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“The Men Went to Work by the Stars and Returned by Them”: The Experience of Work in the Newfoundland Woods during the 1930s

DUFFERIN SUTHERLAND

JOHN HERD THOMPSON AND Allen Seager have described the Great Depression as “an international disease that afflicted the entire capitalist world.”¹ Newfoundland experienced a particularly debilitating collapse, and in 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.”² Peter Neary points out that when the illness hit (he uses the metaphor of “a chill wind”) Newfoundland had much in common with Canada’s other staple-producing and export-oriented regions. Newfoundland, however, as a small country, was more vulnerable to shifts in demand than, for example, the neighbouring Maritime provinces of Canada, which could look to the federal government to help them maintain a “shabby dignity.” Newfoundland, by contrast, “lived dangerously and alone,” and the island’s people likely suffered more severely than people elsewhere.³ In the early 1930s, successive Newfoundland governments used the financial crisis and impending bankruptcy as a rationale to slash the island’s limited social welfare benefits and to increase taxes. James Overton has argued that parsimony also shaped the Commission of Government’s social policies after it came to power in 1934.⁴ Capital also sought to pass the impact of declining export prices on to Newfoundland workers by reducing already meagre wages and benefits. Newfoundland workers opposed these actions through strikes and collective actions and survived sudden losses of income by relying where possible on a resilient household economy.⁵ Clearly included in this struggle were

Newfoundland's 9,000 loggers,⁶ whose 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 accounted for over 50% of the island's exports.⁷ Despite their contribution to the economy, these loggers received little in return. They experienced conditions in the 1930s as harsh as those experienced by any of Newfoundland's workers and harsher than those that confronted many loggers elsewhere. So widespread was the discontent with working conditions in the Newfoundland woods that in 1934 the Commission of Government established a commission of inquiry. But the commission's report brought few reforms to the industry. The unions the loggers formed in the latter half of the decade also had limited success in forcing change.

This paper has two objectives. First, it will describe the Newfoundland loggers' experience of work during the Great Depression, using oral and written sources and the report and evidence of the 1934 commission into logging operations conducted by F. Gordon Bradley, Leader of the Opposition in Newfoundland's last House of Assembly before Commission Government. Second, it will draw comparisons with loggers' experience in Canada to show how workers' experience in Newfoundland, an economy truly on the fringes of the North American economy, differed from that of workers on the mainland.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Newfoundland's leaders decided that the only viable way to exploit the large tracts of small trees in the interior of the island was to develop a domestic forest products industry. In order to prevent indiscriminate cutting, to promote investment, and to encourage interior settlement, the government passed legislation which offered generous terms for rights to timber lands to entrepreneurs. The Harmsworth family of Britain, owners of the *Daily Mail*, were the first foreign investors to enter the Newfoundland 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. Prime Minister Robert Bond described the 1909 opening of the mill as the first significant result of Newfoundland's "National Policy."⁸ The second major advance in the development of the pulp and paper industry occurred between 1923 and 1925, when the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company (NPPC) built a pulp and paper mill at Corner Brook and a power plant at Deer Lake on the west coast. Handicapped by cost overruns 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. The IPP Co. remained profitable until 1932, and then suffered persistent losses in the highly competitive and deeply depressed American market.⁹ Finally, in 1937, in the last big paper deal in Newfoundland before World War II, the IPP Co. sold out to Bowater-Lloyd of Britain.¹⁰

Ian Radforth details how the Canadian pulp and paper industry by the late 1920s had evolved a production process known as "short wood clear cutting" which suited pulpwood logging.¹¹ Newfoundland companies also employed this new type of logging operation, which produced a distinct way of life in the woods, a way which persisted until the early 1960s. During the late 19th and early 20th 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-men cross-cut saws to harvest the stands of white pine. Oxen then pulled wooden sleds loaded with the wood to the sawmills. In short wood clear cutting, on the other hand, pulpwood loggers felled all softwood trees of suitable size over large cutting areas, predominantly in the interior parts of the island. The cutting operations started in the summer and reached their peak in the fall and early winter.¹² In a pulpwood logging operation the men felled the trees using axes and single-handed bucksaws: "first you chop a notch in the tree with an axe and then finish cutting it with a bucksaw."¹³ In mid-winter, after the cutting season, horses, oxen, and sometimes even men hauled sleds loaded with pulpwood from the cutting areas to the nearest pond and 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 the location of the logging operation. 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 were scattered across the western and central areas of Newfoundland.

During the 1930s, the Newfoundland logger would not have immediately felt at home in the coastal forest industry of British Columbia, where mature Douglas fir averaged 190 feet in height and 8-10 feet in diameter, where a moderate climate allowed logging operations to carry on year-round, and where machines such as donkey engines and logging railroads were extensively employed.¹⁴ The Newfoundland logger would have been more in his element in BC's northern interior forest industry, and in the pulpwoods of northern Ontario, northern New Brunswick, and Quebec, where mostly unmechanized logging took place.¹⁵ Since there was almost no mechanization in the Newfoundland woods during the 1930s, logging operations were highly labour intensive. In 1937, for example, a year in which almost 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 dropped steadily from a high of 5,916 in October to 2,220 in January and a low of 1,426 in April.¹⁶

From the start of the pulp and paper industry, the few towns in central and western Newfoundland 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 lined Newfoundland's coastline, and

especially from those communities on the island's northeast coast. Even in the 1930s when the fishery failed repeatedly, many 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.¹⁷ Newfoundland loggers, like many Canadian workers, were men who found work where they could in order to support themselves and their families. Alistair MacLeod's unforgettable story "In the Fall," about a man who works seasonally on the Halifax waterfront, gives us a glimpse of the personal and family hardship and sacrifice which came with this way of life.¹⁸

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 their bedding on their backs to get to the camps. By boat, sled, or tractor, but most often on foot, they migrated to the cutting sites and then home again at the end of the logging season. Eugene Fudge, a logger from Pilley's Island, Notre Dame Bay, outlined 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 camps 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.¹⁹

A foreman between 1931 and 1936 for the St. Lawrence Steamship and Lumber Company, contractors for the IPP Co., pointed out that he had to refuse employment at his camp at Lomond, Bonne Bay, to men who had come from as far away as Cow Head, 80 km. to the north, and St. George's Bay, over 200 km. to the south.²⁰ Newfoundland loggers may have had to walk farther to work than resource workers in Canada owing to the isolation of many Newfoundland communities in the first half of this century; but loggers elsewhere, like Gérard Fortin in Quebec, who spent a long day tramping from camp to camp in search of a job in 1938, certainly trudged for miles on woods roads, expending time and energy for which they were not paid.²¹

Once a man arrived at the divisional headquarters of the logging operation, he was signed on, if lucky, and assigned to a camp. Once again the logger had to make a journey, sometimes long and hard, 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, after an arduous two-day march through ice and knee-deep snow from Salt Pans (now Hillgrade) to Lewisporte, and from there by train to Millertown, took an eight-hour tractor and sled trip from Millertown to a logging camp.²² When a logger finally reached the camp he came under the supervision of the

contractor. A Newfoundland logger could work in a number of different types of pulpwood logging operations. Both the AND Co. and the IPP Co. contracted experienced men to cut, haul, and drive a specified number of cords each year.²³ The magnitude and nature of the contracts varied from company to company and place to place 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, jobber contracts, and outside contracts.²⁴ Here again we are in different country from coastal British Columbia, where Hak has described how large independent logging companies harvested the timber and sold the logs in a competitive market to the mills.²⁵ Newfoundland's contractors, as we will see, appear to have resembled more closely the *sous-traitants* or *jobbeurs* of the Quebec pulpwoods than the camp foremen in Northern Ontario.²⁶

Company contracts were favoured by the AND Co. and IPP Co. because they gave the companies complete control over expenses and profits without any responsibility for the day-to-day running of the logging camps. In 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.²⁷ On the basis of the walking boss's assessment, the company and the contractor signed an agreement which specified the number of cords to be cut (usually 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 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 (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 were sent by the divisional headquarters.²⁸ This compares closely to Fortin's description of the Quebec *jobbeurs* of the 1930s:

In those days the company hired jobbers — *les jobbeurs* — whom they paid piece rates according to the amount of wood they got out of the bush, and it was the jobbers who hired the workers. Some of these jobbers were farmers or the sons of farmers; the work fitted well into their way of life. They were able to keep the horses they needed in the bush on their farms during the summer.²⁹

Radforth's northern Ontario camp foremen, on the other hand, while having some independence from the company, sound more like salaried employees than contractors.

