers during the 1930s within the context of Newfoundland history as a whole. The chapter then moves on to a description of life and work in the Newfoundland woods during the 1930s. Using oral and written sources I attempt to recreate the work worlds of Newfoundland loggers, their annual migration from the outports to the woods, the labour processes in the woods, the types of operations the men toiled in, the loggers' living conditions, and how workers and employers interacted in the woods. Finally, I use the 1935 manuscript census in an effort to describe who the loggers were.

Chapter 2 studies the loggers' spontaneous strikes and collective actions in the early 1930s and the emergence of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association (NLA), the island's first union specifically for loggers. During

Fringes: Capital and Labour in the Forest Economies of the Port Alberni and Prince George Districts, British Columbia, 1910-1939" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Simon Fraser, 1986).

the depths of the Great Depression in Newfoundland, loggers engaged in a series of strikes and collective actions to protest wages which forced them to work themselves to the point of exhaustion and still often left them in debt to the companies. Unrest in the woods reached such a level of intensity in 1934, that the Commission of Government appointed F. Gordon Bradley, the leader of the opposition in the last House of Assembly, to write a report on the problems of the industry.¹⁹ These conditions also inspired Joseph Thompson to begin his campaign to organize the loggers in 1935.

The second part of chapter 2 describes the emergence and early organizing drives of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association. In this section I examine the obstacles to organization in the woods and suggest some reasons based on the nature of the job and of Newfoundland society, why Thompson and his comrades were able to overcome most of these obstacles. I place the emergence of the NLA within the context of the revival of trade unionism and working-class militancy in the latter part of the 1930s not only in Newfoundland but all over

¹⁹In February 1934, following a long financial crisis brought on by the worldwide economic downturn, Newfoundland gave up parliamentary self-government for rule by a "Commission of Government." Under Commission government, a governor and six commissioners, all appointed by the British government, ruled the country. By law three commissioners had to be drawn from Newfoundland and three from Britain. The commission remained in power until 1949 when Newfoundland became a Canadian province.

North America. Finally, I discuss the ideology of the NLA leadership and note how the association, like many trade unions in Newfoundland during the 1930s, was not a radical organization. Thompson always argued that his efforts to organize workers were not attempts to fundamentally alter the economic system on the island; he simply wanted to restore the proper balance between capital and labour after a period when capital had an unfair advantage in the relationship. This philosophy was not always shared by militant and class-conscious loggers.

Chapter 3 analyses the difficult last few years of the 1930s for Newfoundland loggers. The chapter begins with an examination of a major defeat for the NLA at Robert's Arm and the subsequent splits in the organization into three rival unions, each representing loggers in the different regions of the province. I suggest reasons for the splits and discuss the impact they had on the working lives of loggers. Finally, the chapter looks at the changing nature of labour relations in the woods in the late 1930s. In my conclusion I summarize the main findings of this study.

To prepare this thesis I used a number of sources, some thick and rich others slim and fragmentary. First, I have relied heavily on newspapers to chronicle the history of loggers during the 1930s. I read every issue of the St. John's Evening Telegram for the entire decade and

examined the Daily News and bi-monthly Fishermen's Advocate for coverage of significant events. Unfortunately only a few issues of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association's newspaper have survived and there are only a few scattered issues of the rural papers which gave extensive coverage to loggers, the Humber Herald and the Twillingate Sun. I sampled the Grand Falls Advertiser and the Western Star (published in Corner Brook) but was disappointed to find the papers' coverage limited to the paper mill towns themselves.

Second, I examined the few records of the loggers' unions which have survived and are found in the Rolf Hattenhauer collection at Memorial University. These records are limited to copies of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association's constitutions and by-laws, some collective agreements, a few letters, and association memorabilia. When Hattenhauer interviewed Thompson at Point Leamington in 1967 the aging union leader described what happened to the union's books:

We had a little sunporch here, I changed this around a little bit and the sunporch was full of books and the girls [his daughters] come here cleaning up things and they made a fire over the hill and burned the books and they even burned an agreement that I had with the Carpenters and Joiners and myself for a pension,

even destroyed that.²⁰

As far as I can tell there are almost no documents ~~for~~ the Corner Brook and Deer Lake loggers' unions except for a few letters to the editor from the presidents describing their unions' activities in the late 1930s.²¹

Third, oral interviews with loggers who worked in the woods during the 1930s form a critical source. The oral testimony of loggers revealed not only how the men performed their tasks in the woods, how long they worked each day, how much they earned, what they ate and the card games they played in the evenings in the bunkhouse, but also how they felt about their work and their bosses. Historian Neil Sutherland describes well the value of interviews:

... recollections collected by historians and social scientists can take us across those barriers, of which class is but one, which separate the few that write down their memories

²⁰Joseph Thompson, Interview, 1967. Rolf Hattenhauer interviewed Thompson at Point Leamington. Interview is located in the Memorial University Folklore Archives (MUNFLA), tape 84-224 C7231 and C7232.

²¹On the other side of the coin I found no company documents other than correspondence between company and government officials in various departmental files. Although I tried to get access to company records at Grand Falls, the company does not allow researchers access to old files. I never got a clear answer as to whether there were any files, if they had been moved when the mill changed ownership, or if they had simply been destroyed.

from the vast majority who do not.²²

I conducted a few interviews myself and I also used many that are contained in the Memorial University Folklore Archives. The archives contains Rolf Hattenhauer's interviews of many of Newfoundland's labour leaders including Joseph Thompson, the president of the NLA, as well as scores of interviews of old loggers conducted by undergraduate folklore students as part of their course work. Obviously memory is fallible and recollections of distant events can lead the historian astray but I have been careful to use only memories of life in the woods which are corroborated in a whole series of interviews or in printed sources.

The testimony of loggers to the 1934 government commission into conditions in the woods headed by F. Gordon Bradley further reduces the risk in using the more recent interviews. The frank testimony of loggers from across Newfoundland about conditions and rates of pay in the woods greatly enriches and verifies much of the material cited from the more recent interviews. In fact the 1934 testimony goes a long way to prove the contention that the best information for social history is that

²²Neil Sutherland, "Listening to the Winds of Childhood: The Role of Memory in the History of Childhood" in CHEA Bulletin (January 1988), p.13.

recorded at the time on the spot.²³

Fourth, government documents were consulted. The government of Newfoundland did not create a Department of Labour until 1933. The department, unfortunately, survived only six months until the suspension of responsible government and the institution of government by commission.²⁴ The absence of a Department of Labour meant that Newfoundland lacked a publication equivalent to the Canadian Labour Gazette which provides information about union activities, strikes and lockouts and wage comparisons. I had to gather that information from the daily press. The British Commissioners did keep excellent records, however, and I found much valuable material in the Department of Natural Resources' files. Ranger reports, Commissioners' correspondence, and government commissions such as the Bradley commission into conditions in the woods industry and Thomas K. Liddell's Industrial Survey of Newfoundland were also utilized.

Finally, I conducted a brief survey of the manuscript census of 1935 to see what, if anything, it added to what

²³This is historian Tom Harrisson's contention based on his experience of having the original Mass Observation participants rewrite, from memory, experiences of the Blitz they had originally put down when they happened. See Tom Harrisson, Living Through the Blitz (London: Collins, 1976), p.330. Cited in Sutherland, "Listening to the Winds," pp.8-9.

²⁴Nancy Forestell, "Women's Paid Labour in St. John's," p.7.

I had learned from the descriptive sources. As the Canadian manuscript census records are only now open to 1891, the census records of Newfoundland offer the social historian a unique opportunity for research. The study of the census, which indicates the loggers' incomes, ages, marital status, and their possessions, allowed me to see a portrait of a group of workers where usually we are only permitted to see them reduced to rough numbers. At the beginning of this project I planned to do a larger study of the loggers' communities from the census but time constraints limited me to the smaller work. Perhaps a grander study of the census can be a project for the future.

Chapter One

"The Men Went To Work By The Stars and Returned By Them":
Life and Work in the Newfoundland Woods during the 1930s

... There is about forest exploitation a special atmosphere characteristic of only a few of the world's callings Lumbering ... may be associated with the sailor's calling or the cowboy's, or the furtrader's, all of them close to nature, ways of life filled with human interest and thus something more than mere "occupations." This special atmosphere causes the fields of exploitation possessing it to become the sources not only of economic analysis but of literary effort, to recall only Conrad or Masefield, Bret Harte or Stewart Edward White, perhaps because the poets and novelists realize that any calling close to nature is not only a way of earning a living but is also a way of living.¹

One of A.R.M. Lower's major themes in his pioneering study, the North American Assault on the Canadian Forest, the nature of life in the woods, is addressed in the opening chapter of this thesis at the local level of Newfoundland. We now know a great deal about the lives of Newfoundland fishermen in the past and are beginning to hear more about other of the island's workers. The working lives of Newfoundland loggers, traditionally the second largest body of workers next to fishermen, however, have not yet been carefully examined. I have, therefore, set myself three tasks for this chapter. First, I will

¹A.R.M. Lower, The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest (Toronto: Ryerson, 1938), p.27.

briefly outline the history of work and industry in the Newfoundland woods to place the lives and labours of loggers in the context of Newfoundland's history as a whole. Second, I will use oral and written sources, and the report and evidence of the 1934 Royal Commission into logging operations conducted by F. Gordon Bradley, the leader of the opposition in Newfoundland's last House of Assembly, to describe what life and work were like for the thousands of Newfoundlanders who toiled as loggers during one of the island's grimmest decades. I will examine the loggers' annual migration from the outports to the woods, the labour processes in the woods, the loggers' living conditions, and their recreational activities. Finally, I will use the 1935 manuscript census in an effort to describe who these loggers were. By the end I hope to prove Lower's contention about logging in North America. As elsewhere, logging in Newfoundland was not only a way of earning a living but was also an often exhausting and brutal way of living.

I

J.K. Hiller and others have provided the history of the exploitation of Newfoundland's forests, beginning with the extensive use of the island's woods in the fishery and culminating in the rise of the pulp and paper industry at

the start of the twentieth century.² Migratory European fishermen and, later, resident fishermen, mostly harvested timber to fulfill local needs. While a certain amount of wood was exported to Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for shipbuilding purposes, early Newfoundlanders cut wood for fuel, for building material, and especially for use in the fishery, which required large amounts of wood for each phase of its operation.³ Fishermen employed wood to build boats and barrels, to construct slipways and stages where the fish were split, salted, and piled. They also needed large amounts of timber to build huts and cookhouses, and used hundreds of logs constructing flakes, the raised, open-framed constructions usually about five feet wide and up to one hundred feet long, on which the shore crews placed the salted fish to dry.⁴ Fishermen also used the bark of balsam fir trees to cover the fish and as roofing material for stages.⁵ Thus the livelihood of Newfoundlanders

²James Hiller, "The Origins of the Pulp and Paper Industry in Newfoundland," Acadiensis, XI:2, (1982), pp.42-68; James Hiller, "'Newsprint Politics': the Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Industry, 1915-1939," (unpublished paper, Memorial University, 1986).

³Ibid., p.9.

⁴C. Grant Head, Eighteenth Century Newfoundland (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p.3.

⁵W.C. Wilton, Graham Page, and Tony Thomas, Forestry in Newfoundland (St. John's: Newfoundland Forest Research Centre 1974), p.41.

depended not only on their skills on the water but also on their skills in the woods. From the very beginning of the resident fishery, they followed a seasonal work pattern, in the summer they fished, while "in the snow and cold all the men go into the woods to cut timber."⁶

That early pattern of forest exploitation in Newfoundland where the fishermen regarded the woods as an open-access resource, confined their cutting to coastal areas, and rarely exported significant amounts of timber, continued until the second half of the nineteenth century. By the 1880s, however, the traditional fish-based economy had reached its limits, and could no longer adequately support the country's population. At this point the Newfoundland government embarked on a continental land-based development strategy designed to liberate Newfoundland from its dependence on fish, a notoriously unpredictable staple. This development strategy -- which David Alexander called "courageous if foolhardy"⁷ -- closely resembled that chosen by all territories of European settlement in the nineteenth century: by building a railway across the country "a moving frontier of inland settlement" would open up export sectors in

⁶The Journal of James Yonge, edited by Poynter. Cited in Head, p.3.

⁷David Alexander, "Development and Dependence in Newfoundland, 1880-1970," Atlantic Canada and Confederation, edited by Eric Sager, et al (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983), p.25.

agriculture, lumber, and minerals and thus reduce Newfoundland's dependence on marine resources.⁸ Alexander Murray's geological survey, begun in 1864, brought the existence of these inland resources to public attention and they captured the imaginations of many influential Newfoundlanders.⁹ The belief that St. John's would emerge as a major metropolitan centre for the new inland staples and would also develop into a centre for domestic manufacturing followed from this development strategy.

For a number of reasons, Newfoundland's "National Policy" failed. Rosemary Ommers has argued that the strategy built on Newfoundland's weaknesses -- inland resources for which, unlike those of Western Canada, or Argentina, or Australia, Newfoundland had no comparative advantages -- and not on her strengths which were to be found in the fishery, Newfoundland's one great renewable resource.¹⁰ The irresistible model of the western frontier did not work when applied to the economic reality of Newfoundland. Land clearance and fertilization of Newfoundland's acidic soil were expensive and beyond the

⁸David Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934," Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation, edited by James Hiller and Peter Neary (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1980), p.25.

⁹James Hiller, "The Railway and Local Politics in Newfoundland, 1870-1901," in ibid., p.124.

¹⁰Rosemary Ommers, "What's Wrong With Canadian Fish?" Journal of Canadian Studies, 20 (Autumn 1985), p.130.

means of most Newfoundlanders. The island's trees were slow-growing and of too low a quality to make the export of finished lumber a viable business. In manufacturing the domestic market was too small to make firms profitable, while the lack of expertise of both entrepreneurs and workers made it difficult for companies to compete in large foreign markets.¹¹

The failure of the railway, too, was part and parcel of the failure of the entire development strategy. On the one hand, it made no significant impact on the island's economy in terms of numbers of permanent jobs or as a transportation link between the hinterland and the metropolis. On the other hand, high operating costs coupled with low volumes of traffic meant that the railway lost money. Hiller calculated that the railway lost approximately \$6 million between 1901 and 1921.¹²

The few permanent jobs created by the railway, however, were significant. In addition to the jobs associated with the operation of the line itself, sawmills were built where the railway crossed major rivers such as the Humber and the Exploits. These marked the beginnings of Newfoundland's forest products industry.¹³ Hiller has

¹¹Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy," p.29.

¹²Hiller, "The Railway," p.142.

¹³Hiller, "Newsprint Politics," p.1.

argued that the early phase of sawmilling was not very profitable because of the quality of the raw material, the small domestic market, and the inaccessibility of foreign markets.¹⁴ Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Newfoundland's leaders began to recognize that the only viable way to exploit the large tracts of small trees in the interior of the island was the development of a domestic forest products industry. To this end, and in order to prevent indiscriminate cutting, to promote investment, and to encourage interior settlement in accordance with Newfoundland's "National Policy," the government passed legislation which offered generous terms for rights to timber lands to entrepreneurs; the only stipulation being that the timber had to be manufactured on the island. Thus, to receive a license an operator had to agree to build a sawmill or pulp mill within a certain number of years.¹⁵

Sawmilling developed slowly: large mills were established at Point Leamington, and Gander Bay, on the Gambo river, and in the Bay of Exploits while small mills congregated along the railway line as it moved north from the Avalon Peninsula. In the 1890s, however, as the price of forest products surged the sawmilling industry at-

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵James Hiller, "The Origins of the Pulp and Paper Industry in Newfoundland," Acadiensis, XI:2, 1982, p.45.

tracted more investment and the number of mills increased.¹⁶ Census data indicates that the number of sawmills in Newfoundland grew from 53 in 1891, to 347 in 1911, and to 688 in 1921. At the same time, the value of the timber cut by the mills increased from about \$300,000 in 1891 to over \$1.2 million in 1921, while the number of workers employed in some capacity by the mills grew from 807 to almost 3,000 in 1921. Unfortunately, the 1935 census does not list the number of mills but has only general information about lumbering. In 1935, 4,471 Newfoundlanders indicated lumbering as their full-time occupation.¹⁷ F. Gordon Bradley, in his 1934 report on logging operations in Newfoundland, noted that there were "in excess of 500 sawmills in the country," while R.A. Mackay found that there were 790 licensed sawmills in 1939.¹⁸ By that time, however, the majority of loggers were employed by the two major pulp and paper companies.

Newfoundland's decision to develop the primary manufacturing industry of pulp and paper led to the island's long-term relationships with international

¹⁶Ibid., p.47.

¹⁷The statistics were compiled from the Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1935. The early censuses are not terribly reliable.

¹⁸Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Logging Industry. Mimeographed, n.d. p.68. Referred to as the Bradley Report; R.A. MacKay, ed. Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic and Strategic Studies, (Toronto: Oxford, 1946), p.97.

corporations which had the expertise, the skilled workers, and the capital to develop the necessarily large manufacturing complexes. The Harmsworths of Britain, owners of the Daily Mail, were the first major group of foreign investors to enter the Newfoundland woods industry. Under the incorporated title of the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company (AND Co.), they built the Grand Falls pulp and paper mill to provide newsprint for their newspaper and associated publications. The 1909 opening of the mill, which Prime Minister Robert Bond described as the first significant result of Newfoundland's "National Policy," marked the beginning of the second historical phase of the development of Newfoundland's forest industry.¹⁹ In 1923 the AND Co. expanded their operations when they took over the pulp mill at Bishop's Falls which Albert E. Reed had started in 1907.²⁰

The second major advance in the development of the pulp and paper industry in Newfoundland occurred between 1923 and 1925 when the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company (NPPC), composed of Reid interests of Newfoundland and the Armstrong, Whitworth and Company Limited of Britain, built a pulp and paper mill at Corner Brook and a

¹⁹Hiller, "The Origins," p.42.

²⁰Mackay, Newfoundland, p.98.

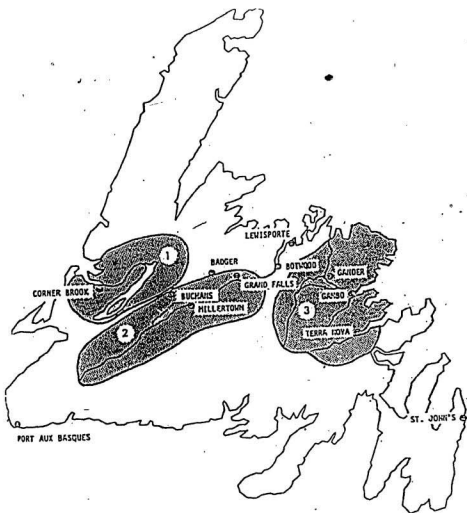
power plant at Deer Lake on the west coast.²¹ Handicapped by cost over-runs in the construction of the mill, high overhead costs, bad market conditions, and ineffective marketing techniques, the NPPC went deeply into debt, and, in 1928, sold out to the International Power and Paper Company (IPP Co.) of New York and the Corner Brook mill began to produce, along with IPP's three Canadian mills, for the American market.²² According to Hiller, the IPP Co. remained profitable until 1932, and then suffered persistent losses in the highly competitive American markets, in spite of aggressive marketing techniques.²³ Finally, in 1937, in the last big pulp and paper deal in Newfoundland before World War II, IPP sold out their interests in Corner Brook to the Bowater-Lloyd Company (Bowaters) of Britain. Bowaters had originally thought of establishing a sulphite pulp mill in the Gander River area, which would have fulfilled Prime Minister Richard Squires promise to "put the gang on the Gander," but instead bought IPP's Corner Brook holdings when they became available.²⁴

²¹For a description of the problems related to building the mill at Corner Brook see Malcolm MacLeod, "Death at Deer Lake: Catalyst of a Forgotten Newfoundland Work Stoppage, 1924," Labour/Le Travail, 16 (Fall 1985), pp.179-191.

²²Ibid.

²³Hiller, "Newsprint Politics," p.26.

²⁴Ibid., p.24.



Map 1

PRINCIPAL LOGGING DISTRICTS

1. HUMBER VALLEY
2. EXPLOITS VALLEY
3. GANDER - GAMBO - TERRA NOVA DISTRICT

Source: John Ashton, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition in Newfoundland," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Memorial University, 1985, p.49.

II

The rise of the pulp and paper industry in the twentieth century brought a new type of logging operation to Newfoundland which, in turn, produced a distinct way of life in the woods, a way which persisted until the great upheaval in the industry as a result of the 1959 IWA strike. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when sawmilling was the major forest industry in Newfoundland, logging operations consisted of teams of men who went into the woods armed with axes and two-man cross-cut saws to harvest the stands of white pine.²⁵ Oxen then pulled wooden sleds loaded with the wood to the sawmills. The men who logged for the pulp and paper companies, on the other hand, employed a method known as short-wood clear cutting whereby all softwood trees of suitable size were felled over large cutting areas, predominantly in the interior parts of the island.²⁶ Therefore, the companies had to build camps to house the men during the cut, the haul-off, and the drive. By the 1930s hundreds of these logging camps dotted the central and western areas of Newfoundland.

In the 1930s, the cutting operations frequently started in the summer months and reached their height of

²⁵Ashton, p.53.

²⁶Ibid.

intensity in the fall and early winter. In a pulpwood logging operation the men felled the trees using axes and single-handed bucksaws: "first you chop a notch into the tree with an axe and then finish cutting it with a bucksaw."²⁷ In mid-winter, after the cutting season, horses, oxen or "men doing the work of horses," hauled sleds loaded with pulpwood from the cutting areas or "yards" to the nearest pond or river. In the spring when the ice broke up men known as "drivers" guided the pulpwood "junks" down the river systems to the mill or nearest railway depot or seaport depending on where the logging operation took place.

Since there was almost no mechanization in the Newfoundland woods during the 1930s, the logging operations were highly labour-intensive. The numbers of men the companies hired varied according to the demands of the cut, the haul-off, and the drive. In 1937, for example, a year in which nearly half a million cords were cut, the companies employed nearly 6,000 men during the cutting season, between June and October. As fewer men were needed for the haul-off and drive, the number of men in

²⁷Norma Mills, "A Comparative Study of Logging Camps," Memorial University, Folklore Archives (MUNFLA) manuscript 79-172, unpublished paper, M.U.N., 1978. Mills interviewed Heber Hart at Loon Bay, Notre Dame Bay, in 1978. Hart worked for the pulp and paper companies during the 1930s.

the woods dropped steadily to a low of 1426 in April.²⁸

From the start of the pulp and paper industry, the few towns that had developed in central and western Newfoundland as a direct result of the railway's opening of the island's interior were not able to supply the pulp and paper companies' manpower needs. Thus many loggers were recruited from the outports, the small fishing communities which line Newfoundland's coastline, and especially from those communities on the island's north-east coast. Even in the 1930s when the fishery failed repeatedly and many men logged full-time to support their families, most loggers were still seasonal workers who fished during the summer and logged during the fall and winter. Only on rare occasions, when men were able to get work in the cut, haul-off, and drive and then fish in the summer, would they obtain year-round employment.²⁹

²⁸PANL GN 31/3A/C2 p.60. "Notes on Employment Situation in Newsprint and Logging Industries," prepared by the Forestry Officer for the Commissioner of Natural Resources, 12 September 1938. The following table shows the number of men on the logging pay rolls of the paper companies:

1937

January	2220
February	2501
March	2546
April	1426
May	2545
June	4257
July	4920
August	5514
September	5809
October	5916
November	3555
December	2450

²⁹Ashton, p.54.

Q
Loggers from the coastal communities frequently found the trip to the camps long and difficult. Since most of the pulp and paper companies' major logging operations had their headquarters inland at towns in the western, northeastern, and central regions of Newfoundland, loggers often had to travel great distances with their clothes and bedding on their backs to get to the camps. An important part of life in the Newfoundland lumberwoods, therefore, was the trip by boat, sled, tractor, but most often on foot, to the cutting sites and then home again at the end of the logging season. Aubrey Tizzard, for example, has described in detail the 1943 trip he made from his home in Salt Pans (now Hillgrade) on New World Island, Notre Dame Bay, to the AND Co.'s headquarters at Millertown:

I was up bright and early on the 8th (April) to be ready to connect with those who were leaving ... that day for Millertown. It was snowing ... that day and continued snowing all day. Bert Jenkins took our clothes bags to Lewisporte for 50 cents each on his dog team. Six of us left that morning By the time we reached Lewisporte the snow was knee deep and everyone was tired and weary. We walked on the bay ice to Virgin Arm, then across to Summerford on the land, then across to Comfort on ice again. From Comfort Cove we walked across the narrow neck of land to Newstead and had lunch there, across the ice again to Indian Cove Neck and across the ice again to Campbellton. We lunched again at Campbellton and walked across another neck of land to Michael's harbour, on the ice again to a little cove just south of Lewisporte and from there to Lewisporte on the road. Arriving in Lewisporte at nine o'clock. We stayed the night at the "Live Well Inn" and slept on the floor with our clothes bags for pillows. At five o'clock we were up and had breakfast, and boarded the branch line train to Notre Dame

Junction at six o'clock. At the Junction we changed to the main line express for Millertown Junction. After a short delay there we got on board the Buchan's branch line and got off at Millertown at four o'clock the afternoon of Friday April 9th. I went to the main office of the AND Co. there and with others signed on for work in the woods with Peter Rowsell.³⁰

In another account, Eugene Fudge, a logger from Pilley's Island, Notre Dame Bay, described the various ways he travelled to the camps:

We rowed from the island in 1929. Fifteen miles to the mainland. Four of us rowed to Badger Bay.... After getting to the mainland we walked between ten and twenty miles to the camps. The walk was not just the thing, it was also the fifty pound clothes bags we carried on our backs. Fifteen miles to the camp usually took all day. In winter we paid someone to take us across the bay on dog teams.... Many a night we had to stay in the woods.... Travelling in Spring was the most dangerous because we had to travel over bad ice. Many a times men fell through the ice but fortunately we never had a serious accident.³¹

As a final example, a foreman between 1931 and 1936 for the St. Lawrence Steamship and Lumber Company, contractors for IPP, pointed out that he had had to turn away men for

³⁰Aubrey M. Tizzard, On Sloping Ground: Reminiscences of Outport Life in Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979), pp.360-361.

³¹Eugene Fudge, "The Life of a Logger in the 1930's," MUNFLA ms. 79-364. Fudge interviewed Ernest Fudge at Pilley's Island, Notre Dame Bay in 1979. Ernest Fudge, born 1918, logged for the AND Co. for 40 years... He began work with his father in 1929.

work at his camp at Lomond, Bonne Bay, who had come from as far away as Cow's Head, 80 kilometres to the north and St. George's Bay, over 200 kilometres to the south.³²

Once a man arrived at the divisional headquarters of the logging operation he was signed on, if lucky, and assigned to a camp. Here again the logger had to make a journey, sometimes long and arduous, through the woods to the cutting site. Often, however, the companies had tractors and sleds, or trucks to take the men from the headquarters to the camps. Aubrey Tizzard, for example, took an eight-hour tractor and sled trip from Millertown to Peter Rowsell's camp.³³ When the logger finally reached the camp he came under the supervision of the camp foreman.

A Newfoundland logger could work in a number of different types of pulpwood logging operations in the 1930s. Both AND and IPP contracted experienced men to cut, haul, and drive a specified number of cords each year.³⁴ The magnitude and nature of the contracts, however, varied from company to company and place to place

³²Marion Ellsworth, "The Lumber Camp at Big Bonne Bay, 1931-1936," MUNFLA ms. 79-676, unpublished paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979. Ellsworth interviewed Blanche Ellsworth at Rocky Harbour, Bonne Bay, in 1979. Ellsworth ran the camp along with her husband, Andrew.

³³Tizzard, p.361.

³⁴Bradley Report, p.6.

and had a significant impact on the size and make-up of individual logging operations. In the 1930s there were three major types of contracts: company contracts, jobbers' contracts, and outside contracts.³⁵ For the purposes of this paper I have chosen primarily to concentrate attention on life and work in camps where operators had company contracts, the largest and most common form of contract in the Newfoundland woods. I will make some reference, however, to the work processes and conditions in jobbers' and outside contractors' camps.

The company contract worked extremely well for the AND and IPP Cos. It gave them complete control over expenses without any responsibility for the day-to-day running of the logging camps. In the early summer a company's "walking boss" or "woods ranger" surveyed a designated cutting area and decided its maximum yield according to the quality and accessibility of the timber.³⁶ On the basis of the walking boss' assessment the company and the contractor signed an agreement which specified the number of cords to be cut -- usually from 2,000 to 5,000 -- the lengths of the wood, and the price to be paid for each cord to the contractor once his men piled the cut wood at the bank of a pond or river ready for driving in the spring. In return for a profit on each

³⁵Ibid., pp.5-10.

