

“Mr. Big Wood or Sawdust?”:

*Joseph R. Smallwood & The 1959 IWA Strike
in Central Newfoundland*

by

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*To all the Newfoundlanders who have inspired, welcomed and befriended
me, this is for you.*

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Abstract

Joseph R. Smallwood was, for lack of a better term, a Newfoundlander for Newfoundland. Or so, that is how he portrayed himself. Under the first ten years of Confederation, Smallwood pushed a program of rapid industrialization. This program was largely unsuccessful. So, when the IWA declared a strike on the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company in January 1959, which posed a significant threat to the province's most prosperous industry (pulp and paper), Smallwood leapt into action. Rather than support the loggers' elected union, he banned the IWA in favour of a provincial union that was to be run by Max Lane, President of the Fishermen's Federation. Utilizing key documents from the Smallwood Collections at Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University, this thesis examines the factors that led up to this decision, its outcome and ultimately, and why Smallwood chose to do what he did.

List of Abbreviations Used

NLA – Newfoundland Lumberman’s Association
IWA – International Woodworkers of America
AND – Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited
CWPU – Central Workers’ Protective Union
FPU – Fisherman’s Protective Union
NLU – Newfoundland Labourers’ Union
UBCJ – United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners
NBWW – Newfoundland Brotherhood of Wood Workers

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Chapter One: Introduction

Just after midnight on January 1, 1959 the International Woodworkers of America called a strike in Central Newfoundland. After three years of union organizing and several months spent negotiating with the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company (A.N.D. Co. Ltd.), the loggers and their representatives were left with no other choice but to call a strike. A.N.D. Co. Ltd. was unwilling to budge in their stance. They refused to comply with the conciliation board's recommendations for an increase in wages to \$1.22 per hour over 2 years, decrease in the work week from 60 to 54 hours in the second year, addition of a union shop, and an agreed-upon plan for improved living conditions in the camps.¹ What ensued in the months following left a major mark on the province's labour history. This thesis will focus on the decisions made by Premier Joseph R. Smallwood that ultimately brought about an end to the strike and the end of the IWA in the province. It will look closely at the communication between Smallwood and his fellow Newfoundlanders, particularly, in mid-February as a way to measure and analyze their attitudes toward the strike and the government's proposed plan of action. Ultimately, this thesis will argue that Smallwood's decision to outlaw the IWA and start a new loggers' union was taken out of what he perceived to be economic necessity but was only done because he knew he could carry out his plan without losing the support of his fellow Newfoundlanders.

¹ Jerry Lembcke and William M. Tattam, *One Union in Wood: A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America* (Maderia Park: Harbour Publishing, 1984), 158.

For the first ten years following Confederation with Canada, Smallwood's government pushed a program of rapid industrialization and economic growth. This program was based primarily on multiple manufacturing industries. This included, but certainly was not limited to, textile, leather, gloves and rubber boot production, a cement factory and the Come By Chance Oil Refinery. As well as a possible third pulp and paper mill that would add to the two that existed in Grand Falls and Corner Brook.² Table 1.1, borrowed from Douglas Letto's *Chocolate Bars & Rubbers Boots: The Smallwood Industrialization Plan*, shows the status of the various industries started under Smallwood's industrialization plan as of when the book was published in 1998. As Letto highlighted, almost every single one of the manufacturing operations that began under the auspices of the Smallwood Industrialization Plan and the Newfoundland Industrial Development Board failed. Referring again to Table 1.1, you can see that most of the new industries failed within the decade, while a handful lasted into the late 1980s. This had severe financial repercussions for the province's treasury. There had been a carryover in the province's treasury of \$40,000,000 that had been saved during the Commission Government that lasted from 1934 until March 31, 1949.³ The surplus had been earmarked for the modernization of infrastructure and economic development. Smallwood's plan spent only part of the money on infrastructure development. His government spent a much larger percentage of the money on the industrial development plan.⁴

² Douglas Letto, *Chocolate Bars & Rubber Boots: The Smallwood Industrialization Plan* (Paradise: Blue Hill Publishing, 1998), ix.

³ Letto, *Chocolate Bars and Rubber Boots*, 9.

⁴ Letto, *Chocolate Bars and Rubber Boots*, xi.

Table 1.1: Manufacturing Companies Opened under the Smallwood

Industrialization Plan

Company Name	Year Opened	Operational Status in 1998
A. Adler of Canada Ltd.	1956	Closed in 1960
Atlantic Films and Electronic Ltd.	1953	Closed in the 1980's
Atlantic Gloves Ltd.	1954	Closed in 1957
Atlantic Gypsum Ltd.	1952	Still in operation, but privately owned.
Atlantic Hardboards Ltd.	1952	Closed
Canadian Machinery and Industry Construction Ltd.	1952	Closed in the 1980's
Eckhardt Knitting Mills Ltd.	1955	Closed in the early 1960's
Gold Sail Leather Goods	1957	Closed in 1960
Hanning Electric Co.	1953	Closed in 1958
Koch Shoes Ltd.	1953	Now called Terra Nova Shoes, but is privately owned.
Newfoundland Hardwoods Ltd.	1952	Closed in the 1980's
Newfoundland Tanneries	1952	Closed in 1957
North Star Cement Co.	1952	Still in operation, but privately owned.
Superior Rubber Co.	1953	Closed in 1956
Terra Nova Textiles	1954	Closed in 1986
United Cotton Mills	1952	Closed in 1986

Source: Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment (1986) Chapter 2, p. 8 and JRS Collection as cited in Douglas Letto's *Chocolate Bars & Rubbers Boots: The Smallwood Industrialization Plan* (Paradise: Blue Hill Publishing, 1998), 72.

The failure of the Smallwood Industrialization Plan is at the heart of the argument being made in this thesis. Eager to bring the province into the twentieth-century and to see it on par with the other Atlantic Provinces, Smallwood went full force into the opening of these various manufacturing plants across the province. However, the plan was not nearly as successful as he hoped it to be or as it needed to be. By the late 1950s, the Smallwood government was well aware of the plan's impending difficulties.

Throughout the years of high-level spending on the multiple manufacturing plants and for decades before Confederation even took place, one industry continued to experience financial growth and success, the pulp and paper industry. Since the turn of the twentieth-century the pulp and paper industry had played an increasingly important role in the Newfoundland economy. In 1909 the first mill was opened in Grand Falls under the direction of Alfred Harmsworth, later known as Lord Northcliffe.⁵ The company town of Grand Falls was built around it. The ‘Junction’, which later became known as Windsor, was built on the opposite side of the rail tracks for non-millworkers or for those who worked there part-time. By 1925, a second mill had been opened in Corner Brook by the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company, which later became known as Bowater’s Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Mill.⁶

Throughout the first half of the twentieth-century, the industry experienced significant growth. In 1950 the “net value of forestry production in commodity producing industries” in the province was 42% of the province’s total commodities sector. By 1960 the number had dropped to 27%.⁷ The drop in forestry’s overall importance to the economy can be attributed to diversification. The revenue from the forestry industry in 1950 was nearly \$49,000,000. By 1960, the year following the IWA Strike, the revenue increased to a staggering \$65,000,000, an increase in value of 33%.⁸

However, that does not mean that the pulp and paper industry became any less lucrative. In 1955, the total value of production in the forestry industry was at

⁵ Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society Inc, *Grand Falls-Windsor: The Place and Its People*. (Grand Falls-Windsor: Grand Falls Windsor Heritage Society Inc, 2005), 57.

⁶ The Government of Newfoundland, *Newfoundland and Labrador, The First Fifteen Years of Confederation*, ed. R.I. McAllister (St. John’s: Dicks & Co. Ltd., 1965), 93.

⁷ *The First Fifteen Years of Confederation*, 98.

⁸ *Ibid.*

approximately \$30,000,000. Of that \$30,000,000, approximately \$25,000,000 can be attributed to pulpwood production. Although the total value declined between 1955 and 1958, the value rose again between 1958 and 1960. By 1960, the total value of pulpwood production was approximately \$27,000,000.⁹ Comparable, in ways, to the success of the offshore oil and gas industry in the province in the early twenty-first-century, the government and company officials alike were well aware of the financial importance of pulp and paper. For all intents and purposes, the Government of Newfoundland could not afford the loss or damage to such a successful industry, given that so many of the industries it had been trying hard to develop in the previous ten years had failed.

Additionally, Smallwood had been working on finding a deal that would see the opening of a third pulp and paper mill in Newfoundland. Although in the late 1950s these plans were only in their infancy, they coincided with Smallwood's decision-making in regards to the IWA and the strike. Smallwood talked of these plans for the third or even fourth mill in the speech he made regarding the strike on February 12th. When defending the necessity of having a strong, independent union for the loggers, Smallwood stated

...my task in bringing a third great paper mill to Newfoundland would be made much harder than it is if there was no strong, independent union of loggers that could represent the men in dealing with the employers.¹⁰

Although this statement was meant to reassure the loggers that he knew that they needed good union representation, he used it as an opportunity to remind them as well as others that he was looking to open an additional mill in the coming years. He further discussed his plans for more mills in a chapter in his memoir *I Chose Canada* titled "Heart's

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-075 J.R. Smallwood Collection, 7.02 Speeches, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 2.

Desire.” Although he was not in power by the time the mill was finally opened in the early to mid-nineteen seventies around the time his memoir was written, Smallwood’s government did manage to sign a deal to have the third mill opened in Stephenville.

Smallwood’s emphasis and focus on the opening of the third mill in the province further proves the importance of the pulp and paper industry to the economy. Why go to such great lengths to open a third mill if the industry wasn’t doing well? Despite difficulties in getting a company to open the third mill, Smallwood argued that it would do the province good to expand within an industry that was prospering. The IWA Strike, however, in the same manner that it posed a risk to the industry at the time of the strike, posed a risk to any further growth within the industry according to Smallwood. If the IWA grew too strong, it would be less likely that an additional company would want to start operations in the province, where their decisions would be heavily influenced, even controlled, by the union.

The IWA and the strike did pose a threat to both A.N.D. and the provincial government. Even though the loggers were only asking for a fairly minimal increase in wages and improved living conditions in the camps, A.N.D. would not budge. In fact, in a discussion with Landon Ladd, the strike leader, officials informed him that the only way they could come to some sort of settlement in regards to the ongoing contract negotiations and strike was if the loggers would take a pay cut!¹¹ Although Smallwood delayed making a public address about the strike, he finally spoke out on the evening of Thursday, February 12th via a radio and televised broadcast. Many loggers, as will be

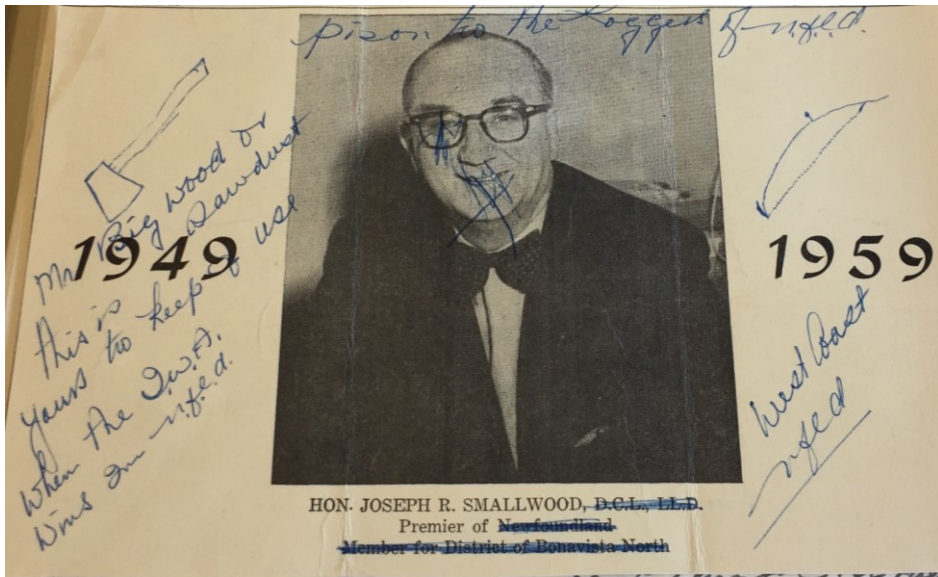
¹¹ Landon Ladd, “The Newfoundland Loggers’ Strike of 1959,” in *Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History*, eds., W.J.C Cherwinski and Gregory S, Kealey (St. John’s: Committee on Canadian Labour History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985), 154

discussed in great detail later in this thesis, expected Smallwood to speak out in support of them and their strike. However, much to their dismay, Smallwood did not. Rather, he spoke out in full condemnation of the IWA and the hatred and strife they had been causing in such a “good and decent, Christian province”.¹² Instead of supporting the loggers, the strike and the IWA, he announced his plans to start a new loggers’ union, one that would be led by Max Lane.

The speech was polarizing. Many loggers and members of the general public were outraged at Smallwood’s words. How could he turn his back on them, in favour of the company? The angry sentiments seen in the telegrams and messages sent in the days following his controversial broadcast were just as strong, and if not stronger, than what Smallwood had to say in the speech itself. Figure 1.1. showcases one of the messages sent to Smallwood. It captures the type of anti-Smallwood sentiment that was felt amongst many loggers and members of the general public in the wake of the speech.

¹² ASCQELMU, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 11.

Figure 1.1. “Mr. Big Wood or Sawdust?” Anti-Smallwood Sentiment Photo



Source: “Pison [poison] to the loggers of NFLD, Mr. Big Wood or Sawdust this is yours to keep and used when the IWA wins in NFLD.” This photo was obtained from File 3.18.023 IWA Strike, Letter in Support of, Coll-75, J.R. Smallwood Collection.

This particular response was the inspiration behind the title of the thesis, which has turned the comment made on the left hand side of the photo “Mr Big Wood or Sawdust?” on its head. As the title of the thesis, posed as a hypothetical question, the comment now questions whether or not Smallwood was as villainous as suggested by the sender of this photo and other similar responses.

Nonetheless, for as many that responded to Smallwood’s speech in anger and frustration, many more responded in overwhelming support. Of the 906 telegram responses sent to Smallwood’s office directly following the controversial and scale-tipping speech, an overwhelming 818 were in support of him and his plan to rid Newfoundland of the IWA in favour of a new union. So, despite the anger felt by many, Smallwood knew he had the support of a significant portion of the province’s population, whether they were loggers or members of the general public. This reassurance was in

addition to the information he received from having sent out his “eyes and ears” throughout the “big stretch” from White Bay to Trinity Bay, where 98% of the A.N.D. loggers were from. This was done in the weeks leading up to the speech. The results, much like the telegram responses, spoke overwhelmingly to the desire of bringing about an end to the strike and for the loggers to return to work as soon as possible.¹³ This thesis examines the telegram responses to Smallwood’s speech, looking at what they can tell us about Newfoundlanders’ perceptions of the strike, of Smallwood, and his decision to rid the province of the IWA. Ultimately, it examines the factors behind Smallwood’s decision to go against the loggers, favoring instead the company and as a result the financial wellbeing of the province as he defined it.

The first chapter of the thesis is based upon the relationship between the loggers, their families and Smallwood at the time of the strike, specifically following controversial February 12th speech. Starting with an analysis of this relationship is particularly important due to the fact that it was a loggers’ strike. With the loggers at the very centre of the strike, it was them who had to deal with the immediate impact of Smallwood’s decision to ban the IWA and start a new loggers’ union. They were the ones on the picket line, fighting for improved wages and camp living conditions and they would also be the ones to choose to join Smallwood’s new union or be forced out of their job. Furthermore, it was the interest of the loggers’ that was being sacrificed in favour of ensuring the existence of the province’s most lucrative industry and thus it’s economic wellbeing of the province as Smallwood perceived it.

¹³ Ibid., 4.

The second chapter of this thesis focuses on the relationship between A.N.D. Co. Ltd and Smallwood. In the late nineteen-fifties, the pulp and paper industry was Newfoundland's most economically viable and lucrative industry. In a report published by the provincial government in mid nineteen-sixties entitled *Newfoundland and Labrador: The First Fifteen Years of Confederation*, it was noted that the "giant of Newfoundland's forest economy [was] the pulp and paper industry."¹⁴ Although other core industries such as the fishery remained a common occupation for many Newfoundlanders and did have an impact on the province's economy, it was a severely challenged sector and its revenue was dwarfed in comparison to the revenue of pulp and paper. Given the setbacks Smallwood's government had been facing in their rapid industrialization program and the economic viability of the pulp and paper industry, it is necessary to fully understand the relationship between A.N.D. Co. Ltd. and Smallwood. Such a discussion will further establish how and why Smallwood chose to make the decisions he did to end the strike and secure the future of the company in central Newfoundland.

The third chapter looks at the understanding and perceptions of Smallwood and his decisions regarding the outlawing of the IWA and ending the strike as held by the general public in the province. This group includes individuals who were not directly involved with the logging industry but who sent telegrams to Smallwood following the February 12th speech. This analysis and discussion is vitally important due not only to the fact that this demographic wrote the vast majority of the telegrams sent in to Smallwood's office on February 13th, but they also represent the general population of

¹⁴ Government of Newfoundland, *The First Fifteen Years of Confederation* 101.

the province. Smallwood was well aware that it was with the general population of the province, rather than with the loggers or mill workers, that the vast majority of his support lay. From his perspective, Smallwood's proposed plan of action for bringing about the end of the strike as soon as possible was targeted at benefitting the general population of the province. As a result, it is critically important to understand the dynamics of the relationship between the general population and Smallwood as well as their perceptions of his decision to publically denounce the IWA and end the strike.

The majority of the source base for this thesis come from Coll-75 and Coll-285 housed at Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland. Both of these collections contain materials from Joseph R Smallwood's political and private life. Although these collections contain many valuable primary sources for historians and other academics studying Smallwood era Newfoundland, the majority of the material concerning the topic of this thesis was taken from files 15.03 Telegram February 1959 in Coll-285, and from 7.02.012 Speech File 1959 in Coll-75. File 15.03 contains the telegrams that are used in the thesis as a way to discuss the positions of Newfoundlanders on the strike and their perceptions of Smallwood. These materials were chosen because they can be used as qualitative data, and can be easily transformed into quantitative data to support the thesis' arguments. The 7.02.012 Speech File 1959 is the file that holds Smallwood's controversial and pivotal February 12th speech, the very speech that the telegrams in file 15.03 were responding to. Basing the thesis on the direct and clear communication between Smallwood and his fellow Newfoundlanders allows for a more well-rounded and well-informed analysis of Smallwood's decision.

The telegrams, although a highly valuable tool for studying the IWA Strike, are not without their own set of issues and limitations. In 1961, two years after the strike, the population of Newfoundland was 457,853. The number of telegrams sent in to Smallwood's office on the day following his speech February 12th speech was 906. When this number is considered in comparison to the population of the province, the response appears to be an inadequate representation. Furthermore, of the 906 telegrams, only 203 were sent from individuals who directly identified themselves as loggers. Although it is likely that a larger percentage did in fact come from loggers, there is no way to know for certain. When this number is considered against the total number of loggers in the whole province, which was 5,746 in 1961, again it appears as an inadequate representation.

It should also be acknowledge, before examining the telegrams for what they can tell us about the strike and about the relationship between Smallwood and his fellow Newfoundlanders, that there are certain key groups missing from those that telegraphed in. By looking at the number of telegrams sent in by loggers and even by those that telegraphed in but remained supportive of the IWA despite Smallwood's speech, we can see that a large percentage of those that remained loyal to the IWA did not bother to telegram Smallwood's office following his speech. The total number of telegrams and certainly those telegrams in favour of the IWA would have been significantly higher. A number of factors were likely contributors to this, such as supporters not wanting to acknowledge Smallwood's proposed plan of action to rid the province of their union. Furthermore, many of the telegram offices would have been located in communities and offices controlled and operated by A.N.D. Although this is speculative and there is no real way of knowing for certain, it is plausible that those looking to telegram an anti-

A.N.D. or anti-Smallwood message would have been prevented from doing so by the company. This, although difficult to prove, is important to consider who did and did not respond to Smallwood's speech.

Nonetheless, the collection of telegrams, despite its size, is a very valuable tool for studying the 1959 IWA Strike and the relationship between Smallwood and his fellow Newfoundlanders at this point in his time as premier. Although there are other sources an individual studying this event or period could use, such as newspapers or government statistics, no other source is as well put together and manageable as the telegrams. They are all located within one collection and can be used as both qualitative and quantitative data. It is a valuable measure of support for Smallwood at the very moment the strike was occurring. Not only would it have allowed Smallwood to decide if he could proceed with ridding the province of the IWA in favour of his own union for the loggers, it allows individuals studying the events in present day to do the same. Despite its limitations, the archival collection of telegrams serves as a good measure of public opinion during the strike.

Other primary source material used in the thesis include: an economic report made by the Newfoundland government in the mid nineteen-sixties, Smallwood's memoir *I Chose Canada*, a speech made by Landon Ladd in 1984, as well as a publication put out by the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company following the end of the strike. The economic report, entitled *Newfoundland and Labrador: The First Fifteen Years of Confederation*, contains a general overview of the economic growth and industrial development since Confederation with Canada in 1949. This is important and helpful to the argument being made in this thesis, as the argument pivots on Smallwood's decisions being made out of economic necessity, as he perceived it. The information

provided in the report helps to establish just how vital the provincial government knew the pulp and paper industry was to the economy at the time of the strike.

I Chose Canada is an important primary source when looking at anything Smallwood did in his political career due to the nature of the book's material. This thesis considers Smallwood's memoir as a primary source as he wrote about himself. Yet it is largely a reflection on what he has done and his sentiments towards much of his political career. Because it is written so long after the events took place, the material is bound to be slightly more reflective rather than a realistic account, and therefore might be considered a secondary source as well. His memoir covers a variety of different things he did in his lifetime, including the more controversial occurrences or decisions he made while Premier of Newfoundland. Unlike virtually all of the secondary literature that surrounds Smallwood era Newfoundland and specifically Smallwood himself, the chapter where he talked about the 1959 IWA strike was essentially a defense of his actions during the ensuing months. Including 'pro-Smallwood' materials helps in preventing the supporting material of the thesis from becoming too 'anti-Smallwood' and pro-labour rather than remaining as balanced as possible.

A further primary source that plays an important role in this thesis is the speech given by Landon Ladd in 1984, as part of a lecture series on Canadian working class and labour history at Memorial University in St. John's. In this speech, Ladd recounts the days leading up to the 1959 loggers strike as well as the strike itself. This is a particularly useful source due to the fact that I was not able to gain access to any of the IWA materials held by the union. The only IWA materials that I was able to access in the researching for this thesis were the materials once in Smallwood's possession and now held with Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial

University in St. John's, Newfoundland. Furthermore, Ladd's speech is a valuable source due to the nature of it. Not only is it an account of the strike and the months leading up to it, but also the very leader of the IWA and Smallwood's rival throughout the strike wrote it. However, similar to the caution that needed to be taken when using *I Chose Canada* as a primary source, Ladd's speech needs to be handled carefully as it very clearly comes with certain biases. Much like how Smallwood's chapter in *I Chose Canada* entitled "Shall Might be Right?" is a defense of Smallwood's actions Ladd's speech is a defense of the actions taken by him and IWA leading up to and during the strike. Furthermore, it is a criticism of the actions taken by Smallwood and the Government of Newfoundland throughout the strike. Nonetheless, it remains a critical primary source to the argument being made in the thesis.

The final key primary source that this thesis uses is a publication put out by A.N.D. directly following the strike, entitled *Turmoil in the Woods Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company: A Report on the Dispute Between the International Woodworkers of America and the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited*. Not only does it provide useful information from the company's perspective, but it also is the only easily accessible primary source material from them. Although the Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University hold plenty of materials regarding the strike and communication between A.N.D. and the government of Newfoundland, it is not the company's archives. Therefore, *Turmoil in the Woods* provides an opportunity to look directly at what the company itself had to say in regards to the camps, the loggers, the IWA, and the strike.

Historiography

In comparison to Newfoundland's centuries' long history, the Smallwood era did not take place that far in the past. However, this segment in the province's long history is just as vitally important. In fact, the Smallwood era played a critical role as a turning point in the province's history. This era, which most certainly includes the 1959 IWA Strike, due to its importance, has become a focal point for many historians and other academics. The work written by these historians has provided a valuable secondary literature base for the researching and writing of this thesis. The historians whose work was used most frequently and heavily include: Sean Cadigan, Raymond Blake, Corey Slumkoski, Douglas Letto as well as Jerry Lembcke and William Tattam.