The contracting system in Newfoundland exerted a downward pressure on the quality of camp life. 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 one 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.”³⁰ Under the contract system, the company paid the men directly and deducted the wages from the operator’s account at the end of the season. The company also deducted 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 over 3.5 inches left in the cutting area, each top of a tree left in the woods which could yield a piece of pulpwood, and each cord of wood left in the woods after the haul-off.³¹ Finally, the company determined how much a contractor and his workers made at the end of a day, as the company scaler, whose decision was final, assessed the value of all wood cut in the camp.³² Although some contractors made money, 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, moving at the earliest opportunity to more comfortable camps.

Both companies signed “outside” contracts with men for pulpwood found on Crown lands located a long way from their mills. Larger than “jobber” contracts found in northern Ontario and Quebec, an outside contract in Newfoundland might be for up to 5,000 cords, the same as a company contract. The main difference between a company and an outside contract was 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 contractor 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 wages, working conditions, and living conditions in outside operations.³³ Bradley discovered that men often had to 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 ran camps. The men would build their own shacks, buy their food from the contractor, and do their own cooking. Nevertheless, Bradley did not find the conditions in the outside contractors’ operations significantly worse than those in company operations. The pay was about the same, Bradley concluded, since “as with company operations a few skilful men by close application and strenuous work did fairly well. The ordinary cutter existed, the inefficient one ended up in debt.”³⁴

In addition to company and outside contracts, the IPP Co. signed many jobber contracts in western Newfoundland. Jobber camps were also part of the forest industries of northern Ontario and Quebec. They may have resembled the sawlog and tie cutting camps in BC's northern interior forest industry.³⁵ A jobber was a contractor who agreed to cut and haul a small quantity of wood, usually between 300 and 1,000 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. Since jobbers often moved their whole families into the woods for the winter, there were many small children in the woods who never attended school.³⁶ When Joseph Thompson organized the first loggers' union on the island in the latter half of the 1930s, he found the worst conditions in jobbers' camps, which were so small they rarely attracted the attention of the government inspector.³⁷

Regardless of the contract system, 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 which was usually about 100 m. wide and up to two km. long. It was known as a "chance."³⁸ The AND Co. paid men known 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.³⁹ 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, like loggers all over North America, from about seven in the morning to six or seven at night, at least six days a week. One logger testified that "I did fairly well but I worked awfully hard. We worked from almost 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 the trail after dark."⁴⁰ As Leander Martin, a man who worked in the woods from 1919 to the 1960s, put it, "the men went to work by the stars and returned by them."⁴¹

Among 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 that "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 alright fellow."⁴² A number of loggers noted that generally foremen and contractors assigned beginning or "greenhorn" loggers poor chances, while loggers who had been with the outfit a few seasons and had

proven themselves steady workers were given the easiest wood to cut. Gérard Fortin had the same experience in Quebec where the foremen gave the best cutters "good bush to cut, so that they would make as much in a month as the other men would make in three or four months."⁴³ In Newfoundland, 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. The foreman not only distributed the chances, he also 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 for "good wood." In practice, the informal system whereby contractors gave the best wood to the most experienced cutters meant that good wood cutters, as in Quebec, earned substantially more than beginners who struggled in bad wood.

Ian Radforth has described well how logging was not "merely a pick-and-shovel occupation."⁴⁴ As elsewhere, in Newfoundland, aside from the quality of a man's chance, his experience and skill determined how much he "put up" in a day. Moreover, as contractors could not directly supervise men on isolated chances, loggers were free to organize their work. Certainly, piece rates drove the men and regimented the work process to a certain extent, but this was not Hal Holbrook's "gigantic factory without a roof" yet.⁴⁵ Most loggers agreed that in a ten-hour day an average woodcutter 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.⁴⁶ Monson Lingard argued that, to keep up that pace,

a man must have experience...with a bucksaw. There is an art in balancing your body when cutting down a tree. The proper practice 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 practice 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 it is not in your way. Considerable skill is also required to drop the trees where you want them.⁴⁷

Like other skilled workmen, a cutter also had to know how to handle and take care of his tools:

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 summertime. The saw must be more open in summertime. It must also be a 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 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.⁴⁸

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 was a critical part of the piece rate system in the North American forest industry, the system which drove the men and reduced

production costs. The scaler, who was always a company employee, had the final word on how much a man cut in a day. In Newfoundland, he assessed the cutters' 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; he recorded a cord of 128 cubic feet as 100 points and then deducted points for airspaces 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. He then made out individual slips with the same information to give to each man.⁴⁹ 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 not inches. I have followed behind company scalers and frequently the wood was not 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 the fear in the mind of the scaler that errors on the side of the men might lose him his job.⁵⁰

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 Co. in the wood cutting season and always found them people to be straight until this season. 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 wait until a man gets his cheque cashed and collect their mistakes. But haven't a sworn-in scaler got to pay for his mistakes[?]⁵¹

Radforth, and Fortin and Richardson, have recorded similar feelings of loggers in northern Ontario and Quebec ("those goddamned scaleurs") towards inequities in the scaling system.⁵²

The Newfoundland pulp and paper companies took no 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 the government inspectors, men testified that the scaling system was even more unfair than in the company contract camps. The scalers were less well-trained, more biased towards their employer — often, in fact, the contractor acted as scaler — and, in many cases, the men did not get any record of the amount they had cut during the scaling period; the scaler would simply read out in the bunkhouse the amount each man had cut.⁵³

The most productive cutters, called "bullers," were said to cut as much as three cords a day in good wood. The companies often held up bullers' totals to the public 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.⁵⁴ Moreover, they worked 12-14 hours a day and Sundays — the equivalent of a week and a half every week — and could not keep up that pace for more than a month without hurting or exhausting themselves. One logger reported that William White of Carmanville who had cut three cords of wood a day on several occasions during the past four years, “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.”⁵⁵ Compare that with Fortin’s classic description of overwork in the Quebec pulpwoods:

within three months, though I had cut more wood than anyone else, I was *complètement brulé*, totally burned out. Pratt gave me a really good spread, good timber to work. I went at it every day like a maniac, anxious to show I could hold my own with the old-timers. But soon I started to slow up, until I couldn’t even move my arms. Each morning it took me longer before I could really get going. Then I became swollen all over. I got some kind of allergy, itchy all over my body. It even affected my cock (a pretty severe matter the way I was living in those days). I was just *brulé*, that’s what they called it, and had to quit. I was so sick I didn’t even have time to pick up my pay⁵⁶

