ORAL HISTORY OF PUKASKWA NATIONAL PARK
by A.D. Revill Associates
1980
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1979 - 1980
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"I'm getting to be a real old blatherer."
  - George Depew

"Oh, these dates kill me!"
  - Lyman Buck

"Yes, them were experiences, you know, that I remember so well! Every move we made and the likes of that, you know .... And it's a good thing that an old person's memory don't fail him that he forgets all these things because it keeps him alive. To turn back the pages of time and know exactly what was done and why and everything like that, you know. And that's why a lot of old people are so interesting for to listen to, you know. And that's why in my case that's why I say, "Give the truth and nothing but the truth the way it happened to you, or when you witnessed it. Not what the other fellow told you."
No, I say, "Throw that in the garbage, what the other people told you". Although you know it could be."
  - Dolph King

"... but I'm not a story-teller. Anything I tell has got to be the truth, or I don't tell it to you."
  - Lloyd Morden

"That's what I heard, you know. You hear a lot of things, as I say, I shouldn't mention them things because I don't know myself. What you hear, you ain't suppose to talk about it, until, you see it. A person only gets into trouble."
  - Nap Michano
Acknowledgements

In acknowledging the contributions of the others to this report, thanks must first go to the various people interviewed as part of the projects. The recording of the living record of the Pukaskwa Park region was the primary objective of this project and without the willing cooperation of the past and present residents of the region, nothing would have been accomplished. Thanks are in order, therefore, for their generous contributions of time, hospitality and, of most importance, of themselves in their personal recollections, reminiscences and opinions of a region and a past way of life. Particular thanks to the several people who have contributed materials for copying and for deposit.

Thanks must also be extended to Parks Canada and, in particular, to the staff at Pukaskwa National Park. Norm Ruttan provided more than information and liaison in being supportive of the project, available at all times to discuss approaches and direction, and an informed and enjoyable guide to the Park itself. The project is also indebted to the thorough supervision provided by Dr. Bob Burns.

The essence of the project reported here owes much to the services of the research assistant, Ms. Margaret Filshie, who was more than a mere human extension to a tape recorder. Her enthusiasm and dedicated industry did much to bring to the report that essential dimension of an oral history project, the human factor. Finally, Mrs. Darlene Rodgers, Mr. Ross Hough and Mr. George Innis are acknowledged and thanked for providing the typed work, maps and photographs respectively.
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Introduction

A study of the history of the area which now comprises Pukaskwa National Park was completed in 1976 (Marsh, Human History, 1976). In considering the ways in which human activity interacted with the environment, a number of themes were identified and historical records were used to reconstruct past ways of life in the region. It was evident, however, that not all these themes were well documented and that personal recollections constituted an important source for the historical researcher. Accordingly, one of the recommendations of this report was that an oral history of the occupation of the Pukaskwa area be produced before irreplaceable recollections were lost forever.

The present study's objective is the production of such an oral history of the Pukaskwa region and, as such, its purpose is twofold. As mentioned above, an important objective is the recording of facts and information not represented in other sources. But apart from individual's reporting of such facts as dates, locations and general descriptions of material things and socio-economic processes, such recollections are also of value because they often refer to the past in impressionistic terms. Thus, emotions, attitudes, perceptions and opinions are also placed on record. Secondly, apart from this question of amplifying the historical record, such oral records, when taped, also
constitute an important resource in themselves for possible use in bringing the past to life for the public who may visit the Pukaskwa Park. First hand accounts of the ways of life of the area add colour and life to the interpretation of interest to the public.

With these considerations in mind, this oral history project will attempt to produce a sensitive but thorough survey of those individuals who will be identified as valuable sources of recollections of the Pukaskwa area. The report begins with a methodological statement relating to interview procedures, the transcription process and collection of other material. It is followed by the thematic narrative summary which attempts to demonstrate the utility of the oral evidence, both as a source and as an expository device. The report concludes with appendices referring to the resource material used in this study.
Approaching the Study

The oral history of an area is first of all a part of the historical record. It makes available information which has never been written and in general never would have been so recorded. It provides factual data on economic and social conditions of earlier days, describes the organization structure which existed and offers a first hand insight into the nature and conditions of employment among other facets. While an oral history may be a useful supplement to, or even a substitute for, written material it is, by reason of its personal nature, a great deal more. The manner of speech; the tone of voice; the sequence in which things are recalled; all help to give the oral history a special value.

The unstructured recollections of earlier days during a visit may provide an interesting hour or two but have little relation to a properly prepared oral history. To obtain the maximum value from this record it is essential to define the themes of interest; to choose respondents having relevant personal knowledge; to structure the interview to obtain an orderly presentation of an individual experience; to exercise skill in unobtrusively keeping the respondent to the topic or topics of interest and then to prepare and edit a faithful transcription of the recorded material to make it more readily accessible to the user. Finally, in order to place the oral history in correct relation to other primary and secondary sources of information it is essential that a
thematic, narrative summary to be prepared. This must draw upon the recorded material and if accounts conflict provide a judgment as to the most reliable.

**Thematic Structure**

The main themes and sub-topics to be explored in the compilation of the oral history are listed below while the specific questions presented as a guide for the interviewer are presented in Appendix III.

**Theme I - Commercial Fishing**

Fishing in the waters offshore from the Park and seasonal occupations of fishing stations within the Park constitute the concern here. The main topics addressed in the interviews related to the fishing activities, processing and marketing.

**Theme II - Lumbering**

The main locations in the Park of concern in this study are the Pukaskwa River and Depot, the White River drive and the Oiseau Bay area. The three main sets of topics to be explored are - camp life, the river drive, and the Big Tow.

**Theme III - Trapping**

Trapping constituted an important dimension of the lives of several people associated with the Park area. The main topics here address the questions of techniques, marketing and relationship with other activities.
Theme IV - Prospecting and Mining
While mining within the Park boundaries was confined to one location, McDougall Lake, there was considerable travel through the region by prospectors. The latter, therefore, were considered to be an important topic in this section.

Theme V - Tourism
The main topics in the category referred to early visitors, guides, the Otter Cove cabins and early canoe tourists.

Theme VI - Shipping and Navigation
Other than that associated with the lumber operation, there has been limited commercial navigation along the shores of the Park area in recent years. The important topic, however, relates to the lighthouse operation at Otter Island.

In establishing the detailed questionnaire, the following considerations were born in mind:

a. Environmental Factors - The concern here is an appreciation of the nature of the environment at early stages in the contact with the area. Attention was directed towards changes in the environment and the attitudes of the people to the environment. In this context, four distinct ecosystems may be identified, each possessing its own characteristic set of human responses: the lake;
the lake littoral; the river valleys; the interior highland. It is interesting to see how several of these elements were integrated into certain individuals' livelihood at different times.

b. Occupying the land - The various approaches to ensuring a livelihood in the area were a central theme of the study. Particular attention was directed to the difference between subsistence activities, commercial organization and corporate entities.

c. Techno-economics - For each of the major modes of human occupation and development of the environmental resources, attention was focussed upon individuals' recollections of implements, techniques, daily and seasonal regimens, and economic, organization. This section was not concerned only with material culture of the peoples involved but also the non-material dimensions of the way of life.

d. Social organization - The essential dimension of the human occupancy of any area is the development of a social organization. Its major components are the general distribution of population, family structures, settlement forms and a sense of community.
To that end, interviews attempted to reconstruct not only where people were located throughout the study area, but also their social space as revealed by patterns of movement and interaction.

e. Cultural organization - The major components of this dimension are religious groups, ethnic associations, political affiliations and other expressions of group identity.

f. Externalities - Apart from those components which are to be found in the study area itself, the area may also have been affected directly or indirectly by events and processes external to itself. In this context, the effects of changing price structures, marketing systems, external economic controls, the "War", are all examples of such influences.

It was felt that from three to six interviews per topic would be appropriate, except for shipping and navigation which was considered to be of lesser importance. It was appreciated that many respondents would be able to discuss more than one topic and for this reason as well as the constraints of time and money it was decided to limit the total number of interviews to between thirty and
thirty-five. Drawing upon their intimate knowledge of the area, Parks Canada personnel were able to suggest names of persons who were to be interviewed and those of others, who having been previously interviewed, were not to be asked to contribute again, at least without further consultation. Some twenty-three other individuals were identified eventually and added to the eleven names provided by the Parks Canada personnel (See Appendix I).

With this list as a starting point and agreement on the themes to be explored, it was agreed that the actual number of interviews to be conducted and the names of the respondents would be developed during the course of the work. The themes which were covered in the study and the names of the persons interviewed are tabulated below. Names which appear more than once indicate that the respondent had discussed at length more than one theme.

A) Lumbering - 7 Primary -
   (I. Palmer, J. Kelly,
   G. and D. Hurley, M. Gowan,
   T.B. MacCallum, L. Lachance,
   P. Kelly)
   - 3 Secondary -
   (C. Cress, B. Brown,
   H. Sabourin)

B) Commercial Fishing - 8 Primary -
   (F. McCoy, F. Legault,
   C. Cress, A. King,
   G. Gerow, L. Morden,
   I. Purvis, W. and M. Schellings)
   - 1 Secondary -
   (L. Buck)
C) Tourism - 4 Primary -
   (R. Bedard, H. Scott and G. Haight,
   G. Ellis, J. Calkins)
   - 2 Secondary - (L. Bazelot,
   G. and D. Hurley)

D) Prospecting and Mining - 5 Primary -
   (G. Depew, W. Richards,
   B. Murray, B. Brown,
   J. Cormie)

E) Trapping - 7 Primary -
   (L. Buck, G. Coutu, W. Shaganash,
   H. Bussineau, H. Sabourin, J.
   Cormier, L. Bazelot)
   - 1 Secondary - (G. Lecours)

F) Shipping and Navigation - 2 Primary -
   (C. Harron, N. Michano)

The Interview Procedure
In the introduction to this report the objectives of an oral
history were defined as the collection of historical data
and the illumination of this and other factual material
by the spoken record. To ensure that these objectives are
met requires an understanding of the historical background
into which the themes are to be set. It also means the
careful planning of the interview to ensure that no aspects
on which the respondent can speak are overlooked.

Pre-interview Meeting
During a preliminary pre-interview meeting, the respondent's
background was explored and on the basis of the information
so obtained, the details of the interview were planned.
Where distance prevented a personal pre-interview,
preliminary interviews were conducted by telephone.
Except in a few cases where travel time was long enough to be significant, formal interviews were arranged during this preliminary meeting. This served several purposes. It enabled the interviewer to explain the nature and purpose of the project; it gave the interviewer an informal opportunity to establish a rapport with the respondent; it delineated the area to be covered in the interview giving the interviewer time to plan the questions and the respondent time to recall incidents perhaps long past; it provided an opportunity to collect the following pertinent biographical data:

- place of birth,
- date of birth,
- family background,
- length of association with Pukaskwa,
- occupation(s)
- places of residence
- date of arrival at Pukaskwa,
- age at time of arrival;

and finally and most importantly it established a time when the respondent would have an hour or more free to recall his or her experiences. This pre-interview also allowed the respondent to gather photographs, journals, maps and other memorabilia.

The Interview

Appendix II lists the persons interviewed and recorded, together with those who, for various reasons, were interviewed without recording.
Except when no AC power was available or some other special condition applied, all recordings were made on a Sony-o-Matic TC-105 four track monophonic recorder at 3-3/4 inches per second. When this equipment could not be used a battery operated Allied cassette recorder was substituted.

In preparation for the recording of the name of the respondent, time and place of the interview and similar data, a leader of some several feet was left at the beginning of each tapes. The mark 000 should be set to designate the end of this lead end. In the majority of interviews the actual recording commences at the 100 mark.