Sean Cadigan's chapter "The Land of Milk and Honey, 1946-1972" in his book *Newfoundland & Labrador, A History*, provided an in-depth discussion on Smallwood era Newfoundland. Although many different books and articles have been written on Smallwood or things that he did during his political career, before, after and during his time as premier, Cadigan's chapter provided a detailed summary of the period all in one place. Other historians, such as Letto, focused on one particular aspect or another of Smallwood's time in office or in his political career. However, Cadigan's chapter starts from the very beginning during the National Convention in 1946 until Frank Moore of the Progressive Conservative Party was voted in as Premier of Newfoundland in 1972.

Cadigan looked at the period widely, but made a direct effort to discuss the labour movement and specifically the 1959 IWA Strike. Critical of Smallwood throughout the whole chapter, he argued "Smallwood had dealt dictatorially with the organized labour

movement.”¹⁵ Cadigan also highlighted how Smallwood decertified the IWA, so they were no longer legally able to operate within the province as the official bargaining unit for the loggers. He furthered this by noting that Smallwood started a new union for the loggers that was led by a member of the Liberal Party and his friend, Max Lane. This is an important, and certainly common thread that can be seen in discussions of Smallwood’s decisions regarding the IWA and the loggers’ strike. Furthermore, it is the same stance that a number of individuals took following the February 12th speech, which can be seen via the telegrams, sent in to Smallwood’s office on the following day. This thesis considers Cadigan’s argument in discussing the context of the strike, but also stands opposed to it. Rather than take a purely critical approach to Smallwood’s decision making surrounding the strike and the decertification of the IWA, this thesis considers why and how he chose the actions he did.

In 1994, Raymond Blake published *Canadians at Last, Canada Integrates Newfoundland as a Province*. As the title suggests, Blake looked at the process of how Newfoundland was integrated into the federal system. He made a point of saying that his study only covers the years between 1949 and 1957. As a result, the controversy that would soon develop surrounding the 1959 IWA Strike was not included. This allowed Blake to focus on the integration of Newfoundland in the first part of the decade, without the added complication of what was to come. The central argument he put forth was that “union succeeded in improving the standard of living in Newfoundland, but in the process the province shifted its dependence from London to Ottawa.”¹⁶ No longer was

¹⁵ Sean Cadigan, “The Land of Milk and Honey 1946-1972,” in *Newfoundland and Labrador, A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 258-259.

¹⁶ Raymond Blake, *Canadians at Last: Canada Integrates Newfoundland as a Province*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 6.

Newfoundland dependent on England for financial security, but now dependent on Canada to secure its future. The relationship dynamic between the two shifted significantly after 1949. Blake also emphasized

... domestically, Canadians expected a good life and welcomed the coming of the welfare state. Union with Newfoundland must be seen as an expression of this new-found confidence and ambition.¹⁷

Both of these arguments put forth by Blake highlight the importance of further study of Newfoundland – Canada relations in the decades following Confederation.

Published twenty-two years later in 2016, Blake's *Lions or Jellyfish: Newfoundland-Ottawa Relations Since 1957*, picks up where *Canadians at Last* left off. This book, as the title suggests, examines Newfoundland – Ottawa relations since 1957. It covers controversial events such as the debate over Term 29 between Smallwood and Diefenbaker, the 1959 IWA Strike as well as the battle between Danny Williams and both Paul Martin and Stephen Harper over offshore oil and equalization payments. Blake stated the goal of *Lions or Jellyfish* was to

... build on existing methodologies to examine the role of a handful of influential Newfoundland and Labrador premiers and Canadian prime ministers in shaping and reshaping the intergovernmental relationship between Newfoundland and Ottawa.¹⁸

This is a valuable contribution to the literature as it examines, in detail, the major events that have aided in shaping Newfoundland – Ottawa relations in the second half of the twentieth-century and the first decade of the twenty-first-century. *Lions or Jellyfish* as well as *Canadians At Last* are important to the overall structure of the thesis because they aid in providing the context in which the strike took place. Looking at what was

¹⁷ Blake, *Canadians at Last*, 177-178.

¹⁸ Raymond B. Blake, *Lions or Jellyfish: Newfoundland-Ottawa Relations Since 1957*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 317.

happening in the whole period allows for a more nuanced understanding of the IWA strike and the factors that surrounded it.

In 2011, seventeen years after Blake's initial study of the integration of Newfoundland into Canada, Corey Slumkoski published *Inventing Atlantic Canada: Regionalism & The Maritime Reaction to Newfoundland's Entry Into Canada*. The book, as the title suggests, examined the reaction of the Maritime Provinces to Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada and the seeming invention of Atlantic Canada. Laid out in the introduction, the book is

a study of Maritime and Atlantic Canadian regionalism – its presence and its absence – through the ends afforded by the Maritime Provinces' reaction to Newfoundland's entry into Canadian Confederation in 1949.¹⁹

This approach is much different than the one taken by Blake in either book. Slumkoski argued that each province had its own, self-serving, reasons for or against and eventual reactions to Newfoundland's new status as a Canadian province. To use one of Slumkoski's examples, Nova Scotia used Newfoundland's potential Confederation to aid in the campaign for financial support from the federal government to help build the Canso Causeway, which would link Cape Breton to mainland Nova Scotia. The transportation of goods, services and people from Newfoundland would be made much smoother, provided there was a bridge built between Cape Breton and the mainland, completing the last 'link in the chain'. The project was approved and the Canso Causeway was opened in 1952.²⁰

¹⁹ Corey Slumkoski, *Inventing Atlantic Canada, Regionalism and the Maritime Reaction to Newfoundland's Entry into Canadian Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 3.

²⁰ Slumkoski, *Inventing Atlantic Canada*, 41-45.

Slumkoski's work diverges from that of both Cadigan and Blake. A portion of Slumkoski's discussion hinges on the Term 29 debate between Smallwood and Diefenbaker and the failure to create a solid Atlantic Canada. Term 29, part of the legal framework that joined Newfoundland with Canada, dealt with the level of federal transfer payments the new province would receive after the initial 8 years. The debate over the matter was spurred by Diefenbaker denying the province any federal money after the 8 years was up due to the monies received up and until the 8-year mark. This point of tension between the federal government in Ottawa and the Smallwood administration began in the late nineteen fifties, only a few short years before the 1959 IWA Strike took place. Therefore, it is important because it was a pivotal moment in Ottawa-Newfoundland relations; the affects of which would have still been at play during the strike. Again, taking this into consideration aids in providing context for the tensions and existing issues in Newfoundland politics around the time the IWA strike took place.

More directly related to the loggers' strike and the factors that lead up to Smallwood's decision to decertify the IWA and start a new union is the work of Douglas Letto. Published in 1998 *Chocolate Bars & Rubber Boots, The Smallwood Industrialization Plan*, provided an in-depth analysis of Smallwood's plan to grow the province's economy and expand its industrial and manufacturing sectors. His overview of the Smallwood Industrialization Plan was particularly useful in building the background of this thesis' argument because there is a direct correlation between the two. As discussed extensively throughout Letto's book, although some of the manufacturing operations started under the plan experienced some level of success, by and large the plan was unsuccessful.

As discussed previously, the forestry sector and particularly the pulp and paper industry was considerably successful and remained financially lucrative throughout Smallwood's premiership. With the industrialization plan being largely unsuccessful, the provincial government could not afford damage to or the loss of its most successful industry. As a result, Smallwood denounced the IWA in his February 12th speech, decertified them the following month and started a new union of the loggers.

With this being said, Letto's *Chocolate Bars & Rubbers Boots* allows for a fuller, more well rounded discussion of the factors that contributed to Smallwood's decision to bring about an end to the strike in such a decisive way. Letto highlighted many of the key economic issues that Smallwood's government was plagued with during its time. The focus of Letto's work, the Smallwood Industrialization Plan, drained the province's treasury, using up nearly \$40,000,000 of the Commission Government surplus that carried over into Confederation. The Smallwood Government, as highlighted in Letto's work, was in a poor economic situation as a result.

Jerry Lembcke and William Tattam's book *One Union In Wood: A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America*, as the name suggests, provides an overview of the IWA's history in North America. Although it is a fairly extensive overview, one chapter in particular has a focus on the strike and the union's lasting legacy entitled "The Legacy: Newfoundland and Laurel." The section spent discussing Newfoundland provided a detailed overview of the IWA's presence in the province as well as the strike. The chapter's central argument was that "in the end, the greatest asset the IWA had in Newfoundland – the charismatic leadership of Harvey [Landon] Ladd –

may have been its fatal weakness.”²¹ Although this thesis doesn’t provide a specific criticism of Ladd or necessarily anti-Ladd sentiment, taking such an argument into consideration is important due to the fact that Ladd was the man leading the loggers in the strike. As a result, Ladd became Smallwood’s opponent and a point of focus in his speech as well as in the telegrams.

Unlike Cadigan, Blake and Slumcoski, Lembcke and Tattam do not spend any time discussing the economic or political situation in Newfoundland prior to the emergence of the IWA at the Newfoundland Lumberman’s Association Convention in October of 1956. Therefore, there is not necessarily a disagreement with their work from the work of the others. Rather, there is a divergence in topic, despite all of them talking about the same period in the province’s history.

Also important to the historiography of the study of Smallwood era Newfoundland are the two quintessential biographies that have been published on Smallwood. Published in 1989, *Joey: The Life and Political Times of Joseph Smallwood* was written by his contemporary and often critic, Harold Horwood. Horwood’s biography provides context to Smallwood’s life and political activity. Given that Horwood had a personal association with Smallwood for the vast majority of his political life, the biography provided insights that would not be available elsewhere. Horwood notes that his biography of Smallwood “is based on [his] personal knowledge of Smallwood, supplemented by documentary research, and is full of personal judgments about his character, his motives, and his personality.”²² In addition to Horwood’s

²¹ Jerry Lembcke and William M. Tattam, *One Union In Wood, A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America* (Maderia Park: Harbour Publishing, 1984), 165.

²² Harold Horwood, *Joey: The Life and Political Times of Joey Smallwood*, (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co., 1989), 1.

biography, Richard Gwyn's, *Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary* is an important contribution to the literature. Unlike Horwood, Gwyn did not have such a personal association with Smallwood and therefore is slightly more removed from the subject. *Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary*, however, remains an illuminating source that provides context to Smallwood's political life.

Reading these biographies together provided a highly detailed, contextual understanding to the political life of Smallwood and the time in which he lived. They play an important role in the thesis, as they allow for a wider discussion on Smallwood's life and particularly on his extensive political career. Unlike Cadigan, Blake or Slumkoski, who do not focus specifically on Smallwood, both Horwood and Gwyn focus directly on him. Both biographies also coincide well with one of the primary source manuscripts used heavily in this thesis, Smallwood's memoir, *I Chose Canada*, which was also used as a point of reference throughout the thesis.

This thesis, although related in many ways to the works discussed here, will provide both a unique and valuable contribution to the established literature on Smallwood era Newfoundland. Unlike the historians whose work was highly influential in the writing of this thesis, this thesis focuses directly upon a very narrow time line, the first three months of 1959. Similarly, it focuses specifically on Smallwood in relation to the IWA Strike. Many of historians such as Cadigan, Blake, Slumcoski, Letto as well as Lembecke Tattam focus on one or more of these topics. However, this thesis asks why and how Smallwood chose to go against the immediate interest of the loggers, favoring instead the protection of the A.N.D. Co. Ltd.

Chapter Two: The Centre of the Strike: Loggers, their Families and Smallwood

Introduction

At the centre of the 1959 International Woodworkers of America Strike in Central Newfoundland were the loggers and their families. Given that it was in fact, a loggers' strike, it is necessary that the loggers, the members of the IWA union, be at the forefront of the discussion on Smallwood's relationship with fellow Newfoundlanders in the late nineteen-fifties. Of the total 906 telegram responses to Smallwood's decisive and controversial February 12th speech, 203 directly identified as loggers, and an additional 16 identified themselves as the wives of loggers. A further 685 did not identify as a logger or as not a logger. Due to language used and the locations they came from, it is likely that a number of these telegrams did in fact come from loggers and their families. With this in mind, the telegrams sent by loggers, their families, or by their wives present much more than just a 'pro-Smallwood' or 'pro-IWA' answer. These telegrams highlight not only the very issues they were striking over, such as poor working and housing conditions, poor wages and extraordinarily long work weeks, but also the political climate in which they were written and by-and-large, their perceptions of Smallwood. I argue that Smallwood spoke out against the strike and against the IWA in order to protect the economic wellbeing of the province as he perceived it, but only did so because he knew beforehand he could do so without losing the support of the loggers.

The first section of this chapter examines the logging industry in Newfoundland prior to the IWA entering the province in the mid-1950s. It also examines the history of logging unions in the province in the two decades prior to the strike. This is followed by

a brief explanation of what the IWA offered the loggers that they were not receiving under the jurisdiction of the NLA. The next provides an explanation of the causes behind the 1959 IWA Strike. Following that, the chapter looks further at what it was that the loggers were striking over. Following this pattern will establish how the IWA was able to take hold in the province with such a vigorous force and energy.

The next section of the chapter is an analysis of Smallwood's February 12th speech. He condemned the actions of the IWA and their very presence within the province in the speech. He ended by calling the loggers to action stating, "save Newfoundland, you loggers, from the awful danger that faces us all. Send me telegrams in thousands tomorrow."²³ He demanded they abandon the IWA in favour of his new union, and telegram him the following day to demonstrate their support for the actions he was taking and to show their disapproval of the IWA's presence in their Christian province. This cleverly allowed him to further gauge support levels and the likely outcome that would come out of outlawing the IWA and creating a new, safer union. These telegrams make up the bulk of the primary source data for not only this chapter but for the entire thesis. This section is necessary in order to provide a full analysis and understanding of the speech as well as Smallwood's position towards the IWA, the strike and of course, the loggers. This analysis allows for a smooth and logical transition into a discussion on the material at the heart of the thesis - the telegrams.

Following the analysis of Smallwood's speech, the chapter discusses the telegrams that were sent to Smallwood's office on February 13th, following his

²³ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-075 J.R. Smallwood Collection, 7.02 Speeches, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 13.

controversial and scale-tipping speech. This section begins with a discussion of the overarching messages the telegrams can provide individuals studying this period in Newfoundland's history as well as what they would have told Smallwood. This section also includes a discussion of the very basic make up of the telegrams, such as overall numbers and demographics.

The final section is a series of case studies that offer in-depth discussions of the telegrams that came out of specific logging communities throughout the "big stretch." Smallwood had noted that this section of Newfoundland was where nearly 98% of the province's loggers were from.²⁴ The communities highlighted were selected specifically due to the number of loggers who would have called them home or the large number that telegraphed from that logging community or camp. The four communities featured are Badger, Seal Cove, Springdale, and Newstead. Badger was a hotbed of strike activity and tension and the site of the darkest moment of the 1959 IWA strike – the murder of Constable William Moss. Badger was chosen for its number of telegrams and role in the overall strike. Again located within the "big stretch", both Millertown and Springdale were chosen because they were key logging communities and 12 and 30 telegrams were sent from them, respectively.

Logging Industry and Unions

Before delving into any level of discussion on the role of the IWA in Newfoundland or the loggers' strike, it is helpful to know they were in fact, not the first logging union to be organized in the woods of Newfoundland. Between the opening of the first pulp and

²⁴ ASCQELMU, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 4.

paper mill in Newfoundland in 1902 and the late 1950s, the loggers had been under the jurisdiction of four different unions. For twenty years prior to the IWA entering Newfoundland, the four different unions had been making continuous attempts to solidify and organize the island's lumberman into one union.²⁵ The unions were: the Central Workers' Protective Union (CWPU), the Fisherman's Protective Union (FPU), the Newfoundland Labourers' Union (NLU), and the Newfoundland Lumberman's Association (NLA).

Of the four unions that had been active in the logging industry over the past twenty years, only two managed to gain much traction or success. Those unions were the NLA and the NLU, run by J.J. "Joe" Thompson and Pearce Fudge respectively. In the book *One Union in Wood, A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America*, Jerry Lembcke and William Tattam noted, however, that despite early success, eventually "they were run as personal fiefdoms for the self-aggrandizement of their union presidents."²⁶ The NLA was the union Newfoundland's loggers were under when the controversy surrounding IWA first began to emerge. By the time of Confederation in 1949, Thompson's fiefdom had become very apparent, and the IWA took due note.

Bill Gillespie, in his book *A Class Act: An Illustrated History of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland and Labrador* noted Thompson had become disconnected from the members of the NLA, which had essentially become a company union.²⁷

²⁵ Jerry Lembcke and William M. Tattam, *One Union in Wood: A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America* (Madeira Park and New York, Harbour Publishing Co. Ltd. and International Publishers, 1984), 157.

²⁶ Lembcke and Tattam, *One Union in Wood*, 157.

²⁷ Bill Gillespie, *A Class Act: An Illustrated History of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland and Labrador* (St. John's, The Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour, 1986), 107.

There was a growing divide between Thompson and the members of the NLA. This distance was such that by the 1950s Thompson hand selected union executives from his circle of family, friends and individuals who would further entrench his power across the province.²⁸ Neither he nor the executives he chose to fill the NLA with were at all representative of the loggers. This brought in the attention of not one but two international unions – the International Woodworkers of America and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. By the end, “Thompson simply informed the camp foreman of the name of the delegate from that camp.”²⁹

Smallwood spent a chapter entitled “Shall Might be Right?” in his memoir *I Chose Canada*, discussing the controversy surrounding the 1959 IWA Strike and his hand in it. The chapter started with a brief introduction to the history of the pulp and paper industry in the province and then quickly moved into the more controversial aspects of the strike. In regards to the loggers’ union prior to the IWA stepping on the scene Smallwood argued, “the loggers’ unions in Newfoundland were not militant enough. They were not fierce enough. But they had produced fine results for the men....”³⁰ His take on Thompson and other pre-IWA logging union leaders is much different from how they have been represented by academics over the past sixty years and certainly different than his contemporaries, such as Landon Ladd. He argued that the loggers’ unions in the province, prior to the IWA, had been “led by simple but sincere

²⁸ Gillespie, *A Class Act*, 107.

²⁹ Rolf Hattenhauer, *A Brief Labour History of Newfoundland* (unpublished manuscript prepared for the Royal Commission on Labour, 1970) and *The History of the Labour Movement in Newfoundland* (unpublished manuscript, Memorial University, 1983) as cited in Gillespie, *A Class Act*, 107.

³⁰ Joseph R. Smallwood, *I Chose Canada* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1973), 399.

men, who were perhaps a trifle, or more than a trifle, mild in their attitude towards the employers.” Having Smallwood’s perspective on the union leaders is important in understanding his perception of the strike. He acknowledged that he thought the pre-IWA unions had done well for the loggers. However, he was not naïve about the fact that the leaders were more than a little sympathetic to the companies. Even though Smallwood did make the decision to speak out against the IWA and its leader Landon Ladd, he did not deny that what Thompson had been running had essentially become a company union.

Although, as Gillespie noted, the IWA had its eyes on Newfoundland since 1949, their efforts to take hold of the logging industry in the province took off October 1956 at the sixteenth annual Newfoundland Lumbermen’s Association Convention, at the invitation of Thompson. This NLA Convention was of particular importance, because it would determine the future of the logging industry in Newfoundland and most certainly the future of the NLA, unbeknownst to either loggers or officials at the time. With the merger in 1956 of the CCL-CIO and the TLC-AFL to form the Canadian Labour Congress, Thompson realized that the NLA would eventually be forced to affiliate with either the IWA or the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners (UBCJ). Leading up to the convention, he began to seek the best situation for himself, whether that meant teaming up with the UBCJ or with the IWA. He asked both unions to grant him a position in which he could keep the salary for life clause that he had embedded in the NLA’s constitution eight years prior.³¹ Despite the UBCJ having given him a much

³¹ Hattenhauer, *Brief History of Labour*, 199 and Landon Ladd, “The Newfoundland Loggers’ Strike of 1959,” in *Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History*, eds. G.S. Kealey and W.J.C. Cherwinski (St. John’s: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1985), 150 as cited in Gillespie, *A Class Act*, 108.

warmer response than the IWA, both unions rejected his proposal. In 1984, Ladd gave a speech on “The Newfoundland Loggers Strike of 1959” at Memorial University for a series of Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History. He noted how he outright refused Thompson’s proposal on the basis that Thompson was selling his men out, and “the IWA has never bought a single person in its life and as far as [he was] concerned [they] never [would].”³² When faced with nowhere else to turn, Thompson attempted to turn the NLA over to the UBCJ. Alluding to the fighting vigor that was to come from the IWA and most certainly from H. Landon Ladd, Eastern Director for the IWA, Ladd “sarcastically ask[ed] Thompson if he had hung a ‘For Sale’ sign on his union.”³³

Up to this point, the IWA did not have an association with the logging industry anywhere in Atlantic Canada. The brewing troubles in Newfoundland provided an opportunity to gain one. If Ladd was able to win over the attendees at the convention and gain the vote of the loggers, the IWA would not only be the dominant logging union in the province, but their reach would stretch across North America.³⁴

The outcome of the convention came as no surprise to anyone in attendance. The convention heard speeches from both the IWA and the UBCJ. The representative for the UBCJ at the convention was Andy Cooper. After hearing from both unions’

³² Landon Ladd, “The Newfoundland Loggers’ Strike of 1959,” in *Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History*, eds., W.J.C Cherwinski and Gregory S Kealey (St. John’s: Committee on Canadian Labour History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985), 150.

³³ Gillespie, *A Class Act*, 108.

³⁴ For further information on the IWA’s early years and the years following the strike, see: Andrew Neufeld and Andrew Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada: The Life and Times of an Industrial Union* (Vancouver, IWA-Canada; New Star Books, 2000).

representatives, “the delegates voted twenty-six to sixteen to affiliate with the IWA!”³⁵ Unsatisfied with the outcome, without a doubt to protect his own personal interests, Thompson ruled that this was far too important a matter and therefore a two-thirds majority was required in order for any ruling on the matter to be passed.³⁶ After further deliberations, a second vote was called and the results were tied, twenty-one to twenty-one. Gillespie accurately highlighted how Thompson used his ability as chairman of the NLA to break the tie, which as a result, stopped the NLA from joining forces with the IWA. Conveniently, his ruling on ‘important questions’ and two-thirds majorities [was] lost somewhere in the confusion.³⁷

The NLA convention in October 1956 was a failure. What could have been the IWA’s demise was quite frankly the furthest thing from it. It marked the beginning of the international union’s vigorous campaign to become the official representative of Newfoundland’s loggers. Following the convention, those who supported the NLA joining the IWA were furious with the ruling. Ladd was encouraged by supporters to go ahead as planned, ignore the ruling and proceed with an organizing raid in the logging camps. Encouraged by this support, Ladd returned to Newfoundland before the year was up, ready to go head to head with the NLA and then A.N.D.³⁸ So began two years of active engagement with the loggers in the province.

In their book, *The IWA in Canada: The Life and Times of an Industrial Union*, Andrew Neufeld and Andrew Parnaby discussed what came next, noting, the

³⁵ Gillespie, *A Class Act*, 108.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

extraordinary effort the IWA put forth to organize the loggers over the following year.³⁹

In a few short months following the October convention, the IWA was able to win the support of the vast majority of the men in the logging camps, with reports in March 1957 showing that 87% of A.N.D.'s loggers had signed up for the new union.⁴⁰ During these months spent rallying the men and their wives for support, Ladd's strength began to show, demonstrating just why he was one of Smallwood's first real rivals in terms of being a charismatic, influential and fighting 'leader of the people' since Confederation took place, ten years prior. Although there was nothing in Smallwood's IWA files now in Memorial University's archives that indicated any real alarming concern in regards to the threat the IWA or Ladd posed to his government, it is not hard to fathom that this remained well within Smallwood's radar.

In fact, in the chapter "Shall Might Be Right?" Smallwood made a point to mention to his readers that he in fact had absolutely no problem with the IWA prior to the onset of the strike. He noted that he "had no feelings whatsoever about the matter, and said nothing publicly and little privately."⁴¹ His opinion on the IWA only changed with the actions after the strike was called on December 31st, 1959. He argued that following the onset of the strike "the IWA did nothing right. Virtually every move it made was wrong, most of them palpably illegal."⁴² Once again, understanding this dramatic switch in how Smallwood perceived the IWA and the actions they were taking is important in explaining his later actions.

³⁹ Neufeld and Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada*, 153.

⁴⁰ Lembcke and Tattam, *One Union in Wood*, 158.

⁴¹ Smallwood, *I Chose Canada*, 401.