During most of the 1930s labour abundance and extreme poverty in rural Newfoundland due to a failing fishery meant that the companies could pass their problem of a low world price for pulp and paper onto the loggers. The companies’ price per cord was so low — probably the lowest in North America — that inexperienced men had little chance of making 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. During the winter of 1929, for example, a commission charged with finding 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.⁵⁷ Each man hired on had to sign an agreement with the companies that he would remain at work until the end of March and that he consented to the deduction from his wages of the value of the goods, railway fare, and other advances made to him. After a short time many of the men realized that they could not earn any money above their expenses and returned home to their families who depended on them for 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 pretense that they could earn a living in the woods. In their defense, the men stated they could “make no hand” at the work.⁵⁸

The companies took no responsibility for the St. John’s men who could make no money in the woods. In March, 1930, the daily papers reported the case of Gordon Parsons, who 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 transport 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 meagre supplies of food they received from time to time." The men's relatives eventually heard of their situation and sent them the money to get home.⁵⁹

In 1934 inexperienced men unable to make a living in the woods were again in the news. Seventy fishermen from the southwest coast who could not make a living from the fishery had gone to work for the AND Co. Unable to make a sufficient amount to feed their families, 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.⁶⁰ Interviewed at the police station, William Courage explained his predicament:

I am a fisherman. Fish was getting scarce and I thought I would do better in the lumberwoods. 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 cents 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.⁶¹

Even those employed for longer periods of time, during the haul-off and drive, had trouble earning a decent wage. 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. Since about half the manpower needed for the cut was required for the haul-off, contractors kept on their cooks and "cookees" (cooks' helpers) and "called back" their most experienced men to do the hauling.⁶²

In the pulpwoods of Canada and Newfoundland, animal power was crucial to woods operations. As elsewhere, in the Newfoundland haul-off teams of horses pulled sleds which moved the 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 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 km., a man could make ten round trips a day, while over a long haul of more than five km. he could perhaps make only four or five trips.⁶³ Radforth argues that "the teamster had the most demanding skills."⁶⁴ It certainly 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 reported that

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 his 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 8:00 p.m. He must also look after and feed his animal 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 the teamsters load the wood from the cutters' piles, which would often be half-buried in snow, on the teamsters' sleds. Roadmen were responsible for the upkeep of the roads, making sure 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. 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 pond and rivers in the winter.⁶⁷ Fortin, who worked as both a loader and a lander in Quebec, remembered how when landing wood on a lake he had to be very careful not to get his feet wet because they would freeze immediately.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 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 again the foreman kept on the most experienced men. Like cutting and hauling, driving followed a similar 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" 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. As in Ontario and Quebec, in Newfoundland the drive had two operations: rolling the logs into the rivers and streams, done by "rollers," and guiding the wood once it was in the water, done by "drivers."⁷⁰ Once the flood-dam was opened the main job of the driver was to accompany the pulpwood down the stream and, as 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" (called "sweepers" in Ontario and *le sweep* in Quebec) went down the river again and drove all the stray junks of wood which had not made their way down the river during the initial drive.⁷¹

By the 1930s the companies had de-skilled driving to a certain extent in Newfoundland. Most of the driving was monotonous work, different from the days described in "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.⁷² By the Depression the Grand Falls and Corner Brook mills took only four-foot logs because men could cut, handle, and drive them more easily and efficiently.⁷³ 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 skill. In even country with a smooth flow of water, a good driver who knew how to work a river to keep the pulpwood flowing freely saved his employer time.⁷⁴ In rough or steep country a driver had to work even harder to prevent a dangerous "plug." Bradley wrote that

I have seen a 'jam' or 'plug' as it is sometimes called, give way, and jam again one hundred yards further down river. When it gave way the men fled to the shore. A few seconds delay, a misstep, and they were lost. Five minutes after the second jam began the water rose about ten feet and junks were 'shooting' into the bush on both banks in all directions.⁷⁵

In addition to the job's monotony and occasional danger, driving was 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 13 hours a day, in order to get all the pulpwood out of the woods. The men were always wet, as they were during the old Badger drive, 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."⁷⁶ Hardy and Séguin eloquently describe very similar conditions on the drive in the Mauricie: "la brunante venue, ils [les draveurs] regagnaient leurs campements rudimentaires, des tentes dans lesquelles ils couchaient sur le dur, leur baluchon comme oreiller, un simple lit de branches de sapin les isolant de la terre froide."⁷⁷

With the end of the drive, the logging season came to a close. Most of the men would have been able to get work in one or perhaps two phases of the logging operation, and would have been away from home except for short intervals for five or six of the previous eight months. The most fortunate, those who were considered full-time loggers, would have found employment cutting, hauling and driving and might have lived for nine months in the pulp and paper companies' woods camps. Although company camps in Newfoundland, as in

Ontario and Quebec, tended to be more standardized than those of private contractors, by and large the island's lumber camps were fairly uniform in appearance and organization throughout the 1930s.⁷⁸ In most camps the main buildings were the cookhouse and the bunkhouse. Depending on the size of the camp, there were often other smaller buildings or extensions to the main buildings which might include a "forepeak," or contractor's 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.⁷⁹

Logging camps all over North America — except perhaps those in coastal British Columbia, where the industry was heavily capitalized and recovered more quickly from the Depression than elsewhere — were uncomfortable places to live during the 1930s. In Newfoundland, already crude camp conditions deteriorated as contractors tried to make a living on lower and lower prices for wood. 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 "to keep the weather out."⁸⁰ The sloping roofs were covered with felt. The vertical-log structure, as opposed to the better-known horizontal log cabin, was a form of the Newfoundland tilt, a temporary dwelling used extensively during the summer fishery. While vertical-log structures were common in North America in the 17th and 18th centuries, Newfoundland is exceptional in that people continued to build vertical-log cabins and bunkhouses until the middle of the 20th century, much longer than anywhere else in North America.⁸¹ The use of tilts in the pulp and paper company camps shows how the fishing economy's culture permeated all areas of Newfoundland industry and society. 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."⁸² Another logger from Bishop's Falls testified that "it was very cold in the bunkhouse. One man got his ears frostbitten."⁸³ Bunkhouses, built in various sizes according to the extent of the cutting operation to house between 20 and 100 men, contained bunks 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 inches for a man and that was your bunk."⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵ Instead of using the mattresses the company supplied, which the loggers complained were "often dirty and harboured vermin," many men preferred

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.⁸⁶

Many men, however, did not "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."⁸⁷ In frequent cases where bunkhouses were not big enough to house all the men employed on the cut, loggers slept on the floor or found space in the barn.