On arrival at the meeting place the recorder would be plugged in, the microphone placed in a suitable location and with the recorder off, a few minutes spent in reviewing and the topics to be discussed and in putting the person to be interviewed at ease. When this was done, the recorder was activated and the interview proper begun.

If the respondent tended to ramble along lines considered irrelevant, he or she would be brought back gently, but as quickly as possible, to the desired track. If the person appeared to be tired before the material of interest was recorded a second session would be arranged. In most interviews the respondents preferred a break for coffee or tea, or a pause to look for photographs and other materials, midway in the interview session.

Post Interview Activity
Following the interview, an attempt was made to locate and arrange to borrow any written material or photographs which the respondent might have. At the same time his or her picture was taken and the opportunity used to check the names of
people of places mentioned by the respondent and to ascertain the correct spellings wherever possible. Also after the interview, either immediately following it, or at a later post interview meeting the person interviewed was asked to sign a release granting to Parks Canada the right to use the material recorded subject to any conditions which he or she wished to impose. The release form used is reproduced in Appendix V. The blank tape leader was used to record the name of the person interviewed and the time and place of the interview, and any necessary written notes were made in the evening away from the respondent's home.

Preliminary Transcription
As soon as possible after the original recording was made, it was copied onto a cassette and this was forwarded to the office for transcription.

From this cassette a preliminary transcript was prepared. The objective of this operation was to reduce a substantial fraction of the material to written form but not to make any attempt to provide an error free typescript. Even with this tolerance it required about four hours secretarial time to transcribe an average hour's recording. Spaces were left where sections of the cassette tape provided a sound level inadequate for transcription.

Editing
The preliminary transcript was returned to the interviewer who compared this with the original tape. Because of the better quality of the original recording and her familiarity with the material she was able to supply the missing words.
She also corrected errors and provided the correct spelling of proper names. Editorial notes in square brackets were added wherever necessary to improve the flow of the interview. Words bracketed by parentheses represent asides spoken on the tape.

During this same review of the tape an index was prepared. This very briefly summarized each short section of tape and identified for each such summary a location on the tape where it could be heard. The system used identifies extracts by name, reel side, track number and footage (Purvis, II, iv, 323-361).

Final Transcription
When the preliminary transcript had been edited as described above, final typing was started. This had as end product not only a complete verbatim transcript complete with an index by topic but also, biographical details, a summary of the interview, and a list of materials donated or lent. The typing associated with this required on the average another four hours per hour of interviewing making a total of about eight.

Presentation of Results
The end product of this oral history project consists of the following elements:

1. Individual transcripts of each interview. Each transcript is accompanied by an index of the recording, a summary, a brief biographical sketch and where permitted, a photograph.
2. The audio record in the form of the reels of tape of the interview. In those few cases where the original recording was made on a cassette recorder, it was re-recorded onto the specified tape.

3. Photographs, films, transparencies, and documents were copied and presented for deposit in the Ontario Regional Office library. Appendix IV itemizes this material.

4. A thematic, narrative summary of the interviews, relating them to the known historical record and identifying those of particular value as historical records and interpretive devices. The report will draw heavily upon the interview transcripts to impart a sense of the material and the experiences of the people interviewed.
The Fishermen

Introduction
Three periods of fishing activity have been identified for the Lake Superior region in general and the Pukaskwa Park region in particular:

1. The Fur Trade Era, 1830-1867
2. Commercial Fishing, 1867-1939
3. Contemporary Fishing, 1939 to the present

Each of these periods may be recognised as having distinctive fishing technologies, system of organisation and marketing system (Marsh, Human History, 176-181). The oral record is only of partial utility in reconstructing these past modes of operation. While recollections and knowledge of earlier systems of family and company operation refer back to the 1880s, with increasing specificity for the early 1900s, it is the fishing industry of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s which is best represented in these interviews.

With regard to the relationship of these activities with Pukaskwa Park, the Marsh report came to the conclusion that the area between the Pic River and Otter Island was a neglected fishing area (Marsh, Human History, 180). The report went on to declare:

Fishing does not appear to be a theme with great interpretation potential except in the context of the fur trade period. Further research is clearly needed regarding fishing in the neighbourhood of Otter Island and the facilities there (Marsh, Human History, 181).
It is this question which will be examined in the light of the eleven interviews which relate to fishing activities. It will be demonstrated that the coastline of the Pukaskwa Park was closely integrated into the annual fishing activities of the north shore and that at certain localities there was frequent contact, albeit of a transient and ephemeral nature. Accordingly, attention will be directed to those reminiscences which are valuable in allowing further insights into the techniques, modes of operation, and way of life of the fishermen. Their emotive accounts of their routine, their detailed recollections of their tasks and the anecdotal value of events constitute a valuable supplemental record of activities associated with the Park.

Fishing Ports, Stations and Lay Overs

Fishing Grounds
In the old system of fishing, fishing grounds at the banks and shoals were established by value of first claim and right of user which were themselves predicated upon how far any given boat could operate away from its base with safety and without the fish spoiling. Later, vicinity licences were assigned to commercial fishermen. Each outfit was allocated particular fishing grounds which were specified by his licence. In the 1960s, areas of commercial fishing were divided into zones, the control being that species quotas were imposed while the specification of fishing areas was discontinued (Pozzo, int., 1979).

There was a distinct seasonal pattern of operation off the Pukaskwa coastline. During the spring, the season would open with the arrival of the Purvis tugs from their base at
Quebec Harbour and their nets would be set at various points along the coast. But it was in the fall of the year that the activity would intensify as the tugs and boats from both the Michipicoten area and the Rossport area would converge on the runs of lake trout, in particular in the area between the Pic River and the Pukaskwa. Figure 1 represents the major fishing ports, stations, layovers, and fishing grounds off the Pukaskwa coast, while Figure 2 demonstrates the actual locations of sets of the log Dobson operating out of Quebec Harbour in 1941. Figure 3 illustrates the size of the Dobson's catch at various fishing grounds in one year of operation, 1941.

Thus, Purvis fished three to four tugs out of Quebec Harbour and they ranged from Old Woman Bay and Michipicoten Bay up to the shoals near the Pic River and out to the Superior shoal and the shoals off Caribou Island. The 77 mile run to the Superior Shoal was navigated without radar and the Purvis interview gives a vivid account of how the course was set by local landmarks and accurate timing of the run (Purvis, I, i, 460-517). Comments by McCoy corroborate this definition of the Purvis area of operation: his identification of productive fishing spots included the mouth of the Pukaskwa, just inside Otter Island, down past Deep Harbour and Triangle Harbour where he "used to catch quite a few along here" (McCoy, I, i, 497-526). Lloyd Morden reports that in the spring the Purvis tugs set deep water "sets" off Otter Island. By mid June they were setting in shallower water for whitefish along Richardson and Spruce harbours (Simon's Harbour), but never went farther north than the Gravel River because the tugs from Port Coldwell fished that far south. He goes on to say:
PUKASKWA FISHING GROUNDS AND BASES OF OPERATION

- Ports
- Seasonal Fishing Stations
- Lay overs
- Fishermen/Trappers

0 10 20 30 40 50 Miles
0 20 40 60 80 Km.
FISHING TUG DOBSON: AREAS OF ACTIVITY
APRIL 24-NOV. 6 1941

- Gangs of nets set
- Pound nets
FISHING TUG DOBSON: TROUT, WHITEFISH AND CHUB LIFTS
1941

Source: Dobson logbook
in the fall of the year ... we hit it hard because there's a ridge of banks just off the Pukaskwa that we used to fish pretty hard. These banks are very funny banks. And we couldn't fish close to Pukaskwa River anyway because we would get loaded up with sticks. But we used to have some wonderful lifts out and around this area. Fifty or sixty hundred, eh, a lift ... two and a half ton and that would be in October, eh. Anywheres from the first to the end of October and then the fish would seem to move in a little bit. But then we didn't bother because it was too dangerous for us. We'd lose too much twine. And, like I say, in the spring of the year we fished in the deep water, out to sixty, seventy, and eighty fathom all down this area past Pukaskwa. There's two sets off Canadian Point that we used to do pretty well at, and then we fished the shallower water, why we weaved in where the whitefish and trout were together, like, eh. They would run about a third whitefish and two-thirds trout, eh. And then we would move in and pick that up for, oh, approximately three weeks. And then after that, when the leaves started to turn colour ... as soon as they started to fall, well then we started to work in these banks where they spawned and shallower places along the shoreline where we could get in (Morden, I, i, 134-171).
In commenting on the prolific fisheries off the Pukaskwa between Ganley Harbour and Gravel Bay, Morden also noted that there were "funny shoals" there like "pinnacles" which were so "hard on the twine" that other fishermen didn't fish there (Morden, I, i, 631-651). Perhaps the most specific and colourful description of the sequence of fishing from the Michipicoten bases is that of Lyman Buck. He points out that from Michipicoten Harbour they did not fish up as far as Otter Cove but did go as far as the Pukaskwa following the spawning:

... we would fish off the river ...
Lake trout and whitefish. You see they run - that's one of the few places in the Great Lakes that the fish spawn in the river. A lot of places, like Lake Huron, they spawn out on the shoals all the time, but I guess Lake Superior is so deep that the fish spawn in the rivers ...
The years gone by it was the thing to do, even the fishermen from Goulais Bay would come up - and Batchawana. They would go way up to Eagle and around through there and come back down and follow the sun. They would hit there first and then the next three or four days they'd hit the next river, the Dog. Then they would come down to the Bear or the Makwa, whatever you want to call it. Then there would be the Doré and the Michipicoten here and so on all the way around. They used to follow the spawn in those days (Buck, I, i, 282-305)
For the Rossport fishermen, the season started with fishing around the islands in Nipigon Bay, followed by summer fishing out on the shoals in the lake, never going much beyond Pic River to the east until after August when they fished as far south as Otter Head for the fall run of lake trout (Legault, I, i, 794-880). This was Dolf King's recollection also and he went on to say:

But then our boys here (Rossport) in the early days, when I was quite young, they fished down along that shore in different areas - Spruce Harbour, Otter Head and Richardson's Harbour. But then you couldn't go too far because of the Sault. The Sault Ste. Marie gang was up this way and we contacted them (King, I, iii, 317-359).

For Cecil Cress, the first fishing from Port Coldwell was east to Marathon with some shore fishing at first, the sets being laid out at Randle Point. Ignoring the mouth of the Pic because there were too many "sticks" they then moved south of White River:

.... sometimes we used to start by Willow River and up, or start way down at Oiseau Bay (is that the way you pronounce it, Wisina Bay?) south on down to Simon's Harbour. We always used to have one put in the deep water; one gang in the deep water and one gang in shallow (Cress, I, i, 599-663).
It is apparent, therefore, that there appears to have been an informal but nonetheless effective recognition of spheres of operation along the Pukaskwa shore. Thus, Dolf King's comment that while the Rossport tugs fished as far south as Otter Head and Richardson Harbour "But then you couldn't go too far because the Sault. The Sault Ste. Marie gang was up this way ..." (King, I, iii, 317-359); Lloyd Morden of the Purvis operation similarly points out that their tugs did not go beyond Gravel River because the people from Port Coldwell came down that far and one respondent reports that at least one Purvis tug was chased out of Rossport when it started fishing for chub there (Schelling, int.).