³⁶Ashton, p.62.

cord, the contractor was responsible for organizing the season's cut; for hiring, sheltering, and feeding the loggers; and for keeping records of the wages due each man at the end of a "scale," (a measurement of cut wood), which generally occurred every two weeks. Contractors frequently had a core of men who logged with them each year but they might, also hire men who arrived at the camps on their own or who were sent to them from divisional headquarters.³⁷

Although the contractor was in charge of the daily administration of the camp, he had almost no control over its finances. In many ways the contractor was, in a logger's words, "really in the nature of a foreman who receives no wages but has to make what he can on figures supplied by the company."³⁸ Under the contract system, the company paid the contractor's men directly and deducted the wages from the operator's account at the end of the season. At the same time, the company subtracted the cost of the contractor's food supplies and equipment which, according to the contract, had to be bought from company stores at company prices. In a 1934 AND Co. contract, the company charged the contractor for camp hire, scaling and fire and accident insurance, and penalized him for each stump left over 3½ inches in the

³⁷Ibid., p.64.

³⁸Bradley Report, p.7.

cutting area, each top of a tree left in the woods which could yield a piece of pulpwood, and a high price for each cord of wood left in the woods after the haul-off.³⁹ Finally, the company determined how much a contractor and his workers made at the end of the day as the company scaler, whose decision was final, assessed the value of all wood cut in the camp.⁴⁰

Loggers stated that some contractors made money, but many were not much better off than their workers. A contractor could make money on his budget if he kept the cost of each meal below that allowed in the contract and spent nothing on the upkeep of his buildings. When a contractor did that, however, the living conditions in the camp were so dreadful that good men rarely stayed for long stretches of time before they moved on to more comfortable camps. Most contractors during the 1930s like Monson Lingard, who worked for the AND Co., had trouble making ends meet:

...If things had worked out according to the Company's budget I would have had about \$1590 left for me and my outfit after everything was paid. My cookhouse lost about \$200. That would leave me about \$1390 for myself. I had five horses and two oxen in the

³⁹F. Gordon Bradley Private Papers. Evidence for Report of the Commission of Inquiry On the Logging Industry, Millertown/Bishop's Falls/Botwood file. Papers are in possession of Bradley family. File titles are my own.

⁴⁰Bradley Report, p.6.

camp besides sleds harness and other necessities. We were about two months cutting and about six weeks hauling. I do not consider that I made any money out of this contract. The expense of horses is tremendous. The cost of feeding them in the off season is such that to break even on the horse I require \$200 each. You can't feed a horse in the stall for less than \$1 a day. Since January when we finished my feed has cost me between \$700 and \$800 for horses and oxen....⁴¹

Both companies signed "outside" contracts with men for pulpwood found on Crown lands and company lands located a long way from their mills. Although an outside contract might be for up to 5,000 cords, the same as a company contract, the companies did not have the same degree of control over the outside contractors as they did over their own operators. An outside contract simply specified the quantity, sizes, and quality of the pulpwood the contractor had to deliver to a certain location and the price the company would pay for each cord. The operator was free to pay whatever wages he wanted to his cutters and other labourers and also to charge them what he deemed fit for their supplies and board. As a result of this freedom, there was no uniformity in the wages, working conditions, and living conditions in these outside operations.⁴² Bradley discovered that often men had to

⁴¹Evidence, Bishop's Falls/Millertown/Botwood file.

⁴²Bradley Report, pp.8-10.

cut and haul the pulpwood. In other cases the loggers even had to drive the pulpwood to the main drive or depot in return for a lump sum per cord. Very few outside contractors conducted camps. The men would build their own shacks, buy their food from the contractor, and do their own cooking. Bradley did not find the conditions in outside contractors' operations significantly worse than those in company operations. The pay was about the same, Bradley concluded, "as with company operations a few skillful men by close application and strenuous work did fairly well. The ordinary cutter existed, the inefficient one ended up in debt."⁴³

In addition to company and outside contracts, the IPP Co. signed many jobber contracts in western Newfoundland. A jobber was a contractor who agreed to cut and haul a small quantity of wood, usually between 300 and 1000 cords. Jobbers provided their own supplies and built their own camps. Most jobbers employed their sons and neighbours as cutters and had their wives and daughters cook for the camp. Often jobbers moved their whole families into the woods for the winter, consequently there were many small children in the woods who never attended school.⁴⁴ When Joseph Thompson organized the first

⁴³Ibid., p.9.

⁴⁴Ibid., p.8. Also, Evidence, Deer Lake file. Depositions of Arthur Lang and Alan Robin describe conditions of jobbers' families in woods.

loggers union on the island in the latter half of the decade he found the worst conditions in jobbers' camps which were so small that they rarely attracted the attention of the government inspector.⁴⁵

III

Most pulpwood cutters followed a similar work routine. After the company hired a man on, the contractor or foreman assigned the logger a strip of timber to cut about 100 metres wide and up to two kilometres long known as a "chance."⁴⁶ The AND Co. paid men referred to as "swampers" to cut a road through to their loggers' cutting areas while IPP had the men swamp their own roads and in return paid them slightly more per cord than the AND Co.⁴⁷ In his designated cutting area, the logger felled the trees with his axe and saw, limbed the trees, "bucked" the logs into four-foot lengths, and piled or "browed" them on his road or "landing." Most cutters worked from about seven in the morning to six or seven at night at least six days a week. Many men, however, worked longer hours:

... I did fairly well but I worked awfully hard. We worked almost from

⁴⁵Joseph Thompson, The History of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association (St. John's: Guardian, 1956), p.16.

⁴⁶Eugene Fudge, "The Life of a Logger in the 1930's," MUNFLA ms. 79-364.

⁴⁷Bradley Report, p.17.

daylight to dark. I piled some of my wood on Sunday. While I was with Ball we used to go to work after supper and stumble back over trail after dark.⁴⁸

As Leander Martin, a man who worked in the woods from 1919 to the mid-1960s, put it, "the men went to work by the stars and returned by them."⁴⁹

From the range of factors which determined the amount of wood a man could cut in a day, the most important one was the quality of wood in his "chance." The cutters said a man had "bad wood" if the trees were thin and difficult to cut in large quantities; if the ground was steeply sloped, boggy or covered with thick underbrush which inhibited the logger's movement around the trees; or, if his cutting area was located a long way from the camp which, through travel time, made his day longer and more tiring. A logger explained:

... the foreman gave you a strip of wood to cut. If he gave you bog spruce to cut you would call him the biggest bastard in the world. If he gave you thick fir then he was an all right fellow.⁵⁰

A number of loggers, noted that generally foremen and

⁴⁸Evidence. Allan Campbell deposition. Deer Lake file.

⁴⁹Susan Flood, "Leander Martin: Logger," MUNFLA ms. 78-392. Flood interviewed Leander Martin at Bishop's Falls in 1978. Martin, born in Lewisport in 1902, began work as a cookee at a camp near Rattling Brook in 1919. From 1923 until he retired in the mid-1960s, Martin worked as a scaler and then as a scaling instructor.

⁵⁰Eugene Fudge, "The Life of a Logger in the 1930's," MUNFLA ms. 79-364.

contractors assigned beginning or "greenhorn" loggers poor chances, while loggers who had seen with the contractor a few seasons and had proven themselves steady workers were given the easiest wood to cut.

In theory a sliding price per cord meant that each logger could earn the same amount through a day's work regardless of the type of wood he had to cut. At the same time he gave a chance to a logger, the foreman determined the amount the company would pay according to the quality of the chance. Thus, the price per cord varied with higher prices paid for "bad wood" and lower prices paid for "good wood." In practice, however, the informal system described above whereby contractors gave the best wood to the most experienced men meant that good cutters earned substantially more than beginners who struggled in bad wood.

Aside from the quality of a man's chance, his experience and skill had a lot to do with how much he "put up" in a day. Most loggers who testified before Gordon Bradley agreed that in a 10-hour day an average wood cutter in fair-to-good wood "had got nothing to be ashamed of" if he cut a cord to a cord and a quarter a day and kept that up over the cutting season.⁵¹ Monson Lingard argued that to keep up that pace,

... a man must have experience ...

⁵¹ Evidence, James Janes deposition. Deer Lake file.

with a bucksaw. There is an art in balancing your body when cutting down a tree. The proper practise is to put your left knee against the tree and cut below that, taking care not to lift the saw too high or drop it too low in the cut which causes binding. The practise is to cut during the greater part of the day and pile the wood at evening. To do this properly so as not to tangle yourself up you begin and work towards the road and not away from it. As a result your brush is always falling behind you and is not in your way. Considerable skill is also required to make the trees drop where you want them.⁵²

George Watkins, a cutter who had worked since he was fourteen, added,

... an inexperienced man will tangle himself up in the woods if he can't fall his trees properly. He may find himself tangled up in such a way that he can't find half his wood and has to go pulling tops out of the way to get at it. Another thing is that men have to know how to pile wood....⁵³

Like every skilled workman and his tools, a cutter also had to know how to handle and take care of his saw:

Bucksawing is not altogether brute strength. Forcing a saw only makes trouble. The weight of your saw and frame and keeping it in good condition is all that is needed. There is a lot of skill in filing saws. In the wintertime when the wood is frosty you don't use as much bevel as in the summertime. The saw must be more open in summertime. It must also be a

⁵²Ibid. Monson Lingard deposition. Bishop's Falls/ Millertown/Botwood file.

⁵³Ibid. George Watkins deposition. Bishop's Falls/ Millertown/Botwood file.

fraction more open for fir than for spruce. If the rakers in the raker tooth are too high the saw will jump and nearly tear the arms off of you. Lots of men don't understand how to handle these saws. The cutting teeth should be about the thickness of a five cent piece longer than the raker.⁵⁴

Although some camps employed a saw filer to work on the men's bucksaws, most cutters looked after their own saws and axes.

The scaler, always a company employee, had the final word on how much a man cut in a day. He assessed the cutters' brows of wood once or twice a month. Supplied with a notebook and an eight foot rod graduated in feet and tenths of feet, the scaler first took the outside measurements of a man's piles of wood. The scaler recorded a cord of 128 cubic feet as 100 points and then deducted points for air spaces between the logs, and for rotten and undersized wood. After scaling between 100 and 250 cords in an eight hour day the scaler took his notebook to the camp office or "forepeak" where he copied the amount cut, the rate per cord, and the total wages due each man into the contractor's notebook. The scaler then made out individual slips with the same information to give to each cutter.⁵⁵

⁵⁴Ibid. James Janes deposition. Deer Lake file.

⁵⁵Ibid. John Roberts, chief scaler IPP, deposition. IPP file.

Even at the best of times the scaling system worked against the cutters. Although after 1934, the Department of Natural Resources set competency exams for scaling, as contractor William Wellon of Deer Lake testified, scalers remained company men:

The scaling in this section is pretty tight Wood is measured in feet and tenths of feet and not inches. I have followed behind company scalers and frequently the wood has not been scaled up to what was actually in it The hardships inflicted on the men are not directly authorized by the company but are probably caused by fear in the mind of the scalers that errors on the men's side might lose him his job.⁵⁶

In August 1940 a logger from Badger Brook wrote to the Commissioner of Natural Resources to express the bitterness many cutters must have felt about the unfairness of the scaling:

I have been a worker for the AND Company in the wood cutting season and always found them people to be straight until this summer. This summer there have been plenty of mistakes on the men [and] they can't get it back, but when they makes mistakes on their own side they will wait until a man gets his cheque cashed and collect their mistakes. But haven't a sworn-in scalers got to pay for their mistakes [?]⁵⁷

The pulp and paper companies, further, took no

⁵⁶Ibid. William Wellon deposition. Deer Lake file.

⁵⁷PANL GN 31/3A/C30-3. Letter to Department of Natural Resources, 11 August, 1940.

responsibility for the qualifications or the quality of the scalers who worked for the "outside" or "jobber" contractors. In these operations, often out of the way of government inspectors, men testified that the scaling was even more unfair than in the company contract camps. Here the scalers were less well-trained, more biased towards their employer -- often the contractor acted as scaler-- and, in many cases, the men did not get any record of the amount they had cut during a scaling period; the scaler would simply read out in the bunkhouse the amount each man had cut.⁵⁸

The most productive cutters, "bullers," were said to cut as much as three cords a day in good wood. These men, who worked twelve to fourteen hours a day and Sundays-- the equivalent of a week and half every week -- could not keep up that high pace for more than a month without hurting or exhausting themselves:

William White of Carmanville can cut three cords of wood a day. He has done this on several occasions during the past four years but he admitted to me that as a result of this he was broken up He told me himself that he was in hospital for three weeks as a result of high cordage and long hours.⁵⁹

The companies often held up bullers' totals to the public

⁵⁸Evidence. Letter from Allan Pritchett, Deer Lake, to Bradley Commission, 9th April, 1934.

⁵⁹Ibid. Nathaniel Tulk deposition. Bishop's Falls/ Millertown/Botwood file.

and government as proof that men could make good money in the woods if they worked hard enough. Bullers, however, were not average men. They were highly skilled young men who went into the woods to earn a substantial amount of money fast and had no intention of cutting for a whole season.⁶⁰

The companies' price per cord was so low that inexperienced men had little chance of earning a living in the woods. Throughout the 1930s, hundreds of unemployed labourers from St. John's and banker fishermen from the south coast learned that lesson the hard way. On the job for a few weeks or sometimes only days these men found that they could "make no hand" of the work and either went on strike for higher pay or, more often, quit and returned to their starving families.⁶¹ Rather than compel the companies to pay a decent wage, in 1935, the Commission set up a loggers "training school" for unemployed youths from St. John's at Salmonier, on the Avalon Peninsula.⁶²

⁶⁰Ibid. See, for example; Nathaniel Tuik deposition. Deer Lake file.

⁶¹Evening Telegram, 7 and 30 January 1930. The St. John's men testified in Magistrate's court they could "make no hand" of the work. The men ended up in court after they quit work and were unable to pay advances stores had made them on the assumption men could make money in the woods.

⁶²See, for example, Evening Telegram, 1 November 1935. There were four camps with 50 men in each one. The men ranged in age from 19 to 25 and cut approximately 4,000 cords of pitprops for export, in addition to logs for sawmilling. As far as I can tell the camps were in

The Salmonier operation appears to have been more a way for the Commission to keep troublesome unemployed youths from rioting in St. John's rather than a serious attempt to deal with the problems of the inexperienced logger. I will undertake a full discussion of the strikes and collective actions of inexperienced loggers in chapter 2.

Teamsters did the major part of the work of the haul-off. A camp usually finished cutting its allotted amount of wood sometime in early December. The exhausted loggers would then return home to spend Christmas with their families. In January, if there was enough snow on the ground, the haul-off or "pull-off" would begin. About half the manpower needed for the cut was required for the haul-off so contractors kept on their cooks and cookees and "called back" their most experienced men to do the hauling.⁶³

In the haul-off teams of horses pulled sleds which moved the cut and piled wood from the camps' landings to the banks of the ponds and rivers where the wood was piled until the spring drive. The distance from the camp to the river determined whether a teamster employed a single or a double team to haul the wood, and also how many trips a teamster could make in a day. Over a short haul of less than three kilometres, a man could make ten round trips a operation from 1935 to 1938.

⁶³Ashton, p.76.

day while over a long haul of over five kilometres, he would make perhaps only four or five trips.⁶⁴ It required considerable skill for a teamster to control a large horse with a load of pulpwood on uneven icy terrain. The work was also hard on the horses which were sometimes imported for the job:

... we used what we called 'company' horses which were bigger than the horses used locally. The company used to bring them in from Canada because of their brute strength. They would haul about two cords of wood.⁶⁵

Each teamster was responsible for the care of his horse or horses. Gordon Bradley wrote,

[The teamster's] work is heavy and arduous and the hours are long. A teamster gets up at 5:00 a.m. to feed and look after his horse. Then he gets his breakfast and goes to the job at daylight. With a break for the mid-day lunch he works until dark which is about 6:00 to 6:30 p.m. Returning to camp he feeds his horse, gets his own supper and then grooms the animal. His work is over at about 8:00 p.m. He must also look after and feed his horse on Sundays. For this he receives no remuneration, nor for the days he cannot haul.⁶⁶

In addition to teamsters the haul-off usually called for "loaders," "roadmen," and "landers." Loaders helped

⁶⁴Susan Flood, "Leander Martin: Logger," MUNFLA ms. 78-392.

⁶⁵Eugene Fudge, "The Life of a Logger in the 1930's," MUNFLA ms. 79-364.

⁶⁶The Bradley Report, p.16.

50

the teamsters load the wood from the cutters' piles, which often would be half-buried in snow, onto the teamsters' sleds. Roadmen were responsible for the upkeep of the roads, making sure that they were kept free of rocks, stumps, and logs and kept icy smooth for the sleds. Landers, finally, unloaded the logs from the sleds at the banks of the river or pond.⁶⁷ Although loaders, roadmen, and landers worked ten hours a day, loggers considered landing the job to avoid not only because the work was arduous but also because the air was deathly cold on the frozen ponds and rivers in the winter.⁶⁸

The haul-off usually finished by the beginning of March when the snow became too soft to work on with horses and sleds. The loggers then returned home again and waited for the ice to break up so that they could drive the pulpwood to the mill or some other central pick-up location. Even fewer men were needed for the drive than for the haul-off and the foreman again kept on the most experienced men.

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Like cutting and hauling, driving followed a familiar pattern of work. Before the drive began men prepared the river: they constructed "flood-dams" below the camp to build up water to drive the pulpwood; they built "wings"

⁶⁷Eugene Fudge, "The Life of a Logger" in the 1930's," MUNFLA ms. 79-364.

⁶⁸Ibid.

51

with logs and other materials on the wide or irregular sections of the river to "quicken" the water and keep the junks in the deepest channel; and, finally they used dynamite to blast rocks which would obstruct the flow of wood.⁶⁹

The actual drive began in late April or early May when rain usually poured down for weeks at a time and the water in the rivers was icy cold. At the start of the drive men called "rollers" rolled or threw the pulpwood from the piles on the banks into the stream. Once the flood-dam was opened the main job of the driver was to accompany the pulpwood down the stream and, as the winch-boats towed the junks in booms across the ponds, to ensure that the wood flowed smoothly. With the help of his pike-pole, a long staff with a sharp iron pike at one end, the driver pulled stranded junks of pulpwood off shallows and broke up log jams. Once the drivers had directed the main load of pulpwood down the river, men called "sackers" went down the river again and drove all the stray junks of wood which had not made their way down the river in the initial drive.⁷⁰

Most of the driving done in Newfoundland in the 1930s was monotonous work, different from the days described in

⁶⁹The Bradley Report, p.46.

⁷⁰Evidence. Edgar Manuel deposition. Bishop's Falls/Millertown/Botwood file.

"The Badger Drive," the island's most famous logging ballad, when the driver with caulked boots and peevie in hand, rode long heavy logs down perilous rivers:

There is one class of men in this country
That never is mentioned in song
And now that their trade is advancing
They'll come out on top before long.
They say that our sailors have danger
And likewise our warriors bold
But there's none knows the life of a driver
What suffers with hardship and cold.⁷¹

By the 1930s, due to new technology, the Grand Falls and Corner Brook mills took only four-foot logs. Thus instead of hauling the logs all the way to a main drive, men drove the pulpwood down shallow brooks to the major rivers or rail depots.

Although driving was not as glamorous as in former days, the job still required considerable skill. In even country with a smooth flow of water a good driver who knew how to work a river to keep the pulpwood moving freely, saved time for his employers.⁷² In rough or steep country a driver had to work even harder to prevent a dangerous "plug." Bradley wrote,

I have seen a "jam" or "plug" as it is sometimes called, give way, and jam again about one hundred yards further down river. When it gave way the men fled to the shore. A few seconds

⁷¹Elmer Ball, "The Badger Drive," in The Savour of Things Past, Vol.1, (St. John's: The On-Going Book Committee, 1980), p.30.

⁷²Evidence. Edgar Manuel deposition. Bishop's Falls/Millertown/Botwood file.

delay, a misstep, and they were lost.⁷³ Five minutes after the second jam began the water rose about 10 feet and junks were 'shooting' into the bush on both banks in all directions.⁷³

In addition to the job's monotony and occasional danger, driving was also extremely hard on a logger's body. The drive had to take place during the short period of the spring thaw so drivers worked through every hour of daylight, about thirteen hours a day, in order to get all the pulpwood out of the woods. The men were almost always wet and rarely had a proper bunkhouse to dry off in:

Getting wet was part of the trade. You got wet first thing in the morning and stayed that way more or less all day. At night we lay down in wet clothes side by side in big tents.⁷⁴

As a result drivers often suffered from rheumatism and other illnesses associated with living and working in cold and damp conditions. James Janes testified,

The work is dangerous to the health because of the wet. On one occasion I was laid up myself for three weeks as a result of chills due to the water when driving. They had to take me out of bed and put me back again I was so helpless, and I never got over it.⁷⁵

With the end of the drive the logging season came to a close. Most men would have been able to get work in one or perhaps two phases of the logging operation, and been

⁷³The Bradley Report, p.46.

⁷⁴Ball, p.31.

⁷⁵Evidence. James Janes deposition. Deer Lake file.

54

away from home except for short intervals for five or six of the previous eight months. The most fortunate loggers, those who were considered full-time loggers in Newfoundland, would have found employment cutting, hauling, and driving and might have lived for nine months in the pulp and paper companies' woods camps. Therefore to understand what life was like for loggers in Newfoundland, aside from their work, we must look closely at the make-up and conditions of the camps.

IV

Although company camps tended to be more standardized than those of private contractors, by and large, Newfoundland's lumber camps were fairly uniform in appearance, and spatial organization throughout the 1930s and until the period of drastic change after the 1959 IWA strike. In most camps the main buildings were the cookhouse and the bunkhouse. Depending on the size of the camp there were often other small buildings or extensions to the main buildings which might include a "forepeak" or foreman's quarters, a barn for the horses or oxen, storage sheds for food and other supplies, and a saw-filer's shack. Attached to the forepeak was the "van" or small store where the loggers could buy clothes, tobacco, postage stamps, and a few patent medicines.⁷⁶ A logger who worked

⁷⁶Ashton, p.103.

in Indian Bay in the 1930s described a camp which could be found on similar sites all across the island:

The whole complex would consist of a large cookhouse and three or four bunkhouses and one what they call "forepeak." Now, in the forepeak, the skipper would stay and what they called the "secondhand," the next man to the skipper.... These two men stayed in the forepeak. And of course if there were other men who came in from the company ... this is where he would stay overnight. And sometimes the scaler, he would stay there 'cause when he come in scalin' the wood, he would ... want a sort of private place for makin' up how much wood he had scaled, y'know. And the men would get paid off there as well The foreman had their cheques come in ... from the plant and he paid 'em off in the forepeak. They also had some supplies for the men ... that they need ... other than food. These camps they also had a barn, one big barn, maybe two sometimes. There would be as many as forty or fifty horses, was a large contractor and he would employ about a hundred and fifty men as well. But if he was a small contractor now, he may employ about twenty-five to thirty men and he wouldn't have as many horses, maybe about eight to ten horses⁷⁷

Bunkhouses provided loggers with poor living conditions. Like all buildings in the woods camps, the bunkhouses were built of logs placed a few centimetres apart. Camp builders stood the logs vertically for side walls and filled the chinks between the walls with moss

⁷⁷MUNFLA ms. 85-087. Cited in Ashton, p.99.

"to keep the weather out."⁷⁸ The sloping roofs were covered with felt. Built quickly at the start of the cutting season, bunkhouses often leaked. Samuel Pierce of Deer Lake stated that,

The bunkhouse was not fit for any human being. The stogging all fell out of the sides and the camp was cold and drafty. The foreman said that if the camp was too warm the men would get sick. This was when the men complained about it.⁷⁹

Another logger from Bishop's Falls testified that "It was very cold in the bunkhouse. One man got his ears frost bitten."⁸⁰

The insides of bunkhouses were dirty and uncomfortable. In the bunkhouses, which were built in various sizes according to the extent of the cutting operation to house between 20 and 100 men, the bunks were built along both walls leaving an aisle down the middle of the building. The bunks were usually made of round sticks or rough boards. A camp builder noted that "we allowed 30

⁷⁸Vaden Vincent, "Early Logging as told by George Anthony who is from Pilley's Island, Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland," MUNFLA ms. 79-349, unpublished paper, MUN, 1979. Vincent interviewed Anthony at Pilley's Island in 1978. Anthony, born 1911, went into the woods in 1926, aged 14.

⁷⁹Evidence, Charles Pierce deposition. Deer Lake file.

⁸⁰Evidence. Frank Pearce deposition. Bishop's Falls/Millertown/Botwood file.

inches for a man and that was your bunk."⁸¹ The floor of the bunkhouse usually extended only to the edge of the bunks with the bottoms of the bunks left open to the ground.⁸² Instead of using the mattresses the company supplied, which the loggers complained were "often dirty and harboured vermin," many men preferred a bed made from spruce boughs:

.... The proper thing is to pick [boughs] about 6 to 8 inches long and pack them perpendicularly in the bunk. When this is done properly it is as good as any spring mattress, and the supply of material is unlimited. On top of this a blanket should be laid, and your bed is then ready to spread the coverings. This should be changed at least once a month.⁸³

Many men, however, did not like bough beds as Edgar Manuel of Botwood testified:

I don't consider a bough bed fit for a man to lie on. The first night you get on them they are as good as a feather bed but they get hard very quickly and are useless unless frequently changed and few men will take the trouble to do that.⁸⁴

In the frequent cases where bunkhouses were not big enough

⁸¹Hughlet Edison who built camps for the AND Co. near Bishop's Falls in the 1930s. Interview with the author November 1987, Botwood.

⁸²The Bradley Report, p.11.

⁸³Evidence. William Wellon deposition. Deer Lake file.

⁸⁴Ibid. Edgar Manuel deposition. Bishop's Falls/-Millertown/Botwood file.

to house all the men employed on the cut, loggers slept on the floor or found space in the barn.

Overcrowded and infrequently cleaned, bunkhouses were often "not fit for anyone to stay in."⁸⁵ A logger who worked in the woods near Bishop's Falls recalled that in a bunkhouse for 50 or 60 men there would be 5 or 6 wash basins with only cold water to wash in. The wash basins were generally found on a counter built into the end wall as the logger entered the bunkhouse.⁸⁶ For each wash basin there would be a hole in the countertop through which to dump the water once you had washed:

You would throw the water down the hole and it would go in under the bunkhouse and in the spring of the year it would sometimes stink poison.⁸⁷

According to Aubrey Tizzard drinking water was kept in a pail either on the counter or hung on a nail close to the counter. "Everyone used the same mug for drinking," Tizzard recounted, "and some threw what was left in the mug after they had finished back in the pail."⁸⁸ If the

⁸⁵Ibid. Charles Pierce deposition. Deer Lake file.

⁸⁶Hughlet Edison interview with the author, November 1987, Botwood.

⁸⁷Vincent Jerome, "Early Logging as told by Bramwell Vincent from Triton, Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland," MUNFLA ms. 79-348, unpublished paper, MUN 1979. Vincent interviewed his father at Triton in 1978. Bramwell Vincent, born in 1918, began work in the woods in 1932.

⁸⁸Tizzard, p.361.

washing water dumped under the bunkhouse "would sometimes stink poison," also no doubt would the one or two outdoor toilets frequently built close to the bunkhouses. In the evenings, when the cutters came back from the woods all their wet clothes, whether from sweat, rain, or snow, as well as sweat pads and other horse tacklings were hung as close to the stove as possible so that they would be dry and ready to put on again in the morning.⁸⁹ According to a number of loggers, because a man had to carry all his clothes and bedding on his back, he would often only bring two sets of clothes to the woods camp, one to work in and one to wear when he went home from time to time.⁹⁰

Under such conditions, where large numbers of men were confined together for months at a time, even the most basic standards of personal hygiene were nearly impossible to maintain. One inevitable result of these living conditions was the prevalence of body lice among the loggers:

Lousy? Yes everything you could mention. Anything that would crawl you'd get in the woods.... There was no getting rid of them, lots of fellers would wash their things ... that's the only thing you could do and by Saturday night you'd be lousy

⁸⁹Ibid. Also Vaden Vincent, "Early Logging as told by George Anthony who is from Pilley's Island, Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland," MUNFLA ms. 79-349.

⁹⁰Vaden Vincent, "Early Logging as told by George Anthony who is from Pilley's Island, Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland," MUNFLA ms. 79-349.

again.... When you would leave to go home you'd go into the van and get a clean suit of underwear and throw out your old stuff. By the time you got home all your clothes would be lousy again; everything even your socks. When we got home Mom would take our things and put them in Jeyes fluid and then you would have a good wash, comb your head and use stuff in it, perhaps you'd still be lousy when you went back into the woods again to work.⁹¹

The lice passed easily from man to man because in the bunkhouse the loggers slept side by side or two to a bunk to conserve body heat. Although one or two wood stoves heated the bunkhouses -- usually 45 or 50 gallon oil drums were used as stoves -- the stoves burned out during the night and allowed the temperature to plunge well below zero in the winter. Thus,

When first going to a camp you'd j's pick a bunk with one man in it and move in, you were not particular who he was.⁹²

If a man was not lucky enough to have someone to share a bunk with, "you had to shiver yourself asleep."⁹³

The food in the camps was plentiful but monotonous.