⁴² *Ibid.*

This switch shows two major things. First and foremost, it reinforces Smallwood's union organizing background. Smallwood's first experience with union organizing took place in 1925 upon returning to Newfoundland. He met John Burke, leader of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers while living in New York. In his memoir, Smallwood noted Burke had "repeatedly [] asked me to go back to Newfoundland and reorganize a branch of his International there. This was Local 63 at Grand Falls."⁴³ After successfully reorganizing the Grand Falls local, he attempted to put together a Newfoundland Federation of Labour. It experienced brief success, but ultimately it failed to succeed. Shortly thereafter, in the summer of 1925 Burke asked him to go to Corner Brook and organize Local 64 of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers union. Much like his work with the local in Grand Falls, his efforts in Corner Brook, in the spring following his time in Corner Brook, Smallwood moved on to organize a union for the railway line workers across Newfoundland. As there was no way he would be able to call a meeting for all of the linemen, the only way Smallwood could meet with them all was to physically travel the line. In perhaps his biggest feat in union organizing, he walked from Port-aux-Basques to St. John's, successfully getting the linemen to join the new union.⁴⁴ All of this is to say, that Smallwood was heavily involved with union organizing, certainly early on his multi-faceted career.

Furthermore, it lends favour to the argument that Smallwood only became anti-IWA when he saw them as a potential, real threat. Prior to the strike being called, it appears as though he viewed the IWA as he would view any other trade or labour union. However,

⁴³ Ibid., 154.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 154-159.

when the A.N.D. Co. Ltd. refused to sign an agreement with an international union and the strike was called, the IWA automatically became a threat to Smallwood's economic development plan for the province.

Denied official entry into A.N.D. Company logging camps, Ladd utilized numerous methods to drum up support for his union. The IWA needed the men in the camps to sign union cards in order for them to be certified as the official union of Newfoundland's loggers by the Labour Relations Board.⁴⁵ He began a propaganda campaign utilizing newspapers by placing large ads in them, knowing they would make their way into the logging camps as well as throughout the rest of the province. When the newspapers containing these ads mysteriously stopped being delivered, at least within the camps themselves, Ladd was forced to change tactics: "the union [began to] broadcast its message on a weekly radio spot called Green Gold."⁴⁶ This however, was not enough. Ladd went so far as to parachute IWA organizers into the logging camps throughout A.N.D. Company territory in Central Newfoundland in order to garner support from the loggers and have them sign union cards. Others walked in or came in by snowmobile; Ladd was not about to let A.N.D. prevent him from reaching the loggers, much to their dismay.⁴⁷ By April of 1958, the IWA "was granted certification by Newfoundland's Labour Relations Board," making them the official bargaining agent for the province's loggers.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Gillespie, *A Class Act*, 109.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Neufeld and Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada*, 153

What They Were Striking For

As different unions were vying to represent the loggers in the province, the loggers were dealing with less than desirable work conditions. The loggers' camps and the food that they were provided with was sub-par to nearly inedible. When the IWA entered the province in October of 1956, it was with this that they were able to gain traction and support.

In the late 1950's the Smallwood Government established a Royal Commission on Forestry to look into the living conditions that the province's loggers faced in the camps as well as the potential profitability for an addition mill – those under both A.N.D. Company in Central Newfoundland and Bowater's jurisdiction along the West Coast.⁴⁹ The findings of the Royal Commission were grim, but would have come as no surprise to the men and women who relied on the industry to put food on their tables and roofs over their heads. The bunkhouses the men stayed in were referred to in the commission as “dark and squalid hovels, which would not be used for hen-houses except by the most primitive farmer.”⁵⁰ Figure 2.1, given on the following page, is a picture of a typical logger's bunkhouse in the 1950's. The bunkhouses were described in the Royal Commission as follows:

Dirt is everywhere. Rats are common. Dilapidation is the rule. There is nothing to do in the evenings but sit around the bunks talking. The light is from a limited number of flat wick kerosene lamps.⁵¹

In 1956, the same year the IWA entered Newfoundland, A.N.D. Company had actually begun a “revitalization” of their logging camps throughout Central

⁴⁹ Smallwood, *I Chose Canada*, 438.

⁵⁰ 1959 Royal Commission as cited in Neufeld and Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada*, 152.

⁵¹ 1959 Royal Commission as cited in Neufeld and Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada*, 152.

Newfoundland, after pressure from the loggers and presumably from the NLA. Figure 2.2 showcases an excerpt from a publication put out by the A.N.D. Company following the strike, titled *Turmoil in the Woods Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company: A Report on the Dispute Between the International Woodworkers of America and the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited.*

Figure 2.1 Logger's Bunkhouse, Early to Mid-1950's



Source: Brian Marsh's blog entry "Not Fit-Living conditions in the Newfoundland Lumber Camps", December 1, 2016.

Figure 2.2: A.N.D. Co. Ltd 1959 Promotional Material Following Loggers' Strike



Source: Turmoil in the Woods Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company: A Report on the Dispute Between the International Woodworkers of America and the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited.

The image depicted in the excerpt from A.N.D.'s post-strike report does not feature the type of logging camp described in the 1959 Royal Commission, nor undoubtedly the type of dwellings inhabited by most of the province's loggers. Rather, what is depicted is one of the camps that were 're-built' under the efforts of A.N.D.'s 1956 "one-million-dollar camp improvement program on its timber limits."⁵²

⁵² Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited, *Turmoil in the Woods: A Report on the Dispute Between the International Woodworkers of America and the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited* (Grand Falls: Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company Limited, 1959), 10.

This was a very well-written piece of propaganda designed to re-establish support for A.N.D. and to combat the undesirable and rather ugly truth about the state of the camps and the living conditions that the loggers faced that had become public as a result of the strike. Following the end of the months long strike, A.N.D. was still eager to deny any wrongdoing and protect the company's best interests. There was no material in Smallwood's IWA files held at the archives in Memorial University that showed any direct commentary on the publication. Given Smallwood's staunch anti-IWA and pro-A.N.D. stance that emerged in his February 12th speech, A.N.D.'s claim about improving loggers' living conditions does fit well with the government's position. In the eyes of the Smallwood administration, protecting the interests of A.N.D. in turn meant protecting the well-being of Newfoundland's economy and all that he and his government had been working towards over the previous decade since Confederation with Canada took place.

What the IWA Offered Them

Before moving on to discuss the main section of this chapter – the perceptions of Smallwood held by the province's loggers throughout the IWA loggers strike – it is important to briefly establish what it is that the IWA was offering to the loggers. This allows for a better understanding of why the international union was able to garner such strong support from the loggers, their wives and their families. The IWA was a powerful, well-established international union. It was well known throughout North America, having been established in British Columbia some twenty years prior to the 1959 loggers strike. The NLA, the NLU and all of their predecessors were all established within the

province, and did not carry with them anywhere near the same level of backing that the IWA had – both in terms of capital and manpower. Smallwood noted in “Shall Might Be Right?” that even though the leaders of the previous logging unions in the province were very well intentioned, most certainly in the beginning, the unions themselves were just not militant enough. The IWA, however, was. It was fiercer, bigger and thus more powerful.⁵³ Ladd and the IWA offered the loggers genuine representation, as opposed to what Thompson and the NLA had been providing them with in the years leading up to the strike. Neufeld and Parnaby aptly termed the NLA “the most prominent of the ineffectual company unions that represented Newfoundland woodworkers.”⁵⁴

Ultimately, the IWA offered the loggers a way out of an antiquated way of life in terms of employment standards, wages, and living conditions. Ladd and the IWA brought with them an international reputation, capital, manpower and a genuine dedication to represent fully those who elected them. Prior to the IWA becoming the official bargaining agent for Newfoundland’s loggers in January of 1958, all of these things were virtually unavailable for them.

Smallwood’s February 12th Speech

For the first decade of Newfoundland being a province of Canada, Smallwood enjoyed significant success in his role as the first premier. That is not to say that neither he nor his government remained unchallenged. In fact, the second half of the 1950’s brought a series of decisive challenges, political roadblocks and scandals to Smallwood’s government. Despite the series of significant challenges and at some points outright riots

⁵³ Smallwood, *I Chose Canada*, 399.

⁵⁴ Neufeld and Parnaby, *The IWA in Canada*, 152.

that Smallwood and his government were faced with, he remained at the top of his game and popularity, understood by many and certainly himself to be the saviour of Newfoundland. The 1959 IWA Strike was one such challenge and was a significant benchmark for the rest of his premiership and political career.

It should be noted, however, that Smallwood was popular amongst Newfoundlanders. Although his popularity was not unanimous across the province, as many still resented Confederation, he was especially popular in the outport communities. This was largely because he had marketed himself directly to them. During the lead up to Confederation, in exchange for voting Confederation he promised to bring the federal benefits Canadians were already receiving. Following Confederation, his promises were in fact fulfilled and Newfoundlanders began to receive the federal financial benefits in the form of Mother's Allowance (the baby bonus) and unemployment insurance. Furthermore, although he lived in St. John's from the age of six months old, he had been born in Gambo and he marketed himself as an outport man. These factors, combined, created a public image of a premier the people living in the tiny outport communities could relate to. This was of great benefit to him, as it had secured support before he was ever elected as Premier of Newfoundland. So, before speaking out publicly on the strike, Smallwood was well aware of where he sat in the minds of his fellow Newfoundlanders and where his support lay.

In order to understand why the argument that Smallwood finally spoke on February 12th "end [the strike], fearful, perhaps, that it would extend in the spring cutting period" is much too simplistic an explanation, one needs to have a clear understanding of just

what the speech itself contained.⁵⁵ Understanding the speech's contents allows for a more thorough understanding of why it contains what it does and what outcome Smallwood was seeking with it. The speech itself can be divided into five parts. In the first section, in a detailed and repetitive manner – in typical Smallwood fashion – he reminded his audience how crucial it was that the “loggers [have] a strong union to protect their interests and help them forward in the battle of life.”⁵⁶ He goes as far as saying “it would be madness or suicide for our loggers to be without a strong union.”⁵⁷ Given his long history of union organizing this much certainly is genuine rather than simply being a rhetorical tool.

The second part of the speech was spent reassuring his audience, the loggers and everyone else in Newfoundland that he was the credible person to be taking such a stance. He began the speech by stating “I speak to you tonight as the Premier of Newfoundland, the leader of Her Majesty's Government in this Province.”⁵⁸ Although it may come off to a reader today as a bit redundant or obvious, this was meant to remind listeners that he was their Premier, that they elected him as their leader. Due to this, they could trust him, to speak for the sake and betterment of their province. Much more significant is his second line of reasoning. Not only is he the premier, but a “life-long labour and union man.”⁵⁹ He mentioned how he “organized many unions, at least a dozen in [his] time. [He] helped to organize other unions as well. [He] reorganized still other unions.”⁶⁰ As mentioned previously, this much is inarguably true. For a large portion of

⁵⁵ Lembcke and Tattam, *One Union in Wood*, 160.

⁵⁶ ASCQELMU, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

his adult life, he was involved with unions in some shape or form. For many years Smallwood was in fact an avid union man. He spent a number of years in the 1920s in New York, running in socialist circles and actively involved in union formation. He was also active in the formation of unions within Newfoundland.⁶¹

The third part of the speech described how much of a failure the IWA had been in Newfoundland since its arrival. Many of the responses that poured into Smallwood's office in the days and weeks following the speech focused on his utter dismissal and disapproval of the IWA's presence within the province and the actions they had been taking and encouraging loggers to take. As demonstrated in this particular section of the speech as well as throughout the rest of it and the actions he took and the things he said in the days and weeks following the strike, Smallwood saw "the IWA strike [as] a failure, and the IWA itself [as] a failure."⁶² He argued, "[the IWA] has not led our loggers – they have mis-led them. They have not given leadership to the loggers – they have given mis-leadership."⁶³ Smallwood's criticisms of the IWA are broad and unspecific. They are unspecific in the sense that his criticisms are not necessarily directed toward specific actions taken by Ladd or the IWA. Rather, they centre on statements like the one just given. Smallwood argues, simply, that the IWA has 'mis-led' the loggers, but does not specify how they have mis-led them. He does make a point to state, however, that all the IWA has done since arriving in the province is spread "hate and suspicion and fear and falsehood ... [they've] spread their black poison of class hatred and bitter, bigoted

⁶¹ Upon Smallwood's return from New York in the late 1920s he became heavily involved in the formation of the railway worker's union in Newfoundland. For further information about Smallwood's union activity prior to becoming premier, see Smallwood, "Chapter 7: Some Training for the Premiership," *I Chose Canada*, 114-150.

⁶² ASCQELMU, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 4.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

prejudice.”⁶⁴ With this, Smallwood is criticizing them for having spread these feelings or ‘black poison’ throughout the province, but is not criticizing a specific action taken by them.

Having sent out “a considerable number of level-headed Newfoundlanders travelling through the big stretch running all the way from White Bay to Trinity Bay” he argued that he was able to conclusively state that “the vast majority of our Newfoundland people tonight are shocked and horrified by what is going on.”⁶⁵ It should be noted that the stretch of land described by Smallwood in the speech is the same area that the vast majority of loggers came from, the same area that they would have lived during the logging off-season. Financially speaking, these communities were dependent on the logging industry in the fishing off-season – as many of the men from these communities worked as part-time loggers when they were not fishing. Thus, it is no wonder that his “level-headed Newfoundlanders” he sent out along this stretch received the response they did.⁶⁶

In this section he provided, in typical Smallwood fashion, a numbered list of “what the people are thinking ... the loggers and their wives, the general public, ordinary men and women, ordinary Newfoundlanders.”⁶⁷ Although the first three points he made were simply repeating what he had said already in the speech – loggers must have a union and that the IWA and the strike are failures – the last two points are note-worthy and important. He stated, “the great majority of the loggers want to get back to work” and “the Premier should step in and try to do something to help the loggers in their

⁶⁴ Ibid., 11.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 5.

plight.⁶⁸ Yes, without a doubt, after having sent people as his eyes and ears throughout the heart of logging territory – where the loggers lived and where they worked – it is only logical the core messages would be that they wanted to get back to work immediately and that they wanted the assistance of their premier.

In the fourth section of the speech, Smallwood announced his proposed plan for the loggers. This included the steps that they should take in the coming days and weeks, as well as a run-down of his new, proposed union. He again stated that the loggers should “send the IWA about their business. Send them out of Newfoundland. Tell them never to come back here again.”⁶⁹ He provided the loggers a tangible solution to the strike, however heavy handed it might be. Leave the IWA immediately and form a new union, specifically the one he has set forth with Max Lane, General Secretary of the Fishermen’s Federation. Additionally, Smallwood suggested “giv[ing] careful consideration to banding all the fishermen and all the loggers together in one great Newfoundland union.”⁷⁰ It is no wonder why Smallwood chose Lane as the potential leader of the new government backed union. As stated by Smallwood, when defending his choice to have Lane head the union he argued, “he is already known to thousands of you, because of course thousands of loggers are fishermen and every fishermen knows Max Lane.”⁷¹ Due to the fact that so many loggers were actually fishermen working as loggers in the offseason, such a suggestion is not really so far-fetched.

The fifth section, much like the third, was a further condemnation of the IWA and of the strike. Smallwood went as far as to state that “it is not a strike they have started; it is a

⁶⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 7.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 7.

⁷¹ Ibid., 8.

civil war.”⁷² Justifying his claim of the IWA having started a civil war rather than simply a labour strike, he argued that “lifetime neighbors have been torn asunder; father torn from son, fishermen from logger, settlement from settlement and union from union.”⁷³ If his disapproval of Ladd and his union was not clear enough up until this point, the point was driven home in the last five pages of his speech. Smallwood used bigger and grander statements such as “that the IWA are the greatest danger that ever struck Newfoundland. We think they are the greatest danger that ever came to the loggers and their families”.⁷⁴ This hyperbole was used in order to pull the audience in his favour. This section, like the rest of his speech, was by and large directed to the loggers and their families. Numerous telegrams received from loggers and their families who were opposed to Smallwood’s condemnation of the IWA and his proposed new union led by Max Lane commented on this section, often using his own words against him. A prime example of this is the re-use of the line “there is not room enough in Newfoundland for the Government and the IWA at the same time. One or the other must go.”⁷⁵ Many used this phrase as an opportunity to tell Smallwood exactly where he and his government could go.

The contents of Smallwood’s speech reflect his thoughts on the IWA and the strike up and until that point. The speech is also reflective of his pre-held beliefs and views of unions and his knowledge of the importance of the pulp and paper industry to the province’s economy. Before the speech, from the beginning of the strike in January until mid-February, Smallwood had remained relatively silent on the matter of the loggers’ strike. In collaboration with Attorney General Leslie Curtis, on January 12, one month

⁷² Ibid., 11.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 10.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 10-11.

before his first public speech on the strike, Smallwood noted he took his first step towards ending the strike. Delivered by Curtis in leaflets and verbally,

it stated simply, calmly, and mildly, that the Queen's subjects had no right to obscure public highways... by doing so, they were putting themselves outside the law.⁷⁶

Smallwood also noted that nine days later on January 21, he announced financial relief would be given to the 5,000 loggers not in the camps on the day the strike was called but not to the men who had chosen to remain.⁷⁷

As argued by Harold Horwood in his 1984 biography of Smallwood, he had remained inwardly alarmed throughout the six weeks leading up to his February 12th speech. Each day that passed, coupled with the increased scrutiny and pressure A.N.D. was under, increased pressure on him and the provincial government. Horwood argued, "Joey kept quiet, but was privately alarmed."⁷⁸ He also suggested that Smallwood "recognized in [Ladd] the first opponent he had ever faced with his own brand of charisma, [and] ability to appeal to the dispossessed."⁷⁹ Both the strike and Ladd were a threat to Smallwood,

⁷⁶ Smallwood, *I Chose Canada*, 402.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 403.

⁷⁸ Horwood, Harold. *Joey: The Life and Political Times of Joey Smallwood*. Toronto: Stoddart Publishing Co. Ltd., 1989, 236.

⁷⁹ Horwood, *Joey*, 236. Horwood's negative portrayal of Smallwood and his administration must be read carefully, and perhaps with a grain of salt. Originally approached by Smallwood in 1948 to aid in the Confederation campaign, he was a member of the Newfoundland House of Assembly, representing Labrador, from 1949 until his departure from politics in 1951. Following his departure from the House of Assembly, he started writing a column in St. John's Evening Telegram entitled "Political Notebook". Horwood became a staunch critic of Smallwood following his departure; his column acting as "a primary vehicle of opposition to the Smallwood Administration until he left the paper in 1958," the year prior to the IWA Strike. Horwood's biography is a clear attempt to discredit Smallwood and is evidence of his opposition to the Smallwood Government. Nonetheless, it remains a valuable and insightful resource into Smallwood and the years surrounding the IWA Strike.

his government and all that he had worked for over the past decade in terms of growing and strengthening Newfoundland's economy.

Jerry Lembcke and William Tattam in their book, *One Union in Wood: A Political History of the International Woodworkers of America*, argued that Smallwood finally spoke out against it and the IWA unarguably to “end it, fearful, perhaps, that it would extend in the spring cutting period.”⁸⁰ There is certainly some truth to this. If the strike had gone on much longer, it would have extended into the spring cutting season and, with that, brought about another series of issues. However, I argue that this is much too simplistic to explain Smallwood's intervention. The February 12th speech clearly demonstrates his displeasure with the tactics of the IWA and the building tension and violence that the strike was causing in Central Newfoundland. Not intervening brought a massive economic risk that Smallwood did not want to have to be forced to confront. This was a risk that could undo all that he and his government had been working for over the previous ten years. This is where, I argue, the heart of Smallwood's distaste for the strike, Ladd and the IWA lies.

As alluded to by Horwood and others, it is no wonder why Smallwood grew increasingly alarmed with each day of the strike. A.N.D. Co. Ltd. owned and operated the entirety of Grand Falls, a hub of economic activity and home of the logging industry in Central Newfoundland. A.N.D. owned 7,456 square miles of territory throughout Central Newfoundland.⁸¹ If A.N.D. fell or pulled out from its Newfoundland operations altogether – which it could easily have done and in fact was threatening to do – not only would the economy and town of Grand Falls have collapsed, but also it would have come

⁸⁰ Lembcke and Tattam, *One Union in Wood*, 160.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 156.

as a massive blow to the Newfoundland economy. This was the very thing that Smallwood had been working exhaustively on expanding over the previous ten years. It was the very thing that would secure the province's future and bring its people out of poverty. Although there was some fluctuation in the total value of the pulp and paper industry in the province, by no means was A.N.D. close to having to shut its doors. The industry was still the most profitable in Newfoundland. The real risk was that A.N.D. would chose to pull their operations out of Newfoundland and establish themselves elsewhere, where they were less likely to face heavy pressure from powerful unions such as the IWA. However, it should be taken into account that this type of threat was one any large or multi-national company could use on a vulnerable government.

Given the looming economic threat, why did it take Smallwood nearly six weeks to speak publicly on the matter of the strike? Should he not have spoken out as soon as he detected the threat the strike posed to A.N.D. and thus the economic well being of Newfoundland? It took Smallwood exactly 43 days from the day the strike was called on January 1st until February 12th to speak out against the strike and against the IWA. The loggers of Newfoundland had chosen the IWA as their representative bargaining unit in order to try and obtain more adequate pay, more buying power, and better living conditions. Given that the loggers had chosen the IWA as their representative, the government, whether federal or provincial, had no right to interfere.

By speaking out against the strike and the IWA, it would appear as though he was going against the interests of the loggers. In turn, by doing this, it would look as though he was turning his back on his fellow Newfoundlanders, selling out in the interests of A.N.D. Not only would this have ethical implications, as for so long he had considered himself a "life-long union and labour man" but it would also have major implications in

terms of political support.⁸² If approached or done in the wrong manner, this drop in support could reflect heavily in the polls come election time. Considering Smallwood had for many years, been building towards the position he was presently in, sacrificing all that he had worked for was a considerably large risk. At the start of 1959, ten years after being elected the first Premier of Newfoundland following Confederation Smallwood was at the height of his popularity and political career. It was only in the decade following that the public's perception of Smallwood began to shift in any significant manner.

This once again raised the question, why did Smallwood finally speak out against the strike and against the IWA after exactly 43 days of mounting tension? Despite being a crucial risk to the province's already unstable economy, would speaking out against the union that the province's loggers had elected as their bargaining agent not risk his political career and credibility? The answer, quite plainly, is no. Smallwood was very well aware of the political and social climate across the province and certainly within Central Newfoundland, where the strike was taking place. Although he did not address the strike in a public manner until February 12th, in the early weeks of the strike he sent

⁸² Smallwood received significant backlash from across Canada and elsewhere denouncing his decision to go against the loggers and their chosen union, the IWA. He as Premier of Newfoundland was interfering with the labour and union negotiations of the province's loggers, which was not considered appropriate at the time. He conceived his own loggers' union, the Newfoundland Brotherhood of Wood Workers, which was to be led by Max Lane, General Secretary of the Fisherman's Federation. When the NBWW did not receive the level of support that Smallwood expected, in early March he pushed two bills in the legislature that decertified the IWA and made the NBWW the only bargaining agent in the province for the loggers. See, Lembcke and Tattam, "One Union in Wood," 161-162.

“a considerable number of level-headed Newfoundlanders travelling though the big stretch running all the way from White Bay to Trinity Bay.”⁸³ He noted in the speech,

they had strict orders from [him] to keep their mouths closed and their ears and eyes open. They were to act as [his] eyes and ear in travelling throughout the section where 98% of the A.N.D. Company loggers come from.⁸⁴

This allowed him and his government to determine the climate surrounding the strike – how the families and residents living in the vicinity that as he said “98 % of the A.N.D. Company loggers [came] from” were feeling.⁸⁵ Those sent out to be his eyes and ears were told, “to learn what people were thinking about the IWA and about the strike.”⁸⁶

He provided further detail in the paragraphs that followed where he stated he sent out informants from White Bay to Trinity Bay, as to just how prepared he was going into ‘battle’ with Ladd and the IWA. On the fifth page of the speech he stated, “I wrote a great many clergymen, pastors, and officers of the different religious denominations in that big stretch of coastline....”⁸⁷ Not only was Smallwood keen enough to figure out what the people in the region where the A.N.D. Co. Ltd. loggers were from were feeling in regards to the IWA and the strike, but he went as far as to make contact with local religious leaders in regards to the matter. A number of the telegrams and letters from religious leaders sent back to Smallwood aligned with what he stated was the general consensus. Smallwood argued, “it was the feeling and thoughts of the people out on the coast, out in the bays, in the coves and settlements, that [I] wanted to know about.”⁸⁸ By looking at the contents of the speech and looking at the responses he received back from

⁸³ ASCQELMU, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 4.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 5.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

people such as clergy members or other religious leaders, it is clear he did what he set out to do – figure out “the feeling[s] and thoughts of the people”.⁸⁹ Furthermore, doing these things allowed him to determine just how he could make his next move and if he could safely speak out against Ladd, the IWA and the strike without putting his political career on the line. Although the risk in speaking out against Ladd, the IWA and the strike existed, he knew before speaking publicly on the matter what the likely outcome of it was going to be and was therefore relatively safe in doing so.