But apart from these informal assignments of territory, fishermen also commented on the allocation of specific fishing grounds by the system of "block fishing" or "vicinity licences". Dolf King recalls them as being about three miles square and commented:

    that's all you were entitled to. At least, that's all you were supposed to fish was that block. Outside of that you were on somebody else's block - probably next door to you. There was just a line dividing you that caused a lot of meetings. Never too important or anything, and but then it was pretty much old timers at that time. They would just quit talking to each other, that was all (King, I, iii, 360-398).
Gib Gerow also commented on the system of allocation of fishing grounds:

Well, we had a vicinity licence which allowed us to fish anywhere where nobody else had a block licence. Like all fishermen have block licences and it's just like your property. You go from one point to another point or from a point to a shoal. It's usually two mile square for small boat fishing. But we had one of those grounds took that was right at Bowman's Island besides a vicinity licence. And then pound net licences, we had pound nets as well ... Well, a pound net was a stationary thing, eh. You never moved it. You just paid for that one spot .... It stayed there all summer (Gerow, I, i, 185-222).

Some of the practical difficulties associated with the assignment of fishing grounds in this way are alluded to by Lyman Buck:

from Isacor up was an area ... And we had from Isacor to Brule Harbour, that's my outfit. And Purvis had another area and Jack McKay had another area. So we were all overlapping one another, and that was just a lot of hassle (Buck, I, ii, 715-751).
Particular problems occurred with the setting of nets in the same area and the mixing of nets. Lyman Buck describes the technique of "rolling the nets".

... well, we fish over one another, you know. I may have a line and nets around through here, and you can come and set right on top of me. What we watch there when good fishermen - and that's happened - why we would always make sure that you go out and make your lift first, so that we won't bring somebody else's nets up. So if I went and lifted, I would bring yours up every so often. I would roll them. That was some of the old tricks of the trade. To get you out of my way I would fish and I would roll your nets, and roll your nets before I would pass them underneath the lifters (Buck, I, i, 789-831).

Nets "rolled in this way would not hang properly when returned to the water. Buck also refers to the animosity between anglers and fishermen, especially in such areas as the Dog Banks (Buck, I, i, 832-900).

The fishing grounds off shore of the Pukaskwa Park constitute a divide in the area of operations between the two main groups of fishermen. To the north-west, fishermen from Rossport, Jackfish and Port Coldwell fished as far south as Pukaskwa River while those from Gargantua, Batchawana Bay and Michipicoten fished as far north as Simon's Harbour, and occasionally to the mouth of the Pic River. Apart from considerable overlap in their activities between Simon's Harbour and Otter Cove, both groups also ventured out into Lake Superior to fish at the Superior Shoal. Each group's
location depended upon the season, the run of fish, the proximity to the home base facilities and, to some extent, recognition of traditionally used territories.

Bases of Operation
The main bases of the fishing operation, therefore, were often considerable distances from the furthest point of operation of the tugs. Rossport, and Port Coldwell, were on rail transport while the Michipicoten Island, Michipicoten Harbour, Batchawana Bay and Gargantua fisheries were linked by water and road to Sault Ste. Marie.

To minimise the travel to the main fishing banks and to avail themselves of good harbour facilities, satellite bases were also set up, such bases usually being seasonal operations. Otter Cove was thus used by Talarico fisheries and it is also suggested that fishermen from Batchawana fished up in that area with small boats operating out of Old Dave's Cove, off Otter Head Head (McCoy, I, i, 65-76; Purvis, I, i, 884-914; Morden, II, iv, 363-381). Cecil Cress has recollections of a fishing outfit at Simon's Harbour called English Fisheries but they were not there during his experience in that area (Cress, I, i, 690-718; McCoy, II, iv, 178-209). Mr. Schelling recalls little fish shacks at Morrison Harbour built by George Gerow and Ted Hillier (Schelling, int.).

But a seasonal fishing station of considerable importance to the fisheries of the Pukaskwa shore was that of the Purvis Company at Quebec Harbour at Michipicoten Island. Each year, a community of some 25 to 30 people were brought up to the island by the Dominion Transport vessels Caribou, Manitou, Norgoma, or Manitoulin (McCoy, I, i, 324-371). Purvis recalls the establishment as consisting
of a crew of 35 to 40 men, a cook and two helpers, and a bookkeeper which, when some families are also taken into account, amounts to about 60 people all told (Purvis, I,i, 824-883). Another recalls the facilities there as consisting of docks for four "good sized tugs", a big twine shed, two small twine sheds, a coal dump, a big fish shed, a freezing plant, bunk houses, a blacksmith's shop, four or five buildings for families and a small house for Mr. Purvis (Morden, II,iv, 283-323; Purvis, I,i, 367-394). Fred McCoy recalls:

We used to have a dock at the opposite side of the station, and we'd go there and dump all the stuff and then go back. That was quite a place there. They had a big ice plant there. They used to make their own ice at that time. Running water which was quite the thing, and electric lights (McCoy, I,i, 174-192).

Arriving about May 1st, most stayed until October, leaving a crew of four or five men to mend the nets; McCoy recalls that "We hibernated like a bear". (McCoy, I,i, 372-382). From this fishing station the Purvis tugs operated and from it their catch was shipped out twice a week to the Sault, Michigan on the Caribou or Manitou for transport to Chicago or New York (McCoy, II,iv, 161-177).

When tugs were operating too far from their home base to get back over night or when driven off the lake by bad weather, the crews would often lay over in harbours such as Playter Harbour, Morrison Harbour, Oiseau Bay, Simon's Harbour, Triangle Harbour, Old Dave's Cove, Otter Cove, Richardson Harbour, Ganley Harbour, Pilot Harbour, etc.
Lloyd Morden remembers "double headers" when they would decide to stay rather than "run home" and:

we used to pull into Simon's Harbour and we'd meet with the boys from Port Coldwell and those places and we'd have a real evening. It was a real party getting together you know (Morden, I, i, 273-294).

Other "double headers" were held at Otter Cove and Richardson Harbour. Dolf King recalls the system also:

Like when I was with the Strathbelle (Nicol) there, we laid alongside the big operators from the Sault and Michipicoten. We laid alongside of one another there in different harbours because we were from the north and they were from the south .... We used to have a lot of good evenings there talking about the different fishing and the different sets and one thing .... and the different boats. There, we were mingling all the time with different crews of them old-time boats, you know, and their children aboard some of the boats, you know, same as us (King, I, iii, 317-359).

On another occasion he recalls being stormbound at Spruce Harbour with a Purvis tug when he was down south during the fall trout fishing:

And Lake Superior was throwing up an "Old Damnerer" as they called it. And oh, there was nothing showing its face out on the lake the day and a half that we were there .... We laid there with the
Purvis tugs when they came up that far.
They always went into that harbour
because it was a good safe harbour
(King, II, ii, 65-347).

Extensive as were the fishing grounds, such local centres were imperative for the safe and effective operation of the fisheries. Moreover, in the context of the cultural history of the Park they constitute interesting dimensions of the human contact with the area.

Techniques of Fishing
Fishing out of the bases to the north-west and south-east of the Pukaskwa Shore, fishermen harvested the lake trout and whitefish by several techniques, the principal ones being:

1. Gill net fishing;
2. Pound net fishing;
3. Trolling;
4. Ice-fishing.

Each of these techniques required special equipment, distinctive techniques and were constrained by both site and season.

Gill Net Fishing
The basic principle of gill-net fishing is the setting of a line of nets ("gangs") which are attached to a surface buoy which is anchored to the bottom. The nets are suspended in the water between a top line supported by floats and a bottom line which is weighted with lead sinkers. Stretched taut to prevent fouling, this net then forms a fence of mesh ("twine") the depth of which depends upon the season and the fish being sought (King, Report of Fishing on Lake Nipigon.)
The most usual size mesh was four and a half inches for lake trout and whitefish, each gang being between four and seven miles long, with boats often carrying as many as six "gangs" or 42 miles of nets (Cress, I, i, 248-276). Felix Legault specified fishing with 4-1/2, 5-1/2, 6, 7, 8, and 9 inch mesh, noting that few fish came out of the 9 inch nets, but those that did were never under 25 lbs and sometimes between 40 and 45 lbs (Legault, II, iv, 0-24). While originally of cotton and linen, nylong "twine" was introduced by the Purvis company in 1935-36 along the north shore and Lloyd Morden recounts their first use. Three boxes of nylon nets were "bridled" on to fourteen of the cotton nets and:

we swooped them around Isacor Point in towards Eagle River and when I came to lift them I had three times the fish in those three boxes I had in the rest of the seventeen. Yeah, so that shows how much better the nylon was, eh (Morden, I, i, 187-213).

Being finer, stronger and easier to maintain, nylon nets soon displaced the earlier linen and cotton. The ideal areas for setting the nets were referred to as "flat land", or extents of lake where there are "no obstructions of land coming up like little islands and so forth" (Purvis, I, i, 629-675).

From early in the twentieth century, steam tugs were the dominant mode of operation with the nets being set by hand and lifted by steam operated lifters. Recollection of the operation of one steam tug, the Nicol's Strathbelle out of Port Coldwell informs us that the usual crew consisted
of a skipper, engineer, three deck hands, the head deck-hand acting as fireman. (Cress, I, i, 125-141). Lloyd Morden refers to the Purvis steam tugs Captain Jim, Dobson, and Flagship, which were crewed by a skipper and six deck hands, the skipper on the Purvis boats being the engineer also (Morden, I, i, 233-246).

The most detailed description of the operation of a fishing tug is provided by Gib Gerow who described the five man crew of the David Marwick which operated out of Rossport:

Well you would have your captain, engineer, and then the rest would be on the deck, eh. One fellow, he would .... what you called tailing in the nets from the net lifter and the other two would be standing around cleaning the fish out of the net. As soon as all the nets was in, turn around then, and it would take three men to put them back in the lake, the nest (Gerow, I, i, 571-676).

Gib Gerow goes on to identify and describe nets, the various processes involved in "setting the nets"; "spinning"; "tailing"; "cleaning"; and "liming". It took three men to "spread" the nets as they were set into the water:

Well, one guy we called the "spinner", he would set beside the box and he would let the nets slide through his hands, and then the one fellow on the stern, he'd run the cork line to spread it, eh, kept it well spread, and the third man he was there and he'd pour lime on the net all the time too to wash
it and keep it clean. Any slime or anything, he cuts it out, and then he would watch for tangles, because we set fast, eh, the nets go back fast ... and as soon as that box got low he'd (the third man, i.e.) have another one there tied on so that there would be no stopping. And then he would pull the empty box away and the full one would go in. And then they would trade around. The men would change around every so often (Gerow, I, i, 571-676).

On returning to the nets, the operations of "lifting", "tailing in", "clearing" and "boxing" would commence:

Well, your net-lifter brings in the net - comes in like a winch, eh - and this guy, what we call "tailing in" or "taking slack" - a lot of them sat "taking slack" - he takes the net and he piles it all in the boxes. But if there's a fish, then there's a table past the box, and you push the fish across and then there's another man there to take them out right away. He takes them out and he clears all the snarl if the net's messed up he clears it all out, and he puts it down inside the box. And as soon as the box - maybe two, three or four nets into a box - well as soon as we come to that bridle (where two nets join), that would be untied and that box is towed away and a new one is shoved in.
1 Cleaning the Nets, John Gerow/Rossport, c. 1940.

(Original photograph owned by Mrs. Prina Gerow, Rossport)
Cecil Cress' recounts, a similar process of setting, lifting and setting the nets:

Yeah, you see, you lift them and clear all the scrap, we call them like little shiners, and just take all the good fish. You see that was mostly trout and whitefish. You got a sturgeon once in a while, pickerel. (Cress, I, i, 248-276).

The larger tugs which operated out into the lake, often for two or three days, always carried ice and prepared the catch on board. The fish were cleaned on the return trip on a board over a 45 gallon oil drum, the refuse being thrown overboard. Heads were cut off, although cheeks and whitefish livers were sold as delicacy at $1.00 a quart. Commenting on this Gib Gerow noted:

Of course, we never used to save the livers out of the big trout. Nobody would eat them because it was always said they were poisonous. They weren't poisoned. Heck, I eat livers out of every type of fish. But the cheeks they would go over big. (Gerow, I, i, 331-364).