Overcrowded and infrequently cleaned, the bunkhouses were often "not fit for anyone to stay in."⁸⁸ A logger who worked in the woods near Bishop's Falls recalled that in a bunkhouse for 50 or 60 men there would be five or six 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.⁸⁹ For each wash basin there would be a hole in the countertop through which to dump the water once the logger washed: "you 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."⁹⁰ 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," Aubrey Tizzard recalled, "and some threw what was left in the mug back in the pail." If the washing water dumped under the bunkhouse "would sometimes stink poison," so too, 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 and horse tacklings were hung as close to the stove as possible so that they would be dry and ready to use again in the morning.⁹¹ According to a number of loggers, since 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 camps, one to work in and one to wear when he went home from time to time.⁹²

Loggers in Ontario and Quebec experienced similar crude conditions during the 1930s. Radforth notes that any momentum to improve camp conditions in northern Ontario in the 1920s dissipated during the Depression when "cost cutting became the order of the day in all logging operations." As a result, forestry students visiting logging camps in the early 1940s found appalling living conditions.⁹³ Hardy and Séguin argue that in the Mauricie region of Quebec the most notable improvement in camp life from 1830 to 1930 "avait été non pas le confort des aménagements, mais la spécialisation des fonctions des camps."⁹⁴ Fortin provided first-hand evidence of this point:

the conditions were rough in all the camps. The sleeping cabins were crude, and jammed with sweat-encased men, as many as fifty in one cabin; there were never any washing facilities except barrels of cold water; and the toilets were a line of ten or twelve seats in a rudimentary shack which always smelt foul. We didn't know it, but at that time people doing

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this same work in other parts of Canada were living like human beings in reasonable conditions.⁹⁵

The other part of Canada Fortin referred to was coastal British Columbia, where he worked during the early 1940s. Hak cites a description of a coastal logging camp in 1938:

Each bunkhouse is in two parts, and capacitates 8 men. Each has a central heating unit, and all have electric lights. The newer bunkhouses have cupboards for the men's clothes, and all have individual beds rather than mere bunks. The washhouse offers hot and cold water, showers and facilities for washing and drying clothes. For recreation there is besides the gymnasium, a weekly show, and the men themselves have a social and sports committee. Several of the men have radios, and there are always plenty of magazines and papers. The company provides a well-stocked commissary and mail is received three times weekly. The lake, of course, offers swimming and fishing.⁹⁶

In Newfoundland, as in Ontario and Quebec, since large numbers of men were confined together for months at a time, even the most basic standards of personal cleanliness were nearly impossible to maintain. One inevitable result was the prevalence of 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 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 in the woods again to work.⁹⁷

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 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 winter. Thus, as one logger stated, “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.” If a man was not lucky enough to have someone to share a bunk with, “you just had to shiver yourself asleep.”⁹⁸

As in the pulpwoods of Quebec and Ontario, the food in the Newfoundland camps was plentiful but monotonous.⁹⁹ In most camps, breakfast six days a week was beans, bread, and tea. The men had porridge without milk on Sundays, but “if you didn't like beans then you just had to get to like 'im.”¹⁸⁰ The men often took their midday meal at the cutting site which could be up to an hour's walk from the camp. The cookee would either bring this meal out 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 in “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.”¹⁰¹ 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 to wash the meal down. 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. Thursdays same as Tuesdays, Fridays same as Wednesdays. Saturdays pease soup again.... I give them dried apples Sunday evening and fish days apple pie.¹⁰²

This was food of a kind the men ate in their homes in outport Newfoundland. The island's paper companies, which had an ethnically homogenous work force, did not have the problem of companies in northern Ontario, which had to tailor the menu to a certain extent to the tastes of a wide variety of nationalities.¹⁰³ Newfoundland loggers did complain continually about the lack of fresh vegetables in camp even when they were in season and also of the lack of fresh meat in winter when it could have been refrigerated. Bradley found the food generally of satisfactory quality and quantity and better than most men could get on the dole, but he added that "beans six days a week is likely to pall upon the appetite after a couple of weeks."¹⁰⁴

Aside from the lack of variety, the major reason the food in the camps was often poor was that the cooks and cookees were overworked men. In the cookhouse, the workday began at 4:30 a.m. The cookee would fetch the firewood and start the fires in the stoves in the cookhouse and the bunkhouse while the cook put the big pots of beans for breakfast on the stoves. After breakfast, generally served at 6 or 6:30, the cook would have to prepare the dinner which the men ate at noon — unless they took their meal with them into the woods. In the afternoon the cook made the supper and prepared "stock" foods such as pies, bread, cakes, and dried fruits. During this time the cookees kept the stoves stoked, secured more firewood and water, and cleaned the dishes, the cookhouse, and bunkhouse. In the evenings there were dinner dishes to wash and the cook and cookee either prepared and packed lunches for 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 p.m., which meant 17-hour days, seven days a week.¹⁰⁵ In northern Ontario, where cookhouse hours were similar, cooks were notorious for their short tempers. The Newfoundland cook's workday probably put him in a similar frame of mind.¹⁰⁶

As elsewhere, skilful cooks were valued in the Newfoundland 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. During the Depression, too, when the companies' wood prices

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were so low, the contractor had added pressure not to lose money on the feeding of his men. 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 make do with poor equipment and ran out of foods before the cutting season was over.¹⁰⁷ Only the best cooks in the woods were 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 meagre 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 accounts of life in the bunkhouses is that a logger would "have to light a lamp to find the light."¹⁰⁸ Weary from the day's work, the loggers would mend their clothes, 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 was 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 always someone doing catty tricks like jumping over a broom and so on. Cards were important to us at nights in the logging camps, five hundreds being the most popular.¹⁰⁹

These diversions were similar to those in the bunkhouses of Quebec and Ontario.¹¹⁰

Folklorist John Ashton, who studied the lumbercamp song tradition in Newfoundland, has found that there were very few union or industrial protest songs and that the major portion of the lumbercamp song repertoire concentrated on matters that were of daily concern to loggers, such as "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."¹¹¹ He concluded, however, that lumbercamp singing and songs in Newfoundland lay "securely within the mainstream of the general North American occupational tradition."¹¹² 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.

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But the beans they were thousands, they were there by galore,
Even the bucksaw would sing, 'Come on with some more'.¹¹³

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.¹¹⁴

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.¹¹⁵ 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, to their parents. One logger, however, who earned some money as a cutter for an IPP contractor in 1937, went on a modest buying spree:

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 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.¹¹⁶

Perhaps others who had cleared a bit of money from their work might have picked up a bottle of liquor on the way home, but as the above passage makes clear, for many 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.

During the 1930s there was a growing number of complaints from loggers throughout North America about rates of pay and working conditions. Loggers went on strike in British Columbia, northern Ontario, Quebec, northern New Brunswick and Newfoundland to improve employment conditions in the woods as the industry gradually recovered.¹¹⁷ In late 1933 at least 400 loggers in western Newfoundland laid down their bucksaws and axes to protest the IPP rates per cord, while throughout 1934 a number of other strikes and walkouts occurred in camps throughout Newfoundland and Labrador.¹¹⁸ The daily papers contained many letters from loggers who had witnessed the price per cord drop from \$2.30-2.50 in 1926 to an average of \$1.34-1.45 in 1934.¹¹⁹ In some places loggers earned as low as ninety cents per cord.¹²⁰ A "veteran" from Norris Arm exclaimed that "it is an outrage that the forest wealth is being exploited while starving, degradation and dole is the share of men who cut and drive it."¹²¹ Because of these pressures, one of the first actions of the Commission after it took over the government of Newfoundland in 1934 was to appoint lawyer F.

Gordon Bradley "to enquire into and report on the terms of employment in the case of men employed in forest operations of all kinds."¹²²

Bradley and his secretary, Corner Brook lawyer G. Bernard Summers, travelled extensively throughout the island between April 2 and August 23, 1934, hearing testimony from a substantial number of people working in a variety of occupations in the woods industry. The men took evidence in St. John's for three weeks and then travelled on the Newfoundland Railway's main line and the AND Co.'s branch lines from St. Georges on the west coast to Botwood in central Newfoundland. They then continued their work, examining small logging and sawmill operations around Conception Bay and the south side of Trinity Bay. Finally, Bradley and Summers toured the northeast coast from Clarendville to Hampden, White Bay, by motorboat, and then proceeded to Lomond, Bonne Bay. Bradley reported that some witnesses "feared to give evidence, and would come only at night, while others hesitated to speak freely until given the assurance that their names would not be disclosed." He decided that "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 are justified but there were substantial grounds for believing that they were not wholly without foundation."¹²³ Yet much to the annoyance of the Commission, Bradley never allowed its members to read the men's testimony, and the Bradley family discovered the loggers' frank statements about their lives and work only when cleaning out the family garage in the mid-1980s.