⁹¹Trevor Sparkes, "Experiences of woodsmen in the Rocky Harbour and Deer Lake areas," MUNFLA ms. 79-388, unpublished paper, MUN, 1979. Sparkes interviewed his father at Rocky Harbour, Bonne Bay in 1978. Sparkes, born in 1911, began work in the woods wood-hauling for the sawmill at Rocky Harbour. In 1937, Sparkes went to work in the Deer Lake area for the Bowater-Lloyd Company.

⁹²Norma Mills, "A Comparative Study of Logging Camps," MUNFLA ms. 79-172.

⁹³Ibid.

In most camps, breakfast six days a week was beans, bread, and tea. The men had porridge without milk on Sundays. "If you didn't like beans then you just had to get to like 'im."⁹⁴ The men often took their mid-day meal at the cutting site which could be up to an hour's walk from the camp. The cookee would either bring out this meal to the loggers, or the cook would make it the night before and the men would take it with them when they left in the morning:

... they had boxes, wooden boxes about a foot long. They were big enough to put a couple of lunches into, the handles were made out of rope....⁹⁵

Lunch would be beans again or salt-beef, a few slices of bread, some buns, and perhaps a couple of slices of light or dark cake. If the cookee brought the lunch out to the men there would also be a jug of lukewarm tea for the men to wash their meal down with. The evening meals were also starchy foods designed to fill a man up after a vigorous day's work outdoors:

... For supper Mondays they got soup (pea soup), potatoes in the soup, and bread and tea after. Tuesdays potatoes, salt beef, pease pudding and boiled pudding, and steamed pudding. Wednesday fish and potatoes and brewis. Thursday same as Tuesdays, Fridays same as Wednesdays. Saturday pease soup again I give them

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Trevor Sparkes, "Experiences of woodsmen in the Rocky Harbour and Deer Lake areas," MUNFLA ms. 79-388.

dried apples Sunday evening and fish
days apple pie.⁹⁶

The men complained continually about the lack of fresh vegetables in camp even when they were in season and also of fresh meat in the winter when it could have been kept refrigerated. Bradley concluded that he found the food generally of satisfactory quality and quantity and better than what most men could get on the dole, but that "beans six days a week is likely to pall upon the appetite after a couple of weeks."⁹⁷ In the great 1959 IWA strike one of the improvements Harvey Ladd, the IWA's Eastern organizer, fought for was,

... That maybe it was possible, just possible, that we could supplement the beans just for an occasion and have bacon and eggs for breakfast.⁹⁸

Aside from the lack of variety, the major reason the food in the camps was often poor was that the cook and his assistant, the cookee, were overworked men. In the cookhouse, the workday began at 4:30. The cookee would fetch the firewood and start the fires in the stoves in the cookhouse and the bunkhouse while the cook put on the

⁹⁶Evidence. Cyril Williams deposition. Bishop's Falls/Millertown/Botwood file.

⁹⁷The Bradley Report, p.14.

⁹⁸H. Landon Ladd, "The Newfoundland Loggers' Strike," in Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History, edited by W.J.C. Cherwinski and Gregory S. Kealey, (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1985), p.153.

stoves the big pots of beans for breakfast. After breakfast, generally served at 6 or 6:30, unless the men took their meal with them into the woods the cook would have to prepare the dinner which the men ate at noon. In the afternoon the cook made the supper and prepared "stock" foods such as pies, bread, cakes, and dried fruits. During this time the cookee kept the stoves stoked, secured more firewood and water, and cleaned the dishes, the cookhouse, and the bunkhouse. In the evenings there were dinner dishes to wash and the cook and cookee either prepared and packed the lunches of the men who ate at the cutting site or got ready for breakfast the following morning. The workday in the cookhouse rarely ended before 9 or 9:30 which meant seventeen-hour days, seven days a week.⁹⁹

Skillful cooks were valued in the woods. Loggers often stated that the difference between a good camp and a bad camp was the quality of the cook. Like the contractor with his camp, the cook was not free to run his cookhouse the way he wanted to. Contractors on a strict company budget generally wanted to break even or make a small profit from their cookhouses. Most contractors purchased the minimum quantity and quality of food and cooking gear from the company stores and exhorted their cooks to keep the cost per meal as low as possible. Cooks often had to

⁹⁹The Bradley Report, pp.15-16.

make do with poor equipment and ran out of foods before the cutting season was over.¹⁰⁰ Under such conditions, the best cooks in the woods were those able to satisfy their hungry loggers while at the same time hanging on to their jobs.

At night after the evening meal, the loggers would return to the bunkhouse where oil lamps resting on shelves provided meager light. Often near the end of the cutting season camps would run out of kerosene oil and loggers complained that they had to burn pork rinds for light. A joke which appears regularly in the loggers' accounts of life in the bunkhouse is that a logger would "have to light a lamp to find the light."¹⁰¹ Weary from the day's work the loggers would mend their tools, set their clothes to dry, perhaps "yarn" for a while, or go to bed early. Some nights, however, there were other forms of relaxation in the bunkhouse:

Now in the lumber camps in the 1930s it was not all work. At night we have plenty of fun among the fellow loggers. Someone would always have a guitar and a button accordion. So we would have many sing songs There

¹⁰⁰Evidence. Ronald Laine and Cyril Williams depositions. Deer Lake file.

¹⁰¹Allan Norman, "An Account of the life of Mr. Ward Ball as a cook in the lumbercamps around Badger from 1920-1948," MUNFLA ms. 80-97, unpublished paper, MUN, 1980. Norman interviewed Ball (location not specified) in 1979. Ball, born at Tilt Cove, Notre Dame Bay in 1896, worked in four camps around Badger: Pamehac Brook, Badger Brook, Little Red Indian Brook, and Aspen Brook.

were always a few good tap dancers among the crew. We usually had boxing gloves in the camp. Some nights the bunkhouse would be in a shambles. We used to wrestle and arm wrestle and there was someone always doing catty tricks like jumping over a broom and so on. Cards were important to us at night in the logging camps, five hundreds being the most popular.¹⁰²

Folklorist John Ashton who studied the lumbercamp song tradition in Newfoundland, found that there were very few union or industrial protest songs, rather that the major portion of the lumber camp repertoire concentrated on matters that were of daily concern to loggers,

the quality of their working conditions, particularly of their food, the price being paid for wood and, often, in Newfoundland, the arduous trek across miles of rough country which was undertaken by many of the men as a preliminary to the cutting season.¹⁰³

One song sung in the bunkhouses in the 1930s, for example, poked fun at the staple of the loggers' diet:

It was nice to find a camp with good wood,
And also the cook if he cooked up good food.
In this we were lucky, our cook did his best,
For beans was the main thing, we could manage the rest.
And it was hard, hard times.

We would have them for breakfast, in the lunch boxes too,
And also for supper you might get a few.
But the beans they were thousands, they were there by
galore,
Even the bucksaw would sing, "Come on with some more,"¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²Eugene Fudge, "The Life of a Logger in the 1930's," MUNFLA ms. 79-364.

¹⁰³Ashton, p. 189.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 196.

Another song protested the rates of pay:

Twenty-three dollars is not enough for a bushman I am
 sure,
 Twenty-three dollars for three months and twenty-six
 for four.
 You'll sweat and toil from dawn till dark, you'll work
 just like a slave,
 Your system cannot stand it b'ys, t'will carry you to
 your grave.¹⁰⁵

Another form of recreation characteristic of loggers in other areas of North America, the loggers' "spree," where the men, once they finished work in the camps went to the city for a few days of well-earned fun does not appear to have been common in Newfoundland during the 1930s.¹⁰⁶ Loggers in Newfoundland, after they were paid, would pay off their accounts in the "van" and then, if they were married, would send most of their money home to their wives or, if they were single, the loggers would send their pay home to their parents. One logger, however, who earned some money as a cutter for an IPP contractor in 1937 bought some new clothes:

I went down ... to Buchans and bought
 a suit for nineteen dollars
 Morgan [his brother] was with me that
 time I went down. I didn't know
 anything about shopping then, Morgan
 was an old hand at it. The old

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶See Vernon Jensen, Lumber and Labor, (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1945), p.23; also Myrtle Bergren, Tough Timber, (Toronto: Progress Books, 1967), pp.78-79; and, for an excellent description of Quebec bushworkers' return to Quebec City see Gerard Fortin & Boyce Richardson, Life of the Party, (Montreal: Vehicule Press, 1984), pp.42-45.

fellers you copy off them so I bought a suit of clothes for nineteen dollars and I had thirty dollars left so I carried that home to the old man. That was all I had it was fifty or sixty dollars for three months and that was good. There were dozens of young fellers and not only young who came out in the hole.¹⁰⁷

As the above passage makes clear, for most loggers in Newfoundland during the depression, even if they had wanted one, there was rarely any extra money for a spree; when they stopped working they stopped eating.

V

Workers in all phases of logging operations in Newfoundland during the 1930s worked long hours for low rates of pay. As stated earlier, one of the first actions of the Commission after it took over the government of Newfoundland in 1934 was to appoint F. Gordon Bradley, a lawyer and the leader of the opposition in the last House of Assembly, "to enquire into and report on the terms of employment in the case of men employed in forest operations of all kinds."¹⁰⁸ The instigation for the "Bradley Report" was the growing number of complaints from loggers about living conditions and rates of pay in the woods. In late 1933 at least four hundred loggers in western

¹⁰⁷Trevor Sparkes, "Experiences of woodsmen in the Rocky Harbour and Deer lake areas," MUNFLA ms. 79-388.

¹⁰⁸The Bradley Report, p.1.

Newfoundland laid down their axes and bucksaws to protest the IPP rates per cord, while throughout 1934 a number of other strikes and walkouts occurred in camps throughout Newfoundland and Labrador.¹⁰⁹ The daily papers contained many letters from loggers who had witnessed the price paid per cord drop from \$2.30 to \$2.50 in 1926 to an average of \$1.34 to \$1.45 in 1934.¹¹⁰ "A Veteran" from Norris Arm, for example, exclaimed:

I say it is an outrage that the forest wealth is being exploited while starving, degradation and dole is the share of the men who cut and drive it.¹¹¹

Between 2 April and 23 August 1934 when he submitted his report, Bradley and his secretary, G. Bernard Summers, a member of the Newfoundland bar practising in Corner Brook, travelled extensively throughout the island, hearing testimony from a substantial number of people working in a variety of occupations in the woods industry. After taking evidence in St. John's for three weeks, between 20 April and 22 May, the two men travelled on both the main line of the Newfoundland railway and the branch lines of the AND Co. from St. Georges on the west coast to Botwood in the east. From 23 May to 5 June Bradley and

¹⁰⁹See, for example, Evening Telegram, 5 April, 26 July 1934.

¹¹⁰Evening Telegram, 16 July 1934.

¹¹¹Evening Telegram, 12 March 1934.

Summers continued their work around Conception Bay and the South side of Trinity Bay where there were numerous small logging and sawmilling operations mainly on Crown lands. Before returning to St. John's, they toured the northeast coast by motor boat from Clarenville down to Hampden, White Bay and then proceeded, part way on foot, to Lomond, Bonne Bay.¹¹² According to Bradley, some witnesses "feared to appear to give evidence, and would only come at night," while others "hesitated to speak freely until given assurance that their names would not be disclosed." Bradley decided,

This timidity arose out of fear that knowledge of their appearing before me would be interpreted by their employers as an act of hostility, and would result in a refusal of future employment. I do not know how far such fears were justified but there were substantial grounds for believing that they were not wholly without foundation.¹¹³

Much to the annoyance of the Commission, Bradley never did let its members read the testimony of the men he examined. The loggers' frank statements about their lives and work did not surface until the mid-1980s.

Although Bradley commented on the low pay and excessive hours of drivers, teamsters, cooks, and their assistants, he focussed his analysis of wages in the woods

¹¹²The Bradley Report, pp.2-5.

¹¹³Ibid., p.3.

on "the main link of the production chain," the cutters. Bradley reported that the average woodcutter working in an average stand of wood, could cut and pile somewhere between 1.1 and 1.25 cords of wood per day over the season. In 1933, the IPP Co. paid the highest rate per cord in the woods at \$1.34. Thus, taking a thirty day month, and deducting four Sundays, Bradley calculated that there were twenty-six working days per month. A cutter who maintained a high pace of 1.25 cords per day for an entire month would earn \$43.55. Against that figure contractors deducted \$18 per month for board and \$.40 a month for doctor's fee. In addition to those deductions, a cutter would have to buy at least one new saw blade (\$.90) and also pay a minimum of \$4.00 to replace worn-out clothing. After the minimum deductions (Bradley assumed no "van" such as fly-oil, postage stamps for letters home, or tobacco) therefore, an average woodcutter could clear \$20.25 in a month. To that total Bradley added \$9.00 which he estimated a logger would have to spend on food in a month if he were at home, and arrived at a total monthly income of \$29.25 or \$.11 1/4 an hour, assuming four sixty-hour weeks in a month.¹¹⁴

The Bradley Report illustrated so clearly how squalid conditions were in the camps and how the rates of pay were

¹¹⁴Ibid., pp.34-38.

so low that the loggers could not earn enough to feed and clothe their families, that Sir John Hope Simpson, one of the commissioners from Britain and the one responsible for forestry matters, convinced his colleagues that the report should not be published. The commissioner feared that if the report were made public, "it might lead to a strike throughout the lumberwoods."¹¹⁵ In return for not publishing the report, Hope Simpson negotiated with the companies a minimum net wage for loggers of \$25 per month, or half of what Bradley estimated was necessary for the average outport family to have a reasonable standard of living.¹¹⁶ In a despatch to the Dominions Office Hope Simpson argued against providing Bradley's decent standard of living for Newfoundland loggers:

Mr. Bradley ... postulates ... a standard of living far higher than the standard normally enjoyed by any outport workman. He considers that the net income should be sufficient to house, clothe and feed the family, educate the children, pay the doctor and clergyman and provide the man with at least a few simple luxuries.

He remarks that among the natural rights of man are included a sufficiency of good clothing, good food, proper housing, reasonable educational facilities and some measure of the amenities of life. With reference to these remarks, it is reasonable to point out that a standard such as that

¹¹⁵Peter Neary, "The Bradley Report on Logging Operations in Newfoundland, 1934: A Suppressed Document," Labour/Le Travail, 16 (Fall 1985), p.194.

¹¹⁶The Bradley Report, p.42.

contemplated by Mr. Bradley, and on which he bases his recommendations with regard to earnings, is far above anything which the fisherman demands or expects, and is indeed far above anything at all usual among the labouring men of this country.¹¹⁷

As Bradley made clear, loggers were among the poorest people in Newfoundland. In the early 1930s in St. John's a longshoreman earned \$.30-\$.40 an hour while an ordinary mill labourer in Grand Falls earned at least \$.25 an hour.¹¹⁸ Census data for 1935 proves the superior standard of living of people in the woods industry in Grand Falls, where international unions represented the workers in the mill. According to the 1935 census for Newfoundland as a whole loggers earned an average of \$181.45 a year. Those workers in Grand Falls, however, who indicated a woods occupation earned an average of \$243 in a year. As a further comparison, Bell Island miners earned an average of \$354.10 in 1935.¹¹⁹ As a result of such hard work for such low wages, Bradley found that older married men stayed out of the woods if they could afford to; that many loggers' families were malnourished and poorly clothed; and that the men were working themselves to exhaustion, damaging their health, and injuring

¹¹⁷PANL S2-1-1 file 3. Draft despatch for Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs from Commission of Government, pp.2-3.

¹¹⁸The Bradley Report, p.38.

¹¹⁹Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1935, p.90.

themselves as they were overcome with tiredness.¹²⁰

VI

I conducted a survey of the manuscript census of 1935 to see what, if anything, it added to what I had learned from the descriptive sources. My examination of the 1935 census not only confirmed much of what Bradley stated in his report about the loggers' poverty but revealed aspects of the composition of the woods labour force and the make-up of their communities which are not contained in the "Bradley Report" or in the 1935 printed census.¹²¹ For this thesis, I have focussed on the manuscript census records of five Newfoundland communities where logging was the residents' primary occupation: Point Leamington, Notre Dame Bay -- the birthplace of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association; Rattling Brook; Norris Arm; Robert's Arm, Notre Dame Bay; and Milltown, Bay D'Espoir. I selected the first four communities in central Newfoundland because the men likely logged for the two major pulp and paper companies. Milltown was selected because the loggers worked for a smaller mill, the Milltown Lumber Company.

A study of these loggers' ages, their marital status, their earnings, and their possessions provides us with a

¹²⁰The Bradley Report, pp.41-45.

¹²¹Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1935 (Nominal).

portrait of a group of men and their families where usually we are only permitted to see them reduced to rough numbers. In the five communities 190 men gave logging as their primary occupation. What is clear from their responses is that contrary to what Bradley found, the majority of the loggers were married with families and that more of these men were over the age of thirty than were under it.¹²² In most cases the families lived in three or four room houses and hardly any had radios, a gauge of prosperity. Although generally low, the loggers' earnings varied from those of a seventeen year old logger in Point Leamington who earned nothing in 1935 to those of a fifty year old contractor who earned \$1000. The average earnings for the loggers in the five communities together was \$194.05 per logger with men in Rattling Brook earning the highest, \$253, and those who worked for the Milltown

122 Age	Number of Loggers	Percentage of Total
0-20	36	18.95
21-30	56	29.47
31-40	42	22.11
41-50	38	20.
51-60	14	7.37
61-70	2	1.05
<u>70-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1.05</u>
Total	190	100

Marital Status of Loggers	Percentage of Total
Married	114 60
Single	72 38
Widower	4 2
Total	190 100

Source: Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1935
(Nominal).

Lumber Company the lowest, a meager \$155.73 each for the year.¹²³ Frequently to increase earnings for the household; brothers worked together, or, more often, a man worked in the woods with his sons as helpers. In Norris Arm a pair of brothers, one aged nineteen, the other seventeen, who had a widowed mother at home, together earned \$200. In Milltown a man with three sons aged nineteen, fourteen, and thirteen earned \$300 for the season. To put these loggers' wages in perspective, as noted earlier, Bradley estimated that a reasonable standard of living for the average outport workman was impossible on less than \$600 per year.¹²⁴ Of the 190 loggers' households I examined only 10 made \$600 in 1935.

The census data also showed that many young boys worked in the woods. In Newfoundland before World War II there was no legislation to regulate child labour or any which made schooling compulsory to a certain age. Thus I found that twelve loggers from the five communities were under sixteen, the youngest was a boy from Point Leamington aged eleven who, with the help of his fifteen year old

123

Robert's Arm
Point Leamington
Rattling Brook
Norris Arm
Milltown

Average Earnings

\$231.25
203.11
253.00
211.37
155.73

Source: Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1935
(Nominal).

¹²⁴The Bradley Report, p.42.

brother, earned \$200.¹²⁵ The account of a man whose father introduced him to the workforce in 1934 when he was thirteen was probably not an uncommon story:

I didn't leave [school] on me own, he [his father] just said, boy he said you can't go to school no more because I needs ya in the woods with me. Nothing I could say then you know, our teacher talked to him, pleaded with him. At that time there was no compulsory, but I was pretty good in school, she said it was a sin she said to take him out of school now.¹²⁶

In 1937 he went to work in a Bowater Lloyd camp near Deer Lake:

... anybody at all could get a job, no such thing as no jobs. You could go over if you were ten years old, if you went to the wicket, he'd say, "How old are you son?" "Nineteen sir." You had to be eighteen to get in but they wouldn't question you. They weren't going to question you, that was up to you if you wanted to go into the woods.¹²⁷

Newfoundland loggers during the 1930s did not resemble the he-men lumberjacks represented by folkheroes such as Paul Bunyan and his Canadian counterpart, Joe Monteferrand, who enjoyed dangerous tasks and super-human

¹²⁵Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1935 (Nominal).

¹²⁶Trevor Sparkes, "Experiences of woodsmen in the Rocky harbour and Deer Lake areas," MUNFLA ms. 79-388.

¹²⁷Ibid.

workloads.¹²⁸ Newfoundland loggers, under the pressure of piece rates, recognized that their jobs demanded skill as well as brute strength and wanted nothing more than to work less hours for more pay. Nor did they fit the popular stereotype of loggers as rootless migrant workers who blew their pay cheques on riotous living in the city after a few months in the bush. Loggers in Newfoundland had deep roots in the island and often worked alongside their sons, brothers, and neighbours. Given the economic realities of their work and of Newfoundland society during the Great Depression the men were extremely lucky to have any money to carry back to their families at the end of a season's work. As stated above, often when Newfoundland loggers stop working they stopped eating.

¹²⁸Ian Radforth, Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario 1900-1980 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p.3.

Chapter II

"We Never Thought There Was Such A Meany Company
In This Old World:" Loggers' Strikes and Collective
Actions and the Emergence of The Newfoundland Lumbermen's
Association, 1929-1937

The decade of the 1930s was a trying period filled with great anguish for Newfoundlanders. The collapse in world prices for raw materials which had such a devastating effect on Canadian wheat producers, debilitated the Newfoundland economy which, even in the best of times, provided a relatively low standard of living. Historical sociologist James Overton has shown how the export value for salt cod dropped from over \$9 a quintal in 1929 to \$4 in 1936, while the total annual value of salt cod exports fell from \$16 million to \$7.3 million during the same period.¹ Between 1926 and 1933 the world price for newsprint, traditionally Newfoundland's second largest export, fell by half.² All over the island fishermen lost their gear to pay off debts to merchants while the pulp and paper companies put their mills on short time and

¹James Overton, "Public Relief and Social Unrest in Newfoundland in the 1930s: An Evaluation of the Ideas of Piiven and Cloward" in Class, Gender, and Region: Essays in Canadian Historical Sociology edited by Gregory S. Kealey (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1988), p.150.

²James Hiller, "Newsprint Politics: The Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Industry, 1915-1939," (unpublished paper, Memorial University, 1987), Table 1, p.33. Hiller's figures come from the Newfoundland Customs returns.

ceased cutting operations in entire regions of the country. In St. John's where the fortunes of merchants were linked inextricably to the ebb and flow of the fishery, huge layoffs occurred in almost every industry leaving men and women without jobs, without money, and worst of all, without hope.³ Between 1931 and 1933 the numbers of destitute receiving dole in the country rose as high as 90,000, almost one-third of the island's population.⁴ Even those people who clung to jobs suffered. Employers in difficult economic circumstances, who recognized that many people were looking for work, took advantage of the labour surplus to cut wages and increase hours without fear of strikes.⁵

As in Canada and the United States, the labour movement in Newfoundland became weakened during the economic crisis. The numbers of workers in Newfoundland trade unions declined during the early 1930s. Historian Bill Gillespie found that by the end of 1933, only 7,000 Newfoundland workers belonged to trade unions of which 2,000 were members of the paper mill unions in Grand Falls and Corner Brook and 2,400 belonged to the Longshoremen's

³For an excellent description of social and economic conditions in the early 1930s see Nancy Forestell, "Women's Paid Labour in St. John's Between The Two World Wars" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Memorial University, 1987), chapter 2.

⁴Overton, p.150.

⁵Forestell, Ibid.

Protective Union. The rest belonged to craft unions in St. John's or were members of the international unions connected with the railways.⁶

However, there were aspects of the economic crisis of the 1930s which led to a revitalization of the trade union movement in Newfoundland in the latter part of the decade. Although there is no evidence of a breakdown in social control,⁷ the wretched experience of the depression made Newfoundland workers more apt to seek protection in a trade union when the opportunity presented itself in the latter part of the decade. As stated above, in every sector of the economy workers had faced severe wage cuts and layoffs. Poverty-stricken workers all over the island

⁶Ibid.

⁷Overton, "Public Relief," p.165. Overton expresses this point fully:

For the most part poverty weakened people and rendered them submissive. Poverty meant not only material impoverishment but also the shrinking of needs and expectations. The poor policed themselves to a large extent. Many lives were squandered without protest. Nor is there any evidence of increased crime and suicide in the 1930s.

I agree generally with Overton's point as it relates to Newfoundland loggers in the 1930s. However, in some areas of the island such as Deer Lake, where there was a high incidence of malnutrition from a number of years on the dole, loggers felt such a grievance against the company that they were driven to act on a number of occasions.

suffered from malnutrition and tuberculosis.⁸ Empty paternalistic speeches by employers did not fool workers who had experienced a series of winters on the dole. As the depression continued throughout the 1930s Newfoundland workers, like workers all over North America began to see their poverty as immoral when merchants, politicians, and corporations did not appear to suffer as much or at all. A logger from Conception Bay put the feeling succinctly: "and if we can't get enough to feed our little ones what a wonderful sin it will be, though it is not our fault."⁹ At the same time, the early 1930s saw a large growth in both skilled and unskilled surplus labour in Newfoundland as traditional job markets disappeared in Canada and the

⁸Newfoundland Royal Commission 1933 Report, (London: N.P., 1933), paragraph 222. Referred to as the Amulree Report. See also F. Gordon Bradley Private Papers. Evidence for Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Logging Industry, T. Milton Greene M.D. deposition, Deer Lake file. Dr. Greene was a woods doctor for IPP at Deer Lake. During the 1933 season many of the men he treated suffered from malnutrition:

During this last season the number and severity of the infections was unprecedented. Superficial ulcerations of the skin were unusually common. These resulted from slight injuries which ordinarily caused no trouble at all. Prior to this year I don't know when I saw one of them before. In some cases these ulcerations extended over a diameter of a couple of inches. Boils were exceedingly common and numerous pustular infections. All of these are in my opinion the results of long continued malnutrition. During the months of September and October last year I had a number of cases of malnutrition nearly approaching beri-beri

⁹Evening Telegram, 17 August 1934.

United States.¹⁰ Thus, discontented workers stayed at home and those who were "away" returned home and were receptive to those who encouraged them to organize to protect their collective interests.

Nowhere was the trend to unionism more apparent in Newfoundland in the 1930s than in the woods. In 1930 there were no unions specifically for the up to 6,000 loggers who worked for the two pulp and paper companies and for the over 500 small sawmilling operations spread throughout the island.¹¹ By 1939, however, there were three unions, the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association based in Point Leamington, Notre Dame Bay; the Newfoundland Labourer's Union, based in Corner Brook; and the Worker's Central Protective Union in Deer Lake, all of which represented the interests of loggers. The Fishermen's Protective Union, the first union to campaign for legislation to protect loggers after 1908, when they were still seasonal workers whose primary occupation was fishing, was also active in the late 1930s negotiating agreements with sawmill operators and the pulp and paper companies on behalf of loggers on the northeast coast of the island.

¹⁰Amulree Report, paragraphs 206-207.

¹¹PANL GN 31/3A/C2 p.60. "Notes on Employment Situation in Newsprint and Logging Industries." See footnote 2 of Chapter 1. Also Report of the Commission Inquiry on the Logging Industry. Mimeographed, n.d., p.68. Referred to as the Bradley Report.

In this chapter I have set myself two broad tasks. First I will examine how wages and working conditions in the Newfoundland woods in the early 1930s became so distressing to loggers that some were driven to act against their employers, while many more had no choice but to quit work and return home to their families. Many traditional loggers refused to work in the woods at the wages offered, and the companies were forced to recruit unemployed labourers from St. John's and starving fishermen from Conception Bay and the south coast who had no experience as woodcutters. Secondly, I will look at the emergence and early organizing activities of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association, the first island-wide union specifically for loggers. Newfoundland loggers flocked to the new union as did so many discontented and unorganized workers all over Newfoundland and North America when given the chance to join new or revived unions in the latter half of the 1930s. I will look at the leadership, structure and effectiveness of the NLA in representing the interests of loggers and at the problems related to organizing a large group of workers spread out in hundreds of logging camps from Trinity Bay to the Bay of Islands to the Baie Verte peninsula; problems subsequently which caused the NLA to split into three unions--in addition to the FPU -- each competing to represent loggers within the region of the island in which it was

based.

I

Although Newfoundland loggers did not gain their own union until the mid-1930s, from the beginning of the decade, they often resorted to collective actions to protest low wages paid by employers. The most common form of protest in the woods in addition to the strike was simply to quit work. Between 1929 and 1935 the St. John's daily press reported eight cases where groups as large as 225 men quit work in the woods because they could not earn enough to support themselves and their families. The cases reported usually involved substantial groups of men from the Avalon Peninsula or the south coast who could not pay their ways home and were either wandering with empty bellies from town to town in central Newfoundland in search of food and shelter or who had boarded the train or coastal boat illegally. The magnitude of the cases reported suggests that there were hundreds of other occasions when two or three men quit which went unreported.

During the winter of 1929, for example, a commission charged with suggesting solutions to the problems posed by the economic downturn in St. John's found places for 150 unemployed labourers in the pulp and paper companies' woods camps.¹² Each man hired on had to sign an agreement

¹²Evening Telegram, 17 December 1929.

with the companies that he would remain at work until the end of March and that he consented to the deduction from his wages the value of the goods, railway fares, and other advances made to him.¹³ Forced to leave their families a few days before Christmas, many of the men realized after a short time that they could not earn any money above their expenses and returned home to their families which depended on them as their means of survival through the winter. Many of the men who quit could not pay back the advances to the stores and the railway and ended up in magistrate's court charged with obtaining goods on the false pretence that they could earn a living in the woods.¹⁴

The companies and the government took no responsibility for the St. John's men who could make no money in the woods. In March 1930 the daily press reported the case of Gordon Parsons who had hurt his back cutting and was forced to quit. He had no wages coming to him after nearly three months work and the AND Co. refused to feed him or get him home. Along with three companions who had also quit, Parsons tried for over two weeks to get back to St. John's from Millertown, "sometimes staying in railway stations, sometimes in a shack, being turned off trains and existing on the meagre supplies of food they received

¹³Evening Telegram, 6 March 1930.