He also reported on another process, taking spawn for the hatcheries:

You see, we caught them alive. We take the spawn, and we would fertilize them with the buck and keep them overnight as the rule and then ship them by box.
Just put them on trays, in boxes and put in a tray of ice on top and away they go to the hatchery. No its quite common to go in with close to a 45 gallon barrel of eggs.

His recollection was that the government would pay forty cents a quart for trout eggs, sixty cents a quart for whitefish, each containing 21,000 and 7,000 eggs respectively (Gerow, I, i, 273-330; McCoy, I,i, 252-291).

On arriving at the home port, the fish which had already been cleaned were then packed into boxes and trays with ice above and below. These 50 or 100 pound boxes were then stored over night and shipped out by rail on the midday train (Cress, I,i, 300-340). At Quebec Harbour, because it was not on the rail, fish were run through "glazed" ice which was a mixture of crushed ice and water and then stacked in a freezer like cordwood. There they were kept until the market was favourable and there was a sufficient load for transport out to Little Current where they were wrapped and packed (Morden, I, i, 247-272).

Pound Net Fishing
Pound nets were often set by commercial fishermen close to their home bases in areas too shallow for gill net fishing and where pound nets could be established easily. They have been reported in two particular areas: the Purvis company had pound nets to the north, south and west of Michipicoten Island; Purvis also had two pound nets at Otter Head between 1932 and 1936, (Morden, I,i, 612-630) and two others off Spruce Harbour in 1941. (Dobson log). Nap Michano also speaks of establishing pound nets across Old Dave's Cove (Michano, II, ii, 78-109) while McCoy reports pound nets being set by the Lapointe family at Michipicoten Harbour.
Gib Gerow reports that some of the Rossport fishermen would have up to five pound nets but that it was secondary to gill net fishing (Gerow, I,i, 469-484). Finally, Felix Legault recalls a fishing season spent by his family in Oiseau Bay, about 1910 when they took pound net poles and operated out of a log cabin on the south side of the Bay (Legault, I,i, 501-567).

Ivan Purvis defines the best location for pound net fishing:

... you set the pound nets where you couldn't fish with a tug. It's too shallow or something like that. For gill nets you've got to have a long piece of flat land ... For pound nets you set it and just the fish travelling around that area of the bay, it will catch them, where the boats couldn't get into to fish gill nets (Purvis, I,i, 629-675).

Hardwood stakes were driven into the bottom using a pile driver floated into the area on a scow. The nets were then suspended by pegs from lines running between the stakes and the bottoms weighted, the deepest being as much as 40 feet deep. Once constructed, the nets formed a fence with a wide entrance across a bay. A double line of "lead" nets directed fish from this wide entrance to a much smaller opening in the "pot", typically some 50 feet in diameter, in which they were trapped.

Two or three man crews in open dories would tend these nets, emptying them every three days. At the end of the season, the nets would be taken out and tarred. The posts were left in the water and could last for as much as ten or twenty years (Purvis, I,i, 529-628; Michano, II,ii, 78-185).
Trolling
Few of the fishermen interviewed referred to trolling and for those that did it was not the usual activity. Gib Gerow recalls his father towing him out about ten miles into the lake and they trolled among the islands off Rossport. With two lines out they would catch about one hundred pounds of lake trout a day which they would sell to the packing house for ten cents per pound (Gerow, I, i, 721-769).

Similarly, McCoy refers to trolling at depths of 400 to 500 feet close to Miron's Bank, outside of Gargantua:

The time we used to troll, all we had was just any kind of hook at all. Just throw it over and you would catch a fish. I have caught as high as 1800 pounds one day .... Well, three of us. We had three lines out (McCoy, II, iv, 56-96).

It is possible that some of the smaller independent fishermen were more involved in this form of fishing, as were the recreational anglers.

Ice Fishing
Only one respondent, Gib Gerow, referred to ice fishing with nets. His account of setting the gill nets under the ice during the winter is particularly interesting:

We used to use the old pole fashion for a long time. Take a long pole and you cut a hole in the ice, and then you work it back and forth and then you give it a good shot. Thing is running up and trying to keep up with it, and then you chop a hole and (push) it ahead and catch the rope
behind it again until you run it out the length of your net. And then from your first hole your line is still there. So you tie your net on there and you go to the far hole and you pull your net in.

He also recollects how he would go out and lift the nets on his own with just a dog team:

I would go to one end and pull the net up and take the stone off the end and pull the net up and take the stone off the end and tie this long running line onto it. We called it a "running line". Then I would jump onto the sleigh and the dogs would run me to the other end of the net and I'd pull that end up and I'd pull all the net out, like fan shaped on the ice, take fish out ... When I was finished, I would jump onto the sleigh and go back to the other end again and then tie the rope to the sleigh. And make the dogs lay down, - because if you didn't they would take off on me, they would follow me- they would go and lay down and I would walk back to where the net was I would whistle for them. Well, when they got up, they would come to me and pull the net in for me. I used to like that. I used to love that life, always did.
This ice fishing was practised close to the shore because even though the ice was often 36 inches thick, it would break up quickly when "a big surf came in". Because of this, Gerow recalls that "you always took your knife with you to cut your rope right down very thin so that if the ice went it would break", the nets staying in the water to be retrieved later by boat (Gerow, I, i, 770-897).

To some extent, this was very much a unique and personalized procedure. Gerow does report that other fishermen also icefished with gill nets because "All fishermen like their own fish, eh". And while some did it for the small financial return, he concludes "We did it mostly for the sport and to get out during the winter and get some fresh air on your face".

The Seasonal and Daily Round

The Annual Cycle

The commercial fisheries followed a very regular seasonal round which was dictated by such environmental parameters as the freeze-up and break-up of ice in the harbours and the shifting feeding and run patterns of the fish. Moreover, maintenance of the equipment was fitted into this cycle.

With the advent of spring, the tugs would prepare for the forthcoming season by filling the boilers, checking the "steam outfit" and "boxing the nets" ready for the first run. With the beginning of the break up of the ice, the season would start. Responding to the question of when the season started, Cecil Cress replied:

As soon as we could get out. Sometimes if the ice broke up enough we could get out the first part of April. (Cress, I, i, 210-247).
Felix Legault's recollection is that the earliest they ever got out of Rossport was March 27th and some years not until May 1st (Legault, II, iv, 0-24).

With the commencement of fishing in the spring, the fishermen would follow a regimen based upon knowledge of the life cycles of the fish and their locations at the various times of the year. Lloyd Morden describes it thus:

Well, there's certain times of the year, I guess. You see, the lake's harvest is the same as your grains and everything on land, eh. There's certain times for harvest on the lake the same as on the land (Morden, I, i, 564-608).

But there were other factors:

They (trout) move according to the moon and the dark of the moon you get real good fishing up in shallow water, eh, and the light of the moon you won't. You wouldn't get a third in the light of the moon that you would in the dark of the moon there (Morden, I, i, 172-179).

Thus, in spring, the nets would be first set at depths of 35 to 45 fathoms and later, at lesser depths on the banks. Referring to such banks as the Superior Shoal and those surrounding Caribou Island, McCoy commented that:

There's only one place you can find fish on a bank. You have to keep right along the edge of it. Right on top here's no fish any place (McCoy, I, i, 453-480)
On distinctive fish caught there was the "ciscoette" described by Gib Gerow as being:

a trout, but they are a fat fish. They are used for oil, that's all. There is no flesh on them, hardly at all. They are all oil. And we used to catch them by the tons. And there was always a market for them (Gerow, I, i, 185-222).

Until July, the nets would be left out for three or four nights but later, as the fish start moving into shallower water, the gangs were reduced and lifted every two nights as the catch increased so that the fish would not spoil (Legault, I, i, 881-929). By the fall of the year, the large trout moved into the shallow coastal waters and the fishing concentrated along the shoals off shore and the river mouths.

This cycle is reported and described by several of the fishermen interviewed. At both the Rossport-Port Coldwell and Michipicoten centres, the general seasonal pattern of fishing was the same: coastal, deep water, shoals and then coastal. Gib Gerow provides a detailed and specific account of the annual round.

Well, in the spring of the year here, as soon as we could get out, we'd try to work our way up towards what we called Nipigon Bay, up towards Nipigon - what we called the Flats up in there, shallow water three or four fathoms. Trout and whitefish went in there early in the spring. Really good fishing. And that's where we could fish until that run of fish was gone. And then we would have to take all our nets out of there. Then we'd work all around the islands and work at different depths ....
You've got to find the fish, eh. The fish don't come to you. You gotta go to the fish. Then mostly during July and August we'd be out in the deep water for these ciscoette. And then in the fall we'd come back ashore for the run of big trout when they come in to spawn (Gerow, II, iv, 113-138).

He then describes the sequence of fishing in the fall of the year:

We used to get a black trout that would come in in September. A black trout, that's a lake trout. They were black, nicely coloured fish with fins something like a speckled trout, but the flesh was white and not much taste to them .... they would come in shallower water. You would hardly see them all year just till they came in to spawn and we would catch them right up in very shallow water. They were the first then there was different species of trout. They all fell in line and spawned right after another ... Well, the black trout were usually the first. Then the big red trout would come in, eh, like these big fellows here (photo) and then the whitefish. At last would be the herring, but the herring was only caught at Thunder Bay, not down this way ... There's herring here. Always has been. But nobody seemed to fish them down here (Gerow, I,i, 444-468).
This run would be pursued by the Rossport and Port Coldwell tugs along the Pukaskwa coast as far south as Otter Head while those from Michipicoten would be moving south around Michipicoten Bay. While the season would end for most in late October and early November, others would try to stretch the season into December but often lost more than they gained with nets torn on ice and the difficulties of breaking ice getting in and out of harbour (Legault, II, iv, 25-41; Gerow, II, iv, 113-138). Figure 4 demonstrates the seasonal pattern of fishing for the tug Dobson operating out of Quebec Harbour in 1941.

With the onset of winter, the tugs' "steam outfit" would be drained, the boilers cleaned and the winter overhaul commenced (Cress, I, i, 210-247). Most of the men would be let off and they would seek other jobs in the mills, lumber camps or on the railroad. Cress reported that "there wasn't enough work for all the men. They always kept the oldest ones" (Cress, I, i, 168-195). Lloyd Morden remembers that his father's annual routine followed the typical sequence of tug engineer on the lake in the summer and work in the bush in the winter (Morden, II, iv, 122-144).

Referring to the winter routine of the fish stations, Fred McCoy recalls the three winters he "hibernated like a bear" at Quebec Harbour for the Purvis Company together with four other men. Their main task was mending the nets and preparing them for the spring but they also engaged in some trapping of muskrats, beaver and foxes (McCoy, I, i, 324-382; 737-808). Cecil Cress claims that net repairing would take all winter and that:

At the first there used to be just one net repairman for each boat.
And then, if the nets were very bad, why they would have two or three.
FISHING TUG DOBSON: SEASONAL ACTIVITY
APRIL 24-NOV. 6, 1941

Fishing locations around Michipicoten I.
- Wheat Bin
- Green I.
- Hope I.
- False Hr.
- Cozen Hr.
- Bonner Hd.
Base: Quebec Hr.

- Gang nets
- Pound nets
Holes were repaired, the nets spread out on the floor because "they were all hanked up" and they were then untangled with corks on one side and lead weights on the other; following this, they were folded into the net boxes, this "careful boxing the nets" ensured they "came out right " (Cress, I, i, 210-247). Lloyd Morden gives a vivid account on mending nets or "hanging twine" during the winter:

Yeah, I used to love that too. Fishermen is a funny breed of people. They like to, they don't sit around, eh, they like to work. They're always competing against one another, eh. They want to see who can do it the fastest and the best, not just the fastest, but the best too. And this is something with practically all the fishermen, especially on big fishing outfits, because it's more people you have more competition. Oh yeah, I used to love dressing fish. I used to like hanging nets and mending nets, lugging nets. Oh yeah, I liked that real well. (Morden, II, iv, 145-154).