Bradley's report showed how the paper companies grossly exploited Newfoundland's loggers. He also, as J.K. Hiller put it, "provided a prescription for reform and rehabilitation — a plea for social and economic justice and a vision of what rural Newfoundland might be."¹²⁴ Bradley focused his analysis on the cutters, "the main link in the production chain." He reported that the average woodcutter, working in average wood, could cut and pile 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. Taking a 30 day month and deducting four Sundays, Bradley calculated that there were 26 working days per month and that a cutter who maintained a high pace of 1.25 cords per day for a month would earn \$43.55. From that total, contractors deducted \$18 per month for board and 40 cents a month for doctors' fees. A cutter would also have to buy at least one new saw blade (90 cents) and also pay a minimum of \$4 for new clothes. After these minimum deductions (Bradley assumed no "van" expenses such as those for fly-oil, postage stamps for letters home, or tobacco), a cutter would clear \$20.25 in a month. Bradley added \$9 to that total for food a logger would have to buy in a month if he were at home, and arrived at a monthly income of \$29.25 or 11 1/4 cents an hour, assuming four 60 hour weeks. Bradley felt the average outport workman needed \$50 per month to

provide himself and his family with a reasonable living standard.¹²⁵

Bradley's report of squalid conditions and low wages and his solutions to these problems frightened the Commission of Government. Natural Resources Commissioner Sir John Hope Simpson convinced his colleagues that the report should not be published. It is worth noting that Hope Simpson knew first-hand the conditions in the woods. His son and biographer wrote of Hope Simpson's trip to central Newfoundland: "J.H.S. found conditions scandalous. The firms [the paper companies] paid no taxes and gave minimal wages to lumbermen and mill hands. When the former were in the forest their families had to draw the dole; when the men ceased to work, they also had to live on relief. 'I am tackling this question at once', he wrote on 11th March."¹²⁶ However, Hope Simpson feared the Bradley report which described these scandalous conditions would infuriate the companies, embarrass the government, and lead to a loggers' strike.¹²⁷ Instead, he negotiated with the companies a \$25 per month minimum net wage for loggers (half the amount Bradley felt the loggers needed) in return for not publishing the report. Hope Simpson's official despatch to London revealed little hope for significant social reform under the Commission Government:

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 contemplated by Mr. Bradley, 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 labouring men of this country.¹²⁸

Yet as Bradley made clear, loggers were among the poorest people in Newfoundland. In the early 1930s, a St. John's longshoreman earned 30-40 cents an hour, while a mill labourer earned at least 25 cents an hour. Overall, workers in the pulp and paper industry in Grand Falls who were represented by international unions earned significantly more than ordinary loggers. The 1935 Newfoundland census reveals Grand Falls workers earned an average of \$243 during the year while loggers earned \$181.45. As a further comparison, Bell Island miners earned an average of \$354.10 in 1935.¹²⁹ Bradley found that the hard work and low wages certainly hurt the loggers. He found that older married men stayed out of the woods if they could afford to, that many loggers were malnourished and poorly clothed, and that the men were working themselves to exhaustion, damaging their health, and injuring themselves as they were overcome with tiredness.¹³⁰

Newfoundland loggers' wages were also poor compared with those in Canada, except for Quebec and perhaps the Maritimes. Hardy and Séguin show

that in Quebec in 1933, 80% of loggers earned \$1 or less per day, which was close to loggers' wages in Newfoundland.¹³¹ We have seen how when Gérard Fortin went to British Columbia he found such good conditions in the logging camps that he thought he was in "heaven" compared with conditions he had known in Quebec. This difference also extended to wages. Rajala observes that by the time the BC coastal forest industry revived in 1934, loggers earned a minimum wage of 40 cents an hour for an eight-hour day. Hak adds that the minimum wage described by Rajala "did not affect the majority of loggers who were already paid more than \$3.20 per day."¹³² Radforth shows that wages dropped for northern Ontario loggers in the early 1930s, but by 1933 they had recovered to a level above those in Newfoundland.¹³³ An examination of government statistics shows that loggers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick received wages that were close to those in Newfoundland and Quebec.¹³⁴

We must return to the "chill wind" of the Depression to begin to understand why the experience of work even by Canadian standards was so poor in the Newfoundland woods during the 1930s. Newfoundland quickly reached the end of her financial resources in the early 1930s as a small country which relied heavily on income from the export of natural resources. Unlike a Canadian province which could turn to a federal government for grudging relief, as Neary puts it, Newfoundland "could, barring default, rely for help only on her membership in the British family of nations."¹³⁵ We could not describe this help as generous. Thus the collapse in fish prices, increased taxes, government retrenchment, wage cuts, layoffs, and unemployment which were Depression hallmarks were more far-reaching and impoverishing to people in Newfoundland than to those in most other parts of North America. In the 1930s, Newfoundland workers' living standards, which had never been high relative to North American standards, deteriorated rapidly. The island's loggers shared this experience, as the pulp and paper companies reduced wages to poverty levels and halted cutting operations in entire regions of the island.

Lack of government regulation, which stemmed partly from austerity policies, was certainly part of the reason for low wages and poor working conditions in the Newfoundland woods during the 1930s. In the early 1930s successive governments refused to enforce the minimum wage clause of the 1931 Logging Act. Although the Commission passed some measures to strengthen the Logging Act and to control conditions in the camps, life and work in the Newfoundland woods remained poor throughout the decade and beyond. 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.¹³⁶ 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.¹³⁷

The welfare of the companies as large employers of labour during an horrendous economic depression appears to have largely determined the Commission of Government's woods labour policy. During a decade when as many as one-third of the country's population were on relief, the Department of Natural Resources saw no reason to cause the paper companies difficulties over working and living conditions in the woods. In August, 1939, for example, the AND Co.'s general manager, V.S. Jones, wrote the Commissioner of Natural Resources, J.H. Gorvin, about the company's Botwood longshoremen. The longshoremen's union, whose members were only seasonally employed, had asked the company for a contract to cut pulpwood near Botwood to supplement their earnings. Jones stated that the company was willing to give the union a contract if the government exempted the camps from the Logging Act's conditions.¹³⁸ The forest inspector who surveyed the proposed operations wrote that "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."¹³⁹ A few days later the commissioner sent his opinion:

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 not 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.¹⁴⁰

A month later, an inspector reported to the department that a camp near Middlebrook, Bonavista Bay, was in a "very dirty condition," that there were an inadequate number of windows in the bunkhouse, that there were no mattresses, and that "the building will have to be repapered and refloored."¹⁴¹ In response, the Assistant Forestry Officer sent the contractor (marked "for your information") a copy of the departmental regulations for small camps. 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 any threats to companies that the government might close a camp because it did not meet the standards set forth in the Logging Act.