¹⁴Evening Telegram, 30 December 1930; 7 January 1930.

from time to time." The men's relatives eventually heard of their situation and sent them the money to get home.¹⁵

The first reported loggers' strike of the depression occurred in 1932. The IPP Co., faced with a severe drop in newsprint prices made deep wage cuts throughout its operation.¹⁶ In 1931 IPP cut wages and salaries 10 per cent. In 1932 the company slashed another 10 per cent off their employees' incomes. Drivers' wages fell to 22½ cents an hour, 12½ cents below the minimum wage specified in the Logging Act. The company also reduced the price per cord to \$1-\$1.30, compared to \$1.20-\$1.50 in 1931, and \$2.50 in normal times.¹⁷ In May several hundred loggers and drivers in Deer Lake staged a strike demanding higher wages. The strike failed because IPP had more than enough wood on hand at the mill and could afford to wait the men out, and because the men were scattered, and unorganized and their families were starving without their wages. An angry citizen wrote, "Woodsmen by the hundreds this past winter have not earned enough to pay their way home and all the time while the husbands slaved in the woods for a mere pittance, wives and children at home have eked out a precarious existence on the dole."¹⁸

¹⁵Evening Telegram, 6 March 1930.

¹⁶Evening Telegram, 5 September 1931.

¹⁷Amulree Report, paragraph 420.

¹⁸Evening Telegram, 25 May 1932.

In July the company delivered more bad news to the men. IPP announced that no wood would be cut the following season in the Deer Lake and Howley districts.¹⁹ An angry and frustrated group of men in Deer Lake threatened to destroy company property if they were not given work at higher wages.²⁰ IPP eventually agreed to make a small cut in the area and to give a slight increase in wages when faced with government pressure for a settlement and a discontented labour force in the mill in Corner Brook which had also experienced heavy wage cuts and layoffs.²¹

The following year river drivers on the west coast again went on strike. Early in the year IPP requested that the government suspend the minimum wage clause of the Logging Act which required employers to pay river drivers 35 cents an hour. Anticipating a favourable government response IPP announced that instead of conducting the log drive as usual, the company had hired contractors to do the work. Under the new contract system the men estimated they would earn only 22 cents an hour.²² Prior to the

¹⁹Evening Telegram, 16 July 1932.

²⁰Evening Telegram, 13 July 1932.

²¹In March papermakers in the mill in Corner Brook had waged a week long strike over cutbacks in staff which "would put unbearable extra work on the crews and would also cause the loss of employment to a number of ordinary hands." See Evening Telegram, 29 March 1932; 7 April 1932. Terms of settlement were not given.

²²Evening Telegram, 1 May 1933.

drive, in late April 1933, a large body of men assembled outside the court house in Corner Brook to protest the company's action.²³ Although the Minister of Labour, K.M. Brown, and Prime Minister Frederick C. Alderdice stated that the company would have to adhere to the minimum wage clause, the press reported on 5 May that IPP had agreed to pay the men 27½ cents an hour and to reduce the cost of meals 15 cents per day. "This," the Prime Minister stated already backing down from his earlier statement, "was the utmost the company would agree to."²⁴ The drivers refused to budge on their demands. On 10 May the mill unions passed resolutions stating their moral and financial support for the drivers and demanding the government and company uphold the labour laws of the country.²⁵ A few days later the company acceded to the drivers' demands. IPP likely realized that with the backing of the international unions in the mill, who saw their own interests at stake in the strike, the drivers could maintain a long and well-organized strike which would jeopardize the drive for the season and perhaps lead to an expensive sympathy strike in the mill. The company may have also made a deal with the government. Two weeks after the strike ended the

²³ Evening Telegram, 2 May 1933.

²⁴ Evening Telegram, 5 May 1933.

²⁵ Evening Telegram, 10 May 1933. This contrasts starkly with the complete lack of support mill unions gave loggers during the 1959 IWA strike.

House of Assembly suspended the minimum wage clause in the Logging Act until 1 May 1935.²⁶

Again in early September 1933, a number of loggers stopped work and held a meeting in the Regent Theatre in Corner Brook "to protest to the company the low remuneration given to them." F. Gordon Bradley, the Member of the House of Assembly for the district, addressed the meeting and "spoke of the necessity of the men remaining calm and collected and painted a vivid picture of the state of the men in the camps who work but cannot earn enough to keep their families." At the meeting the men formed a delegation of ten loggers to place their demands before company officials. The men wanted the price per cord raised from \$1.10 to \$2.00.²⁷ K.O. Elderkin, the mill manager, stated the company's position:

Half of the trouble is that the men who are doing all the kicking are not real woodsmen. Our good men cut two cords a day easily, and have no difficulty in keeping themselves and their families. As for paying \$1.10 a cord, we are doing so where the chance is good. The men receiving that rate

²⁶See "An Act to Amend," "Of the Employment of Men Engaged in Logging," 22 George V, c.21 in The Statutes of Newfoundland 1933. Drivers were extremely bitter about the suspension of the minimum wage clause. See, for example, Evening Telegram, 30 March 1935, for a letter from a driver from St. Georges who argues that skilled drivers should earn more than papermakers in the mill who are merely "machine tenders" and not "tradesmen."

²⁷Evening Telegram, 12 September 1933. The following year Bradley headed the commission of inquiry into conditions in the lumberwoods.

are cutting one of the best stands of timber in the country. It is not really a question of paying a living wage, there is not a living wage in it for the company, as you will probably have noticed from our last half year's balance sheet You must remember that when the men were paid \$2 a cord for cutting wood, paper was selling at \$70 a ton (compared to \$36 at present).²⁸

The following week IPP threatened to put the mill on half time instead of ~~four~~ and two-thirds days a week unless the men gave way. The company also raised the possibility that it would halt all cutting in the woods unless a satisfactory agreement was reached with the men.²⁹ The next day another hundred loggers put down their bucksaws and came out of the woods to join the strike. The press reported that "there are now 400 loggers on strike at Corner Brook and Deer Lake."³⁰ In Corner Brook the Salvation Army provided free dinners to one hundred of the hungry loggers from food collected from the congregation and supporters of the strike.³¹

²⁸Ibid. Elderkin's statement about how much "good" men were able to cut in a day appears to be completely false and deceiving. The following year, IPP woods manager, A.W. Bently, testified before the Bradley Commission about how much the company's loggers had cut: "Our records show that 22 per cent of the men cut less than one cord per day in 1933; the balance, 78 per cent of the men, cut 87 per cent of the wood at a rate of 1.3 cords per man day." See Evidence for Report of the Commission of Inquiry On the Logging Industry, IPP file.

²⁹Evening Telegram, 19 September 1933.

³⁰Evening Telegram, 20, 22 September 1933.

³¹Evening Telegram, 3 October 1933.

With no resolution of the dispute in sight, the Prime Minister and Minister of Labour held a meeting in St. John's of four representatives of the loggers and A.W. Bently and K.O. Elderkin of the company. The loggers rejected a company offer of a 15 cent a cord increase. They made a counter-demand for a 25 cent increase.³² On 2 October the Evening Telegram reported that after almost a month on strike the men had returned to work for \$1.25 a cord.³³ The government likely smoothed the way for a settlement by agreeing to pay the passages home from the camps of all loggers in Newfoundland. The government's explanation for providing the free passage conceded that many loggers could not earn any money at company prices:

The ... concession was arranged in order to help out lumbermen who will remain in the camps one month, and avoid their having to look for passes through Relieving Officers and others if they are unfortunate enough to just break square. It might help to make the men more contented and will keep them off the dole at any rate for a month if they will remain.³⁴

July 1934 was a month of unequalled unrest and desperation in the Newfoundland woods during the depression. In eleven separate incidents, over 400 men either quit or went on strike for higher wages. The loggers'

³²Evening Telegram, 28 September 1933.

³³Evening Telegram, 2 October 1933.

³⁴Evening Telegram, 18 October 1933.

disputes in the single month of July account for over 60 per cent of all collective actions and strikes by loggers in the entire decade. We can offer two explanations for this unparalleled sense of hopelessness and anger among loggers. First, loggers had been working at starvation wages for almost five years; they were exhausted, malnourished and desperate as never before. Second, and more importantly, by 1934 many regular loggers and contractors had refused to work in the woods at the rates the companies offered.³⁵ More and more, IPP and AND had to recruit inexperienced labour from the south coast and the Avalon peninsula. The majority of the men recruited had never worked in the woods. They were usually unemployed labourers and banker fishermen who had no conception of the conditions in the woods and quit when they realized

³⁵Evidence, Jesse Ball deposition. Botwood file. Ball noted:

I belong to Northern Arm, Botwood. I have not been doing woods work for the past two years because I could not get enough for the wood to make a living myself and give my men a living. I was offered a contract by them [the AND Co.] last fall to cut 6,000 cords in this bay. The price was \$3.75 landed on board ship and I would not take it. Saunders and Howell took the contract that was offered to me. They paid their men \$2.40 a cord landed on the bank of the bay. That wood had to be hauled from half a mile to a mile and a half and I think in some places two miles. I was considering paying \$3.25 to \$3.50 according to the length of the haul. I know that country and I know that was a fair price. I have been 34 years at the woods business.

they were going to end up in debt to the company after two or three months labour.

At the end of June 1934, 85 men from Grand Bank and Fortune on the southwest coast, faced with a failing banker fishery and starvation at home, signed on at Burin to work for the AND Co. near Badger. The men took the coastal boat to Argentia where they thought they would make a connection with a train to take them to central Newfoundland. At Argentia they found that they would have to wait a day for the train. The company had no accommodations prepared for the men so the few with any money spent the night in a cheap boarding house, while those without were forced to sleep on the floor of the railway station. They had nothing to eat.³⁶

The following morning the train arrived and carried the men as far as Whitbourne where they had to wait another day for the train to take them to Badger. Again they had no where to sleep and "the kind friends that had a dollar or so, had to spend it buying food and sharing it amongst his comrades."³⁷ The station at Whitbourne was only able to hold half of the men and the railway workers seeing this,

³⁶Evening Telegram, 27 August 1934. The Burin men, upset at the reaction in the press to their actions, wrote a long letter to the Telegram outlining the way the AND Co. had treated them.

³⁷Ibid.

opened an old condemned car with no stores or windows in it, with the wind blowing bitterly cold. Some of the men who could sleep, woke in the morning chilled to the bone to face another day's travel without any breakfast.³⁸

After another day and night on the train the men finally arrived at Badger where they had their first decent meal after three days of travel. They also learned from Mr. Cole of the AND Co. that they were not going to earn the thirty dollars a month clear as the company representative in Burin had told them. Instead Cole informed the men that they were to work at piece rates of \$1.26 a cord less \$18 a month for board, \$11.55 for passage, doctors fees and the usual expenses of fly oil, sawblades, clothing and cigarettes. To conclude a bad day, the men learned that the camps where the company assigned the men were to close down in a month and a half! Thus, the men calculated that if they were to cut a cord a day, which was highly unlikely given their inexperience, they would earn \$1.55 after deductions the first month to which they would add whatever they earned in the final two weeks of the season.³⁹

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid. The men included the figures for what they would clear in a month:

25 cords per month at \$1.26	<u>\$31.50</u>
Board per month	18.00
Passage	11.55

When the men reached the camp, half of them decided that they could not work for less than \$2 a cord if they were going to have anything for their families when they returned home. When Cole refused, the men reported,

... we said we would stay if he [Mr. Cole] would not take our passage money out of our wages, we'd still be satisfied to stay on. Mr. Cole refused to come to any terms, so we packed up and left. There have been many things said about our behaviour which is very untrue and unjust. Most of the public are under the impression that there was a riot, well there wasn't. We weren't at all unreasonable, we just wanted our passage paid back. It is true some said if it was not granted they would board the train next morning ...⁴⁰

At that point Cole must have wired the Commission about the men. Fearing that trouble might develop the Commissioner of Justice despatched a sergeant and six police officers to Badger.⁴¹ Sir John Hope Simpson, Commissioner of Natural Resources, stopped in Badger on the way to the west coast to interview the men. Hope Simpson agreed to grant the men passage home but because they had refused to work for the starvation wages the company offered, the Commissioner wired the magistrates in

Doctor, per month40
		\$29.95
		\$31.50
		-\$29.95
1 month's work	1.55

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Evening Telegram, 6 July 1934.

Grand Bank and Fortune that the men were not to receive any dole or fishery advances.⁴² The men protested in vain: "It was said we refused to work. That is absolutely untrue, in one sense of speaking, but that was on account of the low wages. We were all willing to work if we could see any way clear."⁴³

A few days after the 40 men from Burin quit, 34 Conception Bay men who were at work for William Dawe and Sons at Western Arm, White Bay, laid down their bucksaws and decided to return home because they could not make any money. They were part of a group of 100 unemployed men on the dole in various Conception Bay outports who Dawe and Sons had recruited to cut and peel pulpwood for \$4 a cord.⁴⁴ At Pacquet, 18 of the men boarded the coastal boat S.S. Prospero illegally and were arrested when the boat reached St. John's. They were sent to jail for 30 days.⁴⁵ William Dawe and Sons sent the rest of the men who had quit home where they were cut off the dole.⁴⁶

To close out the week, on 14 July, 70 more men from the southwest coast quit. Having lasted a week longer

⁴²Evening Telegram, 13 July 1934.

⁴³Evening Telegram, 27 August 1934.

⁴⁴Evening Telegram, 27 June 1934.

⁴⁵Evening Telegram, 10 July 1934. For the account of the men's sentencing in Magistrate's Court see Evening Telegram, 11 July 1934.

⁴⁶Evening Telegram, 11 July 1934.

than their compatriots from Burin, they left the woods and boarded the train to come home. With no money for fares the men were arrested in Clarendville and brought to St. John's where they ended up in court and subsequently in prison.⁴⁷ Gordon Bradley, in the process of taking evidence for his logging report, interviewed some of the men at the police station. William Courage explained his familiar predicament:

... I am a fisherman. Fish was getting scarce and I thought I would do better in the lumber woods. I left my gear in the water and walked fifty miles to Burin to see about it. I never used a bucksaw before. I went to Marystown and saw Joe Long He gave me a pass to go to Millertown I started work Tuesday last and worked three days. I seemed to be as good as the ordinary man. I could do about a cord a day. It was spruce; fairly good wood I was paid \$1.32 a cord and charged sixty cents for board. I didn't have any van. Charge for the doctor was 40¢ a month. We considered the thing over, that we would have to pay about \$20 passage and \$18 a month board. I could not see myself after two months where I could make anything. I could feed myself but not my family.⁴⁸

The penitentiary in St. John's could not house all the prisoners and most of the men were placed in canvas tents in the prison yard. On 23 July, the governor extended clemency to the prisoners and sent them home to Burin.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Evening Telegram, 16 July 1934.

⁴⁸ Evidence, William Courage deposition. Burin file.

⁴⁹ Evening Telegram, 23 July 1934.

A few days after the men jumped the train, the daily press reported ten more men from the south coast who had stopped work and decided to walk home from central Newfoundland. The men were stranded in Placentia without food or shelter. Failing to get assistance from the Relief Officer, they asked the Magistrate to put them in jail under the charge of vagrancy so they would have a place to sleep and some food.⁵⁰

On 18 July first word came of a major loggers' strike in Labrador as the S.S. Imogene sailed from St. John's for Alexis Bay, Labrador, with a detachment of 45 fully armed constables.⁵¹ The Labrador Development Company, which had large operations at Alexis Bay to cut pulpwood for export, had chartered the coastal boat to bring back 225 dissatisfied loggers. Ten days earlier, the press later reported, the 500 men at the company's five camps at Alexis Bay had gone on strike. Up to that time the company had paid the men \$3.00 per cord for cut and peeled wood at the stump. Peeling wood was a difficult, time consuming task most loggers disliked.⁵² Gordon Bradley in his report argued that men should receive a minimum of \$3.58½ per cord for peeled pulpwood at the stump.⁵³ Many of the men at Alexis

⁵⁰Evening Telegram, 17 July 1934.

⁵¹Evening Telegram, 18 July 1934.

⁵²Evening Telegram, 26 July 1934. See also report of Superintendent O'Neill on strike in Evening Telegram, 27 July 1934.

⁵³Bradley Report, pp.49-50.

Bay found it hard to cut and peel even half a cord a day. When the men returned to St. John's they accounted for their low production: in many of the stands of timber in Labrador there were large quantities of rotten wood which meant a lot of what they cut was unacceptable to the company; in most areas the ground was steeply sloped which made cutting and piling difficult; and, finally, many of the men were inexperienced.⁵⁴ To compound the men's problems, the Labrador Development Company charged about 25 per cent more per month for board than companies in central Newfoundland.⁵⁵ Hence many men could simply not make any money at Alexis Bay at the rates the company paid.

The men went on strike on 9 July and offered the company three possible systems of payment under which they would return to work:

- 1) that the rate of pay be \$2.00 per cord [for rough unpeeled wood] with free board and free transportation, or
- 2) that the rate be \$2.70 for a cord of rough wood at the stump, or 3) that the rate be \$2.00 per day and found.⁵⁶

On 15 July company officials responded with an offer of \$3.50 a cord for 4,000 cords of cut and peeled wood and after that was cut, \$2.30 a cord for unpeeled wood. In

⁵⁴Evening Telegram, 26 July 1934.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Evening Telegram, 27 July 1934.

addition the company offered free passage from sailing points to Alexis Bay. When the officials presented the strikers with the company's offer they informed the men that if these terms were not acceptable the company would make arrangements for the dissatisfied men to return home. The strikers in three of the five camps refused the terms and asked for passage home. Men in the two remaining camps returned to work the following day.⁵⁷

Although there was no violence during the strike, Superintendent O'Neill, who led the detachment of constables to Alexis Bay, wrote a report on the dispute for the Commission.⁵⁸ O'Neill's analysis of the strike was typical of the way the government and the companies viewed most loggers' strikes during the 1930s. To begin with, O'Neill argued that there had been no valid reason for the strike. Then, he provided ample evidence to the contrary: the accommodations for the loggers at the start of operations at Alexis Bay were inadequate, many of the men had nowhere to sleep when they first arrived; many of the men were inexperienced and could not make any money through incompetence; and, finally, some of the men thought they were to work for straight wages and were unhappy when they found they had to work at piece rates.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid.

O'Neill refused to consider the men's demands for higher wages made during the strike. Instead O'Neill used a familiar company ploy and held up the accounts of the few men who were able to make money as proof that the company rates were more than adequate.⁶⁰ He concluded that the young incompetent men had persuaded the others to go out on strike.⁶¹ In response to O'Neill's report, The Evening Telegram savagely attacked the men who quit:

It is somewhat late for these men to realize that they acted like children. They had the chance to make good and they could not stick it out That is not the spirit of their forefathers who carved homes out of the rocks and forests, and all in the hope some time or other of making a living. The spirit displayed is not that of those Newfoundlanders who twenty years ago helped to man the King's ships and to swell the ranks of the Regiment, and by their contempt of hardship and danger won the highest praise for themselves and honour for their country.⁶²

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Evening Telegram, 28 July 1934. The Evening Telegram had employed the same incredible argument in 1932 to encourage starving people to stay off the dole:

Such is the commendable restraint expected, in a crisis of whatever kind, of people of British stock. The great bulk of Newfoundland's population is determined "to see it through" in the same spirit as that displayed by those gallant men to whom in almost every district has been erected a memorial commemorating their unswerving devotion and their loyal services, even unto death.

The pulp and paper companies, supported by the government and the press, often employed this image of the hardy, independent Newfoundlander, similar to the image capital perpetrated of the he-man 'lumberjack' in other parts of North America, to keep wages and conditions at poverty levels.⁶³ Like the myth of the reckless lumberjack in the Pacific Northwest who revelled in poor living conditions and dangerous working conditions, AND and IPP maintained the tradition that the Newfoundlander was a special breed. A Newfoundlander was a strong man, loyal, independent, and able to withstand severe hardship without complaint.⁶⁴ Men who stoically accepted a low standard of living and poor working and living conditions were an obvious asset to employers, and easily dealt with by a government. Independent men, further, were unlikely to consider collective action which would challenge the authority of the companies or the limit on wages.

Cited in James Overton, "Riots, Raids and Relief, Police, Prisons and Parsimony: The Political Economy of Public Order in Newfoundland in the 1930s" (unpublished manuscript, Memorial University, 1988), p.62.

⁶³See Gordon Hak, "On the Fringes: Capital and Labour in the Forest Economies of the Port Alberni and Prince George Districts, British Columbia, 1910-1939" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1986), p.169.

⁶⁴In addition to editorial in Evening Telegram, 28 July 1934, see PANL S2-1-1, file 3 for Sir John Hope Simpson's reaction to F. Gordon Bradley's demand for a decent standard of living for loggers. Cited p.71 of this thesis.

Two days after the S.S. Imogene sailed for Labrador with its band of constables, 19 men from New Melbourne and Brownsdale, Trinity Bay, stopped cutting for the AND Co. at Rattling Brook when they realized they could "not earn even 20 cents a day" for their destitute families.⁶⁵ The men walked to Bishop's Falls where they requested the company transport them home. The company claimed they had no liability to transport the men home and the Commission, after a special meeting, also refused to get the men home or to feed them; the men had to either pay their passages or return to work.⁶⁶ The Commission also threatened to throw the men in jail if they attempted to board the train without tickets. The manager of the AND Co. eventually agreed to pay the men's passages home if they returned to work for ten days.⁶⁷ In a letter to the Evening Telegram, one of the men described what happened:

So we said to the manager "... We never thought there was such a meany company in this old world as what ye are. Now, sir, we don't intend to go back in the woods because we are too poor and honest to work for you for 15 cents per day, because we consider the fact that the man who works his utmost and because of inexperience in the lumberwoods can then only manage one cord of wood per day ... has worked

⁶⁵Evening Telegram, 17 August 1934.

⁶⁶Evening Telegram, 20 July 1934. The Evening Telegram reprinted the official press release of the Commission.

⁶⁷Evening Telegram, 12 August 1934.

... hard and done his best. We will find ourselves honestly obliged to return to the woods for the very cause that we would not wish to impose upon anyone or any one company's expense and so we would work for the ten days to pay our retransportation charges." "Now," says the manager, "Men, my word is my bond." Our spokesman says, "I have met men like you often. Educated men are the greatest disappointers ... so shake hands on your agreement, and now, what about our fly-oil, etc?" The manager says "you are sure of that," so we rushed away up the river.⁶⁸

The men worked the ten days and then returned home "with not a five cent piece for our destitute families."⁶⁹ At the end of the letter, the writer addressed the Commission:

Now, leaders of Newfoundland, what do you think of that? Look kindly on the poor hardworking class and give them work. Better to do that than put them in jail and feed them on hard bread and cold water. We ain't looking for any great salary, but just for an existence and maintenance independently for our families if we can get work. How is the country going to be raised up if after trying so hard and waiting so long, we got through all these experience[s] in the lumberwoods and then can get no other work and no more dole, so how can the labouring classes live?⁷⁰

To close out a month of unprecedented unrest in the Newfoundland woods, 21 more men quit work for William Dawe

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

and Sons at Western Arm. William Dawe and Sons shrewdly paid the mens' passages home. At the same time, Dawe claimed that the 200 men remaining on the job "are continuing work and doing well."⁷¹ This statement came after a month when a quarter of his workforce had abandoned work because they could earn no money for themselves and their families.

Newfoundland loggers in the early 1930s were clearly class-conscious workers who felt a tremendous sense of grievance at the way they were treated by the capitalist ruling class. Poverty and malnutrition weakened the men, and many protested low wages and poor conditions simply by dropping their bucksaws and returning home to their families to weather out the storm. In some instances, however, loggers banded together and went on strike for better employment conditions. The sense of grievance many loggers felt toward the pulp and paper companies and the organized strength of loggers in some regions was eventually channelled into Newfoundland's first loggers' union formed in 1935.

II

As in most North American industries before the mid-1930s, skilled workers took the lead and established the

⁷¹Evening Telegram, 27 July 1934.

first unions in the Newfoundland forest industry.⁷² Soon after the Harmsworths opened their mill in Grand Falls highly skilled Canadian papermakers in 1910 formed Local 88 of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers (IBPM).⁷³ In 1913, Alphonse Duggan, a Newfoundlander who had been exposed to unionism in Glace Bay coal mines, helped to organize and later became President of Local 63 of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill Worker (IBPS&PM) in Grand Falls. The Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill workers represented all mill workers who were not qualified to join Local 88 of the exclusive Papermakers union.⁷⁴

⁷²Ian Radforth, Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p.107.

⁷³Rolf Hattenhauer, "The History of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland," (unpublished manuscript, Memorial University, 1983), p.166.

⁷⁴Ibid., p.167. For information on Alphonse Duggan see also Bill Gillespie, "A History of the Newfoundland Federation of Labour, 1936-1963," (unpublished MA, Memorial University, 1980), p.47. For information on the mill unions see Robert Zieger, Rebuilding The Pulp and Paper Workers' Union, 1933-1941 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984). According to Zieger, at one time the skilled paper makers and the less-skilled pulp and paper workers had formed a single American Federation of Labor (AFL) union, the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Workers. However, personal animosities between union leaders, together with prejudice against the less-skilled pulp workers by the paper makers, caused the union to split. In 1905, the paper makers voted not to allow any representative of the pulp and paper workers to become president of the union and the following year the pulp and paper workers left the organization. In 1909, the AFL finally issued a charter to the pulp and paper workers, and the International

The Harmsworths, who owned the mill in Grand Falls, were notoriously anti-union; they preferred to see themselves as paternalistic employers who "did not expect the utmost farthing of profit to the detriment of their workers."⁷⁵ When the mill first opened, the AND Co. management likely tolerated the craft unions in the mill in order to attract and develop a stable work force in an isolated town like Grand Falls. A stable workforce was necessary to maintain the continuous operation of highly expensive pulping and papermaking equipment.⁷⁶ Despite the independence of workers in the mill, however, Grand Falls developed into a controlled company town complete with company houses, parks and schools for the mill workers and their families and a magnificent mansion for Harmsworth. Loggers were not considered regular company employees and were excluded from the town. These men congregated in a shanty town near the local railway station outside the town's limits.

At the IPP mill in Corner Brook, skilled workers,

Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Millworkers gained jurisdiction over the less-skilled workers in the paper mills. Zieger notes that by 1933 the IBPS & PMW had declined to 4,000 members, many of them Canadians. One would suspect that Newfoundlanders also formed a significant portion of the membership.

⁷⁵Exploits Valley Senior Citizen's Club, The Forest Beckoned: Grand Falls 1905-1960, (Grand Falls: Robinson-Blackmore, 1986), p.3.

⁷⁶Ian Radforth, Bushworkers, p.107.

"the aristocrats of labour," also formed locals of craft unions long before the emergence of the first loggers' union. In September 1925, not long after the mill opened, some Newfoundland workmen who had returned to the island "and brought their unions with them," with the help of a dynamic young organizer named Joseph Smallwood, formed Local 64 of the Pulp, Sulphite and Papermill Workers Union. Not long after, the papermakers formed Local 242 of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers.⁷⁷

The mill workers in the company towns of Grand Falls and Corner Brook showed little inclination to help loggers organize which undermined class unity in the Newfoundland forest industry and delayed the formation of loggers unions. Historians Hak and Radforth have recorded a similar fragmentation of the woods labour force in British Columbia and Northern Ontario.⁷⁸ Mill workers in Newfoundland like their brothers across North America possessed their own job cultures distinct from the work experience of loggers. Economic and social factors further inhibited solidarity among mill workers and loggers. Mill workers represented by international unions earned substantially more than loggers. In Newfoundland a

⁷⁷Rolf Hattenhauer, "The History," p.168. For Smallwood's role in the IBPS &PM see Richard Gwyn, Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p.37.

⁷⁸Hak, "On The Fringes," pp.316-317; Radforth, for example, pp.135-136.

"Grand Falls" job was known as a steady, well-paying job while Newfoundlanders often saw loggers as marginal seasonal workers who earned wages at or below the poverty line.⁷⁹ The exclusion of loggers from the company towns and activities physically enforced the separation of loggers and mill workers and further obscured class lines in the industry. The only example in the 1930s when mill workers supported a loggers' struggle came in 1933 when IPP blatantly tried to break a law protecting loggers and unionists in the mill saw their own interests threatened in the company's action.⁸⁰

The late emergence of unions for loggers in Newfoundland was not a unique phenomenon. Despite loggers' early prominence in the economic development of Canada and the United States and their rich job culture, lumber workers, were slow to organize all over North America. The nineteenth-century assault on the North American forest was accomplished without any long-lasting organization. Historians attribute this absence of a history of union organization in the woods to a number of factors: loggers were highly individualistic workers who, when they had a grievance, simply asked for their time and moved on;

⁷⁹Claude Quigley personal communication, November 1987. Mr. Quigley grew up in Grand Falls, worked in the mill, and his father is an oiler in the mill.