Care of the nets was a very important aspect of the fishery operation. Gib Gerow could give an estimate of the life expectancy of the nets, commenting that sometimes they would be lost in one night. He concluded:

it all depends on the abuse it got, how much fish it caught, the care it had. I couldn't put a life span on a net, I don't think.
The care consisted of frequent liming to free the nets of algae; washing by towing behind the tug; drying by spreading them out in the sun on "net reels", storing in the "net shed" in boxes or by hanging them on the walls by the cork-line on the walls in rows:

Well, you hung them on the wall, just up in the corner there and just spread them over you know like that and you would work half way up, just do half way up. Then, when you are finished, you'd coil all the - usually the lead line you do first - you'd coil that all up and it's like a coil of ropes. And you pass a line through it and you tied it up and left it a loop and then you take the net from the top down and put the bottom up. Then you did the other half.

In this way, nets would be mended by needle and twine, or, if the holes too large, patched with sections of other nets (Gerow, I, i, 677-720).

Before the introduction of gasoline operated or electrical freezers and ice houses, an important winter occupation was "putting up the ice". For the small independent operators throughout the region, this must have been an important operation although only identified indirectly by the claim that ice houses formerly existed in some of the harbours along the coast. A detailed description of the activity in Rossport is provided by the Schellings. The lake ice was first marked out with an ice plough and then cut into slabs 30 inches thick. These slabs were then dragged by horses, gas-winches, or trucks and slid into the ice-houses on ramps of planks where they were covered with hay and saw-dust to await the summer season. They recall
that the last ice was put up in this way at Rossport in 1960 after which ice making machines made it unnecessary.

With the tugs overhauled, the nets repaired and boxed, ice put up, the fishing stations were ready for the break up and the opening of a new fishing season.

Daily Regimen
Cecil Cress provides a precise, if terse account of the daily regimen aboard a fishing tug:

Get out. Find your buoy. Lift your seven miles of nets. Clear them all out. Set them back and come home (Cress, I, i, 300-340)

Gib Gerow adds some details of the more prosaic tasks associated with tug fishing:

Well, I remember very well on this steam tug of ours here, we burnt coal and we'd get up at five o'clock in the morning, and we'd put over a ton of coal aboard that boat with a wheelbarrow. This was before breakfast. Never eat breakfast at home, no time. We'd load over a ton of coal with a wheelbarrow in the morning and then we'd take off and as soon as the boat got turned around, well then the breakfast would go on. And sometimes, maybe an hour, two hours, three hours sometimes before we got to our nets (Gerow, I, i, 898-926).
It was on these long runs out to the banks and shoals such as the Superior Shoal that the boat was prepared:

Lots of time for breakfast and to get the ship ready and the boxes in place. Because once we hit the buoy, well nothing stopped us. The nets had to come in and go back because it was always a full day's work just that one gang of nets (Gerow, II, iv, 0-13).

Fred McCoy reports that the Purvis tugs would often be out for two days to the Superior Shoals and others along the coast. He describes it as "hard work" lifting, clearing and resetting the nets:

Pulled ten miles a day. We had sixty miles to pull a week. We pulled in ten miles each day and set them back the same day. We would catch any where's from 600 (pounds) to two ton .... in one day (McCoy, I, i, 148-173).

The whitefish and lake trout were cleaned, iced and put into boxes while the rest were thrown overboard.

Meals on board were usually packed lunches although Gib Gerow reminisces about high cuisine on board:

But we had fish pretty nearly every night we were out. Always cooked fish. The best way to cook fish was on a steam pipe with steam. We would cut our fish up and, first we put the pail, had a steam pipe
hanging outside of the cabin. Just hang a galvanized pail on there. Throw in an onion and potatoes, turn on the steam and it would bubble there for about ten or fifteen minutes and then we would throw the fish in. It would take about one hour to cook. And you'll never eat fish as good as that. Never. You can't cook it at home that way .... But, oh, it would taste good. That would be our meal every night pretty well, when we were out on the lake (Gerow, II, iv, 13-30).

He recalls that most trips were overnight trips, sometimes staying out two nights, with occasional one day runs. When the weather permitted, they camped out along the shore in the various harbours along the coast:

And lots of nights, even though our boat was big, around 75 feet, overall, lots of nights we would go ashore and make a bonfire on the beach and have our supper on the beach .... Oh yes, always loved the out-of-doors like that, always did. And then the next morning it would be the same thing. We'd be up and going someplace else but we always had good appetites. (Gerow, II, iv, 0-13).
His final comment of the daily routine gives an indication of the demanding life of the commercial fisherman:

By the time we had supper it was usually time to go to bed. Because we worked long hours, awful long hours, eh. What we'd call a day would be fourteen or sixteen hours in the summertime. Very seldom - you wouldn't think of - we wouldn't go out to work eight hours a day. We figure it wasn't worthwhile. Always long hours. So by the time you had your supper, everybody was ready for bed .... When you handle like we did on that boat there, ten or twelve miles of net a day, well that's a long day. And then if it's rough, you're fighting all day to hold your balance, so you're tired by the time the day is over (Gerow, II, iv, 85-100).

On returning to the home base, be it a permanent settlement such as Rossport and Port Coldwell, or a seasonal settlement such as Quebec Harbour or Otter Cove, the fish were unloaded and packed in ice in either 100 pound or 50 pound boxes (Gerow II, iv, 37-84; Legault, I, i, 627-723). The packing, icing and shipping would be done by the "shoremen" in the Purvis operation, while another, the "twine shed man", was responsible for the repairs of nets:
Looks after the twine that you—sometimes you get a box of nets tore up you know. All the different tugs, there would be a lot coming ashore, eh, and he'd fix them up again, send them out again. And he looked after the packing of fish and stuff like that (Morden, II, iv, 268-280).

By the time the fish were on the train heading out for market, the tugs were often back on the lake heading back to the shoals.

Sailors not "red water fishermen"

Lloyd Morden made the point that the fish tugs "sailed as sailors, not as .... red water fishermen ... people that just fish along the beaches .... if they go out and lose sight of land have to go back" (Morden, I, i, 543-551). He later relates the procedures for getting a captain's papers:

When I was at it you became a watchman first and you spent a couple of years at that. Then you became a wheelsman and you wheeled anywheres from three to four years, all depends how good you were, how bright you were. And as you wheeled you learned your charts. You learned your compass. You learned everything about your boat, eh. You learned about weather. And the different ways the seas will affect the boats and the
different ways you run in seas.
Then, if you feel that you've learned pretty well everything, along with talking to other people, who do know it that have a licence ... And then you think it's about time you write for a ticket (Morden, II, iv, 53-70).

Another perspective is afforded by Fred McCoy, commenting on how the tug skippers had to be skilled to find the banks:

Well, you just run by time. At that time we had no depth-finders or we didn't have no compass, no radar, or nothing. You really had to be a navigator too, you just didn't get any place. You go out, say, you leave from here and there's a spot on the lake someplace, you see it on the chart. Well, you measure the distance. You know how fast your tug runs, and you run that time and then you have a sounding lead you put down (McCoy, I, i, 453-480).

The main tools appear to have been compass and watch as evidenced by Gib Gerow's comments:

Fog? Well, my brother was a captain on the boat and fog meant nothing to him. I've seen him run from here for three hours and put nets in the lake and go back in the fog and pick that "stick" up in the water. Three hours without seeing land ... And no radar, just his compass, that's all he had. Just his compass and his watch (Gerow, II, iv, 101-112).
But apart from the skills required to handle tugs in fishing operations in general, Lake Superior and its hazards posed a particular problem for the crews. References to "watching for the bad three sisters that's coming on us there and is going to submerge us, probably dive right into us" (King, II, ii, 65-347) is but one account. Several of the fishermen interviewed reported on these experiences in emotive terms.

Cecil Cress:

You see, the Strathbelle, if you got into the trough of the sea you were just as liable to roll right over. I pretty near rolled it over. You had to tack like a sailboat with the darn thing. We were coming from Simon's Harbour, so we kept on coming because we had to. The sea was hitting on the stern. We'd go right along, but as soon as you'd want to turn we had to tack away down towards Mink Creek. When we went to turn I was standing at the wheel, I got my boots full of water, my rubber boots. Mike Goodchild was working on the lake that time, too. He never came back no more. He never came fishing no more. Scared him. We were trying to go home for Saturday, you see. We had two gangs of wet nets, fourteen miles of nets on (Cress, II, iv, 339-387).
Fred McCoy:

I got caught (at) Superior Shoal one time. Jeepers, hundreds of miles from no place. A big thunderstorm, lightning, hail, wind. God, the waves got up there maybe twenty, or twenty-five feet high just within minutes. Just put her tail, pray for survival. A little while after it quieted down, we straightened up and headed for home .... Like we worked from the Island, and if the wind is going to be north-west, we'd head for the north shore. If the wind was going to be from the south, we would go to Caribou Island. You always have a fair wind home. That's the way we worked it all the time. Whichever way the wind was going to be, you buck your way, and you have a fair way home. So that way you don’t get into much trouble (McCoy, I, i, 411-452).

In such an environment, only the skills of the fishermen and the refuge afforded by the harbours along the Pukaskwa coastline could be relied upon. Ingenuity and improvisation also seemed to be a prerequisite for survival as evidenced by Dolph King's story of improvising a drive shaft and Felix Legault's account of diving to repair a broken rudder (King, I, i, 453-929; II, iv, 0-624; Legault, I,i, 100-181). As Dolph King summarized it, "We did what we could with what we had and that's that". The comment "it was a good life ... kind of rough at times", seems to be an understatement.
Marketing and Production

As has been pointed out earlier, the basic sequence in the development of marketing facilities for the fisheries along the north shore was from salting and water transport to icing and rail shipping. While certain of the people interviewed could recount past practices of the salt fish trade (Purvis, I,i, 304-320), most of the accounts of the marketing procedures refer to the system based upon arrangements with local companies or telegraph/telephone contracts with metropolitan buyers and transhipment by rail. Small independent fishermen at the south end of the study area would sell their catch to larger companies such as Talarico or Purvis (Michano, I,i, 291-315). Similarly, independent fishermen of the Rossport-Port Coldwell region would sell to local companies such as the Nipigon Fish Company and larger independent operators such as the Nicols who maintained their own packing and shipping operation. Using telegraph and later telephone connections, markets and prices would be arranged with such buyers as the Royal York Hotel, Toronto Main Fish Company, Montreal, the Whitefish Company, Toronto, and other buyers as far away as Chicago and New York. Port Coldwell fisheries had a particular market in supplying the diner cars on the C.P.R. (Cress, I,i, 387-454; Gerow, I,i, 387-433). Recalling the pattern of rail transhipment at the peak of the commercial fishing operation in the 1940's, George Depew described the pick-ups along the Nipigon, Rossport, Jackfish, Port Coldwell run:

At Coldwell they'd maybe have four or five boxes. They'd bring them up with horse and truck up to the station and they would put them on the night train. Jackfish would be the same thing. Rossport, frequently we would have a car of fish. That was the chief point. I don't know
how packed full the car would be, but we would pick up a car some nights there on the passenger train for delivery to Montreal or Toronto. At Nipigon they brought some fish too. But Rossport was the chief place to pick up the fish. But that's the only place where we had any fish (Depew, II, iv, 388-418).