Responses

The most telling responses to Smallwood were the telegrams written by the loggers and their wives. These responses are a useful indicator of the general feelings amongst the loggers and their families, in regards to the IWA, the strike and Smallwood’s proposed plan of action. Although the risk the IWA and strike posed to Newfoundland’s economy would certainly have affected more than just the loggers, its most direct and major impact would have been on the loggers and their families. They had been dealing with low wages, long work weeks, poor working and living conditions for the past number of decades. They had been severely underrepresented by their unions since the beginning of the industry, in what was then the dominion of Newfoundland at the turn of the twentieth-century. It was the loggers and at times their wives that were out on the picket line in the dead of the Newfoundland winter, calling for an overhaul of their contract with A.N.D. It should be noted, that most of the telegrams sent from the loggers don’t necessarily state whether or not they had voted for IWA certification prior to the

⁸⁹ Ibid.

strike, or if they were necessarily honest supporters of the union up until that point.

However, this thesis is working on the assumption that the vast majority of the loggers had voted in favour of the IWA upon their arrival in Newfoundland. This is based on the fact that the IWA offered honest change in union leadership and were willing to negotiate with A.N.D. to bring change to the logging camps, workweek and the loggers' pay. It is important to establish this point, as following Smallwood's speech there is a key switch of support by many of the loggers. Many went from ardent IWA supporters to supporters of Smallwood.

The telegrams from loggers can be separated into three categories that allow for a more in-depth analysis of what it is that they can tell us of the loggers' perceptions of Smallwood at this point in the strike. The categories are singles, groups and families. The 'singles' category includes all telegram responses sent that were meant to represent the position of just one individual. The 'groups' category includes all the telegrams that were sent in that were meant to represent the position of two or more loggers. Often these are signed off on by an individual speaking on behalf of a group of individuals or include the names of multiple men at the bottom of the telegram. Telegrams that include the name of a specific logging camp are also included in this category. Lastly, the 'families' category includes any telegrams sent in on behalf of logging families. This includes husbands, wives and children.

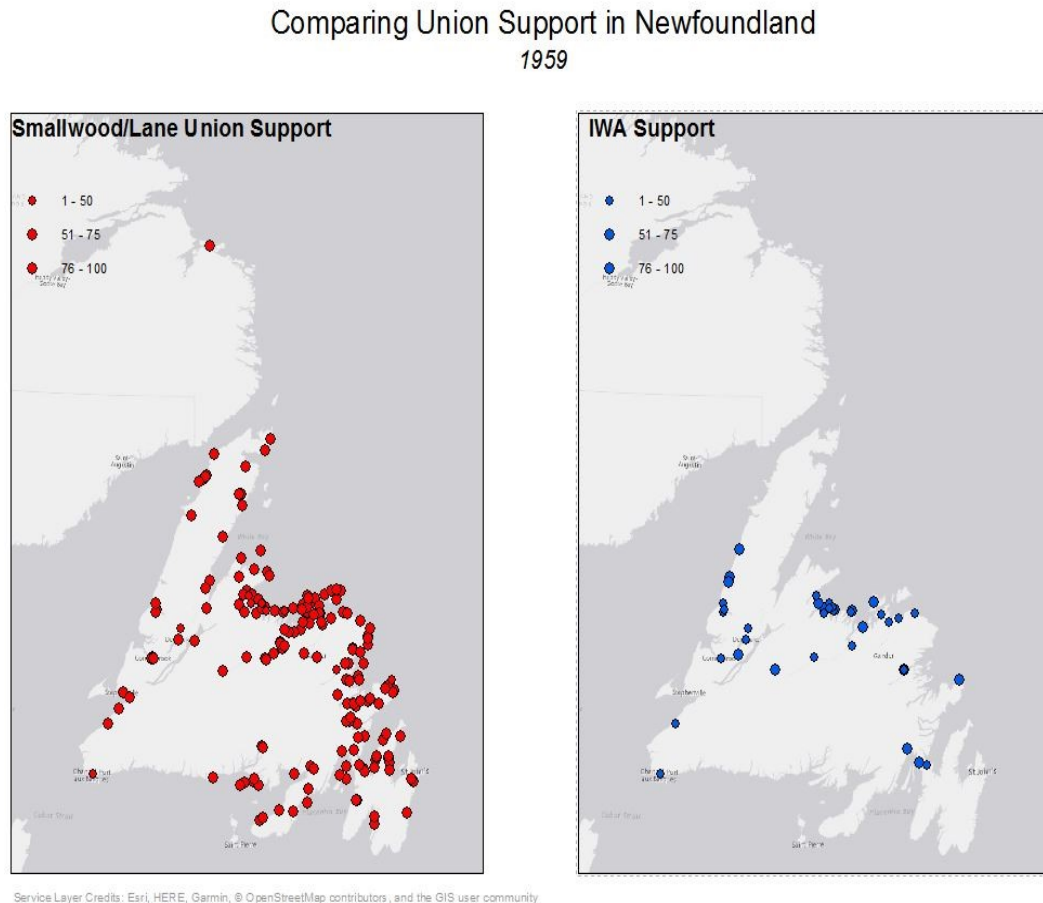
By looking at all of the telegrams compiled together – whether or not they were written by loggers – it is very evident that Smallwood's speech, like many of the ones he had given before, was convincing. Of the total 907 responses counted, 818 were in favour of Smallwood and his proposed new union with Max Lane, General Secretary of the Fishermen's Federation. The loggers, however, it should be noted, were not the largest

group of Newfoundlanders to respond to Smallwood's speech. At 701 telegrams, the largest group was in fact non-logging Newfoundlanders or Newfoundlanders who were disassociated in any employment or union capacity from the province's logging industry. The biggest sub-category within this group was the A.N.D. employees who worked within the mill or within the town of Grand Falls. Grand Falls was the company town built up around the A.N.D. Co. Ltd. mill. While we may see anywhere between 1 and 50 responses from any given community throughout the province and more specifically within the "big stretch" Smallwood referred to in his speech, none came close to Grand Falls' 127 telegrams.⁹⁰

Nonetheless, the loggers' telegram responses to the speech and the other forms of communication sent throughout the strike are very telling of their perceptions of Smallwood. What we see coming from the loggers is a condemnation of Smallwood's condemnation of the IWA, their chosen union, and the strike. By following the logic that the majority of the anti-Smallwood sentiment is coming from loggers, an individual would come to the conclusion that if mapped, the largest concentration of anti-Smallwood sentiment would appear in logging communities. For a visual representation of this please refer to Figure 2.3, provided on the next page.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 4.

Figure 2.3: Comparing Union Support in Newfoundland, 1959



Source: Information compiled for this map was obtained from file 15.03 Telegram, 1959 in the Smallwood J.R., Coll-285.

Despite the fact that not every single logger or group of loggers who responded to Smallwood's call or sent in letters or other forms of communications throughout the strike condemned Smallwood and what he proposed, a large number did. This is significant because the majority of the anti-Smallwood sentiment coming out of the strike was in fact coming from the loggers themselves. Many of these men would have been from outport communities, where support for Smallwood was the strongest. Eleven years prior when Newfoundlanders were voting on their future, many of these very same men

would have voted for Confederation and for Smallwood. Not only are these numbers important for measuring support one way or the other in the strike, they highlight a very significant shift in Smallwood's relationship with a large group of Newfoundlanders.

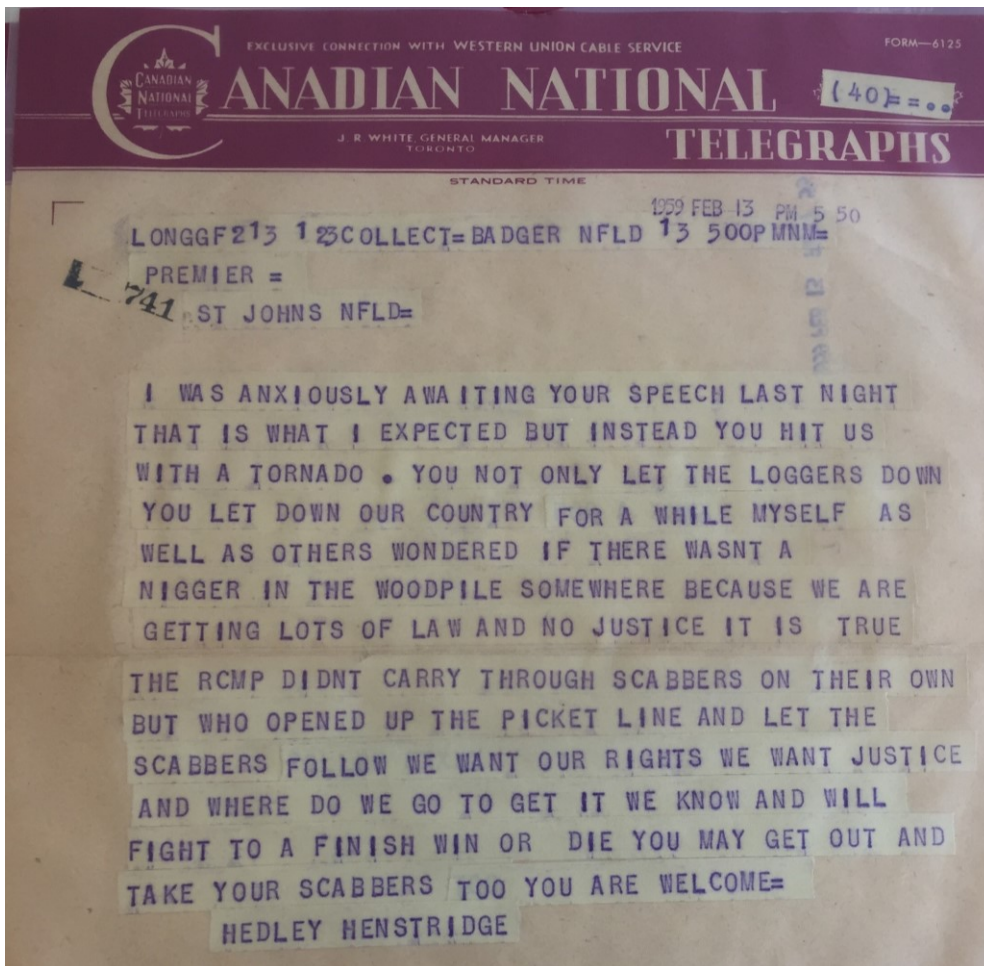
Case Study One – Badger

In addition to displaying the vast majority of the pro-IWA and anti-Smallwood sentiment, the loggers' telegrams demonstrate that many of the loggers up until the strike, still had faith in the union man that Smallwood had claimed to be. For some, this faith in Smallwood was destroyed when he spoke out directly against the IWA – the union they elected. A logger in Badger summarized this feeling quite clearly in his telegram to Smallwood. The logger stated "I was anxiously awaiting your speech last night that is what I expected but instead you hit us with a tornado."⁹¹ He furthered this by saying "you not only let the loggers down you let down our country."⁹² Please refer to Figure 2.4, provided on the following page.

⁹¹ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-285 Smallwood J.R., 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.003 Badger.

⁹² Ibid.

Figure 2.4: Hedley Henstridge Telegram



Source: Information compiled for this map was obtained from file 15.03 Telegram, 1959 in the Smallwood J.R., Coll-285.

This logger made his opinion of Smallwood and what he had chosen to do in terms of the IWA and the strike very clear right away. He and other loggers were sorely disappointed by Smallwood's actions. What they expected from him in terms of the strike was not what they got. Although none of the telegrams explicitly stated what it was that the loggers expected from Smallwood, telegrams such as this one coming out of Badger suggest that they expected support for their union and support for the strike. Given Smallwood's claim of being a "life-long labour and union man," an individual can

presume that the logger that wrote this telegram and others like him expected him to follow through with what he claimed to be; to support the loggers and to support the union.⁹³ Whether Smallwood's claim to be a "life-long labour and union man" was simply a rhetorical tool to get people to support his disapproval of the IWA and his proposed new union or a genuine attempt to convince his fellow Newfoundlanders that he remained that same labour and union man in spite of the actions he was now going to take against the strike and against the IWA is debatable.⁹⁴ This particular telegram also demonstrates the anger felt by the loggers towards Smallwood and his government via the type of language used. He wrote "myself as well as others wondered if there wasn't a n***** in the woodpile somewhere because we are getting lots of law and no justice."⁹⁵ The language used in this phrase emphasizes the logger's displeasure with the actions of Smallwood and his government. However, in addition to demonstrating the sheer level of anger and distrust, the use of this particular phrase suggested something very specific. The phrase refers to "some fact of considerable importance that is not disclosed – something suspicious or wrong."⁹⁶ Although the language is quite explicit, the logger is thus suggesting that Smallwood must be withholding important information. He noted "the RCMP didn't carry through scabbers on their own but who opened up the picket line and let the scabbers follow..."⁹⁷ Thus, not only is the logger expressing contempt for Smallwood for what he said in his speech and what he intended to do in regards to the

⁹³ ASCQELMU, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 3.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ ASCQELMU, 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.003 Badger.

⁹⁶ Charles Earle Funk, *Heavens to Betsy*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1955) as cited in Bruce M. Conforth, *African American Folksong and American Cultural Politics: The Lawrence Gellert Story* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2013), 145.

⁹⁷ ASCQELMU, 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.003 Badger.

IWA and the strike, but claims the Smallwood administration was involved with getting non-union loggers across picket lines and into the logging camps.

A month following Smallwood's February 12th speech, strike tensions had risen so much that extra constabulary members were called in by the government. There was a significant amount of anger and discontent felt toward Smallwood and his administration throughout the community. When looking at the total number of telegrams out of Badger something quite different can be seen. Despite 8 very anti-Smallwood responses, out of the total 32 telegrams, 24 or 75% were, in fact, in favour of what Smallwood was proposing. This is no small number and is therefore quite significant, certainly for such a key logging community. This pattern was repeated throughout many other key logging communities.

A good example of this is a telegram written by a group of nine men from Badger who, based on the language used, were likely loggers. They wrote "we are in favour of forming a new union immediately deport IWA out of country."⁹⁸ Evidence too suggests that even though those who were anti-Smallwood/pro-IWA were loggers, not every single logger was in fact anti-Smallwood or pro-IWA. Like the other 23 telegrams supporting Smallwood's speech coming out of Badger, they wanted what they thought was best for themselves.

A further example of this is a telegram sent in from the loggers at Dyke's Camp, a logging camp near Badger. The message in this telegram could not be clearer. It reads, "We the loggers of Dykes Camp pledge you our full support for a new union."⁹⁹ They established that they were loggers immediately and followed that by stating that they

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

were in full support of Smallwood's proposed new union. This further supports the claim that, despite the level of discontent felt towards Smallwood by loggers and specifically those in Badger, some percentage of the loggers remained supportive of Smallwood and his newly proposed union.

Case Study Two – Seal Cove, Fortune Bay

Seal Cove, Fortune Bay, despite being a community located outside of the “big stretch,” was home to a number of loggers. Of the 30 telegrams sent from Seal Cove to Smallwood on February 12th, every single one demonstrated full support of his proposed plan of action to rid Newfoundland of the IWA and start a new, local union. Furthermore, of those 30 telegrams, 8 of their senders identified themselves as loggers. Although it is likely that loggers sent many of the other 22 telegrams, only 8 can be counted for sure. Nonetheless, these numbers of support are significant. They make Seal Cove a good example of the level and kind of support Smallwood received from a typical outpost community – both before and after the strike.

The telegrams that were sent from Seal Cove mesh with most of the other telegrams. Many begin by thanking Smallwood for giving the speech, for standing up for the loggers and for standing up for the best interests of the whole province. Many display faith in Smallwood's intentions and future success as premier. What sets the telegrams from Seal Cove apart from the ones coming from other communities is that they are coming from a location not located within the “big stretch” where, as Smallwood said, 98% of A.N.D.'s loggers came from. This demonstrates that the pulp and paper industry and, therefore, the strike itself, had an impact on all corners of the island and not just in the central part of the province or along the “big stretch”.

All though all of the telegrams from Seal Cove help to support the argument that a portion of loggers supported Smallwood, his government and his proposed plan of action, some stick out from the rest quite clearly. One logger's telegram read, "would help you in any way to see you and your party organizing a good union as we would like to be treated right and honest in every way."¹⁰⁰ Not only was he explicit in his willingness to help Smallwood in his efforts to bring about a new union for the loggers, he demonstrates his distaste for the IWA. With this, he is suggesting that he knows Smallwood and the new union would treat him and his fellow loggers with the honesty and respect they deserve, something the IWA clearly did not. In a different telegram a logger wrote, on behalf of a group of fellow loggers, that "there [were] around fifty loggers at least 75% in favour with your speech and your plan."¹⁰¹

Another example, and perhaps the strongest, comes from a logger writing on his own. After thanking Smallwood for the wonderful speech he gave the night before, he wrote

we are finished with these nightmares we want your new union we have found you true in the past we have confidence you are dependable for the future.¹⁰²

By nightmares, Smallwood wasn't necessarily referring to specific actions taken by the IWA. Rather, he was simply referring to their very presence in the province as a nightmare. For Smallwood, the IWA's presence and actions on the island were a threat to the success of Newfoundland's most profitable industry. Due to this threat and the powerfulness of Ladd and the IWA, they were to Smallwood, a nightmare. This

¹⁰⁰ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-285 Smallwood J.R., 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.147 Seal Cove, Fortune Bay.

¹⁰¹ ASCQELMU, 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.147 Seal Cove, Fortune Bay.

¹⁰² Ibid.

statement demonstrates the type of faith many Newfoundlanders had in Smallwood.

Essentially, what this logger is saying is that he believes Smallwood has done right by his people in the past and that he will continue to do so in the future. Therefore, he and many others like him are putting their full confidence in him to rid their province of the nightmare that was the IWA.¹⁰³

Case Study Three – Springdale

Springdale, similar to Badger, was one of the larger, key communities in the heart of A.N.D.'s logging territory. Much like what can be seen coming from other communities loggers were from or operated out of, Springdale demonstrated full support of Smallwood's plan to rid the province of the IWA and to start a new union to be led by Max Lane. Furthermore, of the 30 telegrams sent from Springdale, people who identified themselves as loggers sent 13 of them. These numbers align with the fact that it was a key logging community.

A man who was involved with the running of 5 different logging communities with around 200 loggers, wrote one of the best examples of the type of telegram sent from the community. Like the others, he started the telegram by congratulating Smallwood on his "noble stand against the international racketeers."¹⁰⁴ However, with this statement he is also calling the IWA out as criminals looking out to benefit themselves and not the loggers. Although many other pro-Smallwood telegrams called the IWA out for not being what was best for Newfoundland, not many were bold enough

¹⁰³ Ibid. ASCQELMU, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 12.

¹⁰⁴ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-285 Smallwood J.R., 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.155 Springdale.

to call them out as criminals. He furthered his support by telling Smallwood that even though they were on the opposite side of politics outside of the strike, all of his support was behind Smallwood. Furthering this, he stated, “I do not hesitate to say that you have more guts than all other North American leaders put together.”¹⁰⁵ This is significant due to the fact that it shows that even some who disagreed with him in politics outside of the strike could and did agree with his decision in regards to the strike and the IWA in Newfoundland.

Two more examples of the type of telegrams that were sent from Springdale come from two different loggers, writing on behalf of themselves. The first wrote, “I have been a logger all my life and still want to be a free man.” The other logger wrote, in regards to the speech, “consider it one of the best pieces of news a logger ever heard... I have been one for thirty-five years.”¹⁰⁶ These are both examples of very direct telegrams. They clearly identified themselves as life-long loggers who were in full support of Smallwood’s plan to rid their province of the IWA and start a new union for them. By identifying themselves as having been loggers for their entire lives, they are giving themselves the ability to speak with a level of authority and know-how that a younger man wouldn’t be able to.

Case Study Four – Newstead

Newstead, located along the coast in the “big stretch” provides a further example of the type of telegrams received from loggers across Newfoundland, and specifically those from the small, outport communities. Loggers wrote 2 of the 4 telegrams sent from

¹⁰⁵ ASCQELMU, 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.144 Springdale.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

the community and all of them demonstrated full support for Smallwood and his proposed plan. Of the 2 examples that were sent by individuals who stated clearly that they were loggers, one stands out in particular. Like hundreds of other telegrams it began by congratulating Smallwood on his speech the evening before. However he quickly moved into a condemnation of the IWA and even provided a specific example as to why he did not want to be associated with them. He wrote “I purchased a tractor fifteenth of Dec for woods operation they promised to take care of installments during the strike and they have bluffed me cruelly.”¹⁰⁷ The anti-IWA sentiment is clear and the direct reasoning is provided. Just two weeks before the start of the strike this man had bought a tractor to use in his woods operation. The union had told him that they would take care of the installments during the strike, but six weeks in they had yet to provide him any financial help for it. It is because of this that he no longer considers himself a member of the IWA and he is fully in support of Smallwood’s proposed plan of action. This information conformed to Smallwood’s, as well as many others, perception of the IWA; the IWA was not the union for Newfoundland’s loggers.

Conclusion

It is evident that the perceptions of and feelings towards Smallwood at the time of the strike were not universal among the loggers in the province. The loggers who telegraphed Smallwood’s office in response to the speech did so with the intention of supporting what they thought was in their best interests. However, what they thought was

¹⁰⁷ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-285 Smallwood J.R., 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.122 Newstead.

in their own best interest was not the same for every logger. Based on the wealth of evidence available within the response telegrams to Smallwood's speech, the majority of the loggers' who bothered to telegram in to Smallwood's office on February 13th supported Smallwood, even though he spoke out against the strike and against the IWA.

Smallwood was not naïve about the sentiments felt amongst the loggers throughout the province. He was well aware of the social and political climate throughout the logging communities and the outport communities that the loggers were from. Having sent out his "eyes and ears," he was well aware of the atmosphere throughout that stretch of the province.¹⁰⁸ He was prepared for the outcome of his speech before he even made it. This level of awareness demonstrates his abilities as a keen politician, but also a premier looking to make key decisions to benefit the whole province without sacrificing the support from an important section of the population. To say that Smallwood chose to speak out against the strike and against the IWA simply because it would affect the upcoming logging season is far too simple an explanation for why and how he chose to do what he did. Although the telegrams sent in from a number of loggers show significant levels of pushback and anti-Smallwood, pro-IWA sentiment, he was able to confidently speak out. Although the strike went on for a number of weeks following the February 12th speech, Smallwood foresaw the outcome. Smallwood was aware of the general consensus throughout the heart of logging territory prior to giving the speech on February 12th. He was able to confidently go forth with what he felt was in the best interest of the province, and that was rid Newfoundland of the IWA and create a new

¹⁰⁸ ASCQELMU, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 4.

union which would inevitably be viewed more favorably by a key economic player in the province, A.N.D.

Chapter Three: A Vital Component: The Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, its Employees and Smallwood

Introduction

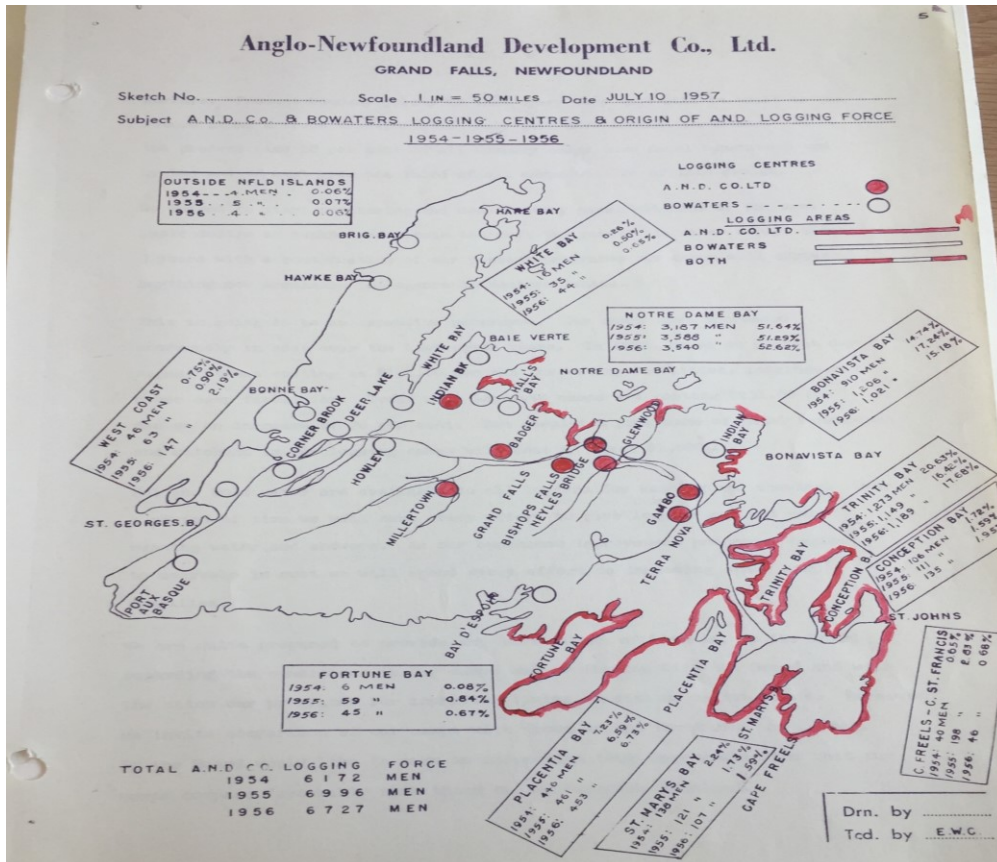
The Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company started its operations in central Newfoundland in 1905. Started by Alfred Harmsworth, later known as Lord Northcliffe, its holdings in Newfoundland were large and widespread.¹⁰⁹ Grand Falls, the sixth largest company town in the province at the time of the 1959 IWA Strike, was controlled by A.N.D. The company had its own railway lines, its own power plant, and owned nearly 7,500 square miles of timberland in Central Newfoundland. For a visual display of A.N.D.'s logging territory, please refer to Figure 3.1, provided on the following page. A.N.D.'s operations provided employment for many Newfoundlanders, whether within its mill, the town or its numerous contracted logging camps. The economic importance of A.N.D.'s operations was not lost on anyone. Grand Falls' support for Smallwood's plan to rid Newfoundland of the IWA and for his proposed new union to be led by Max Lane was extremely strong.