The loggers themselves were not passive victims of economic exploitation. They went on strike many times during the 1930s and formed a number of unions to protect their interests in various parts of the island. However, for a variety of reasons the loggers' unions were unable to raise significantly the loggers' standard of living or improve their working conditions.¹⁴² The worldwide Depression's severe impact on Newfoundland meant that workers had to fight simply to maintain subsistence level wages, let alone for wages which would allow a decent standard of living.¹⁴³ The unions

faced numerous other problems which hampered their effectiveness. The nature of the logging force, a large group of seasonal and fulltime workers spread out across the island, made it extremely difficult to organize into a cohesive force. Jurisdictional disputes plagued the four unions which sought to represent the interests of loggers and weakened their bargaining power. The unions also faced the coordinated power of two multinational pulp and paper companies across the bargaining table, who fought to keep labour costs to an absolute minimum. Finally, the absence of a political system which encouraged public debate, the remoteness of the logging areas from St. John's where almost all political power and organs of public opinion were centred, and the lack of local government institutions severely restricted the unions' ability to generate public and political pressure to make the companies improve the loggers' wages and conditions. Looking ahead, the company's ability to limit the loggers' unions' power (and prevent a really strong union from emerging) and the government's power to protect the loggers through legislation were illustrated in the 1961 Royal Commission Report on the Newfoundland Logging Industry, written after the explosive 1959 International Woodworkers of America (IWA) strike. The report described camps which sound at least as bad as the camps Bradley described in 1934:

Dark and squalid hovels which would not be used as 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 too many to take his job.¹⁴⁴

Even Premier J.R. Smallwood, who was instrumental in breaking the IWA strike in favour of the companies, noted that "thousands of men in the woods are sweating with hate and frustration."¹⁴⁵ The IWA strike, which if anything showed that Newfoundland loggers were not quiescent, was in part a battle to bring the loggers' wages and conditions up to Canadian standards. While the loggers lost the strike and the IWA was reduced to a minor presence in Newfoundland, the struggle brought national and international attention to the living and working conditions of the island's loggers. Under the leadership of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, Woodworkers, and Joiners, the IWA's rival which prospered after the IWA defeat, the loggers eventually won most of the IWA demands. By the late 1960s life and work in the Newfoundland woods had changed drastically. Wages and conditions approached mainland standards, while the replacement of the bucksaw with the chainsaw, among other technological changes, reduced the workforce to a smaller group of full-time loggers.

Notes

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¹John Herd Thompson, with Allen Seager, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto, 1985), p. 195.

²*Newfoundland Royal Commission 1933 Report* (Amulree Report) (London, 1933), p. 86.

³Peter Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949* (Kingston and Montreal, 1988), p. 11.

⁴James Overton, "Economic Crisis and the End of Democracy: Politics in Newfoundland During the Great Depression," *Labour/Le Travail* 26 (1990), pp. 105-6; and James Overton, "Public Relief and Social Unrest in Newfoundland in the 1930s: An Evaluation of the Ideas of Piven and Cloward," in *Class Gender and Region: Essays in Canadian Historical Sociology*, ed. by Gregory S. Kealey (St. John's, 1988), p. 162.

⁵On the economic context and the social and political struggles of the 1930s in Newfoundland, see David Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934," in J.K. Hiller and Peter Neary, eds., *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Toronto, 1983), pp. 17-39; Sean Cadigan, "Battle Harbour in Transition: Merchants, Fishermen, and the State in the Struggle for Relief in a Labrador Community during the 1930s," *Labour/Le Travail* 26 (1990), pp. 125-150; Nancy Forestell, "'Times Were Hard': The Pattern of Women's Paid Labour in St. John's Between the Two World Wars," *Labour/Le Travail* 16 (1989), pp. 147-66; W.E. Gillespie, "A History of the Newfoundland Federation of Labour, 1936-63" (MA thesis, Memorial University, 1980); W.E. Gillespie, *A Class Act* (St. John's, 1986), pp. 53-78; Peter Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World*; Peter Neary, "The Bradley Report on Logging Operations in Newfoundland, 1934: A Suppressed Document," *Labour/Le Travail* 16 (1985), pp. 193-232; James Overton, "Public Relief and Social Unrest in Newfoundland in the 1930s," pp. 143-69; James Overton, "Economic Crisis and the End of Democracy," pp. 85-124; Dufferin Sutherland, "A Social History of Pulpwood Logging in Newfoundland During the Great Depression" (MA thesis, Memorial University, 1988).

⁶Forestry Branch Report 1936, GN 31/3A/C3, p. 24, Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (PANL). 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 3,400 men during the peak period of production.

⁷J.K. Hiller, "The Politics of Newsprint: The Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Industry, 1915-1939," *Acadiensis* 19, 2 (1990), Table 1, p. 20.

⁸J.K. Hiller, "The Origins of the Pulpwood Paper Industry in Newfoundland," *Acadiensis* 11, 2 (1982), pp. 45, 42.

⁹R.A. MacKay, ed., *Newfoundland Economic, Diplomatic and Strategic Studies* (Toronto, 1946), p. 98.

¹⁰Hiller, "Politics of Newsprint," p. 24.

¹¹Ian Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario 1900-1980* (Toronto, 1987), pp. 54-5.

¹²John Ashton, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition in Newfoundland" (Ph.D. thesis, Memorial University, 1985), p. 53.

¹³Norma Mills, "A Comparative Study of Logging Camps" (unpublished paper, 1978, ms 79-172, Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive [MUNFLA]).

¹⁴Richard Rajala, "The Rude Science: A Social History of West Coast Logging, 1890-1930" (MA thesis, University of Victoria, 1984), p. 17; Gordon Hak, "British Columbia Loggers and the

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Lumber Workers Industrial Union, 1919-1922," *Labour/Le Travail*, 23 (1989), p. 69.

¹⁵On BC's forest industries see Rajala, "The Rude Science"; Hak, "British Columbia Loggers"; Hak, "Prairie Capital, Prairie Markets and Prairie Labour: The Forest Industry in the Prince George District, British Columbia, 1910-1930," *Prairie Forum* 14, 1 (1989) pp. 9-22; Hak, "On the Fringes: Capital and Labour in the Forest Economies of the Port Alberni and Prince George Districts, British Columbia, 1910-1939" (Ph.D. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1986). For northern Ontario see Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*. On northern New Brunswick see Patrick Burden, "The New Brunswick Farmer-Labour Union, 1937-41" (MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1983). For Quebec see René Hardy and Normand Séguin, *Forêt et Société en Mauricie* (Quebec, 1984); Gérard Fortin and Boyce Richardson, *Life of the Party* (Montreal, 1984); and Jean-Michel Catta, *La Grève des Bûcherons de Rouyn, 1933* (Temiscamingue, 1985).

¹⁶"Notes on Employment Situation in Newsprint and Logging Industries", prepared by the forestry officer for the Commissioner of Natural Resources, 12 September 1938, GN 31/3A/C2, p. 60 (PANL).

¹⁷Ashton, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition," p. 54.

¹⁸Alistair MacLeod, *The Lost Salt Gift of Blood* (Toronto, 1976), 13-30; for seasonal loggers elsewhere, see Hak, "Prairie Capital," pp. 19-20; Burden, "The New Brunswick Farmer-Labour Union," p. 6; Radforth, *Bushworkers*, pp. 26-32; Fortin and Richardson, *Life of the Party*, pp. 32-3.

¹⁹Eugene Fudge, "The Life of a Logger in the 1930s" (unpublished paper, 1979, ms 79-364, MUNFLA).

²⁰Marion Ellsworth, "The Lumbercamp at Big Bonne Bay, 1932-36" (unpublished paper, 1979, ms. 79-676, MUNFLA).