Others have commented on the decline of fisheries and analysed the cause. Felix Legault's retirement from fishing in 1960 was attributed to the advent of the lamprey:

And the lamprey eel was coming here so strong at that time there was boats dropping out, dropping out, dropping out. There was only about six boats out fishing here then.

I've seen us go out from here, seventeen miles out and pick up nine fish floating on top of the water. And the biggest fish weighed 26 pounds and the smallest fish weighed eight. And we picked up nine going seventeen miles on a straight course ... you would pick up about 25 or 30 pounds and just "poof" they would fall apart. The net would scoop them up off the bottom. Everybody would say the commercial fishermen caught all 14 trout out of the lake. When you see a thing like that, you know darn well that (it was not commercial fishing) ... the fish was marked with lamprey eel so bad that it wasn't even funny (Legault, II, iv, 81-126).
But what is of interest in the context of this study is the perception of the fishermen of this phenomenon and their several interpretations of the causes. For some, the advent of smelt was to blame (Legault, II, iv, 127-134; Morden II, iv, 476-517). For Fred McCoy, overfishing was to blame.

I really think, myself, the reason for that is the fishermen themselves. They're the worst enemy there is. Because, like in the fall of the year when the government shouldn't close the season. You can't beat nature itself. They should have closed the season when the trout were spawning. That's when we would catch all our fish. Oh, we could catch 30, 40, a hundred a day at noon and it was nothing at all. If we didn't catch two ton of fish in a day we would go someplace else and catch more. So there was millions and millions of spawn that never matured .. And its the fishermen themselves that killed the country as far as fishing goes. Nobody can tell me otherwise. (McCoy, I, i, 252-291).

Finally, Lloyd Morden complained about the poor management and stocking procedures:

When I used to take fish up the lake - fry up in cans at that time - we looked after them all night and made sure that they had lots of ice and kept the water cool and shook them once in a while.
But when I planted them, I planted them at two or three o'clock in the morning when it was good and dark, eh, inside a lee, inside of an island or something like that where they had a chance to get going long before it got daylight and the gulls came along and could prey on them, eh (Morden, II, iv, 518-570).

He observed that the practice of daytime stocking was not effective.

By the late forties, the decline was apparent and, recalling his departure from the Purvis Fishery in 1950, Lloyd Morden recalls:

the fishing started to go downhill ...
And I could see the fish dropping.
You had to run more to get them.
You had to run more to find them. He had a lot of sets that didn't pay off (Morden, II, iv, 187-214).

Figure 5 represents the trout catches of the Purvis operation at Quebec Harbour between 1934 and 1955 and this decline in the 1950s is evident.

Summary
As pointed out by Marsh, it is very probable that the native population of the area long appreciated the resource potential afforded by the lake and that it was integrated into their way of life to some extent. It is argued, however, that it was not until 1830 that some form of commercial activity was commenced and both the Hudson Bay Company and the American Fur Company fished and traded in fish. White-
TROUT CATCHES RECORDED AT QUEBEC HARBOUR

ANNUAL

MONTHLY

Source: Purvis records
fish and lake trout predominated and they were shipped out of the region in salted form to American markets (Mountain, In hospitable Shore, 73) There are not direct or indirect recollections of this period of operation.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, two factors occasioned the accelerated development of commercial fishing along the north shore of Lake Superior. With the development of mining activities, railroad construction and lumbering there were local markets for the commodity. Secondly, commercial investment in the north shore fisheries began with the decline of the fishing along the south shore about 1880s (MacDonald, East of Superior, 118). This is further substantiated by the recollections of such local fishermen as Gib Gerow whose grandfather, George Gerow, originally fished from Toronto Island on Lake Ontario and who moved up to the Nipigon-Rossport area in 1881-1882 (Gerow, I,i, 100-148). Similarly, Mr. Ivan Purvis recalls that one major American fish company, the Booth Company, had bought their land at Quebec Harbour from the Crown in the 1860s but sold out to the Purvis operation in 1934. Again, the history of the Purvis family reflects this northward pursuit of the whitefish and lake trout. William and James Purvis moved to Georgian Bay from Kincardine in 1879 to fish the Duck Islands and later moved to Lake Superior in 1934 because there were "too many fishermen in Lake Huron. It left the nets crowded", and the "lifts" were reportedly better in Lake Superior (Purvis, I,i, 130-202).

The main centres of commercial fishing which emerged following these developments were Port Arthur (Bowman Fish Company), Fort William (Craigie Company), Rossport (Nipigon Bay Fish Company), Port Coldwell (Nicol Brothers) and Quebec Harbour (Booth Fisheries, the Purvis Company).
Such commercial ventures became increasingly representative of the fishing economy of Lake Superior displacing or absorbing the smaller operators. Thus, in the early 1900s it is reported that some seven small, independent fisheries were based at Quebec Harbour alone, each operating with a small sail boat (Purvis, I,i, 283-303). Such a pattern was probably more extensive with numerous other fishing communities, if only seasonal, in the harbours along the Pukakswa coastline and signs of former activity are to be found at Otter Cove, Old Dave's Harbour, Richardson Harbour and others. Moreover, independent fishermen continued to fish alongside the larger commercial ventures and were particularly distinctive elements of the operation at Rossport, Jackfish and Port Coldwell (Mountain, Inhospitable Shore, 73; MacDonald, East of Superior, 118). As late as the 1940s, Mr. Bill Schelling recalls five tugs operating out of Rossport owned by Messrs. Charlie Gerow, Fred Gerow, Bill Legault, Dolph King and Oscar Anderson together with four small, gasoline operated fishing boats (Schelling, int.). Similarly, Gib Gerow identifies the McKays, Lapointes, Murrays, Nicols, Miller and Cress as independent commercial fishermen along the north shore (Gerow, II,iv, 642-736).

From the main bases at Rossport, Port Coldwell and Quebec Harbour, fishing appears to have focussed on three different lake environments:

1. Lake Superior shoals rising out of deep waters, some of which such as the Superior Shoal, were as much as 70 miles from the base.

2. Shoals closer to shore, the mouths of rivers draining into the lakes, and islands off shore.

3. Inlets and harbours where pound net fishing could be effected.
In practice, the area around Simon's Harbour appears to have been the divide between the northern fishermen based at Rossport and Port Coldwell and the southern fishermen coming into the area from Michipicoten Island and Wawa. Thus, tugs from the Purvis base at Quebec Harbour operated as far north as the Spruce Banks off Simon's Harbour while those of the Nicol Company of Rossport fished as far south as White Gravel River beyond Oiseau Bay and fall fished as far as the Pukaskwa River. Moreover, it appears that at one time a seasonal fishing station was established at Oiseau Bay by fishermen from Port Coldwell similar to the Purvis operation at Quebec Harbour. Finally, because of the distances involved in some runs, because of the seasonal shift in fishing grounds, and because of the inclemency of Lake Superior weather, fishermen often had recourse to harbours such as Simon's Harbour, Morrison's Harbour, Richardson Harbour, Oiseau Bay, Otter Cove and others for lay-overs.

In terms of the technology of the fishing activity, the age of sail continued into the twentieth century with nine sail boats operating out of Rossport as late as 1903 (Mountain, Inhospitable Shore, 83), seven out of Quebec Harbour (Purvis, I,i, 283-303), and probably several others along the coast such as Gib Gerow's grandfather's "little wee sail boat" (Gerow, I, i,100-148). These boats were crewed by only two or three men and relied upon manual lifting of the nets. The introduction of commercial fishing ventures was accompanied by larger capitalisation and innovations in technology. In particular, steam tugs of up to ninety feet in length became common in the first half of the twentieth century and continued until the advent of diesel tugs in 1948. Apart from the increase in size, these units also featured crews of six or seven men, mechanised lifters introduced about 1915, and ice provided...
by shore facilities. Such developments allowed more extensive fishing runs both along the shore and also out into the lake.

The predominant mode of fishing was with gill nets which were handled in units called "gangs", tugs typically carrying several such "gangs", each being between four and seven miles in length. The most common net size was of 4-1/2 to 5 inch mesh, while nets of up to 9 inch mesh occasionally being used. The nets were eight feet high and were laid at depths ranging between 250 feet and 50 feet depending upon the season and the fish (Mountain, Inhospitable Shore, 87), being supported by floats which were origianlly made of cedar, later of nylon and most recently of aluminum. Dolph King provides both an interesting account of the development and an illustration of those floats (King, I,i, 421-452). Prior to 1948 when nylon was introduced these nets were made of linen or cotton and the maintenance, repair and even fabricating of the "twine" being an essential dimension of the fisherman's skill.

Another form of fishing, pound nets, was formerly more common and was practised both by companies and by independent operators, being focussed upon certain areas such as bays and inlets which accommodated the special needs of this technique. Ice fishing and trolling for lake trout was practised by smaller operators, many of whom integrated fishing into a seasonal regimen which included such other activities as trapping, lumbering and work on the railroads (Mountain, Inhospitable Shore, 96).

With the advent of the railroad, the north shore fishery was linked with the growing markets of the Canadian and American metropolitan centres. Prior to this, the export of fish relied upon sail and later steamship connections with Great Lakes markets and was preserved by salting. At Quebec Harbour, it is recalled that the fish were packed in large boxes containing a ton of fish which
were wheeled on board, the fish often being spoiled by the time it reached the Detroit market (Purvis, I,i, 304-320). Gib Gerow's recollections are that "The paddle-wheeler would come up maybe twice a year and bring him (George Gerow) his flour and tea and things like that. He'd salt all his fish and send it back in kegs ... All saltfish went back" (Gerow, I,i,100-148). Rail and refrigerated cars resulted in a major change in the processing and marketing system with boxes of iced fish being distributed over more extensive distances in better quality. Such buyers as the Horowitz Brothers, Booth Fisheries, the Dominion Fish Company, Waldman's, the Royal York Hotel in such centres as Chicago, New York, Toronto and Montreal became important consumers while others, especially at Rossport and Coldwell sold directly to the diner cars on the C.P.R. Sturgeon, yellow pike, lake herring, chub, yellow perch, northern pike, were all marketed but lake trout and whitefish, accounted for some 90 per cent of the commercial catch.

The decline in fishing in the post World War II period was very much a cause of the advent of the lamprey but others argue that overfishing, poor management and even other introductions such as smelt are to blame. Commercial fishing is still part of the economy and social fabric of the north shore region, however, and by the sixties there was still a considerable investment in the activity. Some 150 men operated 125 boats ranging in size from less than twenty feet to more than 40 feet; gill nets predominated with 625,000 yards although there were also 8,000 yards of pound nets and 6,000 yards of trap nets; shore facilities included 45 wharves, 45 freezers and icehouses, and 66 net sheds. In summary, the total investment is measured at some $10.7 million with between three and three and a half million tons of fish landed each year (D.B.S., Fisheries in Ontario, 1969, n.p.)
The Lumbermen

Introduction
Marsh has summarized and highlighted the key aspects of the logging activity throughout the area of Pukaskwa Park, identifying four main focii:

1. Pukaskwa River
2. Black and White Rivers
3. Pic River
4. Oiseau Bay

Of these areas, only the Pic River location is now active and is outside the actual bounds of the park. The White and Pukaskwa River basins, however, experienced considerable logging activity together with the associated development of human settlement, albeit of a transient and ephemeral nature. Located at the northern and southern extremities of the park area, these two areas constitute two corridors of movement of lumber and contain relics of the largest, if only temporary and short lived, settlement nodes within the park bounds.

While a transient activity, lumbering introduced significant numbers of people into the present park area, produced a network of trails and lines of movement between the lumber communities and both the coast and the interior, and was the dominant modifier of the landscape. Limited as the remains of the human presence are at the Puckasaw Depot,
the Pukaskwa lumber camps and the several drive camps along the White River, they constitute the most important and most substantial elements of the cultural landscape of the European occupation of the area.