Not one telegram from Grand Falls, condemning Smallwood's speech or proposed new union can be located in the collection of IWA related materials in the Smallwood collection used in this research. A total of 130 telegrams from Grand Falls alone were sent to Smallwood's office the day following his February 12th speech, praising him and the actions he was going to take. The cause of the absolute support

¹⁰⁹ Joseph R. Smallwood, *I Chose Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1973), 397-398.

coming out of Grand Falls was that it was the home of A.N.D. Co. Ltd.'s operations and thus, the whole community was reliant on its success and continued existence in Newfoundland.

Figure 3.1: Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. Ltd. Territory Map



Source: This map was from file 3.18.020 IWA Attempts at Conciliation, in the J.R. Smallwood Collection, Coll-75.

The first section of this chapter provides a brief background on A.N.D.'s operations in Grand Falls as well as a brief history on the community. It begins with this in order to properly set up the context leading up to the 1959 IWA Strike and lend an explanation to the absolute support for Smallwood found in the February 13th telegrams.

It moves on to discuss the overwhelming impact that A.N.D. had on not only the logging territory of central Newfoundland but on the entire province. This section is designed to further explain why A.N.D. played such a vital role in Smallwood's plans for the province's industrialization and its economic well-being. Furthermore, this section will establish A.N.D. as one of the key players in the 1959 IWA Strike.

The second section provides a brief explanation of the groups of people that telegraphed in from Grand Falls following Smallwood's speech. These groups are: A.N.D. Co. Ltd staff and officials, individuals associated with a union (contemporarily or in the past), religious officials and individuals whose official position or occupation is unknown but who are suspected to be associated with A.N.D. Co. Ltd in some capacity. The third section comprises a series of case studies that will look at the various messages that can be taken from the telegrams in these different groups.

AND Co. Ltd. & Grand Falls – A Company Town

Located along the Exploits River in Central Newfoundland, Grand Falls began as a company town, run by the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co. A.N.D. began its operation in 1905, when it was granted a lease on a large tract of land that was to last nearly 100 years.¹¹⁰ The pulp and paper mill was completed in 1909 in addition to the first section of the town. As noted in the book *Grand Falls-Windsor: The Place and its People* it

... proved to be an enviable settlement in the early 20th century with its cash wages, housing for a penny a year, electricity, coal and milk delivered to the homes and a good sanitation system.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society Inc, *Grand Falls-Windsor: The Place and Its People*. (Grand Falls-Windsor: Grand Falls Windsor Heritage Society Inc, 2005), 57.

¹¹¹ Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society Inc, *Grand Falls-Windsor*, 57.

Grand Falls remained a company town, operating under the control of the A.N.D. Co. Ltd, until 1961. It was, in all senses of the term, a company town. Anyone who was employed in the mill resided in company housing within the bounds of the community unless they were given permission to live elsewhere. Please refer to Figure 3.2, provided below, for the location of Grand Falls, Newfoundland.

Figure 3.2: Section of the Ten-Mile Map of Newfoundland, Featuring Grand Falls



Source: Memorial University of Newfoundland - Digital Archives Initiative.
<http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/ref/collection/maps/id/150>.

Upon the construction of the mill, a new settlement began to emerge on the opposite side of the transinsular railway tracks, named Grand Falls Station, which was

later renamed Windsor.¹¹² Unlike the well-planned town of Grand Falls, Windsor was not designed for those who worked directly under A.N.D. It was home to anyone not welcomed in Grand Falls proper. This included loggers and others who would have had an economic interest in the pulp and paper industry or A.N.D. but who were not directly employed by the company. Grand Falls was exclusively for individuals employed directly in the mill. Anyone else, such as loggers or contractors, employed indirectly or not at all by A.N.D., was not permitted to live in the community. A.N.D. went as far as to ban socialization between mill workers and others.¹¹³

The exclusivity of Grand Falls correlates to the overwhelming pro-A.N.D. and pro-Smallwood response that can be seen in the community's telegrams to Smallwood's office following his February 12th speech. A.N.D. was the employer of the mill's workforce and thus was the source of their income. This gave the company significant leverage over the mill workers. Given that income levels and employment rates in Newfoundland at the time were not good, the mill's workers, who made up the entire population of Grand Falls, were well aware of the dim prospects that they faced if it were not for the A.N.D. Co. Ltd. They were likely to be out of work if production slowed down or if there was any stop in production in the mill. Even worse, A.N.D. could decide to shut down its Grand Falls operations all together. Even if on a moral level mill workers sympathized with the loggers, the likelihood that they would openly or at all support their strike efforts was close nil. Supporting the strike had a good chance of having a direct, detrimental effect on them and their families.

¹¹² Pitt and Pitt, "Grand Falls-Windsor."

¹¹³ Ibid.

A.N.D. Co. Ltd's successful pulp and paper operation was a key part of Newfoundland's economy, and an important contributor to Smallwood's vision. Modernization of the province's infrastructure, industrialization and growth of Newfoundland's economy were Smallwood's utmost concerns. His attempts at bringing more industry to the province were unsuccessful. Douglas Letto noted how "without exception, the industries lost money."¹¹⁴ These manufacturing industries were set up through the province's new Economic Development Department and its Director General, whom Letto referred to as the province's economic czar, Dr. Alfred Valdmanis.¹¹⁵ Five years prior to the IWA strike, Smallwood's government was dealt a major blow in the form of the 1954 Valdmanis scandal. Valdmanis was a Latvian economist that Smallwood brought to Newfoundland in order to aid in his plans to grow the province's economy. As Smallwood was boasting about the good Valdmanis was doing and would continue to do for Newfoundland's economy, the economist had been funneling money out of the coffers of the province and into the pockets of various company owners. Taking money from these deals, Valdmanis had also been lining his own pockets. Not one to be made a fool of or take public ridicule lightly, Smallwood jumped very quickly on discrediting Valdmanis and making sure he was arrested and charged.¹¹⁶

Ten years into his industrialization program, Smallwood could not afford and was not willing to face any further economic setbacks. This again gave the A.N.D. Co. Ltd a

¹¹⁴ Ibid., xi.

¹¹⁵ Letto, *Chocolate Bars & Rubber Boots*, 15.

¹¹⁶ For further information on the scandal involving Valdmanis, please see Smallwood, *I Chose Canada*, 354–357. Also see, Gerhard Bassler, *Alfred Valdmanis and the Politics of Survival* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

significant amount of power and leverage over Smallwood. As was the case for the employees of A.N.D., so was the case for Smallwood and in his eyes, the province's economy. Any slowing down or stoppage of work within A.N.D.'s operations risked considerable damage to the province's economy. In the February 12th speech, Smallwood made note of the fact that he intended on bringing a third pulp and paper mill to Newfoundland. He did not specify who this mill would be owned and operated by.¹¹⁷ However, he did draw attention to the fact that if the strike were to continue, that it could deter or prevent this from happening. Given the setbacks Smallwood and his government had been dealing with in the ten years since Confederation in addition to the economic importance of the A.N.D. Co. Ltd, it is not difficult to fathom why he chose to side with the company in the strike and attack the IWA. Neither Smallwood nor his government could afford any further economic setbacks or set backs in their industrialization scheme.

Some areas of Smallwood's speech were clouded in uncertainty. First he established how much he thought that the loggers of Newfoundland needed a good strong union. Almost immediately afterwards he went into a direct condemnation of the loggers' chosen union, the IWA. He spent pages of the speech reassuring his audience (his audience being the loggers first and foremost and followed by anyone else in Newfoundland that may have been listening) that he was a union man. Given the years he had spent as a union organizer, this was not all that far from the truth. For Smallwood as well as many others, including the community of Grand Falls as seen via the number of telegrams sent in response to his speech, the IWA was not the union for the province's

¹¹⁷ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-075 J.R. Smallwood Collection, 7.02 Speeches, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 2.

loggers. On the surface, these statements appear to go against one another. Was he selling out and giving the loggers another company union? Or did he genuinely think that the IWA was truly not the best union for the province's loggers? Smallwood announced in the speech that, with the support he figured he had, he was going to start a new union that would be led by Max Lane, General Secretary for the Fisherman's Union. Given that many loggers were in fact fishermen, Smallwood proposed that this new union include both loggers and fishermen, combining forces of two of the province's primary industries. Ladd, aptly and quickly dubbed Smallwood's proposed new union the "fish and chips union".¹¹⁸

Ladd, in a lecture given in 1984 at Memorial University, as part of a series of *Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working Class History*, shed new light on this tumultuous time in the province's history. Upon arriving in Gander after a trip to Ottawa, Ladd ran into a party of A.N.D. officials at the airport, one of whom offered him a ride back into Grand Falls. Upon declining the offer, he was given a message.¹¹⁹ Ladd recalled what the company official then said to him that day at the airport, "well, he said, I just wanted to give you a message... Do you remember the strike in Quebec, the Asbestos Strike, which Duplessis crushed?" Ladd replied to him,

I heard about it, I wasn't involved in it. Well [the official] said, let me tell you something, if the IWA goes out on strike in Newfoundland, that Asbestos Strike will look like a tea party.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Landon Ladd, "The Newfoundland Loggers' Strike of 1959," in *Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History*, eds., W.J.C. Cherwinski and Gregory S. Kealey (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985), 154.

¹¹⁹ Ladd, "The Newfoundland Logger's Strike of 1959," 154.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

In 1949 miners in the Asbestos area of Quebec went on strike. Maurice Duplessis, then Premier of Quebec, was quick to declare the strike illegal. Duplessis' provincial government had a vested interest in securing the industry for the mining companies.¹²¹ Parallels can be drawn between what happened in Quebec in regards to the Asbestos strike in 1949 and what happened in regards to Smallwood, A.N.D. and the IWA ten years later in Newfoundland. Based on Ladd's account of his interaction with the official, A.N.D. was very aware of their central importance in the Newfoundland economy. They were also very well aware of the level of control and power they had over Smallwood himself. Ladd furthered this account by stating what the A.N.D. official said to him next, "you bet we're serious...you'll find that the government of Newfoundland will support the companies and not the union."¹²²

As Ladd expressed in earlier sections of his lecture, the IWA and therefore the loggers did not expect that type of reaction from the Government of Newfoundland. Smallwood had been directly involved with union organizing for years before Confederation. What this A.N.D. official suggested was that Smallwood, the person the people of Newfoundland had elected to lead and represent them, would turn his back on them and choose to support A.N.D. instead. Ladd added to this by stating, he "had heard nothing but good things said about Mr. Smallwood. I accepted it on its face value ... that he was a man of the people."¹²³ He had gone into the strike, like the loggers he was leading, expecting nothing but support from Smallwood.

¹²¹ For more information on the 1949 Asbestos Strike in Quebec, please see Giles Beausoleil, "History of the Strike at Asbestos," *The Asbestos Strike*, ed. Pierre Elliot Trudeau and trans. James Boake (Toronto: James Lewis & Samuel, Publishers, 1974).

¹²² Ladd, "The Newfoundland Loggers' Strike of 1959," 154.

¹²³ Ibid.

Neither Ladd nor the loggers expected the blow that they were dealt on the night of Smallwood's critical and now, decisive speech. Smallwood did exactly what the A.N.D. official had told Ladd he would. Whether for economic reasons or not, his proposed plan of action was going against what the loggers had wanted. Was Smallwood still a man for the people, a premier who had simply lost his way? Or, had he finally turned his back on the people he swore to represent? Given the failure of many of the manufacturing plants that were built under his government's rapid industrialization scheme, Smallwood was under pressure by his own desire to not have any further setbacks in the economic growth and industrialization plans he had for the province. Taking into consideration the interaction between Ladd and the A.N.D. official right before the start of the strike, it is also very likely that the company was putting a tremendous amount of pressure on the Smallwood government, to side with them and put an end to the strike.¹²⁴ It is more likely that Smallwood was a premier who had simply lost his way and believed he could make peace between the company and the loggers through a new union, rather than having purposefully turned his back on the people of Newfoundland. Backed in to a corner, he chose to do what he thought was better for the province's economy rather than support the interests of the loggers and their union.

Key Groups

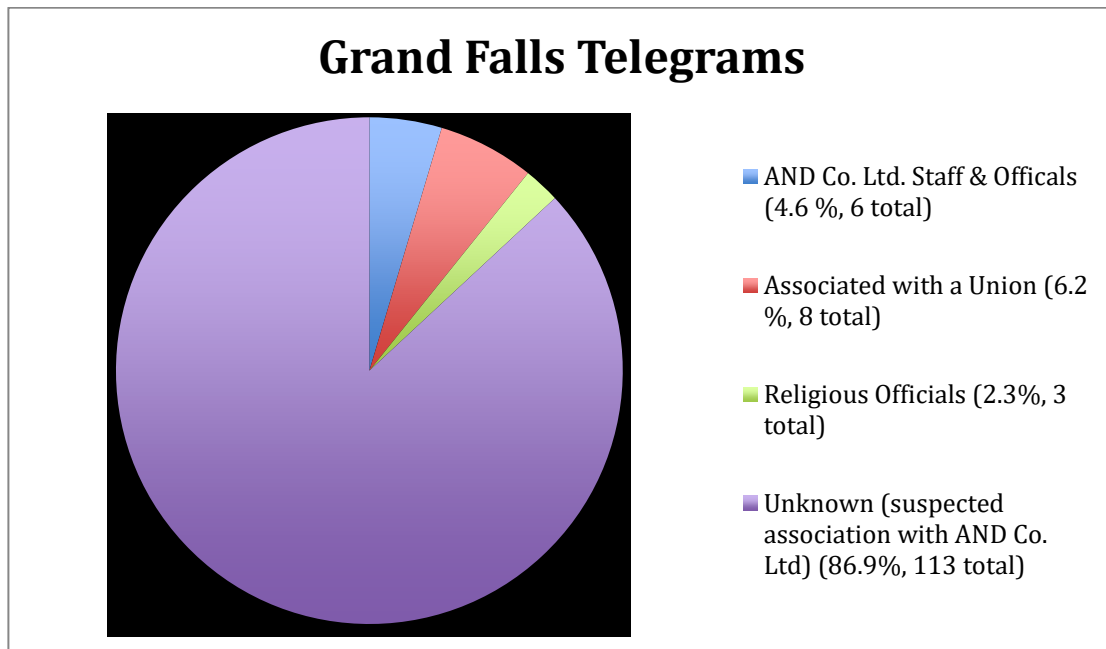
In order to analysis the telegrams that came out of Grand Falls in an efficient and organized manner, they need to be grouped in separate categories. Doing this also allows for a more in-depth discussion of the position of the different groups and why they chose

¹²⁴ Ibid., 155.

to support Smallwood and his proposed plan of action. Although this thesis has highlighted the important fact that only people who worked in the mill were permitted to live in the community of Grand Falls, this grouping is too broad to be put in to one category.

One of the groups that we see sending in telegrams from Grand Falls in response to Smallwood's speech are those individuals who directly stated they were employed with A.N.D. Co. Ltd in some capacity, whether as general staff or as company officials. Although only 4.6 % or 6 of the 130 telegrams sent in from Grand Falls are stated to be from company employees, this group is important to the strike, and therefore it is necessary that they be studied on their own. Figure 3.3, provided below, displays a further breakdown of the telegrams that came out of Grand Falls. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, A.N.D. had a significant impact not only on the economy of Newfoundland, but directly on those employed under its very large umbrella. Those under the A.N.D. umbrella ranged from the loggers in the camps, to people employed in branch industries and businesses within the town of Grand Falls, to more direct employees such as those who worked in the mill itself and those who were employed in the office. The individuals who worked within the mill and A.N.D. offices contributed 4.6% of the telegrams received by Smallwood in the day following the February 12th speech, and thus are grouped together in one category.

Figure 3.3: Grand Falls Telegrams



Source: Information for this chart obtained from File 15.03.070 Grand Falls, in the Smallwood J.R., Coll-285.

Of the six telegrams that can be identified as coming from A.N.D. Co. Ltd employees, a handful of key patterns can be seen. First and foremost, like all of the other telegrams that came out of Grand Falls, these telegrams were in full support of Smallwood’s proposed plan of action. Secondly, all 6 of the telegrams began by congratulating Smallwood on his “excellent address”.¹²⁵ Establishing their support for his proposed plan of action right away in the telegram would not only have made it much easier for Smallwood to total support numbers, but reaffirms their full support to anyone studying the documents in present day, leaving no room for doubt that A.N.D. Co. Ltd.’s

¹²⁵ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-285 Smallwood J.R., 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.070 Grand Falls.

employees were reliant on the continued success and existence of the company's operations in the province.

Not only are those writing identifying themselves by name (this is the same for all of the telegrams sent in from all communities, not just Grand Falls) but most of them make note of what their role within A.N.D. is or the department that they are employed under. Although this could be passed off as simply the proper formatting of a telegram, there is something more important. They left themselves accountable for the statements they made. Rather than just have their name or even their name and the company name, they made it very easy for the statement to be traced back to them. They were not trying to hide behind their messages, but rather made it clear who they were and the authority that they spoke with.

A second group of telegrams received from Grand Falls are those sent by individuals or groups of individuals either associated with a union contemporarily or in the past. There are 8 telegrams, 6% of all the Grand Falls telegrams, in the collection sent from individuals that had some level of association with a union. Two of the 8 come from the Machinists Lodge 1906, whose members would have more than likely worked in the actual pulp mill owned by A.N.D. Co. Ltd. There is 1 from the International Hodcarriers Local 433, 1 from the Retail Clerks Local 1684, 1 from the Grand Falls Gander District Labour Council and 2 from former union officials directly associated with the logging industry. Much like those A.N.D. employees who not only identified themselves by name but also the department within the company that they worked for, the 8 telegrams that were sent from this group of individuals always list the union with which they were associated. Again, the simple fact that they are doing so held them

accountable for what they said and allowed the telegrams to be traced back to specific individuals.

What is most compelling about the telegrams sent from Grand Falls by people associated with unions was that these individuals were in support of action being taken by the government of Newfoundland against another union, the IWA. This is indicative of the ongoing competition between craft and larger, international, industrial unions throughout Canada at the time of the strike. Craft unions and the larger, international, industrial unions were competing with each other for membership. All of the telegrams sent by individuals associated with unions in Grand Falls were members of craft unions. They demonstrated full support of Smallwood's proposed plan of action, which sought to push the IWA, which was a larger, international, industrial union out of Newfoundland completely.

A third group of telegrams sent to Smallwood on February 13th were from religious leaders throughout Grand Falls. Three telegrams in total, primarily leaders of protestant churches in the community including the Presbyterian Church, the Memorial United Church, the Salvation Army, and the Pentecostal Church wrote them. An additional church was on the telegram sent from a group of churches but never stated its denomination, referred to only as the Parish of Grand Falls. This group of telegrams aligns interestingly with claims Smallwood made in his February 12th speech. In addition to having sent out his eyes and ears throughout the area that the loggers lived and worked, he said that he had written to "a great many clergymen, pastors, and officers of the different religious denominations in that big stretch of coastline..."¹²⁶ The clergy

¹²⁶ Smallwood Collection, February 12 1959 Speech, 5.

Smallwood reached out to in the “big stretch” informed him of what he wanted to hear. They, as well as others believed the loggers needed a strong union, but the IWA was not the union for them and should be pushed out of Newfoundland.¹²⁷ The telegrams sent from the clergymen in Grand Falls carried a very similar message; the best thing Smallwood could do, for the loggers and for the rest of Newfoundland, was to end the strike and rid the province of the IWA.

These telegrams carry a personal message of support for Smallwood, but these leaders had whole congregations behind them. Receiving messages of support from the community’s religious leaders allowed Smallwood to further gauge support levels in the wider community. Smallwood would have been aware of this before contacting them in the weeks prior to when he received the telegrams from the religious leaders in Grand Falls. Smallwood saw the importance of seeking out information from religious leaders throughout the area loggers were from, and were employed. Therefore it is important that this thesis look at this group of individuals and the position they took on the strike, the IWA and Smallwood.

The fourth and final group of telegrams which came out of Grand Falls was a general category, sent by individuals who did not directly list their occupation. Although it is likely the individuals that wrote these telegrams came from all walks of life, by and large they still all had a vested interest in A.N.D.’s continued success in Grand Falls. This group of telegrams accounts for 113 or 86.9% of all the telegrams received from Grand Falls in response to Smallwood’s speech from Grand Falls. Telegrams were categorized into this group based on two reasons: no identified occupation; or,

¹²⁷ Ibid.

alternatively, their occupation was listed but the overall number in the telegrams of that occupation was too small or insignificant to give its own group.

Many of the telegrams in this category, like those in the other groups from Grand Falls, congratulated Smallwood on a successful speech and encouraged him to go forth and form a new union and rid the province of the IWA. One individual wrote, accurately capturing the political and social atmosphere in the town at the time: “congratulations on your courageous stand we want Newfoundland for Newfoundland.”¹²⁸ This individual, and many others like him, was not interested in having a large, international union operating within their community as well as the province’s most profitable industry. They wanted a Newfoundland run union for the loggers, not an international one. Furthermore, telegrams in this group reaffirm that A.N.D.’s continued existence and success and thus their financial security took precedence over the loggers’ issues for the residents of Grand Falls.

Case Study One – A.N.D. Co. Ltd Employees

A.N.D.’s scope of employment was far reaching. Under A.N.D. there would have been company officials, managers, secretaries and assistants, people to operate the mill, contractors. No matter an individual’s position within A.N.D., they relied on the company to provide them with a paycheque that in turn allowed them to put a roof over their and their family’s heads and food on the table. Although only 6 of the telegrams that came out of Grand Falls can be identified as having been written by A.N.D. employees,

¹²⁸ Smallwood J.R., 15.03.070 Grand Falls.

given that it was in fact a company town in all senses of the term, one can assume that the overall number is higher.

One of the best and most detailed examples of telegrams from A.N.D. employees is the one sent in by P L Shapleigh, Manager of Industrial Relations A.N.D. Co. Ltd.¹²⁹ Being in a significantly high position within the ranks of A.N.D., what he had to say, as many others like him, towards the strike and towards both Smallwood and the IWA are very important in understanding the dynamics and power at play during the strike. However, his telegram, and others from people like him, come with a significant amount of biases. Nonetheless, his telegrams and others like it remain valuable source material.

He began the telegram the way most did, by congratulating Smallwood on his address the previous night. Shapleigh then wrote, “all in this community are very pleased with the stand you have taken.”¹³⁰ This is an accurate representation of what the A.N.D. community and the community of Grand Falls thought following the February 12th address. Even without the evidence in the telegrams or other documents within both of the Smallwood collections consulted for this thesis, one could make the argument that this would be the public stance anyone working for A.N.D. would have taken. The mill workers and other A.N.D. staff members relied on the company as their source of income and would have been aware of the difficult prospects that could be faced if the income stopped, albeit momentarily or permanently. Being employed by a stable, profitable company, it is only logical that people such as Shapleigh would have wanted this level of financial security and security of power to continue. Individuals such as Shapleigh would have had a significant amount of power within the ranks of the company. Shapleigh, like

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

others in positions of power, made a point of offering any assistance to Smallwood and thus to Lane if they were to need or want it. He wrote, "I wish to assure you that any assistance or advice from me personally will be gladly made available you sir can pass this along to your colleague Mr Max Lane."¹³¹ Although there is no evidence that Smallwood or Lane took Shapleigh up on his offer and sought his assistance or advice, this remains a very bold statement of support. Not only did he and others in his position agree whole-heartedly with Smallwood's stance on the IWA and on the strike, they were willing to go the extra mile and put their efforts towards the cause, ending the strike and the IWA's presence in the province.