⁸⁰See pp.87-88 of this thesis. Also Evening Telegram, 10 May 1933.

work in the woods was irregular which meant that loggers rarely stayed in the same camp for long; the nature of the industry scattered in mills and logging camps across the continent inhibited union organization; in many places, such as the pulpwoods of Quebec and Northern Ontario, there was almost always a superabundance of labour which meant that agitators could be quickly replaced by more pliable workers; work forces in the woods were often divided along ethnic lines; and, finally, the woods labour force was in constant flux as migrant workers moved from camp to camp and seasonal workers entered the labour force only to vanish a few months later with some cash in their pockets to their farms or other occupations and thus undermined the establishment of a lumber workers union.⁸¹

In Newfoundland loggers faced some of the same obstacles to organization as loggers in other parts of North America. Perhaps the most significant impediment to organization during the 1930s in the Newfoundland woods was the superabundance of labour in the industry. On the one hand, the paper companies curtailed their cutting

⁸¹See, for example, Vernon Jenson, Lumber and Labor (New York: Arno and the New York Times, 1971), p.114; Donald Mackay, The Lumberjacks (Toronto: McGraw Hill-Ryerson, 1978), p.252; H.A. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1948), p.280; Gordon Hak, "On the Fringes: Capital and Labour in the Forest Economies of the Port Alberni and Prince George Districts, British Columbia, 1910-1939," (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1986), p.192; and Radforth, Bushworkers and Bosses, chapter 6.

operations when the price for newsprint dropped substantially in the early years of the 1930s so they required fewer workers. In some districts the companies halted cutting operations completely.⁸² On the other hand, there were enough loggers who were literally starving at home on the dole that they were willing to work for their board and almost nothing more so that the companies were able to fill their camps. Although many regular loggers and contractors refused to go in the woods at the prices offered in the period between 1930-1935, the companies had no trouble finding hundreds of unemployed labourers from St. John's and hungry fishermen from the south coast, who had no tradition of working in the woods and no idea of the hardship they were getting themselves into, to have more than enough workers.⁸³ These men, too, who were on strict piece rates, could not afford to stop work for any length of time because they would become more deeply in debt to the company, had no savings, and destitute families at home. The pulp and paper companies had complete control to dictate the terms of employment to their loggers because they could easily find replacements for dissatisfied workers. The only method these men had,

⁸²In July 1932, IPP announced that no wood would be cut the following season in the Deer Lake and Howley districts. Evening Telegram, 16 July 1932. For workers' reaction see p.87 of this thesis.

⁸³For descriptions of these men's troubles in the woods see part I of this chapter.

other than striking, to register their protest was to quit, which they did in large numbers on a series of occasions.

The very nature of logging in Newfoundland posed problems for unionization. For the most part loggers worked alone or with a brother or a son on isolated "chances" at piece rates which emphasized individual achievement and initiative rather than worker solidarity. The camps themselves were scattered across the island which made the job of the organizer who wanted to visit the men, and communication between the loggers themselves, extremely difficult. The seasonal rhythm of logging in Newfoundland also inhibited organization as after each phase of the operation loggers quit or moved on to another camp and then in the spring at the end of the drive all the loggers returned home. Even during the course of a season loggers quit at any moment to protest wages or conditions or to attend to family business at home which kept the workforce in constant flux.⁸⁴

⁸⁴In the loggers' testimony to Bradley the sense of a workforce in constant flux comes through clearly. For example, in Evidence, Deer Lake file, we find George Edison who in a year of work in the woods kept on the move to earn his living:

I belong to Fleur de Lys, White Bay.... About 10th June last I started cutting in Millertown. I finished there somewhere around the 1st week in August.... I left there because the cut was finished. Then I came over to camp 47 with Harry Ball on Grand Lake. I went up there in September and left in October. I was with Ball

The significant number of temporary loggers in the woods labour force also inhibited worker solidarity. In the 1930s numerous loggers were still fishermen or the sons of fishermen who logged during the winter to supplement their families' meagre earnings from the fishery. These fishermen - loggers might only log for a couple of months and then disappear back to the outports. These men, whose livelihood depended mainly on the fishery, saw themselves as temporary members of the woods labour force who did not have a great deal in common with the regular full-time loggers. Fishermen-loggers often favoured the piece rate system because -- so they thought -- it offered them a way to make money fast and they were likely not prepared to withdraw their labour for an extended period which would be required for a strike or to challenge the

about a month and a half.... I then went to Grand Falls cutting with Pat McCormick and remained with him the rest of the winter.... I am now signed on to go into Hancock's Camp for this season's cut. That is at Glide Brook.

On the other hand, in Evidence, Bishop's Falls/Millertown/Botwood file, we find Albert Hale, a cutter, who worked for only a short time and then had to return home:

I belong to Newstead, Notre Dame Bay. I was cutting last fall with Mr. Lingard on Dog Brook. I began the first of September and remained about a month and a half when I went home to dig up my vegetables.... I could not get back in the woods after I had my work done home because the cut was in

companies' upper limit on wages.⁸⁵

However, certain aspects of the nature of logging in Newfoundland did encourage a sense of solidarity among loggers. The men lived, slept and ate together so they shared the experiences of leaky bunkhouses, bad food, and lousy clothes. Historian Ian Radforth has described the atmosphere in a logging camp well:

Unlike most workers who returned to their homes and families at the end of a shift, woodsmen lived with their workmates - no sharp line was drawn between work and leisure. The camp was, an all encompassing experience, a fact that would have important consequences for woods unionization.⁸⁶

Although Radforth's description is of bushworker camps in Northern Ontario, the same conditions existed for loggers in camps in Newfoundland. In the evening in the bunkhouse the men had plenty of time to discuss wages and conditions. In larger camps there would be men from various parts of the island who could describe conditions and wages in other districts. At the end of every scale,

⁸⁵PAN/ GNS/4/8 W.R. Warren Prime Minister's Papers. See the testimony of the W.R. Warren Commission, December 1924. The government commissioned Warren "to enquire into the system of logging as conducted in this colony and into the letting out of contracts and subcontracts to loggers for the cutting and handling of wood for pulp and paper mills and for export and into the rate of wages paid to loggers for such cutting and handling." Warren found—"a number of men who did not mind hard work and who prefer the contract system [i.e. piece rates] because they can make more per month."

⁸⁶Ian Radforth, Bushworkers, p.88.

110
further, the scaler or contractor would often read out in the bunkhouse the amount each man had cut and how much he had coming to him. As a logger from Deer Lake recounted, the men were aware of how little they earned:

.... The Scaler would scale each month around the 11th for settlement-day. And that night the scaler and the men who looked after the van would come in the Bunk-house and read each man's account viz. saw files, axe hire, frame hire, Board, Tobacco, matches etc. and ask then if it was correct; Doctor Fee also included. If the man said it was correct, he would issue him [the] amount of money at \$1.40 or \$1.45 a cord, he would probably have from \$3 to \$5. Maybe some would have \$12 for 26 days slaving in all weather with Bucksaw, now Sir is it not time for something to be done [?]. Men can work their life-time at it and be beggars still.⁸⁷

Finally, when Joseph Thompson came to organize his loggers union, his task was eased by the fact that the men slept together in each camp so that he could address them as a group in the evening when they came in from the woods.

The bonds of community and kinship in Newfoundland also clearly diminished some of the obstacles to workers' solidarity in the woods. As the last significant influx of immigrants to the island occurred in the 1820s, family roots extended deeply and widely in Newfoundland com-

⁸⁷Allan Pritchett to Douglas Fraser, Secretary of Labour, 9 April 1934. Found in Evidence, correspondence file.

munities.⁸⁸ Contractors often hired workers from the same outport -- often the contractor's own community -- so that in addition to common work experiences, family and community connections bonded the men together. We see the strength of community ties in the cases where men quit in large numbers to protest wages and conditions during the 1930s. In almost every case of collective action the men came from the same community or at most two or three communities, from the same district.⁸⁹ The Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association was not founded in the woods at the job site but in Point Leamington, a logging community on the northeast coast. Members of the original executive were all men from the town. Thompson organized the union along community lines as well with local councils established in each of the main logging towns on the island.

Faced with the obstacles described, Joseph John Thompson, a logger with no formal education who started work in a sawmill in Point Leamington when he was ten, in the mid-1930s undertook the enormous task of focussing the discontent of loggers into their own union, the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association.⁹⁰ By 1935, after 35

⁸⁸S.J.R. Noel, Politics in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp.4-5.

⁸⁹See part I of this chapter for descriptions of collective actions.

⁹⁰Joseph Thompson, History of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association (St. John's: Guardian, 1956), p.16.

years of work in the woods, Thompson had managed to escape from logging and become a game warden. Two of his sons, however, worked in the woods and when, in the spring of 1935, they came home with nine dollars each after 18 days on the drive, Thompson decided that the time had come to change conditions in the woods.⁹¹ Interviewed in 1967, Thompson recalled,

so this came into me mind: what in the name of God are we going to do? And I made up my mind that I was going to do something about it.⁹²

Thompson knew almost nothing about trade unionism in 1935. However, as a high ranking member of the local chapter of the Orange Lodge in Point Leamington, Thompson knew how to run an organization.⁹³ After Thompson launched his union, he also had many meetings with Alphonse Duggan, a union organizer in the mill in Grand Falls and a pioneer of the Newfoundland Federation of Labour, who taught him methods of union organization. Thompson recalled that he "gathered up, like the scripture treasure all these lessons in my heart."⁹⁴ The biblical image in Thompson's words suggests a source of inspiration

⁹¹Joseph Thompson, interview, 1967. Rolf Hattenhauer interviewed Thompson at Point Leamington. Interview is located in the Memorial University Folklore Archives, tape 84-224 C7231 and C7232.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid.

for the budding union leader. In the 1930s Thompson was a Salvation Army "soldier;" a logger who knew him said he was a highly "spiritual" man when he began to organize the loggers.⁹⁵ Perhaps organizing loggers offered a religious man like Thompson a mission in life.

Thompson's first action, on 5 August 1935, was to hold a meeting of loggers in Point Leamington at which he was elected leader and seven other loggers were elected officers. Thompson then wrote two letters, one to Sir Richard Squires, a lawyer and former Prime Minister, for legal advice; and one to J.J. Kennedy, manager of the Bishop' Falls Division of the AND Co., to determine the company's reaction to the formation of a loggers union. Squires agreed to help Thompson but the AND Co. refused to have anything to do with Thompson or his union.⁹⁶

The constitution and bye-laws Thompson and Squires drew up for the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association revealed something of the nature of Thompson and the union. According to the constitution, the general objectives of the NLA were,

To develop throughout the Island of Newfoundland and its dependencies the business of lumbering in all its phases whatsoever and secure as high a standard of living as possible for all those engaged in the business of

⁹⁵Hughlet Edison interview with the author, November 1987, Botwood.

⁹⁶Joseph Thompson, History, pp.4-5.

lumbering whether as employer or employee and to regulate relations between employer and workmen and between workman and workman in the trade, and to those ends to establish a union with a general Committee of Management (hereafter called the Committee of Management) at Point Leamington and local branches in every city, town, and village throughout the Island of Newfoundland or elsewhere to be known as "A Council of United Lumbermen" each council to be so constituted and to operate in manner hereinafter appearing, and to undertake all public and private activities necessary and desirable to achieve the end sought, and to promote these objects it adopts the following methods:

- (a) The establishment of a fund or funds.
- (b) The giving of legal assistance in connection with all or any of the above objects within the limits allowed by law.
- (c) The serving or assisting in serving of legislation for the protection of its trade interests and for the general welfare of its members.
- (d) The adoption of any other legal method which may be advisable, in the general interests of the members as declared by a majority voting by ballot.

For the purpose of promoting these objects and of making these methods effective the Association may aid and join with other trades or other societies or federations or societies having for their object or one of their objects the promotion of the interests of other workmen within the scope of the Trade Union.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Constitution and Bye-Laws of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association (St. John's: Blackmore, 1936), pp.1-2, located in the Rolf Hattenhauer Collection,

Thus, from the start, Thompson intended the NLA to be a strictly law-abiding national union with local councils set up, like the FPU's councils, around the island. The NLA's structure was highly centralized and authoritarian: overall policy decisions, agreement negotiating, grievance processing and power of expulsion remained under the control of the Committee of Management in Point Leamington.⁹⁸ Membership in the union was open to anyone who "has attained the age of sixteen," and each council was required to hold a monthly meeting "for the purpose of admitting members, receiving dues and transacting business generally." The initial membership fee was \$1 while monthly dues were 25 cents "when working regularly" and 10 cents "when not working regularly or at all." Subject to appeal to the Committee of Management a member could be fined by the union for divulging the business of the association to non-members; for bringing the association or its members into disrepute; for breaking any rule or regulation prescribed by the Committee of Management; for "acting in a manner contrary to the interest of the association;" and, finally, "for failing to answer any charge when so ordered to do by his local union." The Committee of Management also had the power to expel any member who became a bankrupt; any member who failed to pay

Memorial University.

⁹⁸Ibid., p.5-8.

his dues; and also any member who, in the opinion of the Committee of Management, had "acted contrary to the intentions of the association."⁹⁹

The powerful Committee of Management was made up of a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer, a Marshall, and three Members at large, all to be elected at an annual general meeting, except that "the first President of the Association shall be Joseph John Thompson of Point Leamington." In addition to the power of expulsion, the Committee of Management had the power to grant charters to local councils, to fill up vacancies amongst its membership without a vote by the membership, and to make by-laws for the association without ratification by the membership at a general meeting. By Article 11 of the constitution, the President, the Vice-President, Treasurer and "other officers as the Committee of Management may in its discretion from time to time determine" were to be paid a salary out of the per capita funds forwarded to the head office from the local councils.¹⁰⁰

The local councils of the NLA each had an executive committee which consisted of a chairman, a secretary-treasurer, and one member at large. From the executive committee one member was elected to represent the local council at the annual general meeting of the association

⁹⁹Ibid., p.3-5.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., pp.11-12.

to be held on the second Monday in March and "at any other general meeting prescribed by the President from time to time." According to the constitution, the local councils were extremely weak bodies: their duties consisted only in keeping a list of experienced lumbermen within their area and paying the per capita tax to the Committee of Management to pay the salaries of their members. If a local council ceased to function or withdrew from the association all its assets became the property of the association, and failure to forward the funds to the head office left the local council liable to civil and criminal prosecution.¹⁰¹

Once Thompson registered the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association under the Trade Union Act, he contacted the AND Co. for permission to visit the camps. Harry Crowe, then woods manager for the company, informed Thompson that if he entered the camps to address the men he would be charged with trespassing. Thompson consulted with Squires who advised him to hold the meetings with the loggers outside the camps off company property.¹⁰² Thompson, however, decided to go ahead and visit the camps along the Bishop's Falls line and bought a bike to travel from camp to camp. At the last minute, though, the AND Co. gave in, permitted him to visit the camps, offered him a car, and

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp.8-9.

¹⁰²Joseph Thompson, History, p.5.

sent W.D. Alcock, the Assistant District Superintendent to accompany him.¹⁰³

Without the benefit of company documents, we can only speculate as to why the AND Co. suddenly reversed its stance and supported Thompson's union. Perhaps the most important factor was the news which appeared almost daily in the Evening Telegram and the Daily News from the United States. In 1933 and 1934 millions of American workers joined new unions and went out on strike inspired by section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act which gave workers the right to "organize unions of their own choosing" and to engage in collective bargaining.¹⁰⁴ In 1934 working-class militancy in the United States reached a fever pitch as almost 1.5 million workers were involved in work stoppages.¹⁰⁵ In Toledo, Minneapolis, and San Francisco, general strikes resulted in bloody class warfare. The revival of trade unionism and working-class militancy stimulated similar actions by workers in Canada and Newfoundland.¹⁰⁶ As communists and socialists led

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴James R. Green, The World of the Worker: Labor in Twentieth Century America (New York: Hill and Wang, 1980), p.140. The National Industrial Recovery Act was passed by Congress in June, 1933.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp.143-144.

¹⁰⁶Ian Radforth, Bushworkers, pp.127-133 for descriptions of strike activity in Northern Ontario woods during 1933-34. Also Gillespie, "A History of the Newfoundland Federation of Labour," p.46 for Newfoundland's reaction.

many of the strikes in Canada and the United States which often ended in bloodshed and the destruction of company property, the AND Co. may have decided they were safer to have Thompson, who believed in conciliation between labour and capital, lead a union in the woods than to wait until radical leaders emerged or came to Newfoundland and forced a more dangerous union on the company. In the History of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association, which Thompson wrote for the union's twentieth anniversary in 1956, he stated that the AND Co's kindness in helping him during his initial union drive was something he never forgot which indicates not only the company's shrewdness in gaining Thompson's sympathy, but also the essentially non-militant nature of the union leader and the NLA.¹⁰⁷

After a successful organizing drive in 1936 in the Bishop's Falls area, Thompson established a second local council at Norris Arm. He then continued on to Badger, Millertown, Deer Lake, Corner Brook, and Stephenville. The initial organizing drive produced enough money from membership fees for the union to pay off its debts and for

For the emergence of a loggers' and farmers' union in New Brunswick in the 1930s see Patrick Burden, "The New Brunswick Farmer-Labour Union, 1937-1941" (unpublished MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1983).

¹⁰⁷See Joseph Thompson, History, p.5. Also H. Landon Ladd, "The Newfoundland Logger's Strike of 1959," in Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History, ed. W.J.C. Cherwinski and Gregory S. Kealey (St. John's; Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1985), p.150, for an unflattering depiction of the NLA.

the Committee of Management to vote Thompson a \$50 a month salary.¹⁰⁸ Early in October 1936, Thompson returned to the west coast where he established local councils in Deer Lake, Corner Brook, and Stephenville. John Robinson was elected the first chairman of the Deer Lake council; Pierce Fudge, a general store owner, became the chairman of the Corner Brook council; and Thomas Rose, a farmer, was elected chairman at Stephenville. With the aid of five full-time delegates -- two were appointed at Norris Arm, one at Deer Lake, one at Corner Brook, and one at Stephenville -- Thompson continued the organizing drive throughout the winter of 1936-37 until 32 local councils were established which covered the island from Stephenville on the west coast to the Baie Verte peninsula, to Cavendish, Trinity Bay.¹⁰⁹

In the spring of 1937, with the majority of Newfoundland loggers now part of the union, Thompson demanded union recognition from both companies. Both AND and IPP refused and Thompson threatened to halt the drive and thereby cut off the supply of logs to the mills. In addition to recognition, Thompson demanded 30 cents an hour for river drivers who were at the time being paid about 22 cents an hour by the AND Co. In order to secure an adequate supply of labour at the old rate, the AND Co.

¹⁰⁸Joseph Thompson, History, p.6.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p.7.

used a familiar ploy and printed employment slips which were distributed to their agents to get the men to sign agreeing to work at the old rate. Faced with unemployment and the dole many men including union members had to sign the slips.¹¹⁰

Early in May 1937, according to Thompson, he held a meeting in Norris Arm, where volunteers were recruited to go to Bishop's Falls and seek employment on the drive but if presented with the slips they were to refuse to sign them and to proceed to the Rattling Brook depot outside Norris Arm and wait for him there. In the meantime Thompson headed to Grand Falls where he informed officials of the AND Co. that he intended to "hang up" the drive unless they agreed to negotiate with the union.¹¹¹ Again the AND Co. refused to negotiate, satisfied due to the economic conditions of the time and the number of men who had signed the employment slips that Thompson did not have the support of the loggers. Thompson, whose career as a union leader indicates that he disliked confrontation with capital, "reluctantly" issued orders to his volunteers assembled at Rattling Brook to send the word up the line to the camps to halt the drive.¹¹² The loggers, contrary to what the AND Co. expected, stopped work and within two

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p.8.

¹¹² Ibid.

days the company began to negotiate with Thompson. According to the agreement, the hourly wage paid to drivers increased from 21 cents to 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents an hour. There were also provisions in the contract for free implements such as saws and axes, half-time pay for a logger who was prevented from working by an act of God, and free medical care. The price for board was dropped from 66 cents to 60 cents a day.¹¹³

After he completed negotiations with the AND Co. Thompson went to Corner Brook to negotiate with IPP. According to the Evening Telegram, the loggers were already out on strike. "As far as can be learned," the Evening Telegram reported, "the strike began at Deer Lake on Monday and about 200 men quit work. Since then the strike has spread and about 800 are now involved."¹¹⁴ According to Thompson, his intention when he arrived in Corner Brook was to close off the gates to the Humber Canal cutting off the water and power supply to the mill and forcing the company to negotiate with the union. When the local magistrate called Thompson into his office, however, he convinced the union leader not to shut the gates because not only the company but the whole town and hospital would be left without power and lights.¹¹⁵

¹¹³Ibid., p.22.

¹¹⁴Evening Telegram, 21 May 1937.

¹¹⁵Joseph Thompson, History, p.9.

Basically a cautious man, and realizing that the loggers were dependent on the good will of the people of Corner Brook for food and shelter, Thompson sent John Robinson, head of the Deer Lake local, to the Deer Lake power plant to call off the men who were standing watch over the intake.¹¹⁶

On 23 May the IPP Co. represented by A.W. Bently, woods manager for IPP, entered into negotiations with Thompson. The following day, Bently made an offer which was well below the union demand of an agreement similar to the one that Thompson had signed with the AND Co., and when Thompson -- at Bently's request -- put the proposal to the loggers assembled outside the mill, Gillespie notes,

They gathered at the entrance to the mill ... and when the wood's manager's wife came to pick him up in his car, the loggers surrounded it. Some of the men threatened to beat him; others demanded an immediate settlement or they would put him on the next westbound train out of the country 'as they were fed up with foreign control.' All traffic on Corner Brook's main street stopped as the mob filled the street and became more and more agitated. The police tried to intervene but they were badly outnumbered and the loggers began to push the car, with the manager and his wife in it, up the hill until it finally stopped in front of the courthouse. This time the police managed to convince the men that they would lose public sympathy if they were violent,

¹¹⁶Ibid., pp.9-10.

and the couple were allowed to escape.¹¹⁷

The action did not stop there as the loggers were still angry. That evening about 200 men assembled at a different water intake, one which controlled the water supply of the mill only and threatened to close it if the company did not provide a better deal. The company decided to concede and by noon the following day, the general manager of the mill, and Thompson came to an agreement similar to the one the NLA had signed with the AND Co.¹¹⁸

After the NLA secured a collective agreement for its members employed by the pulp and paper companies, the union concentrated on the independent contractors, securing agreements with Crosbie and Company at Cox's Cove, Bay of Islands; Saunders and Howell, Norris Arm; and French's located at Burlington, Green Bay.¹¹⁹ Looking at the NLA's year-end report for 1937, then, which listed 7,611 members in 30 locals, it would appear, assuming that 6000 men worked for the pulp and paper companies during the year and several thousand men worked for independent contractors and jobbers that the NLA had a very successful

¹¹⁷Bill Gillespie, A Class Act, (St. John's: Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour, 1986), p.61. Gillespie based his account on Newfoundland Constabulary Report from District Inspector to P.J. O'Neill, Chief of Police, Corner Brook, Nfld., 26 May, 1937.

¹¹⁸Joseph Thompson, History, p.10.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p.12.

initial organizing drive.¹²⁰

The glory days of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association ended quickly. The following year the Corner Brook and Deer Lake locals left the association and formed new rival unions. In March 1938, following an acrimonious annual meeting of the NLA in Point Leamington, Pierce Fudge led the Corner Brook local out of the association taking 1500 members and forming a new body, the Newfoundland Labourer's Union (NLU).¹²¹ In June 1938, Charles Tulk took the 505 members of the Deer Lake council out of the NLA and established the Workers Central Protective Union (WCPU).¹²² Both the NLU and the WCPU claimed to represent not only loggers but "labouring men of all classes" within their districts.¹²³ At the same time, the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association became involved in a violent jurisdictional dispute with the Fishermen's Protective Union in parts of the island where loggers were still primarily fishermen. The disputes between the four rival unions, were not resolved until the Commission established the Woods Labour Board (WLB) after

¹²⁰Ibid., p.7.

¹²¹Ibid., p.15.

¹²²Ibid., p.16. Figures on both unions are taken from Thomas Liddell, Industrial Survey of Newfoundland (St. John's: Robinson, 1940), pp.46-47. In my opinion his estimates are high due to loggers holding memberships in more than one union.

¹²³Liddell, Industrial Survey, p.47.

the outbreak of the Second World War: the WLB was charged with settling disputes which arose between the workers, the unions, and the pulp and paper companies.¹²⁴ The splits in the NLA and the association's jurisdictional dispute with the FPU will be dealt with in detail in chapter 3.

The NLA, unlike loggers unions which emerged in other parts of North America in the twentieth century, was not a radical organization.¹²⁵ During a strike in October 1937 a reporter interviewed Thompson about his view of the relationship between labour and capital:

Mr. Thompson says ... his policy was not how much can we get for ourselves with no regard to capital, the contractor, or the investor. He said his Union did not have any formal slogan but his own personal slogan was "Co-operation between labour and capital for mutual profit ...". Mr. Thompson does not like strikes, but is more of the diplomatic type. He thinks that the day of quarrelling between capital and labour should be over. He says every labouring man of his union wants the man who invests his money in labour to feel that his capital is safe, that he is able to make a reasonable profit, and he wants every investor, and every manager of

¹²⁴E.P. Akeampong, "Labour Laws and the Development of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland, 1900-1960," (unpublished MA, Acadia University, 1970), p.70.

¹²⁵For a general survey of loggers' unions in North America see Donald MacKay, The Lumberjacks, pp.252-260; for pulpwood loggers unions in Northern Ontario see Ian Radforth, Bushworkers, pp.107-158; and for loggers' unions in British Columbia see Hak, "On The Fringes," Part two pp.148-315.

companies with investments in this country to feel, and if they do not feel can be taught to feel, that it is to their advantage to have contented working men, men who are able to reasonably support themselves and their families, and to educate their children as the result of their steady toil.¹²⁶

During the initial NLA drive Thompson adhered to his conciliatory position; he reluctantly used force to gain his association's demands only when IPP and AND refused to negotiate and only when he faced tremendous pressure to act from the rank and file of loggers.

Thompson's belief that labour and capital should co-operate for mutual benefit fit within the tradition of the Newfoundland trade union movement in the 1930s. Although Newfoundland trade unionists rarely avoided confrontation when they felt employers had treated workers unjustly, they preferred to solve their grievances with capital through conciliation and compromise rather than violence. Gillespie's study of the emergence of the Newfoundland Federation of Labour in the latter half of the 1930s illustrated well the conception Newfoundland trade unionists had of economic and social relations.¹²⁷ The founders of the labour central, who had a strong influence on Thompson's thinking, felt that their success depended

¹²⁶Evening Telegram, 23 October 1937.

¹²⁷Bill Gillespie, "A History of the Newfoundland Federation of Labour," pp.61-64.

on "the degree of respectability they could project to the public."¹²⁸ In an affidavit published in the daily press in 1938 the trade unionists denied any foreign influences or radical labour tactics:

... we swear the Officers and Members are utterly and unreservedly opposed to the tenets of Communism and Fascism or any similar ism and forthright [sic] declare ourselves adherents of Democratic Principles and unalterable believers in the Christian foundation of Civilization and unservably [sic] loyal to our King and Country.¹²⁹

The democratic principles referred to in the affidavit were the so-called principles of British Democracy: compromise, fair-mindedness and mutual respect in all social and economic relations.¹³⁰ Thus, Newfoundland labour leaders like Thompson argued that their efforts to organize workers were not attempts to alter fundamentally the economic system on the island; they were simply attempting to restore the proper balance between capital and labour after a period when capital had an unfair advantage in the relationship.¹³¹ As the Evening Telegram's 1937 Labour Day editorial stated, the trade unionists' notions had widespread public support:

¹²⁸Ibid., p.62.

¹²⁹Untitled affidavit, 28 May 1938. Cited in Gillespie, pp.61-62.

¹³⁰Ibid., pp.62-63.

¹³¹Ibid.

Few will begrudge to labour the benefits of increased wages and shorter hours or the security which accrues from collective bargaining powers, but the manner they have sought in America and the violence and bloodshed, which often accompanied the strikes of unions, have caused a revolt of public opinion.¹³²

Gillespie concluded that "the basic right of belonging to a trade union was accepted as consistent with 'British' justice, while the confrontation tactics of the Congress of Industrial Organizations [CIO] were rejected."¹³³

Although militant and class-conscious, the rank and file of loggers in Newfoundland followed, often reluctantly, their leaders. At heart, Newfoundland loggers wanted to earn enough for their labour to provide themselves and their families with a decent standard of living and they were willing to fight for their demands. Unlike some of their brothers in the woods in British Columbia and Northern Ontario, Newfoundland loggers never articulated a comprehensive critique of the political and social system which would have given them a more equitable share of the fruits of their labour. One reason for the absence of a radical tradition in the Newfoundland woods was that the waves of British and European immigrants to North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which

¹³²Evening Telegram, 6 September 1937. Cited in Gillespie, pp.63-64.