This report focussed upon two particular questions. Since others have done much to describe the general pattern of the lumber operation in the Pukaskwa drainage basin, this report attempts to show the nature of the operation in the White River basin and, if possible, in the Oiseau Bay area. Secondly, while much has been done to outline the physical fabric of the lumber operation, including details of the constituent elements and layout of the Puckasaw Depot and cutting camps little is yet known of the life style of the occupants of these settlements. This report, therefore, will attempt a reconstruction of the lifestyle and sense of community of the lumber camps through oral history.

In this way it is hoped that it will be possible to bring back to life the experiences of the hundreds of men and women who once lived throughout the Pukaskwa forests and partook of a way of life that was known to many throughout the region at large.

Lumbering in the Pukaskwa Forests
Throughout the area of the park, three areas of cutting may be identified, albeit separated in terms of both location and period of activity: the Pukaskwa basin, the White River basin, and Oiseau Bay. Of these, the Pukaskwa and the White were the two centres of significant production and human occupation.
The earliest to be developed, the Pukaskwa basin, is located at the southern end of the park. Concentrating on the western and eastern branches of the river, it also cut over the lower sections of the Tagouche, Imogen, Julia, Ghost and Pipe Rivers. Three periods of activity may be identified, each with its own characteristic mode of operation. From 1904 to 1910, a shortlived operation employing some thirty men cut and rafted white pine. Between 1917 and 1925, logging was commenced by the Lake Superior Paper Company, the forerunner of the Abitibi Paper Company. Cutting spruce and balsam, the company extended its operation throughout the drainage area of the Pukaskwa and adjoining rivers. From 1925 to 1930, the emphasis shifted to sub-contracting of the cutting to private jobbers such as Raby, Kelly, Ainsley, Skead, Lafleur, Bissant and Frappier who established camps along both branches of the Pukaskwa. The cutting camps were only occupied during the winter months while the central headquarters camp, Puckasaw Depot, located at the mouth of the nearby Imogen Creek was a year round settlement (Lieff, notes, 1971; Diehl, Human History, 1974; Marsh, Human History, 1976). It is this latter stage of the Pukaskwa operation to which most of the recollections refer.

The lumbering in the White River basin commenced in the 1937-38 season as a salvage operation following a fire in 1936 in the Herrick and Hayward Lake area, and was centred on a camp at Sandy Lake (Louis Lake) near Oskabukuta River. The operation expanded in 1942-43 and a new headquarters depot was established on the railway at Regan. For the duration of the operation, Regan was the main supply depot for men, horses, supplies and equipment. In all, the Abitibi Power and Paper Company controlled some
2,000 square miles of timber rights with the White River operation yielding an average between 100,000 and 150,000 cords per annum (A. Waluk, int.) There were three distinctive elements in the White River operation: the logging and movement started at the White Lake area where lake rafting of the logs took place; downstream the logs entered the White River proper for transport to Superior where the last leg of the journey to Sault Ste. Marie was effected by the "Big Tow". Along the course of the White River there were four semi-permanent "drive camps"; below the bridge at the dam, Angle Falls, Swamp Creek and the mouth of the White River. While much of the river lies outside the park boundary, many of its tributaries which were logged, together with the mouth itself which was the centre of the important rafting operation, are included. The last White River drive and the last Lake Superior tow from the area took place in the summer of 1965 (Waluk, int. 1979; Buchan, Logging, 1972).

Figure 6, represents the general region of the White River operation together with its main drive areas and camps. Figure 7 is a detailed layout of the camp at the mouth. This project has been unable to shed much more light on the operation of logging in the third area, Oiseau Bay. As mentioned above, Abitibi commenced lumbering behind Oiseau Bay in 1937 following a fire there in 1936. Later, in the 1940s, logging took place along Oiseau Bay in association with the construction of American Can's company down at Marathon. This operation was contracted out to two contractors, Pearson from Port Arthur and Eaton from Echo Bay, for square lumber and poles for construction and the logs were towed to Marathon by McCuaig (Marsh, Human History, 1976). Nap Michano visited the operation there to deliver mail and fish and he recalls it lasted for
about eighteen months cutting jackpine (Michano, I,iii, 410-420). Another visitor, Ivan Palmer, recalls that there were between forty and fifty men cutting timber and ties (Palmer, I,iii, 289-398), while McCuaig's recollections is between twenty and twenty-five, most of whom were from Port Arthur. He also recollects that in winter they were supplied by dog teams driven by one, Shorty Eigenfelt, of Heron Bay (McCuaig, int., 1979). Hugo Johnston, an operator of a small boat and a beachcomber between Oiseau Bay and Thunder Bay, towed rafts to Marathon for the operation and he estimates that there were sixty men at Oiseau Bay (Johnston, int., 1979). Finally Alphonse Moses recalls seeing a portable mill being rafted on a raft of logs from Oiseau Bay in 1944 or 1945 (Moses, int., 1979). An exploratory search of the American Can records proved fruitless at this time, although information might be forthcoming in the future. Beside these memories, the only other information discovered related to a Lands and Forest Fire report made in 1951 concerning a fire in May of that year thought to have been caused by a trapper or spontaneous combustion in a saw dust pile at the old saw mill site which was thought to have been operational in 1946 (O.P.P. - Fire Report, 1951.)

At both of the main centres of lumbering, the broad outline of the operation conformed to the usual pattern of hand cutting, river drive and lake tow which was typical of much of these northern woods operations prior to mechanisation following 1945. The system depended heavily upon manpower and horses, snow and ice for hauling, spring river flow for transport to the lake and lake transport thereafter. These factors introduced a strong seasonal component into the operation and resulted in a pronounced annual cycle of human activity throughout the area.
Cruising and Preparing for Logging

The first contact with an area to be lumbered is the exploratory travelling through and evaluation of resources, or "cruising". Both Nap Michano and Ivan Palmer recall cruising for various companies. Ivan Palmer's recollections of "timber cruising" are quite vivid:

Well, first you get your start. If it's away from a railway or road, you got to pack in, get your starting point, and check in on a township line. Make a baseline to work from and in those days (1920s) you worked three miles out and half a mile across and then back to your baseline. And that was run with a hand compass. And they tallied the trees sixteen feet on each side of you give you the quarter acre every quarter of a mile and you booked up your tally.

He goes on to explain "tallying":

The number and average size of the trees. You counted the trees on the strip and (that would) give you the amount of wood on an acre and that was a continuous tally for those six miles. We kept the species separate. We were mostly interested in spruce, jackpine, and balsam. A lot of the country we travelled, well, I put in seventeen years in a tent so I've seen a lot of it. Over 120 townships we ran that way (Palmer, I,i, 235-260).
Nap Michano provides a different perspective on the same operation:

Say you cruise a swamp and you take a little square place like this, you know, maybe an eighth of a mile square ... they take one tree and see how many blocks they can get off that tree, say seven or eight blocks, eight foot stuff. Well, then, they count say it takes six trees to make a cord of wood - well, they measure that little place and then they take the square and they know exactly how many cords of wood in that square, and then they take the whole swamp and go around whether it is a mile square or two mile square. They figure out exactly how many cords of wood is in there say one swamp is 500 cords or 1,000 cords. So that's what timber cruising is. And then they cruise for which tow to get the wood out of the swamp in the easiest way (Michano, I,i, 579-622).

Operating out of the Heron Bay Depot for the General Timber Company, Nap Michano cruised in the Pic watershed, camping in the bush and making about $90 a month. With reports such as this coming back to the depot, actual planning of the development of a cutting area could take place.

In the late summer or early fall, before the commencement of cutting, haul roads had to be constructed, river works prepared and cutting camps erected. Ivan Palmer recalls that the strip roads running down the centre of each strip and the haul roads would be blazed by the foreman for the cutters to cut out (Palmer, I,iv, 669-683). The
preparation of works for the river drives entailed the
construction of dams when the rivers were low in the late
summer and early fall. They were usually of log crib
construction with a "sheathing" of logs upstream, an
"apron" on the downstream side to ensure the smooth passage
of logs, and a single gateway which could be closed by stop
logs to control the flow of logs. In the 1930s and 1940s,
these camps were of log construction with pole roofs
covered with tar paper or else of sawn lumber trucked in.
The floors and doors would be of sawn lumber, windows
were doubled, and the spaces between the logs chinked with
moss or oakum. Other buildings constructed would include
barns, blacksmith shop, cookery and administrative office.
Such camps would last for about three to four years but as
soon as the cutting area moved away more than about three
miles from the camp they were abandoned. The construction
of such camps would take a crew of thirty to fifty men about
four weeks to build at a cost of $3 - $4,000 with the
preferred site being on sandy or gravelly soil, near to a
river or lake (Palmer, I,iii, 474-541). The last such log
camp was constructed by Abitibi in 1947, frame camps being
used thereafter (Buchan, Logging, 1972).

Commenting on the beginning of the seasonal routine,
Ivan Palmer observed:

It depended a lot on the distance from
headquarters you had to move in to build
your roads, and how many camps you had to
build. Usually, if you hadn't much road
to build or many camps to build why you
would start in July. And if the camps
were already built why you would start
in September or around there .... I
believe we started cutting in October or
November, early part of November (if)
late getting in there (Palmer, II,iv,472-528).
Dr. T. MacCallum recalls working in the late summer in the Pukaskwa area constructing the Kushick camp and that it took between three and four weeks to complete it. His job, being relatively unskilled, was cutting rails to fit in between the logs (MacCallum, I, i, 283-297).

Cutting
Cutting would usually commence about September and continue until January or February. The wood to be cut was laid out in strips approximately 200 feet wide and 300 to 400 yards long containing about seventy cords which would take about a month to cut and haul out (Cress, II, iv, 76-113). If "clear cutting" a cutter would be required to "swamp" out a road down the centre of the "strip" which had been allocated to him for cutting. This entailed cutting all stumps low so that sleighs would not get hung-up on the stumps and, if the snow was deep, to pack down the snow so that there would not be too much wasteage in stumps left too high. Once felled, the trees were limbed and the top cut off at the four inch diameter mark. Where the method was "cut and pile" trees would be "bucked" (sawed) into 4 or 8 foot lengths and piled in piles of approximately one cord along the haul road. The average cut per man would be between 1.5 and 2 cords per day at a rate of $3.00 per cord in the 1940s (Buchan, Logging, 1972). Several of the persons interviewed were able to add their personal recollections to this process.

Mark Gowan remembers the system of cutting:

Well, you had your foreman.
You had strip bosses - you could have one or two bosses, they lay out the wood - the wood to be cut by the cutters (Gowan, I,ii, 354-391).
With regard to cutting, he recalls it as being the pre­
tigious job, a good cutter cutting two cords a day and aver­aging about $2.00 to $3.00 a day in the 1930s:

Oh, a good cutter. Anyone who could go out and cut a double cord a day - they figure was a good man and lots of them would do better than that. But a good cutter cut his double a day, steady, every day (Gowan, II, ii, 210-250).

Harry Bussineau estimated that it would take about twelve "sticks" to a tree and that it took about ten trees to make a cord. He remembers some cutters cutting thirty trees a day and that they always had a "bank", so many "sticks" ahead for the next day (Bussineau, II, iv, 89-109).

Gowan also noted that the trees were "peeled", that is, the bark peeled off, as soon as the tree is cut:

... they took the bark off the tree while they cut it. In other words, in the spring of the year when the sap is running ... You can't do it in the wintertime because it sticks too good. But in the spring when the sap is running, it comes right off - the bark. The wood also becomes lighter. Easier to handle. Cheaper operation. You don't have the bark at the other end either.
While most of the bark was discarded, the lumbermen had an original and practical use for some of it:

Every strip you come along you would find a little hut made out of that stuff. There were fellows who used it for a lean-to in case it rained or something (Gowan, II, iv, 468-487).