Shapleigh's telegram isn't the only strong example of the sentiments coming out of the group of AND employees that telegraphed in to Smallwood's office following the speech given the night before. Another example is the telegram written by a group of women employed in the Industrial Relations Dept. The telegram reads, "congratulations on excellent address. All Grand Falls solid behind you. The sooner IWA leave island the better."¹³² Again, like Shapleigh and many others, the women that sent the telegram started it by congratulating Smallwood on his address the night before. They then moved on to state, again the same as many others did, that all of Grand Falls supported his plan. They were a bit more direct than others in their disapproval of the IWA's presence in the province. They wrote, "the sooner IWA leave island the better."¹³³ This left no room for doubt for Smallwood or for individuals working with the document in present day, the A.N.D. staff did not approve of the IWA and wanted them gone as soon as possible.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

They put their full support and confidence behind Smallwood and his plan to push the IWA out and start a new union. The proposed new union, in the eyes of those who worked for the company, would more than likely work with the company as opposed to against it.

Case Study Two – Union Association

Individuals in the Grand Falls area who were associated with a union in some capacity, took much the same stance as those individuals who identified themselves as having been employed by A.N.D. There is no sign of union-to-union solidarity in any of the telegrams sent by individuals associated with unions in Grand Falls. As mentioned previously, this is due to the ongoing competition between smaller craft unions, such as the ones we see in Grand Falls and larger, industrial unions, such as the IWA, that were vying for membership.

Good examples of the sort of telegrams Smallwood received from folks associated with unions in the Grand Falls area are the two sent from the Machinists Lodge 1906 members and the one from its president.¹³⁴ Given that machinists, as the name would suggest, work with machinery there is a strong likelihood that these people would have been employed on the floor of A.N.D.'s mill, and worked with the machinery that processed the materials brought in from the various logging camps throughout Central Newfoundland. Written by the secretary for the union, the telegram from the group of machinists reads,

¹³⁴ Ibid.

Machinists Lodge 1906 admire the courageous stand you have taken. We congratulate you and pledge full support to the loggers and its new union we hope will be formed.¹³⁵

Only a handful of other telegrams acknowledge the loggers at all. The fact that the telegram from the group of machinists did as well as the one written from their president is quite significant. Not only are they putting their full support behind Smallwood and the plan to rid the province of the IWA and start a new union for the loggers, but also they are stating they are also putting their full support behind the loggers themselves. Perhaps they are making this statement in order to make themselves look better or perhaps there is something more to this? The men who made up this lodge would have been able to identify more on the level of the loggers than would union and company officials. Although they were not loggers themselves and their struggles were not the same, they would have been privy to the struggles of the working class man.

The President of the International Association of Machinists, Lodge 1906 started off his telegram similarly to the one from his union's members. He stated "congratulations last night speech. Your remarks heartily supported."¹³⁶ What is most compelling is what he said in the following lines. He wrote, "shall be looking forward to affiliation with your new loggers union."¹³⁷ Not only did the union president support Smallwood's proposed plan of action by replacing the IWA with a union formed by himself and one that was more company friendly, but what he said suggests that he thought there would be affiliation between his union and the one Smallwood was planning on forming with Max Lane as president. This further supports the claim that the

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

members and leaders of the machinists union would have been able to identify with the loggers on a level that company officials may not have been. To suggest that there could be future affiliations between the new union and the International Association of Machinists, lodge 1906 is to suggest that there was shared ground between the two groups.

Beyond the telegrams written by the machinists, there is one in particular that sticks out from the rest. None other than JJ Thompson, former leader of the Newfoundland Lumberman's Association and now foe of Landon Ladd, wrote that telegram. Thompson was not always opposed to the IWA or Ladd. Upon being invited to attend the 16th annual conference for the NLA, Ladd had rejected Thompson's proposal that in exchange for handing over NLA he would be granted a guaranteed salary within the newly amalgamated union. Years later in 1984, during a speech given in a series of lectures on Labour and Working-Class History at Memorial University, Ladd recalled this moment with clarity and almost a sense of humor. After telling Ladd about the offers he received from the Carpenter's Union, Thompson wanted to know what he and the IWA could offer him in exchange for the NLA. Ladd then recalled his response to Thompson's proposal and question,

'Have you put the sign out?' He said, 'What sign?' I said, 'Unions for Sale.' 'God,' he said, 'I didn't put any sign out.' 'Well,' I said, 'That's what we are talking about.'¹³⁸

Nonetheless, with all of this being said, Thompson's telegram to Smallwood following his anti-IWA speech is important.

¹³⁸ Ladd, "The Newfoundland Loggers Strike of 1959,"150.

He, much like Smallwood in his address, had little time for either Ladd or the IWA. Unlike the vast majority of the other telegrams that came out of Grand Falls, as well as the rest of Newfoundland, his message was a direct condemnation of the IWA and their activities. As demonstrated throughout this thesis, the majority of telegrams were spent congratulating Smallwood on the speech, offering assistance and stating their support for his newly proposed union. Thompson wrote,

Being a labour leader in NFLD for the past 25 years and knowing circumstances connected with every phase of logging industry I regard IWA activities in NFLD as a most outrageous and malicious attempt to destroy everything we had and possibly our way of life.¹³⁹

With this statement, Thompson did two things. Firstly, he established his ability to speak on this matter with the utmost authority, as he was the former NLA Union president, up and until the IWA won over the majority of loggers in the years leading up to the strike. Further, he argued that this same reasoning for having such authority had given him the utmost amount of knowledge on the logging industry and the present labour dispute. His claim that the IWA and their activities are both “outrageous and malicious”, due to his close relationship with recent union activity, the logging industry and A.N.D., comes as no surprise.

Thompson spent the second half of the telegram ensuring Smallwood that he had his full support in ending the present labour dispute and ridding Newfoundland of the IWA. However, it appears as though Thompson did disagree with who should lead the new union. He wrote, “... and restore our original labour relations both with the loggers and management...”¹⁴⁰ Although he supported Smallwood’s discrediting and banishing

¹³⁹ Smallwood J.R., 15.03.070 Grand Falls.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

of the IWA, he did not support the construction of a new union. Thompson did not want the new union Smallwood was proposing, but the restoration of the NLA, which inevitably he would run. The NLA had essentially become a company union prior to the IWA takeover. It appears as though his hope was to return to his lucrative position of power. This is significantly different than any of the other telegrams sent to Smallwood following the speech. Despite the difference between Thompson's telegram and those sent by others, it is important that it is understood and discussed when studying this pivotal moment in Newfoundland's history.

Case Study Three – Religious Leaders

Although there are not as many telegrams from religious leaders in Grand Falls at the time of the strike as there are from other groups, the weight and message that they do carry is significant. The telegrams sent from religious leaders in Grand Falls carried a lot of importance given their prominence in the community and its citizens' day-to-day lives. F Sheppard, the "Rector of the Parish of Grand Falls" wrote one such example.¹⁴¹ The message in the telegram is twofold. Following the pattern of most of the other supportive telegrams sent in, he began by congratulating Smallwood on his "statesman like stand".¹⁴² What sets Sheppard's telegram apart from the rest is the line that follows. He wrote, "... and pray our misguided people will follow your lead."¹⁴³ This not only indicates that Sheppard agrees that Smallwood's proposed plan of action is the best choice for the present labour dispute. It also, quite clearly, indicates that he believed the

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

loggers were misguided in their choice to join the IWA. There are a number of things at play that would have affected Sheppard's stance on the matter of the strike. Did he put himself behind the loggers and what is best for them? Or does he further entrench himself behind the residents of Grand Falls and what is best for them? Given the economic importance of A.N.D.'s operations in Grand Falls and the sheer number of pro-Smallwood/anti-IWA telegrams coming out of the community, it is quite clear that as a community they stood behind the company. With this, Sheppard was walking both lines, while putting his full support behind Smallwood's proposed plan of action and the best interests of Grand Falls, he also showed a level of genuine concern that is not apparent in other telegrams from the community.

A different, yet further example of what the religious leaders in the community were thinking and saying at the time of the strike comes in the form of a telegram signed by 3 individuals from 3 different denominations that were in operation in the community at the time of the strike. The telegram itself followed the same basic formula that the majority of others did; it acknowledged that the speech was well done and they supported his proposed plan of action and would be supported by the rest of the Grand Falls community. This telegram further entrenches uniformity throughout the community and across religious lines among the leaders that otherwise might not have existed so strongly.

Case Study Four – The Community of Grand Falls

The largest category of telegrams that came out of Grand Falls falls into an 'unknown' or 'others' category. This group made up 113 of the 130 or 86.9% of the telegrams sent from the community. It should be noted that because the occupation or

position of the individuals writing is not given they don't in fact fall into one of the categories discussed previously in this chapter. Quite contrary to this, it is more than likely that a large number of the individuals who telegraphed in to Smallwood's office on February 13th but did not state their occupation or association were in fact employed in some capacity under the AND umbrella. To assign them a specific category when no direct evidence is given either way is not an appropriate choice. For this reason I divided them off into a separate group. Because of this, the slight ambiguity of the demographic of the individuals allows this specific grouping to be a general representation of the community of Grand Falls as a whole.

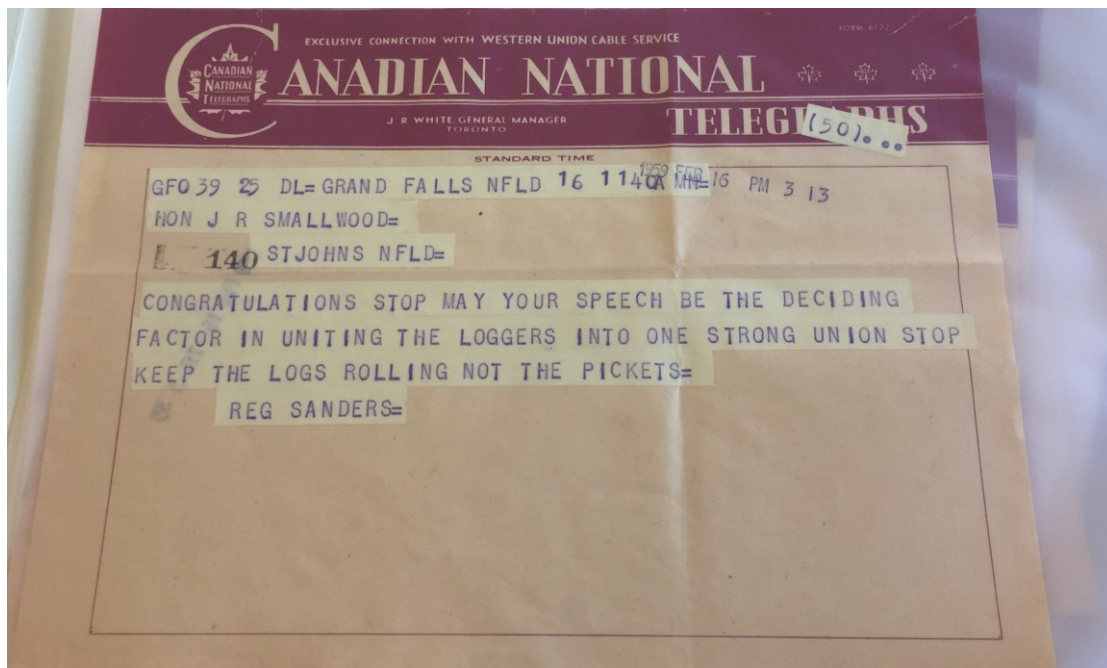
Some of the telegrams take on a more serious tone, as was seen with the telegrams sent from A.N.D. Co. Ltd staff and officials or from different individuals with some level of association with a union. Others take on a slightly more humorous or lighthearted tone in comparison. A female resident of the community wrote one such example. She wrote, "Roses are red Ladd is blue Jeff is out and we're with you."¹⁴⁴ A play on an eighteenth-century children's nursery rhyme, this short poem says just as much as other, lengthier telegrams do, but does so in less words. In a much more humorous or cheeky manner, she asserted that: she did not support Ladd and thus does not support the IWA's presence on the island and that she supports Smallwood's proposed plan of action.

Another humorous or cheeky example of the types of telegrams we see coming from this category was written by a male resident of the community. He began the telegram, again, by congratulating Smallwood on the speech given the night before.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

Writing, “may your speech be the deciding factor in uniting the loggers into one strong union”, he established that he truly did hope that Smallwood’s plan would be successful and he would be able to form a new union and push the IWA out of Newfoundland.¹⁴⁵ The witty or humorous part came in the form of a pun at the very end of the telegram. He wrote, “keep the logs rolling not the picket.”¹⁴⁶ A copy of this telegram can be seen below in Figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4: Reg Sanders Telegram, Grand Falls



Source: File 13.03.070 Grand Falls, in the Smallwood J.R. Coll-285.

This further entrenches the argument that the continued presence and financial success of A.N.D.’s logging and mill operations was of the utmost importance to those in the area. This aligns with what Lembcke and Tattam argued in *One Union in Wood* when they

¹⁴⁵ Smallwood J.R., 15.03.070 Grand Falls.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

argued Smallwood had only decided to speak out against the IWA and against the strike because there was a growing fear that “it would extend into the spring cutting period.”¹⁴⁷ Based on the language used in this telegram and the high number of supportive telegrams that came out of Grand Falls, it is evident that this fear was not just one felt by Smallwood or the company. Members of the Grand Falls community feared that if the strike were to go on much longer it would interfere with production at the mill. A slow down of work, for any number of weeks, could then have led to the complete shut down of the operation altogether for an unknown period of time. Whether it be a slowdown or stoppage of work, this was not something that those working directly in A.N.D.’s mill or within the community of Grand Falls wanted. Slower production or no work meant no income going into their homes.

Smallwood spent the last section of his speech completely condemning the IWA and their presence in their “decent, Christian province.”¹⁴⁸ He used phrases such as “[they] have brought nothing but trouble.” He referred to the IWA as a “vile outfit” as well as “wicked and mischievous body of wreckless irresponsible wreckers.”¹⁴⁹ Considerably different in tone from the previous two examples, there are two telegrams from Grand Falls that share a number of similarities with the language used towards the strike and the IWA in Smallwood’s speech the night before. One of them, written by a male resident of the community states, “... no enterprising company could afford to deal with the riff raff of this type.”¹⁵⁰ Another individual referred to the strike as a “dread

¹⁴⁷ Lembcke and Tattam, *One Union in Wood*, 160.

¹⁴⁸ Smallwood Collection, February 12 1959 Speech, 11.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Smallwood J.R., 15.03.070 Grand Falls.

disease”.¹⁵¹ Although neither of the telegrams were a word-for-word repeat of Smallwood’s speech, the same tone and type of language is used. This further entrenches the argument that the residents of Grand Falls and Smallwood were of the same mindset in terms of the IWA.

Conclusion

Grand Falls played a particularly important role in the 1959 IWA Strike. It was home to one of the province’s largest and contemporarily most prosperous employers, the A.N.D. Co. Ltd. Furthermore, because A.N.D. was at the centre of the strike, what happened in Grand Falls took on a different shape than elsewhere in Newfoundland. Although dozens of outport communities sent in telegrams supportive of Smallwood and his proposed new union, the total number of telegrams from these communities ranged from 1 to the low teens. Not one other community came close to matching the number of anti-IWA/pro-Smallwood telegrams from Grand Falls. This is indicative of the fact that it was a company town, entirely owned and operated by the very company that Newfoundland’s loggers were striking against. The link between A.N.D.’s continued existence and economic prosperity was well known and important to not only Smallwood but also the residents of Grand Falls. Not only was Grand Falls’ support for Smallwood’s plan to rid the province of the IWA and start a new, government run union absolute throughout the community’s telegrams, it was guaranteed.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

Chapter Four

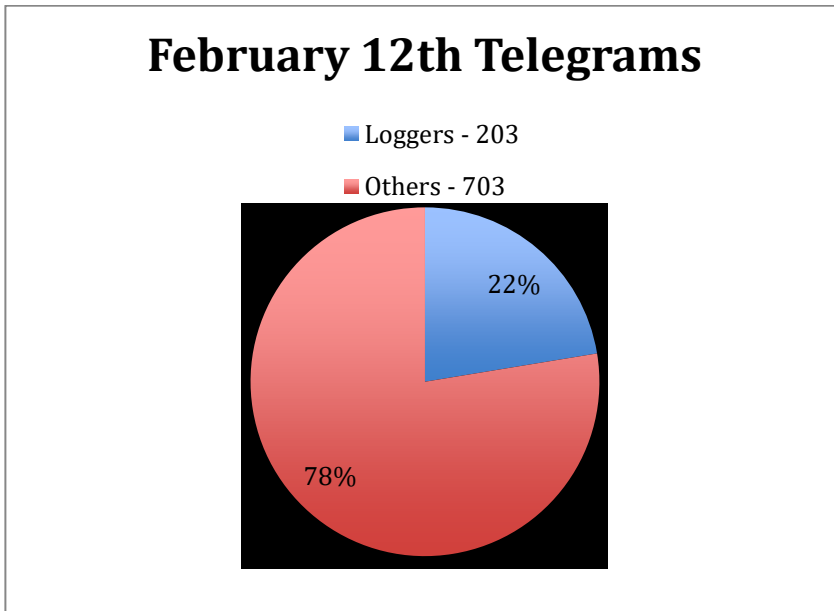
A Newfoundlander for Newfoundland: Joseph Smallwood & Non-logging Newfoundlanders

Introduction

By a significant margin, the largest group to telegram in to Smallwood the day following his Thursday, February 12th speech was not loggers but members of the general populace. The total number of telegrams sent in across the board was 906. Three of those 906 were votes of uncertainty, with the individuals expressing their dismay at both the IWA and Smallwood. The total number of telegrams that came directly from loggers was 203, while the total number from ‘non-loggers’ or ‘others’ was 703. So, of the total 906 telegrams, 77.9% came from individuals who were not loggers (See Figure 4.1). Of the 703 telegrams, 674 (74.4% of the overall telegrams) expressed adamant support for Smallwood and his newly proposed logger-fishermen union. This chapter argues that Smallwood’s reassurance in knowing that he could ban the IWA and start a new union, without losing too much support or his position as premier, came by and large from the general public.

Before any further discussion on this group can happen, it should be noted, it is almost certain that an unknown percentage of the telegrams listed in the ‘others’ category were in fact from loggers who did not identify themselves as such. To include them in the ‘loggers’ category would not have worked, because there is no way to know for certain whether or not they were. For some of the telegrams, the language is vague and the vast majority gave no indication as to what their occupation was. Nonetheless, these numbers are important and point to something significant. As was the case with A.N.D. employees specifically, so is the case with the general populace of the province.

Figure 4.1: February 12th Telegrams



Source: Information for this chart obtained from file 15.03 Telegram, February 1959 in Smallwood, J.R. Coll-285.

Smallwood knew he had the support of the general population upon receiving the telegrams.

The first section of this chapter provides an introduction to the relationship between Smallwood and the people of Newfoundland. This includes both loggers and the general public. It moves into a discussion on the extent to which Smallwood was a Newfoundlander for Newfoundland and a man for the people. Following that the section moves into a more detailed discussion on the levels of support Smallwood had prior to the start of the 1959 IWA Strike. The first section of the chapter is designed to properly set up the dynamics of the relationship between Smallwood and his fellow Newfoundlanders prior to the strike. This enables a more well-rounded understanding of just how he was able to maintain support while at the same time publicly siding with the company rather than his fellow Newfoundlanders. This is absolutely critical to

understanding why the argument being put forth in this chapter and in the whole thesis is plausible.

The second section of this chapter examines the telegrams sent from individuals included in the ‘others’ category. By analyzing the overall numbers, it will explain just how much support Smallwood had and as a result what this would have indicated to him and what it can tell historians working with the documents in the present. This section discusses where in Newfoundland these telegrams were written from, whether the West Coast, Central Newfoundland, the Avalon peninsula around St. John’s or along the South Coast. Furthermore, it will discuss the telegrams and the numbers in comparison to the ones from the loggers and those sent by A.N.D. Co. Ltd. employees.

The third and final section includes a series of four different case studies of telegrams sent in to Smallwood following his speech. These short case studies include: St. John’s, Corner Brook, Botwood, and Musgravetown. They were selected on the basis that St. John’s and Corner Brook were major centers on opposite sides of the island, St. John’s being the capital of the province and Corner Brook being home to the Bowater’s mill. Botwood was chosen on the basis of it being a key community in A.N.D.’s logging territory and their main shipping port. Musgravetown was chosen based on the fact it was an outport community along the “big stretch”.¹⁵² Again, this section is important as it gives supporting evidence for the chapter as well as the whole thesis

¹⁵² Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-075 J.R. Smallwood Collection, 7.02 Speeches, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 5.

Level of Support Prior to the 1959 IWA Strike

Smallwood presented himself as a man of the people, a Newfoundlander for Newfoundland. Heavily involved with the National Convention in the lead up to Confederation with Canada, Smallwood was Premier of Newfoundland from 1949 to 1972. Although political support for him was never unanimous, he remained wildly popular throughout much of the province, certainly in the first half of his time as premier. Support for Smallwood was strongest in the small outport communities scattered along the province's coast. With the promise of Confederation, came the promise of federal money that would help lift many of them out of the depths of poverty they had been facing. It was this promise of Canadian federal money that enabled him to appeal to vast swaths of the outport population.

Sean Cadigan, in the chapter on Smallwood era Newfoundland titled "The Land of Milk and Honey, 1946-1972" in his book, *Newfoundland and Labrador, A History*, was quite critical in his analysis of the late premier. He began the chapter by quoting Herbert Pottle, one of Smallwood's first cabinet ministers to abandon his cause.

Smallwood saw himself as the people's 'Abraham' leading them into the 'new Canaan' of Confederation, but with a common touch: he was the prophet 'of the average Joe'.¹⁵³

With this savior-like self-presentation, he appealed to those living in the small outport communities scattered along the province's coastline. He was the one that would bring them the federal benefits that Canadians were already receiving and therefore he would be the one to lead them into a new, economically prosperous era. These people, living

¹⁵³ Sean Cadigan, "The Land of Milk and Honey 1946-1972," in *Newfoundland and Labrador, A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 235.

throughout the province's many outport communities, included fisherman and loggers alike.

With this, it is logical to make the connection between the level of political support Smallwood received from outport communities all along the province to the support he received in the wake of the 1959 IWA Strike. They had put their faith in him to do what was right by them both politically and economically. By examining the telegrams sent from people all across Newfoundland to Smallwood following his February 12th speech, it is evident that they still held this faith. Often, individuals were very direct in their messages to the premier; many even used words such as faith or belief.

Numbers Don't Lie

Of the 906 telegrams received by Smallwood's office the day following his controversial speech, individuals that were not loggers sent 701, or 77.4%. When the 130 telegrams sent from known A.N.D. employees (residents of Grand Falls) are taken from this total, there are 571 left. Although it is likely that a number of these were sent by loggers and A.N.D. employees who did not identify themselves as such in their telegrams, the vast majority came from individuals that were neither loggers or were employed by A.N.D. This number is important, as it underscores the fact that the bulk of the support for Smallwood during the strike did not come from those directly involved with the labour dispute. It also aligns with the fact that Smallwood had the support of large portions of the outport communities.

This support was both known and welcomed by Smallwood. It should be noted that the authors of the 571 telegrams examined in this chapter were not necessarily

Smallwood's target audience. Although he knew people from all walks of life would have their eyes peeled to their radios that evening, the speech was aimed directly at the province's loggers. He spent numerous pages of the speech saying how necessary it was that they have a good, strong union and how much of a life-long union man he was.¹⁵⁴ If nothing else, this was aimed at convincing the loggers that he had their best interests in mind and was not quashing the IWA's presence in Newfoundland to appease the company. Nearing the end of the speech he called out directly to the loggers,

Send me your telegrams starting first thing tomorrow morning. Tell me that you want to be rid of this black nightmare that goes by the name of IWA... Save Newfoundland, you loggers, from the awful danger that faces us all. Send me telegrams in thousands tomorrow.¹⁵⁵

Evidently, though, those who replied were not only the loggers.