¹³³Ibid., p.64.

brought socialist and communist organizers such as Hjalmar Bergren and Tom Hill to the forest industries of British Columbia and Northern Ontario largely by-passed Newfoundland.¹³⁴ Perhaps the most important reason for the lack of radical ideas among loggers was the dispersed and isolated nature of logging in Newfoundland which had always inhibited organization and limited communication between loggers and organizers.¹³⁵

¹³⁴Ibid., p.12.

¹³⁵See James Overton, "Public Relief," p.160. Overton has found evidence of radical and militant leadership among the unemployed in St. John's during the 1930s. However, Newfoundland loggers never went to the city after they finished work in the woods. In British Columbia, certain streets of downtown Vancouver were meeting grounds for loggers in from the bush and there they were exposed to communist and socialist organizers and ideas. Newfoundland loggers lacked a similar central meeting area, other than the camps, where they could be exposed to an alternate vision of society.

Table

Strikes and Collective Actions
Newfoundland Woods Industry 1929-39

Locality	Type of Worker	Starting Date	Ending Date	Demands and Results	Number of Employees
Central Newfoundland	Loggers	20/12/29	30/03/30	Unemployed labourers from St. John's quit work because they are unable to make any money.	30-40 (over 4 months)
Corner Brook	Paper-makers	29/03/32	07/04/32	Reduction of staff. Unknown	?
Deer Lake	Loggers & River Drivers	05/05/32	25/05/32	River drivers being paid 22½ cents an hour demand legal minimum wage of 35 cents an hour; loggers demand higher piece rates. Terminated in favour of employer.	200-300
Deer Lake	Loggers	13/07/32	167/07/32	Loggers demand increased cut and piece rates. Partially successful.	200-300
Corner Brook & Deer Lake	River Drivers	01/05/33	12/05/33	Increased wages. Compromise.	200-400[?]
Botwood	AND Co. Longshoremen	17/05/33	05/06/33	Control of work process. Maintenance of wages. Victory.	?
Deer Lake	Pulpwood Loaders	01/06/33	?	Increased wages. Compromise	200

Locality	Type of Worker	Starting Date	Ending Date	Demands and Results	Number of Employees
Corner Brook	Loggers	12/09/33	02/10/33	Increased piece rates. Compromise.	400
Badger	Loggers	06/07/34		Inexperienced banker fishermen from Burin quit work. Lose dole and fishery advances.	40
Western Arm, White Bay	Loggers	11/07/34		Unemployed Conception Bay men quit work. Cut off dole.	18
Badger	Loggers	14/07/34		Rest of Burin men quit. Jump train and end up in prison. Granted clemency and sent home.	70
Western Arm, White Bay	Loggers	16/07/34		Men from Bay Robert's quit.	16
Central Newfoundland	Loggers	17/07/34		Men from south coast quit work and walked home. Stranded in Placentia.	8-10
Alexis Bay, Labrador	Loggers	08/07/34	16/07/34	Increased piece rates. Compromise, 225 men quit.	500
Rattling Brook	Loggers	20/07/34	30/07/34	Trinity Bay men quit work. Forced to return to work for ten days in return for passage home.	19
Western Arm, White Bay	Loggers	27/07/34		Men quit work.	20

Locality	Type of Worker	Starting Date	Ending Date	Demands and Results	Number of Employees
Bishop's Falls	Loggers	207/05/37	?	Union recognition; increased wages and piece rates. Partial victory.	500-800 [?]
Corner Brook & Deer Lake	Loggers	21/05/37	01/06/37	Union recognition; increased wages and piece rates. Partial victory.	800
Horwood	Loggers/ Sawmill Workers	26/07/37	?	Increased wages?	?
Tommy's Arm & Robert's Arm	Loggers	21/10/37	29/10/37	Increased piece rates, improved conditions. Terminated in favour of employer.	400
Cox's Cove	Pulpwood loaders	06/06/38	11/07/38	Jurisdictional dispute between NLA and NLU. NLA obtains court injunction against NLU.	?
Tilly's Camp, Terra Nova	Loggers	23/02/39	?	Increased piece rates. Unknown.	?
Indian Bay	Loggers	22/06/39	26/06/39	Jurisdictional dispute between FPU and NLA. Conciliation board established by Commission. Compromise.	500

Chapter III

Loggers' Unions and Labour Relations
in the Newfoundland Woods, 1937-1939

The last years of the 1930s were difficult times for unionists in the Newfoundland woods. In late 1937, the NLA lost a large strike at Tommy's Arm and Robert's Arm and, soon after, due to internal divisions, the association split into three rival unions. The NLA also became involved in a bitter jurisdictional dispute with the Fishermen's Protective Union (FPU) on the northeast coast. Only at the end of 1939, with the imposition of the first conciliation board in the history of the woods industry, did the competing unions find a way to solve some of their differences. To examine this complicated period, I have divided my subject into three parts. First, I will examine the large strike at Tommy's Arm and Robert's Arm where the loggers and their union suffered a humiliating defeat. After a promising beginning to the strike, the men eventually returned to work on the company's terms. This major strike, the last battle the NLA fought while intact across the island, is a good place to start a discussion of a period when Newfoundland loggers gained few victories. Second, I will look at the political problems within the woods union movement which eventually led to the withdrawal of the Deer Lake and Corner Brook councils from the NLA. Finally, I will turn to the

changing nature of labour relations in the Newfoundland woods in the last years of the 1930s and how these changes were illustrated in the jurisdictional dispute between the NLA and the Fishermen's Protective Union (FPU) at Indian Bay. In addition to the NLA-FPU dispute, this final section will examine the agreements the unions signed with the companies and assess the changes which unions forged in the relationship between labour and capital in the Newfoundland pulpwoods in the 1930s.

I

On 21 October 1937 the daily press reported that 400 members of the NLA at Tommy's Arm and Robert's Arm on the northeast coast were on strike for higher wages. The men were cutting pulpwood for export for the Bowater-Lloyd Company (Bowaters) at \$2 per cord for wood piled at the stump, the same price the AND Co. paid its cutters. The men demanded \$2.50 to \$2.75 per cord and improved living and working conditions.¹

The demands sounded straightforward, but the issues involved in the strike were part of the complicated negotiations which eventually led to the Bowater-Lloyd Company buying the Corner Brook mill and properties. At

¹Evening Telegram, 21 October 1937. In 1938, after Bowaters acquired the IPP mill at Corner Brook, the company's name changed to Bowater's Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Mill Ltd.

the time of the strike, Eric Bowater, owner of Bowater-Lloyd, the largest British manufacturer of newsprint, had no clear plan to purchase the Corner Brook operation. Throughout the late 1930s Bowater was concerned about the supply of raw material to his British mills and saw Newfoundland as a good source of pulpwood.² He had acquired the timber limits of William Roberts of Robert's Arm - where the strike took place - and obtained an option from the Newfoundland government to export pulpwood from Labrador.³

In the spring of 1937 Bowater had the opportunity to expand considerably his properties in Newfoundland. In June, V.S. Bennett, the receiver of the Reid Newfoundland Company, approached Bowater to see if he was interested in the Reid's large Gander properties.⁴ According to Hiller, Bowater "was immediately interested, took an option, and opened negotiations on the basis of a sulphite mill and permission to export pulpwood."⁵ When brought into the negotiations, the Commission was unhappy with the Bowater

²James Hiller, "Newsprint Politics: The Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Industry, 1915-1939," unpublished paper, Memorial University, 1987, p.27. See also W.J. Reader, Bowater: A History (Cambridge, 1981), p.134.

³W.J. Reader, Bowater, p.133. See also Joseph Thompson, History of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association (St. John's: Guardian, 1956), p.13.

⁴Hiller, "Newsprint Politics," p.27. Also Reader, Bowater, p.134.

⁵Hiller, Ibid.

deal because it meant the end of a long-standing dream of a paper mill on the Gander and because it would involve large tax concessions to the company. At the same time the Commission was faced with the problem of Newfoundland's chronic poverty and unemployment. Believing any development was better than no development the government grudgingly accepted Bowater's proposals.⁶ Hiller notes that by September 1937 the parties had reached a draft agreement which provided that Bowater's would build a sulphite mill and export 120,000 cords of pulpwood a year.⁷

At this point a difficulty emerged in the negotiations which led to the labour dispute at Tommy's Arm and Robert's Arm. The negotiations slowed because, among other things, Bowater learned that he might be able to purchase the Corner Brook mill and properties which would mean his company would not have to build an expensive new mill in Newfoundland.⁸ At the same time, although there was no agreement, the Commission gave Bowater-Lloyd permission to begin immediately cutting pulpwood for export at Robert's Arm under the terms that the rates of pay, the camp conditions, and general services for the

⁶Ibid., p.23.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Reader, Bowater, p.140. Hiller, "Newsprint Politics," p.29.

loggers not be inferior to those of the AND Co. which had operations in the same region.⁹ In effect, the Commission had decided to treat the Bowater-Lloyd export operation as an established manufacturing operation which meant, according to government policy, the Bowater-Lloyd company could pay their cutters 50 cents less per cord than an export operation.¹⁰

Only a few months earlier the daily press had published the Commission's policy on the export of raw pulpwood:

The Commission of Government announced that they were prepared to issue permits for the export of unmanufactured timber cut on forest lands held by private owners subject to safeguards which would protect the interests of all those engaged in logging and similar operations, and would conserve the forest resources of the country against undue exploitation.¹¹

In accordance with the policy the Commission issued a permit to the Island Timber Company in June 1937 to export raw timber for ten years from three areas on the west coast. Amongst the conditions of the permit was that "the price to cutters for the season 1937 is to be not less

⁹Evening Telegram, 23 October 1937.

¹⁰Hiller, p. 28. Evening Telegram, 23 October 1937.

¹¹Evening Telegram, 4 June 1937. The policy was published in the regular press communiqué of the Commission.

than \$2.50 per cord at the stump."¹² Thus, to the leaders of the NLA the Commission was blatantly contravening its own policy when it allowed the Bowater-Lloyd Company to pay cutters \$2 per cord.

The NLA had tried to get an agreement with Bowater Lloyd at Robert's Arm since the company had started the operation.¹³ Bowater-Lloyd employed an independent contractor, A.J. Hewlett, to organize the cut and take care of the men.¹⁴ As far as the loggers were concerned, the conditions at Robert's Arm were not equal to those of the AND Co. In response to the NLA demands that the company at least comply with the conditions of their permit to cut the wood, Bowaters stated that they were not cutting the logs, merely purchasing the wood from the contractor Hewlett. If the loggers had a grievance with the wages and conditions of employment they would have to

¹²Ibid. Pierce Fudge, leader of the NLA's Corner Brook council had a copy of the newspaper article. The press reported from Tommy's Arm that,

Mr. Fudge said that ... he had in his home a copy of the Public News stating that the government had set \$2.50 per cord as the price for export wood. He also said that the contract between the Commission of Government and the Island Timber Company, Limited, which was a Newfoundland concern with Newfoundland capital ... was paying \$2.50 per cord "Rough piled at the stump."

¹³Thompson, History, p.13.

¹⁴Reader, Bowater, pp.135-136. Evening Telegram, 23 October 1937.

bring it up with him. Hewlett, in turn, completely refused to recognize any of the men's grievances.¹⁵ By late October 1937, the men were frustrated and angry and when Thompson was away on an organizing trip to Baie Verte the loggers took matters into their own hands and struck demanding better conditions and the going rate of pay for exported pulpwood.¹⁶ The Fisherman's Advocate articulated the men's frustrations:

We ask, 'are English interests merely taking advantage of the present economic conditions that they must say to Newfoundland workers, "take this or go hungry?" The people have seen their timber areas given over to these English concerns to supply paper mills operated in England and to give work and wages to Englishmen, and they are now apparently asking if our human material is to be delivered, for the same purpose, into their hands.'¹⁷

When Thompson heard of the strike he went with Pierce Fudge, the leader of the Corner Brook council of the NLA, to St. John's to discuss the dispute with H.M.S. Lewin, the managing director of Bowater-Lloyd. Lewin flatly refused to meet the men and maintained that they should deal with Hewlett.¹⁸ Thompson and Fudge then approached

¹⁵Evening Telegram, 23 October 1937. ~

¹⁶Thompson, History, p.13.

¹⁷Fisherman's Advocate, 19 November 1937.

¹⁸Evening Telegram, 23 October 1937. According to Reader, H.M.S. Lewin (1900-1971) was a bold Welshman: He was stocky of build, dictatorial in temperament, not refined in his

R.B. Ewbank, the Commissioner of Natural Resources, armed with the permit of the Island Timber Company which specified a \$2.50 minimum wage for cutters of export pulpwood. Ewbank heard the men's case and then apparently convinced Lewin to go to Robert's Arm to view the situation first hand.¹⁹

The following day Lewin and the company's lawyer, H. Winter, along with Sir Richard Squires, solicitor for the NLA, travelled to Robert's Arm on the S.S. Argyle which Bowaters had under charter while Thompson and Fudge returned by rail.²⁰ When Thompson and Fudge arrived in Robert's Arm shortly before the S.S. Argyle all the men from Tommy's Arm had gathered in Robert's Arm "some in boats, on roads, and everywhere they could stow." Thompson addressed the loggers explaining the situation to them and telling them they were too quiet.²¹ At the

phraseology, prone to make enemies as well as friends. Sir Richard Squires, speaking on 30 October, said that 'Lewin is a liar and double-dealer, offensive, with no knowledge of human nature and devoid of tact. He angers men with his small discourtesies.' Eric Bowater highly approved of Lewin's conduct

See Reader, Bowater, p.136.

¹⁹Thompson, History, p.13. Evening Telegram, 23 October 1937.

²⁰Thompson, History, p.14.

²¹Evening Telegram, 2 November 1937. Description comes from Peter Parsons who was at Tommy's Arm and Robert's Arm and wanted "to put on the screen a moving

meeting Thompson also explained the scheme which the union eventually employed to force the negotiations in its favour.

After the arrival of Lewin and company on the S.S. Argyle, negotiations began in the ship's saloon. On the shore 500-600 men from Tommy's Arm and Robert's Arm awaited the outcome of the meeting.²² Squires presented the demands of the loggers for \$2.50 a cord at the stump on the basis of similar prices paid for export pulpwood in other parts of the island. Thompson suggested that Hewlett should pay \$2.50 per cord immediately and then the Commission should investigate the price. If after an investigation, Thompson argued, the price was found to be too high, it could be reduced. Lewin countered that the men should carry on at \$2 per cord and the Commission should investigate if the price was too low. If the Commission found the price to be insufficient, then Bowater-Lloyd would pay the higher price retroactive to the beginning of the operation. Thompson refused.²³

At this point Lewin broke off negotiations and ordered the ship to return to St. John's. Thompson described what happened:

picture" of what happened during the strike.

²²Thompson, History, p.14. Evening Telegram, 29 October 1937.

²³Evening Telegram, 29 October 1937.

Negotiations continued well into the afternoon ending in a deadlock. The meeting adjourned and the union men were out walking around the deck discussing what had happened during the meeting when it was discovered that the ship's engines were running. At the same time one of the crew members started to winch the anchor up and another of the crew manned the wheel of the ship. One of the union men jumped on the barrack head and threw the crew man away from the winch and let down the anchor, another union man took over control of the wheel house. A signal was given to the union men on shore and the 600 boarded the ship leaving no standing room on deck. They were even up the spars.²⁴

The contractor Hewlett, faced with the angry loggers escaped from the ship by motor boat to Pilley's Island to the shouts of the men: "There goes the son of a ----!" [sic] the coward."²⁵ Lewin decided to reopen negotiations when the union delegates presented the prepared agreement calling for \$2.50 per cord. The union leaders stated that if the manager did not sign the agreement they would not be responsible for what happened to the ship. Meanwhile the crowd of loggers milled around the ship threatening to haul her on shore and "make a flower garden of her."²⁶ Lewin decided to allow Winter to sign the agreement on behalf of the company. The loggers then retreated from the S.S. Argyle which left immediately for St. John's. On

²⁴Thompson, History, p.14.

²⁵Evening Telegram, 29 October 1937; 2 November 1937.

²⁶Evening Telegram, 29 October 1937.

arrival in St. John's the Argyle sailed almost at once back to Robert's Arm with a posse of 50 policemen under district inspector Green.²⁷ The show of force was no doubt in response to the attitudes of businessmen in St. John's expressed in the Evening Telegram:

What may appear to be a gain to the workmen concerned, if their demand has been assented to under a threat of violence, may tend to have reactions, damaging not only to themselves, but to logging operations in other parts of the country as well ... if the impression ~~is received abroad by~~ interests engaged in or contemplating industrial operations in Newfoundland that agreements may be vitiated by violence ... this country would be shunned by those seeking places in which to invest capital.²⁸

Although the Evening Telegram reported that Bowater-Lloyd refused an independent tribunal on the price paid per cord unless the inquiry was conducted on the company's terms, the paper blamed the leadership of the NLA for the bitterness of the strike:

... the calling of a strike while the opportunity existed to refer the dispute to an independent tribunal ..., and actions likely to lead to violence can only be regarded as unwise leadership on the part of those directing the activities of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association as well as of short-sightedness so far as the country's general welfare is concerned.²⁹

²⁷Thompson, History, p.14; Evening Telegram, 30 October 1937; Reader, p.136.

²⁸Evening Telegram, 29 October 1937.

²⁹ibid.

The loggers' victory at Robert's Arm was only temporary. When Lewin returned safely to St. John's, he refused to honour the agreement he had made with the men because he had not signed the document himself.³⁰ At the same time Bowater-Lloyd apparently decided to close down the cutting operation at Robert's Arm. Men at Tommy's Arm and Robert's Arm watched as Hewlett and his brother took down the operation's tents, nailed up the cookhouse door, and packed up the food supplies and the drum barker, a machine used for peeling wood.³¹ At Tommy's Arm, where the men loaded the wood on Bowaters' ships for export to Britain, work also came to a halt. The S.S. Ada Gorthon which had arrived at Tommy's Arm shortly before the strike and was held inside a boom for the duration of the strike by the unionists left without her cargo of wood. The ship that was supposed to follow immediately after the Ada Gorthon never arrived. Thus, the communities which provided the labour for the operation faced unemployment and starvation once again. The disheartening loss of work led to a split in the area between the men who had supported the union and those who had not.³² One man

³⁰Reader, Bowater, p.136. Thompson, History, p.14.

³¹Evening Telegram, 2 November 1937. Parsons reported that "it was like some terrible tragedy had happened, the atmosphere seemed to be full of a terrible epidemic."

³²Ibid.

wrote,

... I have yet to find a man who can prove to me that unions on the whole are not more a curse than a blessing. We were as near to bloodshed as it was possible to be and many people are bitter enemies owing to what happened at Robert's Arm.³³

Bowater-Lloyd had the men right where they wanted them. On 1 November following a meeting between Major Anderton of the Newfoundland Rangers and delegates of the NLA from the settlements where the strike occurred, the press reported that the men requested that Bowater-Lloyd resume the wood cutting operations. The men were willing to accept \$2 per cord and asked that the Commission investigate conditions so that the company would bring them up to a par with conditions in the AND Co's operations. The starving men also requested that the company's food stores and the drum barker not be taken away.³⁴ Anderton reported, "[I] have fully explained to them [the men] the seriousness of [the] strike and recent actions of strikers. They absolutely guarantee no reoccurrence and ask Bowater-Lloyd be asked to continue operations on exact basis as outlined by Mr. Lewin on Argyle after consideration of AND Company standards."³⁵ With the men broken,

³³Ibid.

³⁴Evening Telegram, 2 November 1937. The request followed a meeting between Major Anderton of the Newfoundland Rangers and delegates from the NLA from the settlements where the trouble arose.

³⁵Ibid.

beaten, and begging, the company responded smugly:

Bowaters appreciate the attitude the men have taken and are only too glad to continue operations. They ask that in future if the men have any grievances they will bring them to their attention so that they may adjust them. Bowaters will continue to cut at two dollars per cord. Mr. Lewin is satisfied that Hewlett will rectify any matters which may not be up to the AND Company standards.³⁶

II

By the time of the Tommy's Arm dispute in October 1937 the NIA had started to fragment. There were a number of reasons for the internal dissension within the union; many of which had been obstacles to the formation of the union in the first place. First, the nature of the industry with its isolated camps spread across an immense amount of territory meant that no single union, no matter how well run, could effectively represent all Newfoundland loggers. Unlike factories where workers toil in relatively defined, unchanging spaces which a union can closely regulate, working locations and conditions in the Newfoundland woods changed constantly as the cut moved from one timber stand to another, and as the seasonal round changed from the cut to the haul-off to the drive. Conditions were rarely uniform from one camp to the next,

³⁶Telegram from R.B. Ewbank, Commissioner of Natural Resources to Major Anderton, 2 November 1937. Cited in Evening Telegram, 2 November 1937.

from one week to the next. Differences in conditions created dissension.

The division of the industry between two companies, one centred in Grand Falls, the other in Corner Brook, compounded local differences. Conditions and rates of pay were never the same across both operations.³⁷ A union policy for loggers who worked for one company was not necessarily popular or successful for loggers who worked for the other company. Almost inevitably, therefore, areas such as Corner Brook and Deer Lake with large numbers of members in the union, strong leadership, and a history of militancy and sacrifice would feel that the NLA's Committee of Management based in Point Leamington, in central Newfoundland, within the limits of a different operation, was not meeting their local needs.

Leadership was also a factor in the splits in the NLA. Thompson was a self-taught man with limited experience as a leader of an organized trade union. He was also a strong personality, disciplined, and convinced of the rightness of his cause.³⁸ The combination of these traits appears to have produced a union leader who disliked parliamentary procedures and rules of order, who preferred to concentrate power in the union in himself and

³⁷See chapter 1 of this thesis for differences in the way the two companies organized their operations.

³⁸See chapter 2 of this thesis for a description of Thompson.

the Committee of Management, and resisted input from the rank and file of loggers. Thompson's dictatorial style of leadership angered men such as Pierce Fudge in Corner Brook and Charles Tulk in Deer Lake who were also strong personalities and powerful men in their local councils. As long as Thompson completely refused to disperse power in the union, men such as Fudge and Tulk, who wanted greater voices for themselves and their councils in the union, would agitate to have Thompson removed as president or for their councils to withdraw from the union.

Tensions between Pierce Fudge,³⁹ the leader of the Corner Brook local council, and Thompson were apparent at the NLA's first annual convention at Point Leamington in August 1937. Charles Tulk, a delegate from Deer Lake, noted that "things at that time were not very pleasant between Mr. Thompson and Mr. Fudge I tried to bring the matter to a head [at Point Leamington]"⁴⁰ Fudge and the Corner Brook loggers were unhappy with Thompson's confrontational approach during the negotiations on the

³⁹Pierce Fudge (1899-1967), like Charles Tulk, was not a logger. He owned a general store in Corner Brook which perhaps also explains why he was never interested in forming a union specifically for loggers. See Joseph R. Smallwood ed., Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, Volume Two (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers, 1984), p.429.

⁴⁰Evening Telegram, 30 September 1938.

west coast in May 1937.⁴¹ According to Thompson, Fudge also wanted the NLA to establish a district council in Corner Brook with more power over the affairs of west coast loggers than the existing local council held.⁴² Thompson was unimpressed. He felt that Fudge was trying to gain more power in the union. Thompson later wrote (in the third-person), "Joe was working for the loggers of Newfoundland in general and did not have in mind any particular position for any individual, at least for the present time."⁴³

Thompson was certainly thinking about his own position in the union at the convention in Point Leamington. At the start of the meeting, the convention appointed a committee of seven members and a secretary to revise the NLA's constitution and by-laws to provide more detailed rules and procedures for the conduct of union business, meetings and conventions. The committee worked in a private room and when finished, passed the amendments and additions to the chair who presented them to the

⁴¹Newfoundland Lumberman, December 1947. Thompson wrote a serialized history of the NLA in the union's newspaper.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Thompson, History, pp.14-15. Thompson wrote his entire history of the association in the third-person.

delegates.⁴⁴ According to Tulk, a member of the committee, "these same amendments and additions were dealt with 'piece meal' and accepted in a 'legal' way with the exception of one item."⁴⁵ After the convention Thompson reputedly altered the minutes to secure his future as leader of the union.⁴⁶ When the union printed the revised constitution, article 6, "Appointment, Powers, and Removal of Committee of Management" read,

.... In the event of the founder of the Association, Joseph John Thompson, retiring from office of President of his own accord or being succeeded in that office by another duly elected President, the said Joseph John Thompson shall by virtue of his position as founder of the Association, become the Honorary President of, and advisor to, the Association and shall, as long as he remains a member in good standing, receive annually in consideration of past as well as future services, one-half of the amount he received as President during the year immediately preceding his retirement The Honorary President shall by virtue of his position as such be a member of the Committee of Management during the period that he remains Honorary President of the Association.⁴⁷

⁴⁴Evening Telegram, 30 September 1938. Charles Tulk, leader of the Deer Lake Council wrote the account of the convention, the only account that exists.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Constitution and By-Laws of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association, article 6, section 2. Located in the Rolf Hattenhauer collection, Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives, Memorial University.

Many members of the NLA were shocked. Tulk argued that Thompson had instituted the changes in the constitution immediately after the convention had made a rule that the president would not make rules or break them.⁴⁸

Relations between Fudge and Thompson deteriorated even further following the convention. After Thompson frustrated Fudge's desire for more influence for the Corner Brook local council in the union, the west coast leader appears to have returned home to build up his power base. In October 1937 Thompson made a trip to Baie Verte, White Bay, to establish a local council. On Thompson's journey back from Baie Verte, after a successful meeting, he became storm-bound in Shoe Cove. Thompson called at the post office in Shoe Cove where he found a wire from Fudge. The Corner Brook council, the telegram stated, demanded that Thompson present himself at a meeting on the west coast the following evening "or drastic steps will follow."⁴⁹

Thompson never attended the meeting. The following day he learned from the captain of the boat which had finally managed to land to take him back to Point Leamington about the strike at Tommy's Arm and Robert's Arm. Instead of going to Corner Brook Thompson went directly to

⁴⁸Evening Telegram, 30 September 1938.

⁴⁹Newfoundland Lumberman, 27 July 1939. Also Thompson, History, p.13.

Robert's Arm. As noted earlier, the contractor at Robert's Arm refused to negotiate with the loggers so Thompson went to Point Leamington where he arranged for Fudge to accompany him to St. John's for a meeting with company and government officials about the strike.⁵⁰ During the subsequent negotiations Thompson and Fudge must have declared a truce in their dispute because Thompson wrote, "Mr. Fudge gave me some valuable help there [at Robert's Arm] for which I was deeply grateful."⁵¹ Following the strike, however, the Corner Brook council's leadership resumed the feud with the NLA's Committee of Management and refused to send the council's per capita tax to the head office.⁵²

In response to the Corner Brook council's action, Thompson decided to go with the Committee of Management to the west coast and expel the local leadership from the union.⁵³ Not willing to leave without a fight, Fudge refused to let the Committee of Management hold a meeting in the local council's office. Fudge informed Thompson that if he tried to use the office the local unionists would "push the building over the hill."⁵⁴ Apparently

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Rolf Hattenhauer, The History of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland, (unpublished manuscript, Memorial University, 1983), p.481.

⁵³Thompson, History, p.15.

⁵⁴Ibid.

Fudge had a great deal of support in Corner Brook because Thompson took the threat seriously and held the meeting in a room of the Humber House Hotel. At the meeting the NLA's Committee of Management expelled Fudge and the secretary of the council from the union and appointed another local unionist, Raymond Dalley, to look after the NLA's affairs in Corner Brook.⁵⁵

No longer a member of the NLA, Fudge formed a new union in Corner Brook made up of the nearly 1500 men who followed him out of Thompson's union.⁵⁶ In March 1938, Fudge registered the Newfoundland Labourers Union (NLU) under the Trade Union Act. From the start, as the name suggested, he intended the NLU to be more than a loggers' union. Fudge designed the NLU to represent all labourers in the Corner Brook area.⁵⁷ The union leader may have reasoned that Corner Brook did not contain enough loggers to form a powerful loggers' union such as the NLA. Fudge also recognized that most Newfoundland loggers engaged in other occupations as well as logging to make ends meet:

... our union is a labour union
consisting of many ... trades includ-
ing of course lumbering which relieves

⁵⁵ Ibid. Also Newfoundland Lumberman, February 1948.

⁵⁶ T.K. Liddell, Industrial Survey of Newfoundland (St. John's: Robinson and Company Limited, 1940), p.47. Some loggers in the Corner Brook area remained in the NLA.