²¹Fortin and Richardson, *The Life of the Party*, pp. 33-6.

²²Aubrey Tizzard, *On Sloping Ground: Reminiscences of Outport Life in Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland* (St. John's, 1979), pp. 360-1.

²³Neary, "The Bradley Report," p. 197.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 196-9.

²⁵Hak, "British Columbia Loggers," p. 69.

²⁶See Fortin and Richardson, *The Life of the Party*, pp. 34-6; Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, pp. 49-52. Hardy and Séguin, in *Forêt et Société en Mauricie*, pp. 93-4, note that owing to labour problems in the Mauricie region of Quebec the forest companies had begun to replace contractors with company-run camps during World War I and up to the beginning of the depression. However, during the 1930s contractors again became the rule in the region.

²⁷Ashton, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition," p. 62.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 64.

²⁹Fortin and Richardson, *The Life of the Party*, p. 34.

³⁰GN 1/3/A, file 627, p. 7, PANL.

³¹Millertown/Bishop's Falls/Botwood file, Evidence, *Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Logging Industry* (the Bradley Report), Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives (CNS), Memorial University.

³²Neary, "The Bradley Report," p. 197.

³³*Ibid.*, p. 198.

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵For Ontario see Joe Mason, *My Sixteenth Winter* (Cobalt, 1974), p. 6; for BC see Hak, "On the Fringes," pp. 136-40; for Quebec, Fortin and Richardson, *Life of the Party*, p. 34.

³⁶Neary, "The Bradley Report," p. 198. Also Arthur Lang and Alan Robin depositions, Deer Lake file, Evidence, the Bradley Report. The depositions describe the conditions of jobbers' families in the woods.

³⁷J.J. Thompson, *The History of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association* (St. John's, 1956), p. 16.

³⁸Fudge, "The Life of a Logger in the 1930s."

³⁹Neary, "The Bradley Report," p. 207.

⁴⁰Allan Campbell deposition, Deer Lake file, Evidence, the Bradley Report.

⁴¹Susan Flood, "Leander Martin: Logger" (unpublished paper, 1978, ms. 78-392, MUNFLA). Martin's description is similar to Joe Mason's description of a jobber's camp in Ontario in the 1930s where the moon was referred to as "the jobber's sun." See Mason, *My Sixteenth Winter*, p. 6.

⁴²Fudge, "The Life of a Logger in the 1930s."

⁴³Fortin and Richardson, *The Life of the Party*, p. 41.

⁴⁴Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, p. 47.

⁴⁵Cited in Rajala, "The Rude Science," p. 184.

⁴⁶James Janes deposition, Deer Lake file, Evidence, Bradley Report. Company figures for cutting rates are higher, usually over two cords per day. However, the companies' calculations included all cutters, not only those who cut for the whole season. Therefore, a man who worked flat out for a week to earn some money quickly was included with a man who worked for two months and had to pace himself and deal with changeable weather and cutting conditions. This, I think, explains why Radforth's figures in *Bushworkers and Bosses*, p. 57, show some Ontario loggers averaging 2.14 cords per day which is significantly higher than James Janes suggests was possible in Newfoundland during the 1930s.

⁴⁷Monson Lingard deposition, Bishop's Falls/Millertown/Botwood file, Evidence, Bradley Report.

⁴⁸James Janes deposition, Deer Lake file, *ibid*.

⁴⁹John Roberts, chief scaler IPP, deposition, IPP file, *ibid*.

⁵⁰William Wellon deposition, Deer Lake file, *ibid*.

⁵¹Unidentified logger to the Department of Natural Resources, 11 August 1940, GN 31/3A/C30, p.3, PANL.

⁵²Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, p. 37; Fortin and Richardson, *The Life of the Party*, p. 48.

⁵³Allan Pritchett, Deer Lake, to Bradley Commission, 9 April 1934, Evidence, Bradley Report.

⁵⁴See, for example, Nathaniel Tulk deposition, Deer Lake file, Evidence, Bradley Report.

⁵⁵*Ibid*.

⁵⁶Fortin and Richardson, *Life of the Party*, p. 48.

⁵⁷*Evening Telegram* (St. John's), 17 December 1929.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, 7 and 30 January 1930.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 6 March 1930.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 16, 17, and 24 July 1934. The penitentiary could not house all the prisoners so 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.

⁶¹William Courage deposition, Burin file, Evidence, Bradley Report.

⁶²Ashton, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition," p. 76.

⁶³Flood, "Leander Martin: Logger."

⁶⁴Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, p. 59. See also Hardy and Séguin, *Forêt et Société*, pp. 104-6, for a description of the evolution of the haul-off in la Mauricie.

⁶⁵Fudge, "The Life of a Logger in the 1930s."

⁶⁶Neary, "The Bradley Report," p. 202.

⁶⁷Fudge, "The Life of a Logger in the 1930s."

⁶⁸Fortin and Richardson, *Life of the Party*, p. 37.

⁶⁹Neary, "The Bradley Report," p. 214.

⁷⁰Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, pp. 63-6; Hardy and Séguin, *Forêt et Société*, pp. 107-14.

⁷¹Edgar Manuel deposition, Bishop's Falls/Millertown/Botwood file, Evidence, Bradley

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Report.

⁷²Elmer Ball, "The Badger Drive," in *The Savour of Things Past* (St. John's, 1980-1), vol. 1, p. 30.

⁷³See Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, p. 55.

⁷⁴Edgar Manuel deposition, Bishop's Falls/Millertown/Botwood file, Evidence, Bradley

Report.

⁷⁵Neary, "The Bradley Report," p. 214.

⁷⁶Ball, "The Badger Drive," p. 31.

⁷⁷Hardy and Séguin, *Forêt et Société*, p. 112.

⁷⁸See Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, pp. 88-93; Hardy and Séguin, *Forêt et Société*, pp. 115-20; Fortin and Richardson, *Life of the Party*, pp. 37-8; Donald MacKay, *The Lumberjacks*, pp. 228-37.

⁷⁹Ashton, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition," p. 103.

⁸⁰Vincent Vaden, "Early Logging as told by George Anthony from Pilley's Island, Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland" (unpublished paper, 1979, ms. 79-349, MUNFLA).

⁸¹Shane O'Dea, "The Tilt: Vertical Log Construction in Newfoundland," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, ed. Camille Wells (Annapolis, Md., 1982), pp. 57-9.

⁸²Charles Pierce deposition, Deer Lake file, Evidence, the Bradley Report.

⁸³Frank Pearce deposition, Bishop's Falls/Millertown/Botwood file, *ibid*.

⁸⁴Hughlet Edison who built camps for the AND Co. near Bishop's Falls in the 1930s, interview with the author, November 1987, Botwood, Newfoundland.

⁸⁵Neary, "The Bradley Report," p. 200.

⁸⁶William Wellon deposition, Deer Lake file, Evidence, the Bradley Report.

⁸⁷Edgar Manuel deposition, Bishop's Falls/Millertown/Botwood file, *ibid*.

⁸⁸Charles Pierce deposition, Deer Lake file, *ibid*.

⁸⁹Hughlet Edison interview, 1987.

⁹⁰Vincent Jerome, "Early Logging as told by Bramwell Vincent from Triton, Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland" (unpublished paper, 1979, ms. 79-349, MUNFLA).

⁹¹Tizzard, *On Sloping Ground*, p. 361.

⁹²Vaden, "Early Logging."

⁹³Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, p. 105.

⁹⁴Hardy and Séguin, *Forêt et Société*, p. 120.