Case Study One – St. John's

One of the first community examples that will be examined in closer detail is in fact the province's capital, St. John's. Of the 8 telegrams that were sent to Smallwood from individuals living in St. John's, an unsurprising 7 were written by non-loggers and thus fall into the 'others' category. This number is unsurprising in the sense that St. John's is nowhere near Central Newfoundland nor is it located along the 'big stretch' referred to by Smallwood in his speech, where nearly 98% of the loggers were from.¹⁵⁶ Looking at the telegrams from residents of St. John's also allows for a further exploration of the issues, concerns and ideas people from all over Newfoundland were thinking and feeling in regards to the strike and Smallwood's speech. The vast majority of telegrams

¹⁵⁴ Smallwood Collection, February 12 1959 Speech, 1-3.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 13.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 4-5.

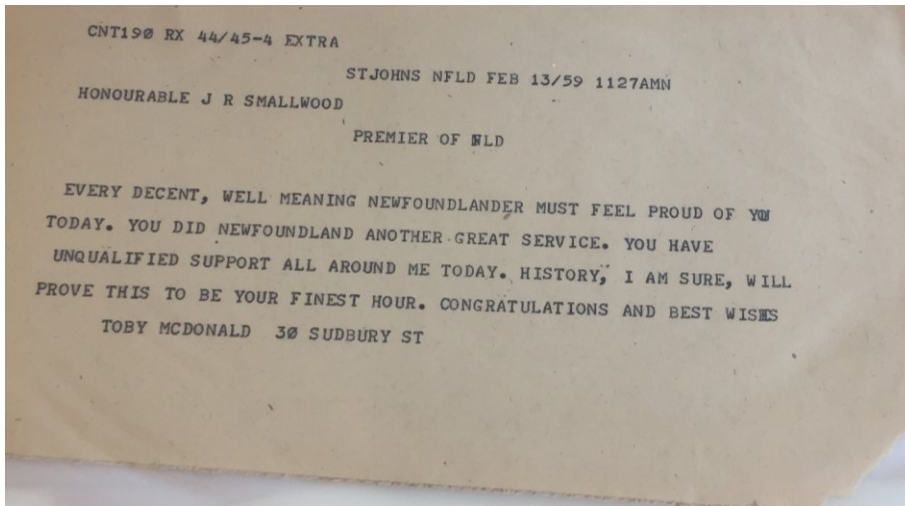
sent to Smallwood in the wake of the speech came from logging communities in Central Newfoundland and from outport communities. St. John's, however, is fairly removed from these others communities geographically, socially and politically. Residents of St. John's held different political views and concerns than those communities more deeply impacted by the pulp and paper industry as well as the strike.

Although all of the telegrams are important because they help support the argument being made in the chapter, a handful of them stick out more than others. Veering from the norm of how most of the telegrams began, one man wrote "every decent, well-meaning Newfoundlander must feel proud of you today."¹⁵⁷ Such a line is telling of the attitude held by many of the non-logging Newfoundlanders and certainly those that were completely removed from the whole industry and living in places such as St. John's. With this line, it looks as though they are suggesting that those who are choosing to side in favour of the IWA are not in fact "decent, well-meaning Newfoundlanders."¹⁵⁸ This telegram can be seen in Figure 4.2, provided on the following page.

¹⁵⁷ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-285 Smallwood J.R., 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.159 St. John's.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

Figure 4.2: Toby McDonald Telegram, St. John's



Source: Information for this chart obtained from file 15.03.159 St. John's in Smallwood, J.R. Coll-285.

He then moved on to reiterate that he thought Smallwood made a fantastic speech and that was the best thing that he could have done for Newfoundland in terms of taking a stance on ending the strike and pushing the IWA out of the province. More interestingly, however, he stated “you have unqualified support all around me today. History, I am sure, will prove this to be your finest hour.”¹⁵⁹ Again, this reinforces the fact that he felt Smallwood not only had his support but the support of a vast amount of Newfoundland. With this, he was also stating that he felt as though this moment would be a turning point in Smallwood's political career and that he would be making history. That much, though whether it was for the better or for the worse, was certainly true.

Smallwood did in fact make history that night. Although Smallwood's career did not come to an end that night, it did mark a salient moment in his political career and

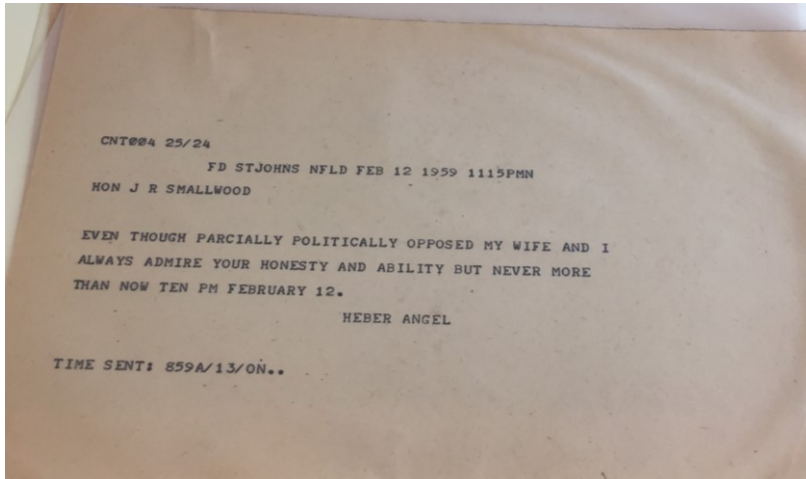
¹⁵⁹ Smallwood J.R., 15.03.159 St. John's.

most certainly in his time as Premier of Newfoundland. As stated in earlier chapters, Smallwood had spent many years organizing unions, ran in socialist circles in New York in the 1920s as well as having written for socialist newspapers during his time there. Fast forward twenty years, he played an active and by-and-large the most visible and vocal role in the Confederation movement in Newfoundland. Nonetheless, all this is to say that his political attention was towards the general populace. He spoke to and for the people, rather than to other big time politicians and companies. His infamous anti-IWA speech given on Thursday, February 12th was a turning point. Although it was likely a situation of sacrificing some for the good of the whole, he went against the direct interests of the loggers. Instead of supporting a group of men, some of whom had been his biggest and most ardent supporters during his early years in the Confederation campaign and then again as premier, he chose instead to support the direct interests of the A.N.D. Co. Ltd. Although he remained premier for another 12 years after the 1959 IWA Strike, support for him began to turn and slowly the province's population began to favour him increasingly less. Although his having spent so many years in the seat as premier likely played a role in this, one cannot help but notice that it was it was in the late nineteen-fifties, early nineteen-sixties that things began to change – which lines up neatly with the 1959 loggers strike and the controversial decisions he made during it.

This level of support for Smallwood can be seen in other telegrams sent from St. John's following his anti-IWA speech. Similar to those from other communities, the telegrams sent from St. John's varied in both length and intensity. The man whose

telegram can be seen in Figure 4.3 wrote, “even though partially politically opposed my wife and I always admire your honesty and ability but never more than now.”¹⁶⁰

Figure 4.3 Herber Angel Telegram, St. John’s



Source: Source: Information for this chart obtained from file 15.03.159 St. John’s, Telegram in in Smallwood, J.R. Coll-285.

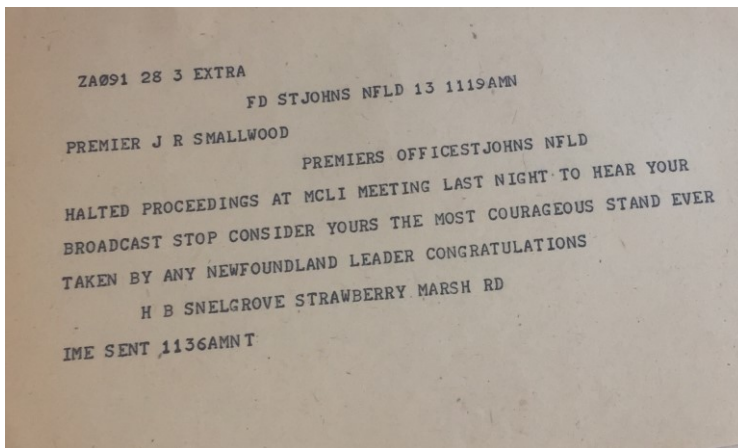
The force that the mounting tensions caused by the strike and Smallwood’s convincing speech created was powerful. It was a force powerful enough to push those who were generally politically opposed to him to his side, with the hopes of stopping the strike and pushing the IWA out of Newfoundland.

A further example of the sentiments that were emerging via the telegrams in response to the strike, the IWA and Smallwood’s speech can be seen in Figure 4.4, provided below. HB Snelgrove, a member of the MCLI, formally known as the Methodist College Literacy Institute, wrote this telegram. Formed in the nineteenth century, the organization continued to play a role in Newfoundland culture and politics

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

throughout the twentieth century. It was a debate club that discussed key present day issues and had a number of key Newfoundlanders amongst its ranks at different times.¹⁶¹ After having put the proceedings of the group's meeting on hold in order to listen to the broadcast, he was taken back.

Figure 4.4: HB Snelgrove, St. John's



Source: Source: Information for this chart obtained from file 15.03.159 St. John's, Telegram in in Smallwood, J.R. Coll-285.

He wrote, “consider yours the most courageous stand ever taken by any Newfoundland leader.”¹⁶² It is clear in this telegram that he wanted the strike to come to an end and the IWA out of Newfoundland. It is more than likely an exaggeration that he thought the speech to be the most “courageous stand ever taken by any Newfoundland leader.”¹⁶³ Nonetheless, this phrase, an exaggeration or not, exemplifies just how much of a

¹⁶¹ For further information on the Methodist College Literacy Institute, please refer to Paul Sparkes, “Paul Sparkes: Debating the Issue,” September 30, 2017. <https://www.thetelegram.com/living/paul-sparkes-debating-the-issues-134847/>. (accessed: August 3, 2019).

¹⁶² Smallwood J.R., 15.03.159 St. John's.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

compelling orator and politician Smallwood was. Although there is no information given on the telegram that indicates what the group was talking about at the time the meeting's proceedings were put on hold, one can speculate that they were discussing the topic of the strike and the IWA.

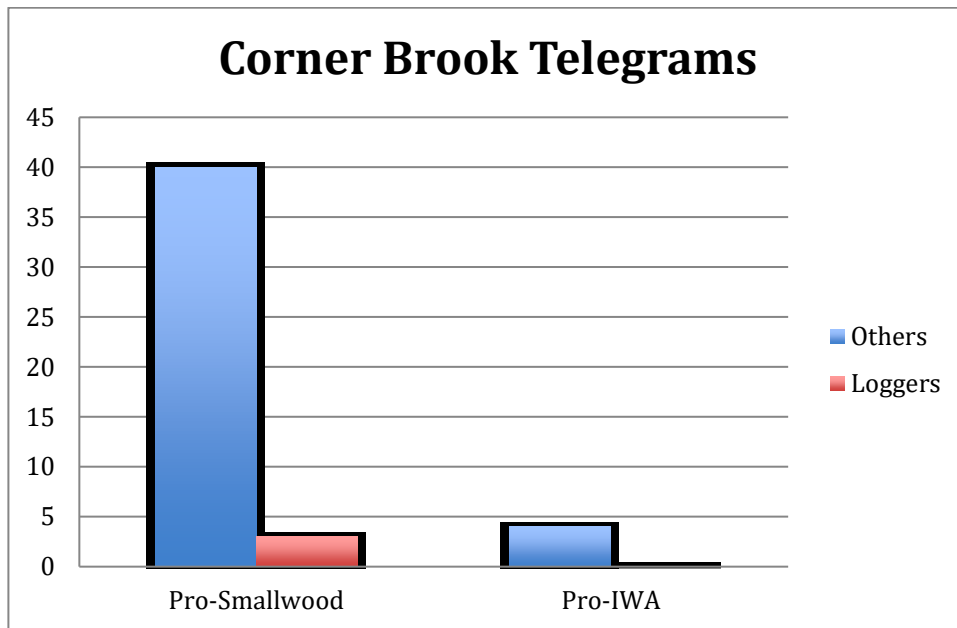
Case Study Two – Corner Brook

Located along the West Coast of Newfoundland, Corner Brook was home to the Bowater's pulp and paper mill. Quite different than St. John's, Corner Brook had a strong connection with the province's logging and pulp and paper industry. Although the loggers on strike were employed under A.N.D. and not Bowater's, their interests were still at stake. No matter the outcome of the strike, it would have had an effect on the loggers employed by Bowater's and by the company itself. Hypothetically, if the IWA were successful, Bowater's would be their next logical target. If the strike and thus the IWA were to fail, which they did, it carried the potential of the loggers negotiating a better contract with Bowater's, from the company's perspective. Therefore, Corner Brook's interest in the strike is neither minor nor insignificant.

In total, Smallwood's office received 47 telegrams from Corner Brook in response to the February 12th speech. Of those 47 telegrams, 43 were in favour of Smallwood's proposed plan of action and 4 were in favour of the IWA. This number is significant, as it demonstrates a 91.5% support rating for Smallwood's plan to oust the IWA and start a new, locally run loggers' union. Such a high percentage, given Corner Brook's role in the industry, would indicate that both loggers and mill employees supported Smallwood's proposed plan of action. This is suggested through the further break down of the telegrams from the community. Of the 43 telegrams in favour of

Smallwood’s proposed plan of action sent from Corner Brook, 3 were sent by people who identified themselves as loggers while the remaining 40 were sent by people who did not. Of the 4 telegrams that expressed support for the IWA, individuals that did not identify themselves as loggers wrote all of them. These numbers are shown in Figure 4.5, provided on the following page.

Figure 4.5: Corner Brook Telegrams



Source: Source: Information for this chart obtained from file 15.03.? Corner Brook, Telegram in in Smallwood, J.R. Coll-285.

As stated in earlier sections of the thesis, Corner Brook was in many ways like Grand Falls. Corner Brook had started first as an industry town when a sawmill was first constructed there in 1864 (46 years prior to the construction of the mill at Grand Falls).¹⁶⁴ In 1926 British industrialists built a pulp and paper mill in the town, and it grew as a mill

¹⁶⁴ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-285 Smallwood J.R., 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.040 Corner Brook.

town from there on out. Much like Grand Falls, Bowater's "... provided mill management and skilled workers with housing near the mill on attractive real estate, and others built accommodation on the nearby hill sides."¹⁶⁵ The two pulp and paper towns shared a number of characteristics and similarities. When it came time for the 1959 IWA Strike, a number of these shared characteristics as well as shared fears came to the surface via the telegrams sent to Smallwood's office. This can be seen clearly through the number of telegrams sent from both of the communities. Of the 47 telegrams that were sent from Corner Brook, 40 were sent from individuals in the 'others' or non-loggers category. One can hypothesize that many of these 40 telegrams were sent from employees of Bowater's mill. Of the 130 telegrams sent from Grand Falls, 126 were sent from employees of the A.N.D. Co. Ltd. When considered together, one can understand the influence both companies had on the communities and thusly the telegrams and whether individuals chose to support Smallwood or the IWA

The first example of a telegram coming out of Corner Brook that will be considered in this section is one written by a man whose occupation was not given on his telegram. He began the telegram by stating the same as many others did, "I fully support your stand in the IWA and logging conflict..."¹⁶⁶ This statement, although standard in the supportive telegrams, demonstrated to Smallwood and to those studying the documents today that this individual and many others were in full support of ridding Newfoundland of the IWA and bringing an end to the strike. However, the most fascinating aspect of this telegram is the following:

¹⁶⁵ Smallwood J.R., 15.03.040 Corner Brook.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

if your plan successful it will be one of the great achievements of your life... your address more stirring than Lincolns Gettysburg address... and your best.¹⁶⁷

It goes above and beyond the message of the first line of the telegram to reinforce just how great he thought Smallwood's plan was. Whether he really did mean that Smallwood's speech was more stirring than Lincoln's Gettysburg address or not, the message behind it remains important. If we read between the lines or beyond the rhetoric of the telegram, it's likely that this individual had some level of vested interest in the pulp and paper industry. Being a resident of Corner Brook and demonstrating such enthusiastic support for Smallwood, it is more than likely he was involved with Bowater's in some capacity or another.

A further example of the type of telegrams sent from residents of Corner Brook in response to Smallwood's speech is one written by a self-identified employee of Bowater's. This individual signed the telegram by giving their name and stating that they worked for Bowater's, which would have indicated to Smallwood and to individuals working with the materials in the present, that they had a vested interest in Bowater's as well as the wider, pulp and paper industry in the province. This established that the individual who composed the telegram was speaking with a level of knowledge that not everyone in the province would have held. Furthermore, when viewed and analyzed as a historical document, it indicates that the message carries a level of bias that almost anyone employed in the pulp and paper industry would have had.

He began the telegram by stating that "the decisive and manly leadership shown by you last night is being applauded with gratitude and pride in Newfoundland."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

Having been written by someone directly employed in the province's pulp and paper industry, it is no wonder why he thought and certainly hoped the whole province would have been applauding Smallwood's speech and proposed plan alongside of him.

Although the IWA was on strike against the A.N.D. Co. Ltd. during the 1959 loggers strike, as mentioned previously, if successful, Bowater's would have been their next, logical target in Newfoundland. The IWA, although they were not focused on Bowater's at the time of the strike, was just as much of a threat to the Bowater's operation as it was to the A.N.D. Co. Ltd.'s operations in Central Newfoundland.

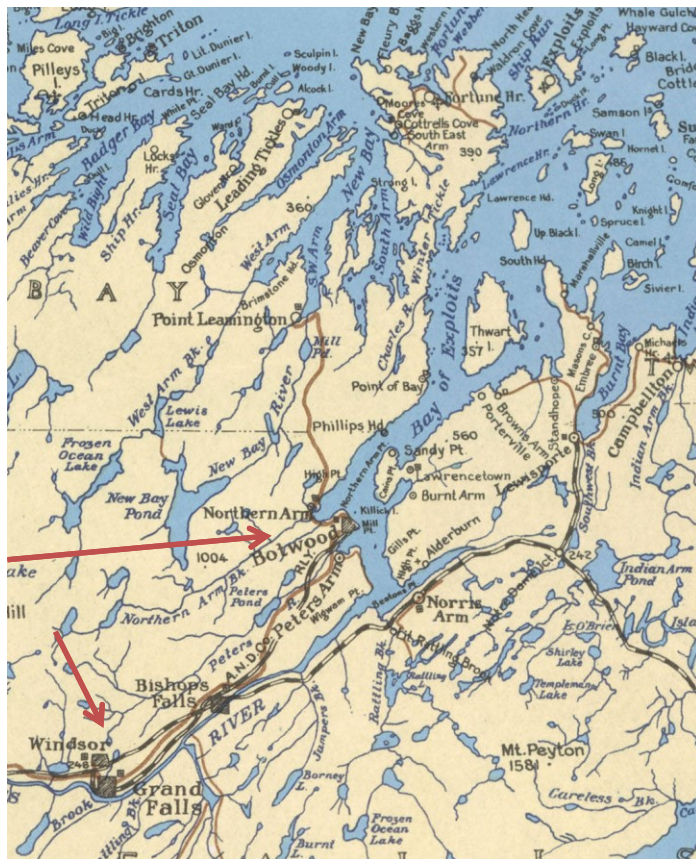
Case Study Three – Botwood

Another key community in the pulp and paper industry in Newfoundland at the time of the 1959 IWA Strike was Botwood. Located a half-hour North of Grand Falls, the home of the A.N.D. Co. Ltd., it was an important community for the company. Located on the coast of the Bay of Exploits, it acted as a key shipping port for A.N.D. Due to the deep waters in the Bay of Exploits, Botwood made for a prime location for A.N.D. to ship product to its customers.¹⁶⁹ To see a visual representation of the significance of Botwood's location, please refer to Figure 4.6. Because of A.N.D.'s heavy and financially lucrative influence in the community, the level of support found in places such as Grand Falls is reproduced in the telegrams that came out of Botwood following Smallwood's speech. Of the 26 telegrams that came out of Botwood, every single one demonstrated full support for Smallwood, his new union and pushing the IWA out of

¹⁶⁹ The Telegram, "Editorial: Grand Falls-Windsor is more than a mill," *The Telegram*, Feb 21, 2019. Accessed: June 10, 2019. <https://www.thetelegram.com/opinion/editorials/editorial-grand-falls-windsor-is-more-than-a-mill-283777/>.

Newfoundland. Of the 26 telegrams, only two self-identified themselves as loggers, with the remaining 24 belonging to the ‘others’ category.¹⁷⁰ It is likely that a large percentage of those whose telegrams fell into the ‘others’ category were employed in some capacity for the A.N.D. Co. Ltd., although there is no way to say for certain or not.

Figure 4.6: Botwood, Ten-Mile Map of Newfoundland

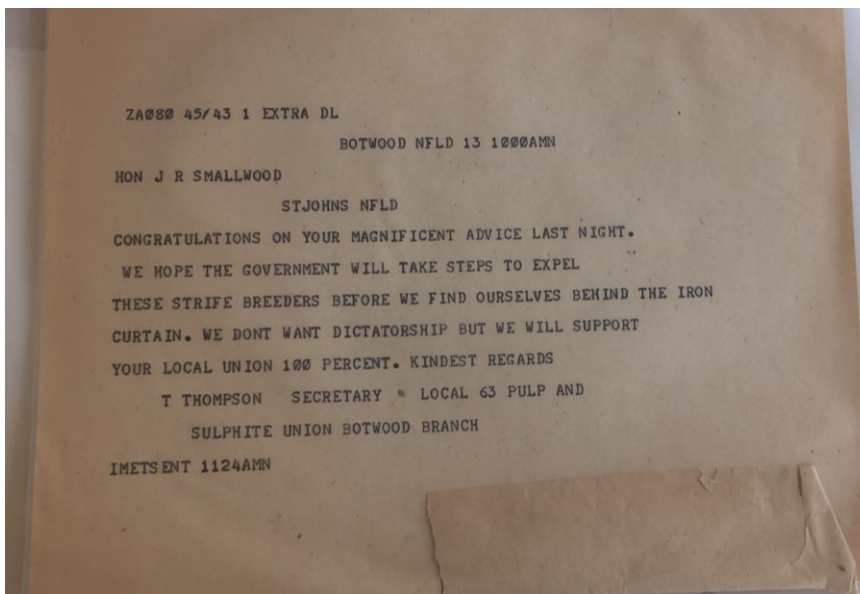


Source: Memorial University of Newfoundland – Digital Archives Initiative.

¹⁷⁰ For further information on locations telegrams were sent from and the number sent, refer to Appendix 1.

The secretary of Local 63, of the Pulp and Sulphite Union, Botwood Branch, wrote one such example of the type of telegrams that came out of Botwood.¹⁷¹ He started the telegram off like most others did, by congratulating Smallwood on his address the evening before and then expressing his hopes that the government would successfully be able to bring about an end to the present labour dispute and push the IWA out of Newfoundland. This telegram is displayed in Figure 4.7.

Figure 4.7: Sulphite Union, Botwood Branch



Source: Obtained from file 15.03.016 Botwood, Telegram in in Smallwood, J.R. Coll-285.

What, however, is most interesting about the secretary's telegram is what he stated in the lines that followed. He argued that he hoped Smallwood and his government would expel

¹⁷¹ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-285 Smallwood J.R., 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.016 Botwood.

the IWA “before [Newfoundland] finds [itself] behind the iron curtain.”¹⁷² Such a line is very indicative of the period in which all this was taking place. Outside of Newfoundland, much of the Western World had their attentions turned to American-Soviet relations and in turn the Cold War. Following the end of the Second World War the USSR expanded its territory and for a number of decades was on the brink of war with the US. The secretary of the union that wrote this telegram, by making reference to the iron curtain was making reference to the communist dictatorship that existed within the Soviet Union. They aligned the IWA, an international union, with communism. Such rhetoric would have been fairly common place in the late nineteen-fifties, early sixties. Whether an honest statement or simply used as a rhetorical tool, such statements make it clear that they do not want the IWA, an international union, having any jurisdiction or power within Newfoundland.

There is an additional similarity between this particular telegram that came out of Botwood and the telegrams that came out of the Grand Falls area that were written by other individuals associated with unions. There is little sign of any thought of union-to-union solidarity between this telegram and the loggers’ IWA. Rather than chose the side of their fellow working men, who were members of the IWA, the union’s secretary representing the union, chose to support the A.N.D. It should come as no surprise to see the same thing in places such as Grand Falls and Botwood where the A.N.D. Co. Ltd. held a significant amount of financial leverage. Although it is likely some union members in Botwood and other communities that A.N.D. had influence over had sympathy for the loggers, it does not appear in the telegrams they sent to Smallwood.

¹⁷² Smallwood J.R., 15.03.016 Botwood.