⁵⁷ Evening Telegram, 6 April 1939. Fudge wrote a report on the Newfoundland Labourers Union's first year of operation and sent it to the newspapers.

the logger of any other initiation fee or dues in the event of slack seasons in the lumbering industry when he must find it necessary to engage himself at some other trade other than the lumbering industry. He is entitled to work at any of the trades which are affiliated with the Labourers Union by means of a transfer card and without any extra cost.⁵⁸

Despite the imaginative membership system, akin to an industrial union, the NLU was not a radical union. Fudge, like Thompson, believed that labour and capital in Newfoundland should co-operate for mutual benefit:

Our union exists for the purpose of collective bargaining with employers, and by such peaceful and reasonable procedure obtaining adjustment of disputes as they arise and obtaining fair and reasonable wages for workers as well as proper working conditions We ask for co-operation, and we believe it is in the interests equally of employer and employee that this co-operation be given wholeheartedly and with a view to fairness.⁵⁹

Trouble between the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association and the Newfoundland Labourer's Union broke out almost immediately after Fudge formed the rival union. On 27 June 1938, the Evening Telegram reported a dispute at Cox's Cove where the Island Timber Company had an agreement with NLA covering the cutting and loading of pulpwood for export.⁶⁰ Under the agreement, the Island Timber

⁵⁸Evening Telegram, 13 April 1939.

⁵⁹Evening Telegram, 6 April 1939.

⁶⁰Evening Telegram, 27 June 1938.

Company recognized the NLA as the sole bargaining agent for the company's employees.⁶¹ Problems on the job site started at the beginning of June when Edgar Baird, manager of the company, "had some trouble with the men," and dismissed seven of them. These men joined the Newfoundland Labourer's Union and with others in the union prevented the men on the job who were members of the NLA from working.⁶² Fudge argued that the Island Timber Company should never have signed a contract with the NLA because at the time of the agreement nearly 70 per cent of the men working at Cox's Cove belonged to the NLU and since then that number had risen to close to 90 per cent. "Surely," Fudge wrote, "it is a matter for the employees themselves to say what union they wish to represent them in negotiating with the company."⁶³ Fudge's position was that the NLU had agreements with the Newfoundland Railway and with the Clark Steamship Company which specified that the pay for men handling coal on ships was 40 cents an hour. The Island Timber Company paid its workers 30 cents an hour to load pulpwood. The NLU demanded that the

⁶¹Labour Agreement By And Between The Island Timber Company Limited, Bay of Islands Branch, And The Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association, Section 2. Deputy Minister's Office Records, Public Archives of New Brunswick, RS 106 - Box 23. I would like to thank Bill Parenteau for pointing out this document to me.

⁶²Evening Telegram, 27 June 1938.

⁶³Evening Telegram, 6 July 1938.

company reinstate the seven dismissed men and pay the men loading the pulpwood 40 cents an hour.⁶⁴ Edgar Baird stuck to his position that the company only recognized the NLA agreement.

On 28 June in an attempt to solve the dispute, Baird wrote to Fudge and Thompson to ask them to a conference in St. John's between himself, the directors of the company, representatives of the Justice Department, and delegates from the two unions. Fudge and Thompson agreed to attend the meeting and the NLU decided to allow the men to go back to work until 11 July.⁶⁵ After Fudge arrived in St. John's he claimed he never heard anything more about the meeting. Instead, a few days later, Baird contacted Fudge and informed him of a meeting that had taken place between the directors of the Island Timber Company, Thompson, another delegate from the NLA, and the NLA's solicitor. Following the call from Baird, Fudge learned that the NLA had obtained a court injunction against Fudge and the NLU to prevent the rival union from interfering with the agreement at Cox's Cove. Disgusted, Fudge wrote, "I can only say that this action could only be calculated to create further trouble."⁶⁶

The NLA appear to have won the battle at Cox's Cove

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid.

but it lost the war in Corner Brook. After Thompson obtained the court injunction against Fudge and the NLU, the NLA president went with the union's lawyer to Corner Brook to hold a public meeting of loggers. Thompson later wrote, "the hall was crowded and Joe gave a detailed report as to what had happened [at Cox's Cove] and why the union had taken the stand that had been taken."⁶⁷ Thompson tried to regain the support of the Corner Brook loggers and warned them,

... to beware of being deceived by those who would discredit this Association. I know the Association has proven itself, to be entirely worthy of the support and loyalty of every lumberman in this country, and I, therefore, ask for a continuation of that support and loyalty, because I am firmly convinced that the Association will continue to grow and become more firmly established in the country.⁶⁸

The appeal failed and Thompson held no more union meetings in Corner Brook. After the meeting, the NLA withdrew totally from Corner Brook. Thompson recounted, "I submitted to that [Fudge], well that was the only way, there was no good to go fight because he, he was like the devil ... you couldn't talk to him I used to go to

⁶⁷Thompson, History, p.15.

⁶⁸Rolf Hattenhauer, The History, p.482. The copy of the Newfoundland Lumberman which Hattenhauer cites is now missing.

Corner Brook and I was afraid to go outside the door."⁶⁹ No doubt Fudge had equally unflattering things to say about Thompson.

The Newfoundland Labourers' Union appears to have been relatively strong in Corner Brook in the late 1930s. By 1939, Fudge had won the battle for control of the area's loggers and Thompson and the NLA had withdrawn from Corner Brook. In April 1939, Fudge was able to report that the NLU's membership had grown to approximately 2000 members "who represent various trades and classes of workers."⁷⁰ During the year, the union had signed agreements with the Newfoundland Railway, Harvey and Company, Canada Packers, and the Clark Trading and Steamship Company which raised the hourly rate for men discharging goods from 25 cents to 40 cents an hour. The union had made limited progress for the town's carpenters. As for loggers, conditions appear to have remained the same. Fudge wrote, "it grieves me to state that some of the old abuses still exist and loggers have yet much progress to make before they receive that treatment to which they think they are fully entitled."⁷¹

⁶⁹Joseph Thompson, interview, 1967. Rolf Hattenhauer interviewed Thompson at Point Leamington. The interview is located in the Memorial University Folklore Archives, tape 84-224 C7231 and C7232.

⁷⁰Evening Telegram, 6 April 1939.

⁷¹Ibid.

Another split developed in the NLA at the union's second annual convention in Badger in June 1938. The delegates from the Deer Lake local council, one of the union's largest and most prosperous councils, stormed out of the meeting and later formed another rival loggers' union, the Worker's Central Protective Union (WCPU). Problems between the NLA leadership and the Deer Lake loggers started, as they had with the Corner Brook loggers, with the bitter May 1937 strike. The loggers felt that the strike had been unnecessary.⁷² As a result, the Deer Lake loggers, led by Charles Tulk, wanted more power to direct the course of their union and to get rid of Thompson as leader. Thompson, however, maintained his attitude that all power within the union should rest with the Committee of Management in Point Leamington. According to a former Deer lake council member, at the 1938 convention Thompson announced that the union's vice-president was to be a man from the west coast. Tulk, an ordinary delegate, reputedly demanded, "and what authority does he have?" Thompson retorted: "He has no more authority than you!"⁷³ This attitude along with the President's questionable tactics at the convention to keep the Deer Lake delegates under control ultimately led to

⁷²Evening Telegram, 30 September 1938.

⁷³Rolf Hattenhauer, The History, p.483.

Deer Lake's withdrawal from the NLA.⁷⁴

Thompson, for his part, saw Charles Tulk as the cause of the problem in Deer Lake. Thompson could not understand why the Deer Lake council had allowed Tulk into the union. He was not a logger. He was a former IPP contractor who had gone into the loggers' supply business in Deer Lake.⁷⁵ Like many people in Deer Lake, Tulk disliked A.W. Bently, the woods manager who was known among the loggers as a "slave driver."⁷⁶ According to Thompson, Tulk approached the NLA president to use the union's influence to have Bently removed from his job. Thompson responded:

As I had no personal grievance with

⁷⁴The Deer Lake loggers were also likely influenced in their decision to form a rival union in Deer Lake by Corner Brook's successful withdrawal from the NLA the previous year.

⁷⁵Newfoundland Lumberman, February 1948. In Thompson's own words, "the man [Tulk] was not a logger, but a merchant who would like to use the loggers to do his dirty work."

⁷⁶PANL GN 52/5/1/F7. "Memorandum Submitted By Commissioner For Natural Resources For Consideration of Commission of Government," p.2. The document is a copy of Ranger Anderton's report on the May 1937 loggers' strike in Deer Lake and Corner Brook. When Anderton interviewed the men in Deer Lake about the strike he found that,

... Mr. Bently is blamed for the present situation, they stating he is a slave driver in the woods, and denies them just treatment in reference to their accounts when any payments are made, also for making certain statements belittling the men's education and attitude in the present strike and that they had not sufficient grit to carry their demands through to a finish.

the woods manager, such as this man had, and certainly none from a union stand point, which would justify my using the union for such a purpose as this man wanted, I could not agree with him to use the union to help out his selfish purpose.⁷⁷

When Tulk later became vocal in his opposition to Thompson's leadership, Thompson merely thought that Tulk was bitter about not being able to get the president "to steer the union ship just where he thought she should go. He then sought means to wreck her."⁷⁸

Tulk led the Deer lake council's attack on Thompson's leadership at a meeting of loggers in March 1938, soon after the Corner Brook council had left the NLA. Tulk later wrote:

[I] ... talked to him some three hours in the Orange Hall with a full house, and at this meeting showed the lumbermen, in his presence, his methods in handling their business, were anything but honorable. I told the lumbermen he altered the minutes of council after the convention at Point Leamington and made appear in the constitution that the President (himself) was to be an "All-time President," despite the fact the minutes stated "that the President like other officers stood for one year only."⁷⁹

Tulk concluded his attack on Thompson with an appeal to

⁷⁷Newfoundland Lumberman, February 1948.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Letter of Charles Tulk to Ken Brown [?] 22 April, 1939. Located in the Rolf Hattenhauer Collection, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University.

the men to remain loyal to their union and called upon the president to resign at the annual convention at Badger. Thompson replied, "friends, I am not going to take Mr. Tulk's advice, I am not, not as long as I can better the bucksaw. So help me God, Tulk was disloyal."⁸⁰

The bitterness between Tulk and Thompson continued unabated from the start of the convention in Badger. According to the NLA constitution each local council was allowed to send a specified number of voting delegates to the union's general convention based on the size of the membership of the local council.⁸¹ The Deer Lake council sent six men to the convention in Badger. During the opening session Thompson declared that according to the union's constitution none of the Deer Lake delegates were entitled to vote because they were not officers of their council.⁸² Although this was contrary to the wording of the constitution, Tulk reported that he accepted Thompson's decision as long as all the other delegates at the convention who were not officers of their councils were also denied their voting privileges.⁸³ Tulk's move stopped Thompson in his tracks. He decided to retract his

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Constitution and By-Laws of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association, article 8, section 1.

⁸²Evening Telegram, 30 September 1938.

⁸³Letter of Charles Tulk to Ken Brown, 22 April 1939. Also Evening Telegram, 30 September 1938.

earlier decision and gave Deer Lake a single vote but maintained that the other five delegates from Deer Lake were not allowed to speak at the meeting other than to ask a question. Thompson then gave five other men, who Tulk claimed were "under Thompson's pay," the right to vote and speak freely. Whether Thompson was paying the men is unclear; Thompson, however, was able to elect his slate of officers at the convention.⁸⁴

The battle continued the following day. As there was nothing in the constitution which prohibited a member of the union from voicing his opinion, the Deer Lake delegates protested Thompson's ruling which prevented them from speaking except to ask a question.⁸⁵ Thompson stuck to his ruling. Tulk became angry and engaged in a shouting match with the union's lawyer, Richard Squires Jr. Finally, the Committee of Management decided to allow the five non-voting delegates from Deer Lake the right to voice their opinions as well as to ask questions.⁸⁶ Walter Nomore, one of the Deer Lake delegates, then asked a question:

Mr. President, I would like to ask why it is that you have taken five men into this meeting who are not officers of their respective councils, giving them a vote and the freedom of speech

⁸⁴Letter of Charles Tulk to Ken Brown, 22 April 1939.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Evening Telegram, 30 September 1938.

and we are not allowed to speak.⁸⁷

Thompson replied that Nomore was out of order. The president referred the convention to section 21 of the rules on debates which stated that "no member shall speak more than once on the same question without the consent of the chair." Tulk maintained Nomore had not previously said a word at the convention.⁸⁸ The Deer Lake delegates apparently lost the argument.

Later in the meeting Tulk continued his attack on Thompson. He demanded to know why an important part of the minutes of the 1937 convention at Point Leamington was missing.⁸⁹ Tulk no doubt wanted an explanation for the changes made in the NLA's constitution which were not voted on at Point Leamington. After claiming the minutes were complete, Thompson promised to bring the missing minutes to the convention the following morning. According to Tulk, "we all expected to hear the minutes in full, but what we were told by this man [Thompson] . . . , '[I] searched all through the papers and could not find them, they must be in St. John's'."⁹⁰ At this point, Tulk claimed "our intelligence was so insulted" that the Deer Lake delegates decided to leave the meeting. Thompson

⁸⁷Letter of Charles Tulk to Ken Brown, 22 April 1939.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid.

claimed that as Tulk left the meeting he vowed to take the west coast with him.⁹¹

After the convention, the Deer Lake council held a meeting at which Tulk and the five other delegates related their story of the convention to the local unionists. The men then decided to dissolve the NLA council. Before the council voted on the dissolution, all of the \$800 the council possessed was voted out for different purposes. At a subsequent meeting the Deer Lake loggers formed a new union, the Workers Central Protective Union.⁹² Charles Tulk was elected leader and he quickly wrote to the papers,

I wish to make it clear that the business [of the union] is strictly done by its executive and not by the President, in other words it is not a one man outfit.⁹³

Although considerably smaller -- the union claimed 500 members -- the WCPU was similar in structure to the NLU.⁹⁴ Like the NLU, the WCPU proposed to represent more than loggers:

... every male person who has arrived at the age in life when in the opinion of the Executive Council he has

⁹¹Ibid.; Evening Telegram, 30 September 1938; Newfoundland Lumberman, February 1948.

⁹²Newfoundland Lumberman, February 1948; Evening Telegram, 30 September 1938.

⁹³Evening Telegram, 30 September 1938.

⁹⁴T.K. Liddell, Survey, p.47.

assumed the responsibilities of manhood and who is engaged in manual labour of any kind, shall be eligible to become a member of this union.⁹⁵

The WCPU had objectives similar to those of both the NLU and the NLA:

... [to] obtain a better understanding between the employer and the employee and bring about unity, honesty, and fair dealings between capital and labour, and to utilize the organized strength of all for the welfare of each; to advance materially its workers by promoting such improvements in the mode of remuneration of labour as the state of trade shall warrant and generally to improve the position of working men morally, materially, socially and physically;

to endeavour to classify every phase of work and to regulate the scale of rates in a fair and just manner;

to regulate the hours of employment and strive to obtain better legislation whereby the interests of the workmen may be better conserved;

to establish Local Branches and/or Councils and/or Working Committees throughout the Island of Newfoundland;

to secure compensation for injuries received while at work where the employers may be liable;

to provide, if feasible, a sick and burying allowance for workers.⁹⁶

Tulk and the other unionists in Deer Lake were obviously shaken by the dispute with Thompson and the NLA's Commit-

⁹⁵Rolf Hattenhauer, The History, pp.483-484. The document Hattenhauer cites has gone missing.

⁹⁶Ibid.

tee of Management because the WCPU's constitution demanded that members,

... treat each other with respect, and discussions at meetings shall be conducted in a spirit of moderation and generosity so that concord and good fellowship may be cherished and preserved as prominent features of the union.⁹⁷

In March 1938 the Newfoundland Lumberman's Association, despite the departure of the Corner Brook council, signed the first collective agreement with the pulp and paper companies which covered the island's entire woods industry. Early in 1938, when the first agreement between the NLA and IPP was due to expire, officials in Corner Brook offered to come to Grand Falls to negotiate a new agreement with the AND Co. and the NLA.⁹⁸ IPP was aware no doubt of the internal problems in the NLA and sought a single uniform agreement to cover all their operations. Such a contract with one union would have made for a more stable workforce. Thompson and the AND Co's management agreed and after three days of meetings in Grand Falls, the NLA Committee of Management signed an agreement with AND and IPP. The press reported that an official of the Bowater-Lloyd Company was also present during the discussions and that the terms of the agreement were also to apply in Bowater-Lloyd operations. The agreement covered

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Thompson, History, p.16.

the cutting operations for the 1938-39 season and the 1938 and 1939 driving seasons.⁹⁹

The contract was not a strong one for Newfoundland loggers. Although the NLA gained recognition from the companies "as the agency representing woods employees for the purpose of collective bargaining" and free tools for loggers, wage rates were significantly lower than the 1937 rates and the union lost the right to strike, which had always been its most effective weapon, except after lengthy grievance and conciliation procedures.¹⁰⁰ Under the agreement which the NLA had signed with IPP in 1937, cutting rates were a minimum of \$2 per cord; general labour rates were \$2.60 to \$2.85 per day; cooks earned \$88 per month; and the driving rate was 30 cents per hours.¹⁰¹ In the new agreement the minimum price per cord dropped to \$1.75; the general labour rate decreased to \$2 per day (\$2.85 for teamsters); and cooks earned \$70 per month. The cost for board (\$18 per month) and the rate for drivers remained the same.¹⁰²

⁹⁹Evening Telegram, 26 March 1938. See Appendix A for a copy of agreement.

¹⁰⁰Labour Agreement by and between Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. Ltd. and the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association, sections 5, 6 and 7. Agreement is located in Rolf Hattenhauer Collection, Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archive, Memorial University.

¹⁰¹"Memorandum Submitted By Commissioner For Natural Resources For Consideration of Commission of Government." See footnote 76.

¹⁰²Labour Agreement, section 4.

Under sections 6 and 7 of the contract legal strikes of loggers were made practically impossible. According to section 6 any complaints from men in the camps had to pass through the hands of a long line of union and company officials:

Complaints by men in camps will be made to the camp Foreman or Contractor. If not settled the matter should be referred to the District Superintendent. If not adjusted by him the local union representative should take the matter to the Company's Woods Manager and if not settled the matter should then be discussed by the President of the Union and the Company. In case of failure to agree on a satisfactory settlement of any difference whether brought up by the union or the Company both parties agree to settle the matter by arbitration for which three men will be appointed, one by the union, one by the company and the third member by mutual consent. Their decision will be binding on both the union and the Company.¹⁰³

The loggers were not allowed to stop work while the arbitration process took place. The only man who could legally call a strike, after the arbitration procedure was completed, was the president of the union Joseph Thompson, who had stated that he was against strikes on principle.¹⁰⁴

Section 7 dealt explicitly with interruptions of work

¹⁰³Ibid., section 6.

¹⁰⁴See chapter 2 of this thesis for Thompson's view on the relationship between capital and labour.

and emphasized section 6. The section began, "There shall be no strikes or other similar interruptions during the period of this agreement." All differences between management and workers had to be solved through the "regular procedure" outlined in section 6 and interruptions of work were not allowed without the approval of the president of the union. The agreement prohibited interruptions of work due to jurisdictional disputes between the NLA and other unions. Finally, the union agreed that all company rules in force before the agreement and not dealt with within the contract would remain in force during the life of the agreement.¹⁰⁵

As would be expected, the rival NLU was hostile to the agreement. Men from the union sent telegrams to IPP to protest the company's action.¹⁰⁶ The unionists disliked the wage rates and the clause which recognized the NLA as the sole bargaining agent for IPP's loggers. Within the NLA, men were also unhappy with the agreement. Charles Tulk, still a member of the NLA, wrote that he attacked Thompson at a meeting about the agreement:

... I told him [Thompson] he did not see the agreement or, much worse, did not even know what it contained until it was presented to him to sign, which he did, at a direct loss of many thousands of dollars to lumbermen and fishermen alike. Here, I wish to

¹⁰⁵ Labour Agreement, section 7.

¹⁰⁶ Thompson, History, p. 16.

point out, the Company was not so much to blame, as Thompson had no agreement when he met them, as I probably saw and read all he had to put before the Company, it contained less than half of one side of letter-size paper in space-type. If Thompson denies this, let him publish his draft agreement (-joke)¹⁰⁷

On 22 July 1939 the daily press reported that 400-500 members of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association were on strike at the Bowater-Lloyd operations at Indian Bay.¹⁰⁸ The problem arose the previous April when Bowaters, now owners of IPP's Corner Brook operations, had negotiated an agreement "under cover" with the Fishermen's Protective Union as well as a similar agreement with the Workers' Central Protective Union to cover the company's woods employees in Deer lake and Indian Bay.¹⁰⁹ Bowaters had inherited IPP's previous agreement with the NLA and had perhaps decided, when the agreement expired, to avoid signing a new agreement with the NLA or the Newfoundland Labourers Union because of the bitter jurisdictional dispute between the unions the previous year.¹¹⁰ Accord-

¹⁰⁷Letter of Charles Tulk to Ken Brown, 22 April 1939.

¹⁰⁸Evening Telegram, 22 July 1939.

¹⁰⁹Ibid. See Appendix B for copy of Bowater-FPU agreement. See also T.K. Liddell, Survey, pp.17-18 and Thompson, History, pp.18-19.

¹¹⁰T.K. Liddell, Survey, p.17. Liddell wrote that Bowaters refused to make agreements with the NLA and the NLU because the unions "had been unable to control their members." Bowaters did, however, later sign an agreement with the NLU at Corner Brook and an agreement with the NLA

ing to Bently, Bowaters woods manager, the company had signed the agreement with the FPU to cover the Indian Bay operation because the operation was 'coastal' and the Commission had requested that the company hire unemployed fishermen.¹¹¹

The deal between Bowaters and the FPU reportedly enraged the loggers at Indian Bay because the majority of the men were members of the NLA. Under the agreement between the company and the FPU to get a job at the operation meant that NLA members had to join the FPU. Thompson reported that "they [the men] resented the conscription ... and are determined that the camps will remain closed until the matter is adjusted."¹¹²

There was also likely a power struggle taking place between Thompson and K.M. Brown, president of the FPU, for control of the loggers at Indian Bay. Thompson, already stung by the departure of the west coast from his union, was no doubt worried about the resurgence of the FPU on

at Howley. The company appears to have come to the conclusion that the best method of maintaining labour peace among its woods employees was to sign an agreement with the dominant union in the sections of the country Bowaters had operations.

¹¹¹Newfoundland Lumberman, 27 July 1939; Fishermen's Advocate, 25 August 1939.

¹¹²Evening Telegram, 22 July 1939.

the northeast coast under Brown's leadership.¹¹³ The FPU had a long tradition of representing Newfoundland loggers who were also fishermen and Thompson no doubt saw the reorganized union as yet another challenge to the jurisdiction of the NLA. In 1938 Thompson had visited Indian Bay, a pulpwood export operation "the FPU was trying to get a hold on," established a local council, and signed up the majority of the men. This move caused friction between the FPU and the NLA and intensified the personal feud between Thompson and Brown.¹¹⁴ In the Newfoundland Lumberman, the newspaper of the NLA, Thompson savagely attacked Brown:

Mr. Brown is never shy in boasting himself, in lauding his own efforts. He loves the limelight and the good things of life. Luxurious living quarters at the NFLD. Hotel and the best travelling facilities are always for him. Apparently the fact that the

¹¹³Newfoundland Lumberman, 27 July 1939. T.K. Liddell, Survey, pp.35-36. Liddell describes the resurgence of the FPU after 1934 when K.M. Brown was invited to become the union's President. Kenneth McKenzie Brown (1887-1955) had a long career in the Newfoundland labour movement. After spending six years in British Columbia as an able-bodied seaman, second engineer, and later captain on various vessels he returned to Newfoundland and secured a job in the mill in Grand Falls. In 1921 Brown led a strike in the mill. He entered politics in 1923 and was elected as a Liberal in 1923, 1924, and 1928. In 1932 Brown joined Alderdice's United Newfoundland Party and served as Minister of Labour until the suspension of responsible government in 1934. Soon after he became president of the FPU. See Joseph R. Smallwood ed., Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador, Vol. 1 (St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Ltd., 1981), p.276.

¹¹⁴Thompson, History, p.17.

Vast Majority of loggers at Indian Bay are underpaid and undernourished does not worry the FPU president one little bit. He is getting the very best out of life himself. Just as long as he can succeed in bluffing the Bowater Company and the Commission of Government, present deplorable conditions will continue. But the NFLD Lumberman feels confident that the days of Brown Clover are over, and that the loggers themselves will assert their right to do their own bargaining through their own Union and will refuse to accept their coercion or dictation from the Boss of the FPU, who is about as successful as a labor leader as he was an agricultural "expert," for which service he received \$2700 a year from the taxpayers of the country during the four years he roamed the country from 1928 until he ratted in June, 1932.¹¹⁵

In the late 1930s Brown had started his own newspaper, the Fishermen's Worker-Tribune which apparently published articles equally critical of Thompson's leadership of the NLA.¹¹⁶ This feud could not have helped the cause of the Indian Bay loggers who were amongst the poorest on the island.

After Bently and Thompson failed to resolve the dispute at Indian Bay, Thompson shrewdly applied to the

¹¹⁵Newfoundland Lumberman, 27 July 1939.

¹¹⁶No issues of the Fishermen's Worker-Tribune have survived. In Liddell, Survey, p.19, the author of the report may be referring to Brown's newspaper when he noted: "The newspaper of one of the unions, in the issue announcing the settlement, [of the Indian Bay dispute] published an attack upon the President of the other union in terms so scurrilous that it would be out of place to reproduce it here."

Commission to establish a conciliation board, the first in the history of the woods industry, as specified in section 14 of the 1938 Logging Act:

In the event of any dispute between a body of loggers, not less than twenty-five in number, and the employer, it shall be lawful for either the loggers or the employer to apply to the Commissioner for the appointment of a Conciliation Board. In such case the Commissioner may if satisfied that the dispute is not likely to be settled by other methods at his discretion appoint a person to be the Chairman. The loggers concerned and the employer may each appoint a member. The Board so constituted shall (a) define the issues in dispute; (b) make a report upon such issues, which report shall be forwarded to the Commissioner and by him forthwith published.¹¹⁷

On 25 July, three days after the strike began, the secretary for Natural Resources informed the NLA Committee of Management and company officials that the Commission had established the conciliation board and asked the parties to forward the names of their representatives. The secretary also informed the men that Thomas K. Liddell, the chief conciliation officer of the British Ministry of Labour, in Newfoundland to conduct a study of trade unions and industrial relations, would act as advisor to the board.¹¹⁸ After discussing the establishment of the board, the leaders of the NLA advised the

¹¹⁷Logging Act 1938, section 14.

¹¹⁸Evening Telegram, 25 July 1939.

union's delegate in Hare Bay, near Indian Bay, to request the men to return to work for eight days pending the outcome of the conciliation board. The NLA's Committee of Management also requested that the company continue its operations.¹¹⁹

The NLA's application to the Commission made three claims against Bowaters. First, the majority of loggers at Indian Bay were members of the NLA. As the NLA had not signed the agreement between Bowaters and the FPU, the union's Committee of Management maintained that the contract was not binding on NLA members at Indian Bay. Second, the Association claimed that the company should recognize the NLA as a collective bargaining agent for loggers at Indian Bay. Finally, the union demanded that Bowaters uphold the NLA members' rights to negotiate an agreement for wages and working conditions through their own collective bargaining agent.¹²⁰

Justice W.J. Higgins chaired the conciliation board hearings which began on 31 July at the court house in St. John's.¹²¹ The NLA's lawyer, Richard Squires Jr., repre-

¹¹⁹Ibid.; Newfoundland Lumberman, 27 July 1939.

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹Fisherman's Advocate, 25 August 1939. The conciliation board's report was published in the Fisherman's Advocate. As a preliminary to the conciliation board the Commission sent Ranger Gill to Indian Bay to investigate the circumstances surrounding the strike. O.G. Johnson, manager of the operation and Chesley Strong, an NLA assistant delegate, accompanied Gill. The Ranger

sented the union while Charles E. Hunt, solicitor for Bowaters, represented the company. From the start the company recognized that the majority of loggers at Indian Bay were members of the NLA.¹²² Bowaters claimed that the company intended to hire fishermen for the operation, but after the AND Co. curtailed its operations a large number of loggers, who were members of the NLA, migrated to Indian Bay in search of employment. At the same time, company officials pleaded that their policy was only to deal with one loggers' union in each of the cutting operations. The company argued that,

the rivalry between ... two organizations would inevitably result in the putting forward of demands which would only lead to confusion and misunderstanding, as well as tending to make for a lack of the harmony which is necessary for a successful operation.¹²³

The union agreed that the ideal situation would be to have a single loggers' union for the island. The NLA then restated its case that the Association represented the majority of loggers at Indian Bay and the men felt that

reported that 493 men were in favour of the NLA, 20 were members of the FPU, 2 men were neutral in the dispute and 60 men had returned to their homes in Hare Bay when the strike was called. Gill's investigation indicated that these Hare Bay men were also in favour of the NLA. The FPU were not represented at the conciliation board until a few days after the sessions began.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Ibid.

"their grievances could be presented only by their own representative."¹²⁴

Justice Higgins concluded that Bowaters should honour the contract it formally entered into with the FPU. However, Higgins stated that Bowaters should recognize the NLA's claim for recognition to the extent "of entering into an arrangement with the Association respecting its members employed at Indian Bay in terms of the contract already entered into with the FPU."¹²⁵

On August 4 H.M.S. Lewin, manager of the company, with Ken Brown present at the session, submitted a proposal to the conciliation board based on Higgin's conclusions. According to the proposal, the company would hire any man who wanted to work at the Indian Bay operation, regardless of what union he belonged to, as long as the camps were not full. If any logger or group of loggers had a grievance, the problem would be dealt with under the terms of the Bowaters-FPU agreement. The men would have the right to have the representative of their own union take up their complaints with the company's management. Finally, when the Bowaters-FPU agreement expired at the end of the 1940 driving season, the company would be prepared "to consider the recognition of any particular union at Indian Bay in the light of conditions

¹²⁴Ibid. Newfoundland Lumberman, 27 July 1939.