⁹⁵Fortin and Richardson, *The Life of the Party*, p. 38.

⁹⁶Hak, "On the Fringes," pp. 119-20.

⁹⁷Trevor Sparkes, "Experiences of Woodsmen in the Rocky Harbour and Deer Lake areas" (unpublished paper, 1979, ms. 79-388, MUNFLA).

⁹⁸Mills, "A Comparative Study of Logging Camps."

⁹⁹Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, pp. 96-9; Hardy and Séguin, *Forêt et Société*, pp. 124-

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¹⁰⁰Mills, "A Comparative Study of Logging Camps."

¹⁰¹Sparkes, "Experiences of Woodsmen."

¹⁰²Cyril Williams deposition, Bishop's Falls/Millertown /Botwood file, Evidence, Bradley

Report.

¹⁰³Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁴Neary, "The Bradley Report," p. 201.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid*.

¹⁰⁶Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, p. 100.

¹⁰⁷Ronald Laine, Cyril Williams depositions, Deer Lake file, Evidence, Bradley Report.

¹⁰⁸Allan Norman, "An Account of the Life of Mr. Ward Ball as a Cook in the Lumbercamps around Badger from 1920-48" (unpublished paper, 1980, ms. 80-97, MUNFLA).

¹⁰⁹Fudge, "The Life of a Logger in the 1930s."

¹¹⁰See Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, pp. 93-6; Fortin and Richardson, *Life of the Party*, p. 40.

¹¹¹Ashton, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition," p. 189.

¹¹²Ashton, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition," p. 214. Important song collections folklorists have gathered from the best known lumbering regions of North America include Edith Fowke, *Lumbering Songs from the Northern Woods* (Austin, 1970), and Louise Manny and J.R. Wilson, *Songs of Miramichi* (Fredericton, 1968).

¹¹³Ashton, "The Lumbercamp Song Tradition," p. 196.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹¹⁵See Vernon Jenson, *Lumber and Labor* (New York, 1945), p. 23; Myrtle Bergren, *Tough Timber* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 78-9; Fortin and Richardson, *Life of the Party* (Montreal, 1984), pp. 42-5.

¹¹⁶Sparkes, "Experiences of Woodsmen."

¹¹⁷For BC see Hak, "On the Fringes", chapter 5, and Myrtle Bergren, *Tough Timber*, pp. 71-122. On northern Ontario see Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, pp. 125-58. For Quebec see Catta, *La Grève des Bûcherons*. On northern New Brunswick see Patrick Burden, "The New Brunswick Farmer-Labour Union, 1937-41." For a full description of loggers' strikes and unions in Newfoundland see Dufferin Sutherland, "A Social History of Pulpwood Logging in Newfoundland During the Great Depression" (MA thesis, Memorial University, 1988), chapters 2-3.

¹¹⁸*Evening Telegram*, 5 April, 26 July 1934.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*

¹²⁰Harold Horwood, *Corner Brook: A Social History of a Paper Town* (St. John's, 1986), p. 57.

¹²¹*Evening Telegram*, 12 March 1934.

¹²²Neary, "The Bradley Report," p. 194.

¹²³*Ibid.*, pp. 194-5.

¹²⁴J.K. Hiller, "The Career of F. Gordon Bradley," *Newfoundland Studies* 4, 2 (1988), p. 168.

¹²⁵Neary, "The Bradley Report", pp. 207-12.

¹²⁶Peter Neary, "J.B. Hope Simpson's account of Sir John Hope Simpson's Newfoundland Career, 1934-6," *Newfoundland Studies* 6, 1 (1990), p. 80.

¹²⁷Neary, "The Bradley Report," p. 195. See also Neary, *Newfoundland*, pp. 60-2.

¹²⁸Draft despatch from Commission of Government to Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, 2-3, s2-1-1 file 3, PANL.

¹²⁹*Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1935* (St. John's, 1935), p. 90.

¹³⁰Neary, "The Bradley Report," pp. 206-7.

¹³¹Hardy and Séguin, *Forêt et Société*, p. 132. Jean-Michel Catta in *La Grève des Bûcherons*, p. 8, further, shows that loggers monthly wages were \$26 per month in Saguenay Lac Saint-Jean which corresponds closely to Bradley's figures.

¹³²Richard Rajala, *Lumbering at the Lake: The Cowichan Lumber Industry 1900-1950* (Lake Cowichan, 1987), p. 57. Hak, "On the Fringes," p. 220.

¹³³Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses*, p. 255.

¹³⁴*Wages and Hours of Labour in Canada* (Ottawa, 1937), p. 42, table vii. Figures on logging in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick for 1935 and 1936 reveal that loggers received from \$26-36 per month, or about \$1-1.50 a day.

¹³⁵Peter Neary, *Newfoundland*, p. 11.

¹³⁶Robert Hong, "The Fishermen's Protective Union and the Sealers' and Loggers' Bills" (unpublished paper, Memorial University, 1985), p. 15. Copy of paper in possession of author.

¹³⁷Minimum rates of pay were set under section 19 of the 1931 *Logging Act*: 35 cents per hour for driving logs and the work day was limited to 10 hours; 30 cents per hour or \$3 per cord if

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employed cutting wood in a "clean-up chance"; overtime pay was fixed at one and one-half times the normal rate. By the *Logging Act (Amendment) 1933*, the operation of section 19 was suspended until 1 May, 1935 and by the *Logging Act (Amendment) 1935*, it was further suspended until 1 May 1936. The Commission of Government suspended the minimum wage clause in 1937, and twice in 1938. Finally, by the *Logging Act 1938*, section 19 was suspended for the last time and repealed.

¹³⁸V.S. Jones, General Manager, AND Co. to Hon. J.H. Gorvin, Commissioner for Natural Resources, 25 August 1939, GN 31/3A/C2/20/1, p. 8, PANL.

¹³⁹Roy Forward, forestry officer, Department of Natural Resources Interdepartmental Memorandum 16 October 1939, GN 31/3A/C2/20/1, p. 8, PANL.

¹⁴⁰Hon. J.H. Gorvin, Commissioner of Natural Resources Interdepartmental Memorandum 24 October 1939, GN 31/3A/C2/20/1, p. 10, PANL.

¹⁴¹Edward Sinnott, forestry officer, to Department of Natural Resources, 8 November 1939, GN 31/3A/C2/20/1, p. 11, PANL.

¹⁴²The history of the loggers' unions during the 1930s is fully dealt with in my MA thesis, "A Social History of Pulpwood Logging in Newfoundland During the Great Depression," chapters 2 and 3. Initially, the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association, the principal union in the woods during this period, appears to have made gains for the loggers. In *The History of the Newfoundland Lumbermen's Association*, union president J.J. Thompson wrote that wages per cord rose from a range of \$.90-1.20 in 1936 to a range of \$2-3.35 in 1941. During the same period the board price remained the same. Those wages in the early 1940s, according to a Department of Natural Resources Report, GN 31/3A/C2/20/1, p. 9, PANL, made Newfoundland loggers as highly paid as loggers in eastern and central Canada. From that point on, however, wages and conditions in the woods appear to have deteriorated to the point described in the 1961 *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on the Logging Industry*, cited in Richard Gwyn, *Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary* (Toronto 1968), p. 220.

¹⁴³See James Overton, "Public Relief and Social Unrest in Newfoundland in the 1930s," pp. 149-50.

¹⁴⁴Richard Gwyn, *Smallwood*, p. 220.

¹⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 221.