A further example of the type of telegrams that were sent from residents and workers in Botwood was, again, written by a member of a different union. The President of the Longshoremen's Protective Union (L.S.P.U.) telegraphed in to Smallwood the day following his controversial anti-IWA speech, showcasing his approval of the proposed plan of action. He wrote, "let us be among the first to congratulate you on a job well done."¹⁷³ Written on behalf of the members of his union, this telegram once again calls in to question the notion that there existed any major signs of union-to-union solidarity in the province at the time of the IWA Strike. Members of the L.S.P.U. worked in port communities, and dealt with the running, maintaining and general affairs that happened on the docks.¹⁷⁴ Given that Botwood acted as a major port for the A.N.D. Co. Ltd, where they shipped their finished products, it is more than likely that members of this union were employed under the company. Therefore, they too, like the residents of Grand Falls, had a vested interest in the continued existence and financial stability of the A.N.D. Co. Ltd. operations in Central Newfoundland.

A member of the Ladies' Orange Benevolent Association (L.O.B.A.) wrote an interesting example of the wide variety of telegrams sent to Smallwood's office from Botwood following his speech. A branch of the much larger Orange Order that existed in the province at the time, the L.O.B.A. provided women an opportunity to become involved with the order and carry out charitable or benevolent activities. This example is interesting, based primarily on the fact there are no other telegrams sent in that were

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ For further information on the LSPU see Jessie Chisholm, "Organizing on the Waterfront: The St. John's Longshoremen's Protective Union (LSPU) 1890-1914," in *Labour & Working-Class History in Atlantic Canada A Reader*, eds. David Frank and Gregory S. Kealey (St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1995), 233-257.

identifiably sent from the Orange Order. Not only is her telegram the only one that can be identified as have been sent from someone associated with the order, it was written by a woman. Clearly supportive of Smallwood's plan to rid the province of the IWA in favour of his provincially run union, she wrote, "you have voiced the sentiments of thousands of your people."¹⁷⁵

Case Study Four – Musgravetown

There was a large outpouring of support for Smallwood and his proposed plan of action in the wake of his February 12th speech from smaller towns and outport communities, areas in which support for him was strong prior to the IWA Strike. In fact, most of the support for Smallwood during the Confederation campaign and in the years following it came from these communities along the coast of Newfoundland. Because of this, it comes as no surprise to see these same communities supporting Smallwood's plan to end the strike, push the IWA out of the province and start a new union for the province's loggers.

There is another link in the chain between outport communities along the coast of the province and the IWA Strike. Smallwood noted in his speech that he had sent out "a considerable number of level-headed Newfoundlanders through the big stretch running all the way from White Bay to Trinity Bay."¹⁷⁶ The outport communities located throughout the "big stretch" were the very same communities that nearly 98% of the A.N.D. Co. Ltd. loggers came from. This is something that Smallwood was very well

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-075 J.R. Smallwood Collection, 7.02 Speeches, 7.02.012 Speech File 1959, February 12 1959 Speech, 5.

aware of and acknowledged in his speech. Thus, further analysis and attention needs to be paid to how these communities responded to the IWA Strike and to Smallwood's speech. Smallwood was keen on measuring the level of support he had from these communities and knew that it was important to maintain their ardent support. Therefore, it is important historians and academics studying this period recognize this, and thus understand and pay due attention to this relationship.

One example of an outport community where an outpouring of support for Smallwood and his plan to rid the province of the IWA can be seen is Musgravetown. Located along Bonavista Bay, Musgravetown was one of many communities within the "big stretch" Smallwood referred to.¹⁷⁷ As in many of the communities whose residents telegraphed in to Smallwood's office, all of the telegrams sent from Musgravetown demonstrated full support for his proposed plan of action. Although none of the 9 telegrams sent in to his office from the community say much out of the ordinary when looked at individually, together they are representative of the typical response and general perception of Smallwood and his proposed plan to end the loggers' strike throughout this area of Newfoundland.

Two good examples of the type of telegrams sent from Musgravetown, were written by a pair, who can be presumed to be husband and wife. The telegram from the wife reads, "congratulations of your speech I approve of your new union."¹⁷⁸ The telegram from the husband states, "congratulations of your speech we approve of new

¹⁷⁷ Smallwood Collection, February 12 1959 Speech, Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Archives and Special Collections, Queen Elizabeth II Library, Memorial University (ASCQELMU), Coll-285 Smallwood J.R., 15.03 Telegram February 1959, 15.03.129 Musgravetown.

union.”¹⁷⁹ Quite literally, the only difference between the messages in the two telegrams is that the one from the wife used the word ‘I’ while the husband’s telegram used ‘we’, when indicating whom the telegram was from. When examined together, not only are these two telegrams representative of the typical ones sent from the smaller communities scattered throughout the province, but they show uniformity in the household. Both the husband and wife were in agreement with Smallwood’s plan to push the IWA out of the province and start a new union for the loggers.

A man, whose occupation was not stated, was the author of an additional example of the type of telegram sent from Musgravetown in response to Smallwood’s February 12th speech. Rather simply, he wrote, “...heartiest congratulations on last night’s address consider it a masterpiece very favorable comments.”¹⁸⁰ Two things can be taken from this telegram: one, the sender thinks that the speech was very well done and two, he thinks that it contained a number of good points in regards to the strike and the IWA. Although this telegram does not say anything out of the ordinary, its message is fairly simple; it further shows the level of support coming out of small communities such as Musgravetown.

Conclusion

When looking at the telegrams that came out of the four communities featured in this chapter, St. John’s, Corner Brook, Botwood and Musgravetown, it is clear that people from all walks of life and all parts of the province had something to say in regards to the strike, the IWA and certainly to Smallwood’s speech. This pattern can be applied

¹⁷⁹ Smallwood J.R., 15.03.129 Musgravetown.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

more widely, to include virtually the whole province. Although Smallwood and his proposed plan of action was not supported by every single Newfoundlander, the support was widespread nonetheless. From community to community, there are discernable patterns that link them together.

As discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter, it is more than likely a number of the telegrams included in this chapter on the general public or 'others' category can be attributed to loggers. There is no way to say for certain. Nonetheless, even when this is taken into account, the telegrams discussed in this chapter, are representative of the concerns felt by the general public and expressed via telegrams to Smallwood's office following his speech. The general public wrote 701 of the total 906 telegrams or 77.4%, sent in response to Smallwood's February 12th speech. When further broken down, 674 of the 701 or 96.15% of telegrams sent from members of the general public were in support of Smallwood's plan. When looked at in comparison to the total number of telegrams sent in, this shows that 74.4% of all the telegrams were written by members of the general public and expressed support for Smallwood. Ultimately, what this tells those studying the strike and what it would have told Smallwood, is that the vast majority of support for his proposed plan, came from the general public rather than individuals who identified themselves as loggers.

Chapter Five:

Conclusion

The first ten years following Confederation with Canada brought a significant number of changes to Newfoundland. Led by Premier Joseph Smallwood, the province saw significant upgrades and modernization to its outdated infrastructure, such as bringing electricity into communities for the first time or paving roads and building schools. Furthermore, within this first ten years the government set out on what Douglas Letto referred to in his book as the Smallwood Industrialization Plan. Under this plan many new manufacturing industries were opened. However, many of these new industries were not successful. Left with few other options, in a desperate effort to protect the economic interests of the province, Smallwood made a bold move to end the strike; he outlawed the IWA and started a new, locally run union for the loggers.

This thesis has examined, in detail, the communication between many different parts of Newfoundland's population and their premier, Joseph Smallwood, in the wake of his scale-tipping and controversial speech. By looking in close detail at the speech itself and the telegram responses that poured in to Smallwood's office on the following day, I was able to determine the different sentiments held by Newfoundlanders from various walks of life concerning Smallwood and his government. Furthermore, by looking at these documents in close analysis, this thesis was able to discuss how Newfoundlanders felt about the strike, the IWA and ultimately about Smallwood's plan of action.

Chapter one set the groundwork for the rest of the thesis. The first chapter also provided the context to the strike, in that it discussed the pulp and paper industry, the various logging unions as well as Smallwood's government prior to the 1959 IWA

Strike. This section is very important to the rest of the thesis. An understanding of why the IWA came in to Newfoundland, why the loggers went on strike and Smallwood's response to the strike as well as the public's response to the strike and the February 12th speech, all hinge on a solid understanding of the context that they took place in.

Additionally, Chapter One provided an overview of the literature base that has previously been established by other historians such as Raymond Blake, Sean Cadigan, Douglas Letto, Corey Slumkoski as well as Jerry Lembke and William Tattam. This is an important component, as much of the background information that is not fully highlighted in primary source documents that this thesis contains was borrowed from the work already done in this area of research. Furthermore, the literature review acts as the starting point for where my own research begins and allows me to discuss, albeit briefly, where the field is headed.

Chapters Two, Three and Four provided an in-depth discussion on Smallwood's speech and the telegrams that were sent from various communities throughout the province. The telegrams were categorized as coming from three distinct groups: loggers and their families, residents of Grand Falls and A.N.D. employees, as well as members of the general public who did not have an immediate connection to logging in the province or the pulp and paper industry. This was a particularly useful set-up, as each of these groups was affected by the industry and by the strike very differently.

Chapter Two, *The Centre of the Strike: Loggers, their Families and Smallwood*, examined the telegrams sent by loggers and their families. Although many loggers came from many different parts of the province, the vast majority of them and therefore the telegrams they sent came from the "big stretch". This was a term used to describe, by Smallwood, an area in Newfoundland that encompassed the communities from White

Bay to Trinity Bay where most of the loggers were from. Additionally, the logging camps where the A.N.D. loggers worked were all in the central Newfoundland, where the company held nearly 7,500 square miles of forest.

The thesis began with an analysis of the telegrams that were sent by loggers and their families due simply to the fact that the IWA Strike was in fact a loggers' strike. Although the thesis did go on to discuss the fact that the whole province would be affected by the outcome of the strike, it was the loggers that would have to, and in fact did, deal with the immediate impact. Therefore, it made sense to start with a discussion on the position of loggers and their families in the strike, as well as their responses to Smallwood's controversial February 12th Speech. The chapter argued that Smallwood's actions to push the IWA out of Newfoundland were not only done to protect the interest of the province's economy, but were done because he knew he had some support in the communities in which many loggers came from.

Chapter 3, *A Vital Component: The Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, its Employees and Smallwood*, analyzed the telegrams sent in from members of the Grand Falls Community. Grand Falls had the largest amount of telegrams sent from one single community, which is attributed to the fact that it was the heart of the A.N.D. logging operation where they had their pulp and paper mill. As a result of Grand Falls being the home of the A.N.D. logging operation, the third chapter focused specifically on the telegrams sent from Grand Falls. This allowed for a more in-depth understanding of the importance of the logging industry, not only to the community of Grand Falls, but also to the entire province. This chapter argued that employees of A.N.D. and therefore the entire community of Grand Falls, demonstrated the largest show of support for Smallwood's plan to rid the province of the IWA, end the strike and start a new union for

the loggers. Furthermore, this chapter argued that this level of support from the community was guaranteed, given that it was the home of A.N.D.'s operations, of which Smallwood was well aware before delivering his controversial speech.

Chapter 4, *A Newfoundlander for Newfoundland: Joseph Smallwood and Non-logging Newfoundlanders* examined the telegrams sent to Smallwood in response to his February 12th speech by members of the general public, who had no known association with any facet of the logging industry. Having a chapter that focused on the response from the general public was important to the thesis, as the majority of support for Smallwood's proposed plan of action came from this group. With existing support levels, investigative work done in the early weeks of the strike and finally with the outpouring of support that came via the telegrams, he knew, very well, that he had the support of the general populace behind him. This chapter argued that the assurance Smallwood had, knowing he could rid the province of the IWA and start a new union for the loggers, without losing the majority of his support, came primarily from the general public.

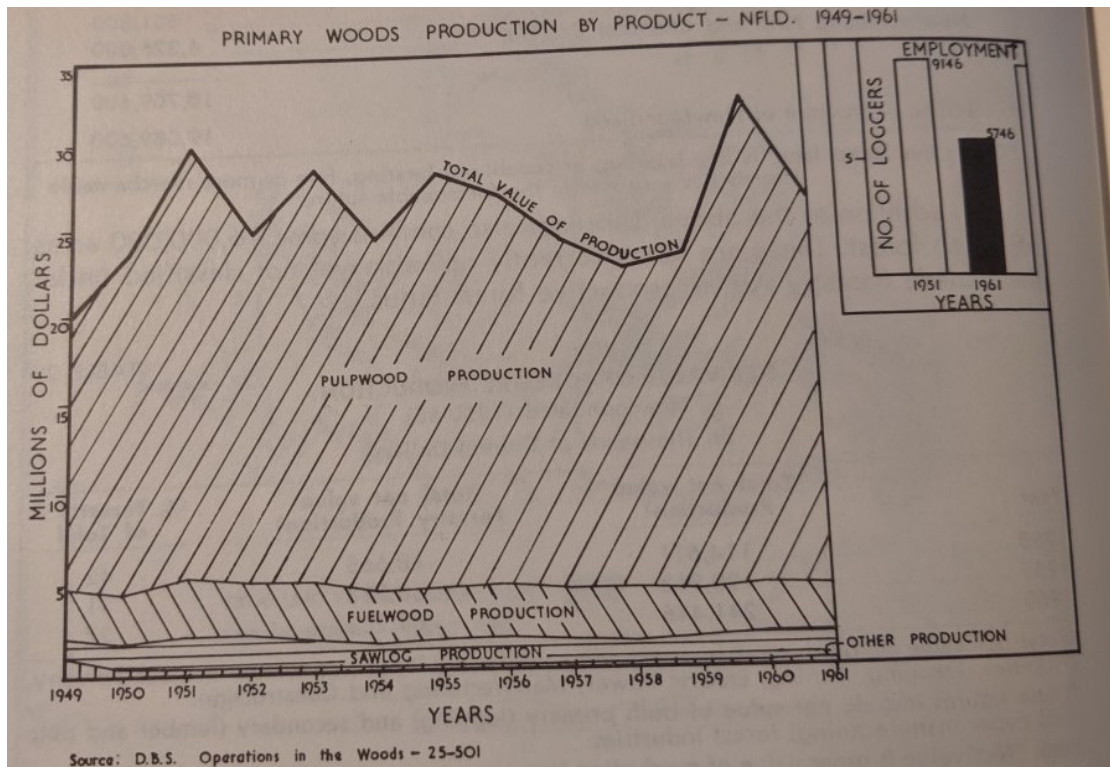
All three of the main chapters of the thesis highlight the fact that Smallwood was well aware of the levels of support from a portion of the loggers, A.N.D. employees and the general public. With this knowledge, Smallwood was able to confidently move forward with his plans to rid the province of the menace that was the IWA and start a new loggers' union. This knowledge, however, acted primarily as the reassurance that he could proceed with his plan, without losing power. There was a major push factor that heavily influenced Smallwood's decision over the IWA and ending the strike. As mentioned previously, that influence was the pressure he had put on himself to bring about rapid industrialization in the province immediately following Confederation. The

Smallwood industrialization plan used most of the \$40,000,000 carry over from the Commission Government. The program had sought to establish numerous manufacturing industries across the province, which it did. However, almost as soon as the program got off the ground, one by one the industries failed. This cost the province's treasury dearly.

This failure also put a tremendous amount of pressure on Smallwood, both to secure successful industries in the province and for his government to make economically wise decisions. The pulp and paper industry was the province's most stable and most prosperous industry. As noted in the report published by the Newfoundland government to mark the fifteenth anniversary of Confederation, between 1950 and 1960 the total net value of the forestry industry increased by 33%, from \$49,000,000 to \$65,000,000.¹⁸¹ Although this report was published in 1965, 6 years after the strike took place, Smallwood was well aware of the importance of the pulp and paper industry to the province's economy. The main product produced by the A.N.D. mill in Grand Falls (as well as what Bowater's produced in Corner Brook) was pulpwood. Referring to Figure 5.1, you can see the growth in pulpwood production and thus dollar value of the growth of the pulp and paper sector in the late 1950s into the early 1960s, the very same time that the strike was taking place.

¹⁸¹ Government of Newfoundland, *Newfoundland and Labrador, The Fifteen Years of Confederation*, (St. John's: Dicks & Co, Ltd., 1965), 98.

Figure 5.1: Primary Woods Production By Product – NFLD. 1949-1961



Source: Newfoundland and Labrador, *The First Fifteen Years of Confederation*.

Thus, as discussed throughout the thesis, the strike had essentially backed Smallwood into a corner. It forced him to choose between siding with the loggers and seeking an alternative that would best accommodate their needs and wants or siding with the company, which would, in his mind, in turn protect the province's already unstable economy.

As he discussed in his memoir *I Chose Canada*, as well as stated directly in the February 12th speech, Smallwood had plans to open up a third or even a fourth pulp and paper mill somewhere in the province. This actually came to fruition in the late 1960s, early 1970's, with the construction of a third mill in Stephenville. This lends further evidence to the argument that Smallwood was keenly aware of the profitability of the pulp and paper industry. The strike posed a risk to Smallwood's plan of building the third

mill, which in 1959 was only in the early stages of planning. A considerably strong, powerful and aggressive union such as the IWA would not have been seen as conducive to a new mill being opened up, by a new company or one of the two ones already in operation in the province –Bowater’s or the A.N.D. Co. Ltd.

As discussed in both chapters two and three, evidence suggests that Smallwood was under direct pressure to end the strike, not only from his own ambitions for the province’s economy, but also from the A.N.D. Company itself. In his 1984 speech given at Memorial University, Landon Ladd was explicit in his versions of the events leading up to and during the 1959 IWA Strike. After rejecting a ride to Grand Falls from a company official, he was informed of A.N.D.’s intent if the strike was to happen. Harkening back to the 1949 Asbestos Strike, the company official stated they would see Smallwood side with the company and not the union.¹⁸²

Although as noted at various points throughout this thesis, I found no evidence of any formal threat made by A.N.D. to Smallwood. However, it can be inferred that this threat, whether written or verbal or even unspoken, did take place.

With this being said, Smallwood did not make his decision to rid the province of the IWA and end the strike lightly. He was very well aware of the potential backlash that he could have faced (and did face). However, backed in to a corner, the increased pressures from the strike forced him to choose between supporting the loggers and thus letting the strike go on longer or supporting A.N.D., and turning his back to the immediate benefit of the loggers, in favour of protecting a vital player in

¹⁸² Landon Ladd, “The Newfoundland Loggers’ Strike of 1959,” in *Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History*, eds., W.J. Cherwinski and Gregory S. Kealey (St. John’s: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1985), 155.

Newfoundland's economy. He remained, however, a Newfoundlander for Newfoundland. Smallwood only proceeded with ridding the province of the IWA and starting a new union for the loggers because he knew that he had the support of a large portion of Newfoundland's population behind him.

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Appendix One

*Pro-Smallwood & Pro-IWA Responses to Smallwood's February 12th Speech from
Communities Across Newfoundland*

Place	Smallwood/Lane Union	IWA	Uncertain
Anderson's Cove	1	0	0
Aspey Brook	1	0	0
Badger	24	8	0
Bay Verte	1	0	0
Bay Roberts	2	0	0
Bellevue	3	0	0
Birchy Bay	1	0	0
Bird Cove	2	0	0
Bishops Falls	3	0	0
Black Island	7	0	0
Bloomfield	2	0	0
Blue Cove	1	0	0
Boat Harbour	1	0	0
Bonavista	2	3	0
Bonne Bay	2	1	0
Botwood	26	0	0
Boyds Cove	3	1	0
Bridgeport	1	0	0
Brighton	2	1	0
Browns Arm	3	0	0
Buchans	0	1	0
Bunyan's Cove	7	0	0
Burlington	5	0	0
Burnside	1	0	0
Campbellton	1	0	0
Cape Broyle	1	0	0
Cape Freels	1	0	0
Carbonear	2	0	0
Cards Harbour	1	1	0
Carmanville	13	2	0
Carters Cove	2	0	0
Castor River	1	0	0
Catalina	4	0	0
Cavendish	1	0	0

Chance Cove	2	1	0
Change Islands	2	0	0
Channel	1	1	0
Clarenville	7	0	0
Cormack	5	5	0
Corner Brook	43	4	0
Cottles Island	6	0	0
Cottrells Cove	5	2	0
Cow Head	0	1	0
Curling	7	0	0
Daniels Harbour	0	1	0
Dawe's Cove, Placentia Bay	1	0	0
Dawson's Cove	1	0	0
Deadman's Bay	1	0	0
Deer Lake	15	10	0
Dover	1	0	0
Doyles	1	0	0
Dunnville	1	0	0
East Port	3	0	0
Englee	3	0	0
Embree	0	1	0
Exploits	1	0	0
Fleur de Lys	1	0	0
Fair Island	6	0	0
Flowers Cove	3	0	0
Fogo	1	0	0
Fortune	1	0	0
Fortune Harbour	1	2	0
Francois	2	0	0
Gambo	2	2	0
Gander	1	0	0
Garden Cove	1	0	0
Glenwood	2	0	0
Glovertown	2	0	0
Grand Bank	3	0	0
Grand Falls	130	0	0
Grand Le Pierre	1	0	0
Greens Harbour	1	0	0
Greenspond	1	0	0
Grole	1	0	0
Hampden	1	0	0

Hants Harbour	1	0	0
Harbour Breton	1	0	0
Harbour Buffett	1	0	0
Harbour Deep	1	0	0
Harbour Grace	6	0	0
Hare Bay, Bonavista Bay	3	0	0
Harry's Harbour	3	0	0
Hawks Bay	2	0	0
Head Bay d'Espoir	2	0	0
Hearts Delight	2	0	0
Hermitage	1	0	0
Herring Neck	1	0	0
Horse Islands	5	0	0
Horwood	2	0	0
Howley	1	0	0
Indian Bay	2	0	0
Island Harbour	2	0	0
Islington	1	0	0
Jacksons Cove	1	1	0
Jacksons Arm	1	0	0
Joe Batts Arm	1	0	0
King's Point	5	0	0
Ladle Cove	2	0	0
La Scie	1	0	0
Leading Tickle	5	0	0
Lethbridge	3	0	0
Lewisporte	12	0	0
Little Bay	1	2	0
Little Bay Islands	5	0	0
Little Catalina	1	0	0
Little Hearts Ease	1	0	0
Long Beach, Trinity Bay	1	0	0
Lower Island Cove	1	0	0
Lush's Bight	1	1	0
Main Brook	1	0	0
Mall Bay	1	0	0
Marystown	2	0	0
Middle Arm	2	0	0
Middle Brook, Bonavista Bay	0	2	0
Miles Cove	0	3	0
Millertown	12	0	0

Milltown	2	0	0
Moreton's Harbour	2	0	0
Musgrave Harbour	8	1	0
Musgravetown	9	0	0
Newmans Cove	1	0	0
Newstead	4	0	0
Norris Arm	8	2	0
Norris Point	3	1	0
O'Donnells	2	0	0
Pacquet	2	0	0
Paradise	1	0	0
Pass Island	1	0	0
Peters Arm South	2	0	0
Pilleys Island	10	5	0
Placentia	2	0	0
Plum Point	14	0	0
Point au Bay	1	0	0
Point Leamington	3	2	1
Port Anson	0	1	0
Port Albert	4	0	0
Port Elizabeth	1	0	0
Port Union	1	0	0
Portland Creek	0	0	1
Pound Cove	1	0	0
Princeton	1	0	0
Rattling Brook	8	0	0
Reefs Harbour	4	0	0
Roberts Arm	7	1	1
Rocky Harbour	2	1	0
Roddickton	14	0	0
Savage Cove	1	0	0
Seal Cove, Fortune Bay	30	0	0
Seldom	1	0	0
Shoal Cove	2	0	0
Shoal Harbour	2	0	0
Shoe Cove	1	0	0
Sops Arm	1	0	0
South Brook	0	1	0
Southern Harbour	0	1	0
Spencer's Cove	1	0	0
Springdale	29	0	1
St. Anthony	1	0	0

St. Brendans	1	0	0
St. Fintans	3	1	0
St. Johns	8	0	0
St. Lunaire	1	0	0
St. Pauls	0	1	0
St. Teresa	1	0	0
Stephenville	2	0	0
Stephenville Crossing	4	0	0
Stoneville	8	0	0
Summerford	7	0	0
Summerside	1	0	0
Summerville	1	0	0
Sunnyside	5	0	0
Swift Current	0	1	0
Tacks Beach	1	0	0
Terra Nova	13	0	0
Terrenceville	1	0	0
Thornlea	3	0	0
Tilting	1	0	0
Tizzard's Harbour	0	1	0
Traytown	1	0	0
Trinity, Bona Vista Bay	1	0	0
Triton	0	6	0
Twilingate	12	0	0
Upper Amherst Cove	1	0	0
Victoria Cove	4	1	0
Victoria	1	0	0
Wareham	3	0	0
Wesleyville	2	0	0
Wild Bight, Green Bay	1	1	0
Windsor	42	0	0
Wings Point	4	0	0
Winterbrook, Bonavista Bay	3	0	0
Winterton	1	0	0