¹²⁵Ibid.

as they may be at that time." Justice Higgins read the proposal to Brown and Thompson and the union leaders decided to accept the conditions and signed the document.¹²⁶

The social history of logging in Newfoundland during the last years of the 1930s is complex, different from the early years of the decade. The story shifts away from loggers' strikes and collective actions for better pay and working conditions and for recognition of their union, to the story of power struggles between rival unions which vied for control of loggers in various parts of the island. After the great Tommy's Arm strike of 1937, there were no loggers' strikes over wages or conditions for the remainder of the decade. The strikes in the woods were all jurisdictional disputes between the four loggers' unions on the island. Before 1935 there were no unions specifically for loggers. By 1939 a logger often had to join three or four unions as he moved from job to job across Newfoundland and crossed different unions' jurisdictional boundaries.¹²⁷

The nature of labour relations in the woods had changed dramatically from the early years of the decade.

¹²⁶Ibid.; Evening Telegram, 4 August 1939.

¹²⁷T.K. Liddell, Survey, p.47. Liddell noted, "... there is no system in existence for the recognition of the cards of one union by another union, and, indeed, under present conditions, the animosity between certain of the union leaders makes such a provision impracticable."

In the early 1930s when a group of loggers had a grievance they took it to the contractor or camp foreman. If the men did not get what they wanted, they were often so poor that they had to return to work; sometimes they went on strike; or, more often, they quit and returned home. By 1939, under agreements signed between the companies and the unions, loggers took their grievances to their union representative who took the problem up with the contractor. If the contractor could not 'adjust' the problem the union representative went to the woods manager. If the woods manager and the union representative could not settle the dispute the president of the union would discuss it with the president of the company. If discussions at that level failed, the matter would go to an arbitration board. Only after the arbitration process was completed could the president of the union call a strike. Obviously the companies could stall for a long time on a demand from their workers before they faced an interruption of production.

Conclusion

Despite the problems of labour fighting labour in the late 1930s which weakened the loggers' power when bargaining with the companies, and lengthy grievance procedures which favoured the companies conditions did improve in the woods by the end of the decade. By 1940 cutters earned an average of \$2.20 per cord while general labourers in the woods earned 27½ cents an hour.¹ In 1934, in the depths of the depression, loggers had earned an average of \$1.34 to \$1.45 a cord and 22 cents an hour on the drive.² Without doubt, the men had greater protection under collective agreements signed between the unions and the companies. In the early 1930s the only responsibility a contractor had to a logger was to pay the man for the amount of wood he cut. Collective agreements signed in the last years of the decade included clauses for union recognition, and representation in the camps, overtime, free implements, competent cooks, and decent food.³ Finally, with the establishment of a conciliation procedure in 1939, the rival unions found a way of beginning to solve their damaging jurisdictional disputes.

Although conditions did improve in the last years of the 1930s one significant finding of this study must be

¹Evening Telegram, 18, 30 May 1940.

²Evening Telegram, 1 May 1933; 16 July 1934.

³See Appendices A and B for agreements.

that logging operations in Newfoundland during the Great Depression were essentially unregulated. Although the Commission passed some measures to strengthen the 1915 Logging Act, which had remained in effect without amendment until 1931, and more carefully control conditions in the camps, life and work in the Newfoundland woods remained poor throughout the decade and beyond. Newfoundland loggers worked long hours for low pay and lived in leaky bunkhouses. A Colonial Secretary's fear, expressed during the debate over the 1914 Loggers' Bill, of the legislation's "hardship on the employer," appears to have remained uppermost in legislators' minds.⁴ For, throughout the 1930s a legal minimum wage for loggers was in effect for only two years before it was repealed, and when it was in effect, it was not strenuously enforced.⁵

The attitude of the bureaucrats in the Department of Natural Resources, the branch of the Commission in charge

⁴Robert Hong, "The Fishermen's Protective Union and the Sealers' and Loggers' Bills," unpublished paper, Memorial University, 1985, p.19.

⁵Under Section 19 of the 1931 Act minimum rates of pay were established: 35 cents per hour for driving logs and the normal workday was limited to ten hours; 30 cents per hour or \$3 per cord - if employed cutting wood in a "clean-up chance;" overtime pay was fixed at one and one-half times the normal rate. By the 1933 amendment to the Logging Act, the operation of Section 19 was suspended until 1 May 1935. By another amendment in 1935 Section 19 was further suspended until 1 May 1936. The Commission suspended the minimum wage clause in 1937, and twice in 1938. Finally by the new Logging Act of 1938 Section 19 was suspended for the last time and then repealed.

of enforcing the Logging Act, appears to have been that as long as the men had jobs and were not in outright revolt against the companies there was no need for the government to cause the pulp and paper companies difficulties in the woods over working and living conditions in their camps and rates of pay. On 25 August 1939, for example, the AND Co.'s General Manager, V.S. Jones, wrote to the Commissioner of Natural Resources, J.H. Gorvin, about the company's longshoremen at Botwood. As the longshoremen's work was "not continuous," the union had asked the company for a contract to cut pulpwood near Botwood to supplement their earnings. Jones stated that the AND Co. was willing to accept the union's proposal but, in return, the company expected the camps to be exempt from the conditions of the Logging Act.⁶ The forest inspector who surveyed the proposed operations wrote,

By the present system more men will be given employment than if a standard camp were erected, but it must be seen that conditions cannot possibly be good. It will be useless to try and carry out most provisions of the Logging Act in this area if logging goes ahead as intended.⁷

A few days later the Commissioner sent his opinion of the

⁶PANL GN 31/3A/C2/20/1, p.1. Letter from V.S. Jones, General Manager AND Co. to Hon. J.H. Gorvin, Commissioner for Natural Resources, 25 August 1939.

⁷PANL GN 31/3A/C2/20/1, p.8. Department of Natural Resources Inter-Departmental Memorandum 16 October 1939, by R. Forward, forest officer Lewisporte.

situation to his forestry officer:

The AND Co. have killed two birds with one stone -- pacified a union and got some wood cut at a low price which probably would never have been cut otherwise. Operations will be contrary to almost every clause [of] the Logging Act, but we cannot do anything without stirring up a rather lively hornet's nest. Fortunately, the operation is isolated. Our best plan might be to tell them to go ahead, and tell our inspector to keep as far away from the job as possible.⁸

A month later, further, in November 1939, an inspector reported to the department that a camp near Middle Brook, Bonavista Bay, was "in a very dirty condition," that there was an inadequate number of windows in the bunkhouse, that there were no mattresses, and that "the building will have to be repapered and refloored."⁹ In the only response to the report, the Assistant Forestry Officer sent the contractor - "for your information" - a copy of the departmental regulations for small camps.¹⁰ Granted, the evidence is impressionistic, but in the Department of Natural Resources files I did not find a single warning issued to a contractor about the condition of his camp, or

⁸PANL GN/3A/C2/20/1, p.10. Department of Natural Resources Inter-Departmental Memorandum 24 October 1939, by J.R. Gorvin, Commissioner of Natural Resources.

⁹PANL GN 31/3A/C2/20/1. Report of Edward Sinnott, forest inspector, to Department of Natural Resources, 8 November 1939.

¹⁰PANL GN 31/3A/C2/20/1. Letter from Assistant Forestry Officer, 14 November 1939, to William Pritchett, Contractor for AND Co., Middle Brook, Gambo.

any threats to the company that the government might close a camp because it did not meet the standards set forth in the Logging Act.

The Loggers' Unions, too, despite drawing on a history of loggers acting collectively to redress a grievance with an employer and significant organizational gains from the mid-1930s, did not work effectively to raise the loggers' standard of living or improve their working conditions significantly in the 1930s. The 27½ cents an hour labourers earned in the woods in 1940 was still 7½ cents an hour below the original minimum wage specified in the 1931 Logging Act. Difficult economic conditions, a lack of state support, the nature of the workforce, a large group of fulltime and seasonal workers spread out in hundreds of camps and thus extremely difficult to organize, jurisdictional disputes between the four unions which claimed to represent the interests of loggers within their own areas of the island and which meant a logger often had to be a member of all four unions to gain continuous work, and, finally, coordinated action between two powerful corporations to keep the wages of loggers as low as possible, all meant continued meagre wages and poor working conditions in the camps. In 1961, the Royal Commission report on the woods industry in Newfoundland described a logging camp which, if anything, sounded worse than the camps Bradley described in 1934:

Dark and squalid hovels which would not be used for henhouses except by the most primitive farmer. Dirt is everywhere. Rats are common. Dilapidation is the rule. There is nothing to do in the evenings but sit around on the bunks talking. The light is from a limited number of common, flat-wick kerosene lamps. Men have been pressed down to a dead level of a flat rate and have grown resigned. If a man kicks there are just now only too many to take his job.¹¹

Even J.R. Smallwood, who set up the Royal Commission after the 1959 IWA strike, noted that "thousands of men in the woods are sweating with hate and frustration."¹² Smallwood's comment suggests the power of the companies which controlled the loggers' unions for twenty years and kept wages to a bare minimum. It also implies much about the apathy of successive governments and their failure to enforce legislation to protect loggers. Not until after the bitter IWA strike of 1959, which brought national and international attention to the struggles of Newfoundland's loggers, did life and work in the Newfoundland pulpwoods improve significantly.

¹¹Newfoundland, Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Logging Industry (St. John's: Guardian, 1961), p.48.

¹²Richard Gwyn, Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), p.220.

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Edison, Hughlet. Born 9 July 1914, Hughlet Edison built logging camps for the AND Co. near Bishop's Falls in the 1930s. Interview with the author, November 1987, Botwood.

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Appendix A

Labour Agreement by and between Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. Ltd. and the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association [1938]

Section 1: General Purpose of Agreement:

The general purpose of this Agreement is in the mutual interest of the employer and employee to provide for the operation of the Woods Department under methods which will further to the fullest extent possible the safety and welfare of the employee, economy of operations and protection of property. It is recognized by this Agreement to be the duty of the Company and the employee to co-operate fully, individually and collectively, for the advancement of such conditions.

Section 2: Recognition:

The Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. Ltd. recognizes the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association as the agency representing their Woods employees for the purpose of collective bargaining. The Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. Ltd. through its management will co-operate with the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association in every way the Management considers proper and lawful to assist in obtaining and retaining members, and will encourage their employees to join this Association.

Section 3: Terms of Agreement:

This Agreement shall be in effect from the start of 1938-39 cutting season by to and including the finish of 1939 Drive, but not including any 1939 cutting.

Section 4: Wages:

Sub-Contract Cutting:

Cutting rates to average \$2.00 per cord and no wood to be cut at a rate lower than \$1.75 per cord, chances to be priced equitable from \$1.75 to \$3.00 per cord. Roads will be cut without expense to the Sub-Contractor.

General Labour Rates:

\$2.00 per day. Teamsters \$2.85 per day.

Cooks:

\$70.00 per month and board.

Cookees:

\$50.00 to \$55.00 per month and board.

Driving Rates:

Driving rates and conditions to be same as 1938 Driving Agreement.

Section 5:General Conditions:Tools:

Free tools except when lost, or broken by negligence.

Board:

Board to be charged at the rate of \$18.00 per month of thirty days.

Medical:

Medical attention according to law.

Accident Compensation:

Accident Compensation in accordance with Workmen's Compensation Act.

Earnings Data:

All men to be furnished with satisfactory information regarding their earnings at end of each period.

Section 6:Adjustments of Complaints:

Complaints by men in camps will be made to the camp Foremen or Contractor. If not settled the matter should be referred to the District Superintendent. If not adjusted by him the local Union representative should take the matter to the Company's Woods Manager and if not settled the matter should be then discussed by the President of the Union and the Company. In case of failure to agree on a satisfactory settlement of any difference whether brought up by the Union or the Company both

parties agree to settle the matter by arbitration for which three men will be appointed, one by the Union, one by the Company and the third member by mutual consent. Their decision will be binding on both the Union and the Company. No stoppage of work will take place during the investigation or arbitration of the matter in dispute. No group of men shall stop work on their own decision or be called out by the local Union representative. This can only be done by the President according to the constitution of the Union. The Union representative is the only person authorized to discuss Union business in the camps.

Section 7:

Interruption of Work:

It is agreed that there shall be no strikes or other similar interruptions of work during the period of this Agreement. Should any differences arise over grievances there shall be no suspension or stoppage of work until every effort has been exhausted to adjust them through the regular procedures set up in this Agreement and in no case without the approval of the President of the Union.

Work shall not be interrupted because of any disputes or disagreements between persons, corporations, unions, or associations which are not signatory to this Agreement.

It is further understood and agreed that all rules, regulations and instructions of the Company, copy attached, which do not conflict with the provisions of this Agreement, or with Government laws, are affirmed and will continue in force and effect during the life of this Agreement or any extension thereof. The parties to this Agreement agree to abide by all the laws of the land insofar as they apply to this Agreement.

Section 8:

Union Delegates:

The Company is quite willing to recognize a Union delegate visiting their

camps to see that camp conditions are satisfactory and that the men are performing their work in a proper manner.

Section 9: , Foremen:

The Union guarantees that Officials, Foremen and Contractors who are members of the Union, while in the employ of the Companies, will take no active part for or against the Union.

Section 10: Should conditions in the Industry during the life of this Agreement warrant a general increase in wages, negotiations for adjustment of the rates set in this Agreement may be opened after thirty days' notice.

Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association

J.J. Thompson,

President.

G.R. Francis,

Secretary.

Date March 24, 1938..

Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. Ltd.

V.S. Jones,

General Manager

H.S. Crowe,

Woods Manager

Driving Agreement for Season 1938Between Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. Ltd.

1. Driving Season 1938.
2. Driving rate 30 cents per hour. Rough water boatmen while engaged in rough water work 33 cents per hour.
3. Drivers will receive free board when unable to work due to adverse winds or bad weather.
Basis: If a man works five hours or over during a day charge full day's board. If under five hours no charge for board.
4. Rates for ordinary labour \$2.60 per day.
5. Rates for teamsters \$2.85 per day.
6. Rates for Cooks and Cookees to be same as for 1937 Drive.
7. Board to be charged at rate \$18.00 per month of thirty days.
8. Free tools except where lost, broken by negligence.
9. Medical attention according to law and half time according to Workmen's Compensation Act.
10. All other terms and conditions similar to 1938-39 General Agreement.

Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association

J.J. Thompson,
President

G.R. Francis,
Secretary.Date: March 24, 1938.

Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. Ltd.

V.S. Jones,
General Manager.

H.S. Crowe,
Woodsmanager.

Source: Rolf Hattenhauer Collection, Centre For Newfoundland Studies Archives, Memorial University.

Appendix B

Text Agreement Between F.P.U., Bowaters re Woods Operations [1939]

This agreement made at Saint John's in the Island of Newfoundland this twenty-sixth day of April Anno Domini One thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine BETWEEN Bowater's Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Mills Limited hereinafter called "the Company" of the one part AND The Fishermen's Protective Union hereinafter called "the Union" of the other part WHEREAS the Company in the course of its operations will employ in connection with the work of its Woods Department men of the Union AND WHEREAS the Union has requested that the Company will observe and perform the conditions set forth in the memorandum hereto annexed marked "A" which said memorandum is to be construed as part and parcel of this agreement AND WHEREAS the Union has agreed to carry out on its part the several terms and conditions therein set forth NOW THEREFORE THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH as follows:--

1. The parties hereto undertake and agree to co-operate both individually and collectively for the advancement of the objects set forth in the said memorandum and for the carrying into effect of the provisions of same.
2. The parties hereto agree to conduct the operations connected with the Woods Department of the Company under the rules and regulations set forth in the memorandum to the mutual benefit of both parties hereto and with a view to providing for the safety and welfare of the employees and to insure economy of operation and honest and efficient services on the part of the employees and to provide for cleanliness of camps, boats, shops, buildings and the protection of all property.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties to these present have hereunto their hand subscribed on the day and year first above written.

For The Fishermen's Protective Union

K. M. BROWN,
President

For Bowater's Newfoundland Pulp & Paper Mills Limited
A. W. BENTLEY,
Woods Manager:

"A"

Memorandum annexed to the Agreement between Bowater's Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Mills Limited and the Fisher-

men's Protective Union.

RECOGNITION

Section 1. (a) The Company recognizes the Union as the agency for its members for the purposes of collective bargaining.

(b) The Company agrees in so far as possible to assist in obtaining and retaining members in the Union and the Company will, where and when possible give the preference of work to Union members. The Company agrees that it will not in any way prevent or hinder any employee from becoming a member of the Union.

(c) If and when employees of the Company are to be laid off or promoted, the Company agrees to take into consideration in each case the employee's ability, length of service, disposition and number of dependents.

Section 2. This agreement shall remain in full force and effect for a period of twelve calendar months from the date hereof and shall not be altered or amended except by the written consent of both parties. Should either party desire at any time to make any change or alteration in the terms of this agreement, then one month's notice in writing of such proposed change or alteration must be given to the other party and a meeting will take place at which the proposed change or alteration will be discussed. If no change or alteration is required, then this agreement will remain in full force and effect for a further period of twelve calendar months from the date of the termination hereof. It is agreed between the parties that at the termination of this agreement and pending any alteration hereof or renewal, upon the same or other conditions, there shall be no stoppage of work.

Section 3. A copy of the Company's scale of wages by the hour or contract, including regulations of hours, is attached hereto and forms part of this agreement and shall remain in full force and effect during the continuance of this agreement unless amended by mutual consent of both parties at a meeting convened for this specific purpose, as provided in Section 2 hereof.

GRIEVANCES

Section 4. Complaints by men in camps will be made first of all to the Company's foreman or contractor. If not settled, the complaint should be referred to the local superintendent. Any complaint made direct to the Union by an employee will be referred back to the foreman or superintendent. If the matter is not settled, the Union should then try to arrange a settlement with the local

superintendent. If not adjusted, the matter should be referred to the Woods Manager and settlement will be made with the Union. Complaints by the Company foreman or local superintendent about the Union members will be taken up direct with the Union officials. If not satisfactorily settled, the Woods Manager will arrive at a settlement with the Union. In the event of failure to agree on a satisfactory settlement of any difference, whether brought up by the Union or the Company, both parties agree to settle the matter generally by arbitration for which three men will be appointed -- one by the Union, one by the Company, and the third by mutual consent of both parties. The decision of the arbitrators will be binding upon both the Union and the Company.

STOPPAGE OF WORK

Section 5. It is agreed that there shall be no strikes or other similar interruption of work during the period of this agreement. Should any difference arise or other grievances there shall be no suspension or stoppage of work until every effort has been exhausted to adjust them through the procedure set up under Section 4. No group of men shall stop work on their own decision or be called out by the local Union representative. This can only be done by the President of the Union. The work shall not be interrupted because of any dispute or disagreements between persons, corporations, under control of the Fishermen's Protective Union unions/or associations, which are not signatories to this agreement.

DISCIPLINE OF EMPLOYEES

Section 6. The Superintendent or foreman as the case may be, shall have the authority to temporarily suspend any workman under his supervision, who commits a breach of the rules of the Company or the law of the land while on duty. The said superintendent or foreman shall keep a record of the case of such suspension and if same or any similar offence committed by the same employee leads to his dismissal then and in such event, a written report shall be made giving full details of the matter and one copy thereof forwarded to the Manager of the Company and a copy to the President of the Union.

Section 7. Every employee shall be held responsible for any part of the Company's property which is under his control. The said property shall be kept in good order and condition.

Section 8. Among the causes for immediate dismissal from the Company's employ are:

- (a) Being drunk while on duty.
- (b) Neglect of duty.
- (c) Smoking in places forbidden by the Company.
- (d) Dishonesty.
- (e) Refusal to comply with the Company's rules and regulations.
- (f) Deliberately sleeping on duty.
- (g) Destruction or removal of the Company's property.

Section 9. The Company agrees to grant the employees three legal holidays, on the following days: Labour Day, Christmas Day and Good Friday. Labour Day may be changed from year to year to suit occasion as mutually agreed by the management and the employees.

OVERTIME

Section 10. Ten working hours per day shall be recognized as a regular day's work and any time over ten hours in any one day shall be known as overtime. Payments shall be made for such overtime in accordance with the terms set forth in the schedule hereto annexed. This rule does not apply to cases where regular shift work is in vogue, i.e., three eight-hour shifts, or two ten-hour shifts, but in all cases it shall apply to Sundays, except where salaries are paid. It is agreed that Sunday shall start from twelve midnight on Saturday and shall end at twelve midnight on Sunday. Nothing herein contained shall prevent the Company from making an agreement with employees for special work at a fixed wage and such wage shall include any overtime that may be involved, but not at a lower figure than the agreed rates.

Section 11. Sunday work will be discontinued and employees shall not be allowed to cut, pile or haul wood after they have put in ten hours in any one day. This shall not apply to cases of emergency.

Section 12. Only experienced or licensed employees are to handle explosives and steps must be taken to see that all employees stay at a safe distance from the danger zone.

Section 13. Any employee discovering damaged or defective machinery must immediately report same to the foreman or superintendent and no employee will be permitted to use such damaged or defective machinery until the necessary repairs have been made.

Section 14. Employees working on any job must quit work to assist in fighting fires in the bush in accordance

with the provisions of the Forest Fires Act; and in cases where property is in danger they must be prepared to stand by until all danger is eliminated.

ACCIDENTS

Section 15. Should an employee suffer a minor injury first aid dressing must be applied at once. In the event of an accident of a more serious nature or serious illness, the employee must be conveyed to the hospital with the least possible delay.

Section 16. The Company agrees that only competent cooks be employed in any camps and in selecting a cook attention will be paid to the applicant's rank, length of service, ability, disposition and cleanliness. The Company agrees to supply its employees with wholesome and sufficient food. Among the articles of food to be supplied, the following will be included, whenever possible: fresh fish and fresh beef, veal or mutton, vegetables and green peas.

Section 17. Particular attention should be paid by members of the Union to the care and treatment of horses. The Company or contractor agrees to make the necessary arrangement to keep the roads in a good state of repair. Such repair shall be made free of cost to teamsters or persons using trucks or tractors.

Section 18. In all camps intended to be used for two years or more separate quarters with a stove is to be provided for teamsters. Horses' harness is to be kept in teamsters' quarters and not in the cook house or bunk house.

Section 19. Section 5 Clause 1 of the Logging Act provides as follows:-- "The Company shall supply free of cost to each logger employed by him upon his commencing work in each season, one axe including handle, and one buck-saw or any substitute therefore shall be returned to the Company upon the termination of employment. If such axe or buck-saw be lost or broken, the cost value thereof may be deducted from the wages of the logger, provided, however, that not more than one axe handle per fortnight in lieu of an axe handle broken shall be provided free of cost. Any further axes, handles or buck-saws required by the logger shall be supplied to him at actual cost value and shall be his own property."

Section 20. (a) Employees are not to handle wood at a distance of more than fifty feet from either side of any road and not more than fifteen feet on the lower side of

what is known as the side hill roads. Wood must be piled on the upper side of the road and all piles must be made suitable for scaling.

(b) A scaler may refuse to scale wood which is not cut according to instructions or piled according to rules and regulations of the Company.

Section 21. Cooks' helpers must light fires in time to have bunk houses and teamsters' shacks warm for the men getting up in the morning and also when returning to camp in the evening.

Section 22. The Company or its foreman may require wood to be cut along the bank of a river or lake at a greater distance than fifty feet from the bank, provided that such distance shall not exceed one hundred feet. In such a case the hauling price shall be added for wood cut at a greater distance than fifty feet.

Section 23. The Company agrees to pay a fair remuneration to all parties employed to haul wood with horses, motor trucks, tractors or other contrivances. Where culled wood is delivered it shall be included for payment with merchantable wood at regular hauling prices.

Section 24. All road cutting shall be done free of cost to the teamster or sub-contractor hauling wood and any obstruction that maybe left in or on the roads shall be removed without cost to those hauling wood.

Section 25. The Company agrees to permit the Union delegates or the President of the Union to visit camps or any part of any job under the jurisdiction of the Union to see that the conditions of this agreement are respected.

Section 26. The Union guarantees that Company officials, foremen and contractors who are members of the Union will take no active part either for or against the Union while they are employed by the Company. It is understood between the parties that the Company shall have the exclusive control of the employment of its foreman. The foreman will keep a record of all men in camps and the Union to which they belong.

Section 27. Notwithstanding anything herein before contained the parties agree that the prices to be paid for hauling wood shall depend on the conditions affecting the work at that particular time and place and priced on the job.

Section 28. In cases where men are required for work as engineers, preference will be given to those who have

had previous experience with machinery and who have a good service record. In all other classes of work this preference will also be given to men who have had previous experience and whose past record is good.

Section 29. The Company undertakes and agrees to draw up a set of rules and regulations governing cutting and to have same posted in the camps. No alterations or amendment to the rules and regulations shall be made except as provided in Section 2 hereof.

Section 30. In cases where employees have to walk from the camp to the scene of operations and such distance exceeds one mile, the employees shall be entitled to walk to and from the job in the Company's time. This paragraph shall not apply to men working on piece work.

Section 31. The Company agrees that when lining up new jobs all dividing lines shall be made prior to the opening of camps.

Section 32. The Company agrees to purchase a quantity of saw blades of good quality and arrange to have same filed and ready for use and supplied to each camp.

Section 33. Machinists, mechanics, blacksmiths, maintenance men who are being transferred temporarily from one job to another shall be paid all expenses including board while travelling, and an extra allowance.

Section 34. The Company agrees to supply the camp cook house with earthen mugs (pint size) for table use only (enamel mugs being used on the lunch ground), and will replace the spoons with stainless spoons. Where fifty or more men are lodged in one set of camps a second cookie shall be employed.

Section 35. It is understood and agreed that foremen shall eat their meals in the cook house with the men and not in their own quarters.

Section 36. The Company shall supply mattress, bedding, etc., in accordance with the provisions of The Logging Act.

Section 37. The Men shall return to camp for lunch unless the operations are being carried on at a greater distance than three-quarters of a mile from the camp, in which event lunch shall be prepared for them and carried to the lunch ground by the cookie. The cooks will be instructed to vary the menu as much as circumstances will permit. When it is found inconvenient to provide lunch in

this manner, summer cutting camps (canvas) should be erected near the scene of the operations.

Section 38. When men and horses have to lunch out during the winter months, a canvas camp will be erected as a shelter for the men and will be provided with a temporary stove. The men must provide wood themselves unless other arrangements are made.

Section 39. In the event of men being engaged by contract to do work other than wood cutting, the Company shall see that these men are treated fairly and that they are paid sufficient amount to enable them to earn an equivalent to a day's pay in ten hours, provided they give faithful services.

Section 40. The wood shall be priced by the foreman and scaler or walking boss. When the roads are blazed the price for each road shall be put on a tree which shall be chipped to indicate the starting point and an arrow will mark the direction which the road is to take.

Section 41. The Company will see that a sufficient quantity of wood is kept stored in the camps at all times and that there is a sufficient supply of water for drinking and washing purposes. It is agreed that men who are employed as caretakers cutting wood at the camps between seasons shall receive a small remuneration for their work.

Section 42. It is agreed that repair work shall not be done in the bunk houses when these are occupied. Firewood cut during the summer for use during the winter season will be protected from the weather.

Section 43. In camps where dogs are used for hauling wood or for any other purpose whatsoever, kennels are to be provided and when dogs are not working, it is imperative that they should be barred in.

WAGE RATES FOR THE 1939-40 SEASON

Cutting and Barking pulpwood with men cutting their own roads, \$3.65 per cord.

Loading ships, 30c. per hour. Winchmen, 35c. per hour.

General Labour, \$2.60 per day.

Teamsters, \$2.85 per day. (An extra allowance of \$1.20 will be made for each Sunday).

Cooks, \$80.00 per month and found.

Cookes, \$68.50 per month.

Rate for board, \$18.00 per month. Only men who stay

in camps on Sunday will get their board at half price for that day. Men who stay away from camps over Sunday without permission will pay full rate of board whether there part time or not. Men who are sent away from camps by foreman on account of sickness will not be charged board at Camp.

DRIVING OPERATIONS

Foremen, \$5.60 per day.

Driving rate, 30c. per hour.

Overtime. While engaged driving shall be at the rate of time and one half after ten hour day has been put in on any job.

When weather conditions prevent men from working, wood cutting should be started where possible, otherwise, free board shall be allowed men when they have worked less than five hours.

Waterwork, 30 cents per hour.

Boom men at Holding grounds, 36 cents per hour; Foremen, 50 cents per hour. No overtime rate.

Boatmen setting filling and spilling booms, 35 cents per hour; Foremen, 50 cents per hour. No overtime rate.

--A.W.B. K.M.B.

Source: Evening Telegram, 1 May 1939, p.12.