In terms of equipment, the basic tools were the swede saw, the cross saw and axe as noted by Gowan:

Well they were using, most of them, Swede saws, the old bush saw, the savik saw and blade. The axe - much the same as they have today. Not the double-bladed axe, just the straight axe ... But they would be in and sharpen the saw every night. Bring the saw blade in with them, and leave the (frame). They would fix it up every night and sharpen them .... Most of them cut their own (frames). Some of them brought them in with them. Some of them made them when they got there. All they were was two pieces of wood with a cross arm tied together with rope on top and tightened up (Gowan, I, i, 488-510; 864-875).

T.B. MacCallum, who was a novice in the Pukaskwa camps in the 1920s commented on the skills of the "fitter" one who could "notch" the trees properly so that they wouldn't lodge among the uncut trees:
That's very important in a country like up there (Pukaskwa), because we had giant spruce there, you know, virgin spruce. In fact, we used to get sometimes seven sixteen foot logs off one tree to give you an idea of the size of them. But also there were all kinds of these enormous white birch and they were the real McCoy for hanging up a tree, you see. And if you didn't fir that tree exactly with some little notch, it's going to be hung up. It's going to be "lodged" as they call it. Well, then you'd be in trouble. You might throw another big tree into it to try to knock it down but you'd end up by having a tent perhaps. But fortunately, as I say, for us, this chap could put trees down anywhere and get them through with a combination of wedges and his knowledge of cutting his curve there so that he could give it the right fall-in position, you know (MacCallum, I,i, 165-180).

Apart from avoiding "lodging up", such skills could also allow trees to be dropped in the most expeditious position for hauling out along the strip and tote roads.

Hauling, Piling and Scaling
Once cut and piled, the logs were hauled by horse and sleigh or, by the forties, tractors and sleighs, to the frozen creeks, rivers, or lakes to await the spring break-up.
But for the time of the Pukaskwa and White River operations, horse power predominated, the Abitibi operation bringing in about fifty to sixty horses a season from western farms. Others were rented from farmers who would be, themselves working in the camps. Such horses were rented at $30.00 per month and a deposit of $1.00 per animal. Each team would be assigned a teamster and there would be a boss teamster for every thirty horses.

The sleighs were loaded by hand at the side of the haul roads adjoining the strips, two men for four and eight foot lengths but gangs of five men being required for sixteen foot logging. By the 1940s horse drawn sleighs had been displaced by tractors pulling four to eight sleighs in tandem to the piles adjoining the rivers or the lakes. Unloading the sleighs onto these piles was effected by a "jammer", a thirty foot "A" frame of spruce logs on skids operated by a winch; in most locales, this was replaced by cranes about 1957.

A critical dimension of the whole operation, was the preparation of the haulage roads. If possible, hills were avoided and when necessary, double sections constructed to accommodate the traffic. They were ploughed out after heavy snows, rolled to prevent rutting and iced to improve the hauling overall, although downhill sections were often covered with hay or sand for better traction. Roads were maintained by crews of "road monkeys" or "chickadees", a mile of road being assigned to each man (Buchan, Logging, 1976).

In the White River operation, the system was four or eight foot logging and piling while MacCallum recalls that when he was logging in the Pukaskwa basin, they were logging sixteen foot lengths which were "skidded" out
the "skidways" along the side of the stream (MacCallum, I, i, 365-390). Where sleighs were used for hauling, however, it was essential that there be sufficient snowfall, at least a foot deep according to Ivan Palmer. He recalled that the commencement of hauling "depended upon the first snow, but usually around Christmas time. Sometimes earlier, sometimes, if it were an open fall, why it would be later" (Palmer, II, iv, 472-528). Several former lumbermen remember the technology of "road icing" which was necessary to "make it better going":

you would water the road with a water tank, pulled by horses. The water tank was filled by means of a barrel and pullies. It had an open gate on the bottom so that when the barrel went down, the gate would open and the barrel would fill, the gate would close. They would haul the barrel up and it would dump into this tank.

Giving the dimensions as eighteen feet by eight by five, he noted that it would carry sufficient water to water and ice about a quarter to half a mile of road and that "It made a nice road". Mr. Palmer also recalled one ice road out of Regan was five miles long and that trucks hauling six to seven sleighs hauled 10 to 12,000 cords on it in one year (Palmer, II, iv, 529-593). Another commentator referred to the icing of creeks and rivers to make them stronger for the hauling process:

Well, they would build the ice up if the creeks weren't solid enough, or the water. They could build them up
and even the rivers. They would put more ice on the river just by dumping water on it and building up the ice (Gowan, I, i, 463-517).

On arrival at the river bank or lake, the logs would be unloaded and piled ready for the spring thaw by means of a "jammer":

Wherever they could unload on the river banks to pile the wood up .... Just a big pole in the centre with a boom out, and pulleys down with hooks on it and they would grab a sling full of wood, pull it up and as they lifted up it would swing over and they let it down. They could pile the wood that way (Gowan, II, iv, 415-462).

Recalling construction of "skidways" along the Julia, MacCallum remembers they were constructed by driving in two stakes behind which the logs would be piled about ten to twelve feet high and running back about 75 to 100 feet. While the logs were still frozen together but when the river was beginning to break up, the holding stakes would be knocked out ready for the river drive. He also narrates an incident which occurred when a "skidway" broke over Frank Kushick (MacCallum, I,i, 343-364).

An important process took place at the piles awaiting the drive. Scaling was the process of "Measuring the board feet in the logs, or the cords in a pile of wood" (Palmer, II, iv, 432-471). Government and company cruisers estimated the potential yield of an area to be cut before the actual logging took place. Following the cut, company and government scalers recorded the volume of cut lumber "landings", "skidways", or piles awaiting transport. Gowan describes the process:
For the first part of it we used to take and measure the wood on the landings. Scaling, so to speak. We'd go along, working in twos, you just more or less take a reading on each pile of wood and they were goodly numbers of cords there. And we'd keep a book on it, regular scale book. In those days, they used to scale the teams as they came in too. They all worked piece work pretty well. And then they would scale, as a double check on the amount of wood being dumped into the river, for the total cordage cut. And we used to scale that wood on the river there and on the ice ... I got in there just as the ice was breaking up one year ... And they'd have crews of men put in thousands of cords of wood into the river (Gowan, I,i, 275-342).

The actual measuring process is referred to by Palmer with the small end diameter being taken or, if over 24 inches, the "mean diameter".

Well you had a Doyle rule they called it in those days, which had the inches on it. And it gave the number of feet for a certain number of inches on this stick. And you figured your percentage of cull ... you could get it right from the stick. You could figure that out for yourself. So many inches of wood were so many board feet and then so many
inches of cull were so many waste feet. You made your deductions, that was usually done in camp, though (Palmer II, iv, 432-471).

Keeping records of the amount being cut by this process of "scaling", therefore, was important to cutters and to company and government officials.

The River Drive
The spring drive would commence in May, in two phases: the "main" and the "rear" drive. It would commence with the rafting of the lumber from the northern shores of White Lake, the logs being towed in small rafts of 1,000 cords to the White River. Along the White River, the main drive would take from early May to the end of July, with eighteen men in three crews of six at three locations: at the C.P.R. bridge, the junction of Swamp Creek and White River, and at the mouth of the White River. The crews operated out of four semi-permanent "drive camps" three at the above stations, with another one at Angle Falls. Winch controlled booms and alligators regulated the flow of logs at the rapids. Various booms were used, glance booms were located across bays and inlets; trip booms were located above rapids and small falls being manually controlled to regulate the flow; "holding booms" were sited at various locations along the river to hold back the log flow; "box booms" were large holding booms located at the effluent of White Lake and the mouth of White River. (L. Fletcher, int.) Figure 6 identifies the locations of these various booms.
The rear drive started about July 1st and continued until the end of August, requiring a crew of some fifty men. These operated in crews of six men to a "pointer", a 36 foot long boat of shallow draught, using dynamite and hooks called "jam dogs" and winches to clear the log jams and those lodged along the banks. The rearing crews moved along the river and camped out under canvas at "tenting grounds" located at grassy flats along the river banks. In later years, the flow of logs was controlled by radio to ensure that the rafts could be assembled efficiently at the mouth. With the arrival of the last logs there, the river drive was complete (Buchan, Logging, 1972; Waluk, int. 1979).

The recollections of the "spring drive" are vivid ones and it was obviously an exciting time of the year marking the culmination of the season's operation. Also, requiring special skills, the cutters and haulers left the woods at the end of the cutting season and new crews came in to run the river drive. Some like Palmer, MacCallum, and Gowan, stayed through the full operation and are able to comment on this phase also. The concern was not to "waste the water" and Ivan Palmer recalls the river drives of April or May:

as soon as water opened up ... Some of the rivers you had to watch and not drive them too early. You would get too much high water and too much wood would go into the bush. Then you would have to dig it out after the drive had passed.
Recalling the names of such drive foremen as Seline, Culver, Bouchard, he went on to recount their duties and an incident in the late 1940s:

Keep the wood running. See that it didn't stop ... We only had one jam on the White River. It was a dilly. I don't know, the man in charge let too much wood go, and it got down to the boom at the mouth of the river, and he kept letting it run from up above. It should have been shut off. It backed up to the Falls, and got in there, and piled in there. There were over two rafts of wood in that jam. A raft of wood was 10,000 or 9,000 cords. Boy we had some digging ... I just kept picking away. Dynamite and "picroons" and pike poles till we got it out. It took pretty near a month to get that out of there. (Palmer, II, iv, 705-818).

Mark Gowan recalls a similar procedure:

They used a lot of dynamite anyway. So there was some good ones (jams), especially when the water gets low. In the spring it wasn't so bad when you had so much water going, but as the water lessened then they would run into trouble in rapids and narrow points ... All the river drivers knew how to do it.... Whenever it started to jam up, they would blast before it got too big ... Well, you would just holler and let it go. God, the way they used dynamite, it didn't seem to frighten anybody (Gowan, II, iv, 160-209).
Apart from ensuring that jams didn't form and that the logs kept running freely, it was also important that the flow be regulated by the booms at the various control points upstream. Too much coming through could lead to problems at the booming area at the mouth of the river. Graham Hurley comments on this and a particular problem area on the White River:

There's a trail up, maybe about five miles that was used. Still there. We had to go and check the wood. Later on in the year, as your current went down and there was one spot that had to be checked. So that used to be an annual check ... It's what they call the Big Eddy ... and basically it used to come always out at night. For some reason an eddy will empty at night. But you couldn't be sure. You had to go and check it. Otherwise, if you had that wood in that eddy and then you got them to drop more wood, well you would have too much. So it had to be checked before you could call for more wood down at the mouth (Hurley, I,i, 321-350).

Dr. MacCallum took part in the Pukaskwa drive in the late 1920s and he recalls that "I really had the best fun in my life on that drive", going on to say:

You see, you could really get on the loose, as they called it, from the logs. A big timber like that and you take a nice drive down a few hundred yards and jump off on the shore and come
2 A pile-up. Wood on the banks of the White River.

(Abitibi Offices, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, L. Fletcher)
back just to make sure the logs are flowing and no signs of jams forming, you see. The proudest in my life is when I got my Fraser Driving boots (MacCallum, I,i, 436-478).

He also remembers the cooperation between the Raby and two Kelly camps when they had to break a jam. Kushick sending twenty Polish lumberjacks to help clear a particularly bad one. The account of that operation is worth quoting in full because of its vivid treatment of such an event:

He said, "Now boys, there's only two logs to be taken out and away she's going to go". They were the "keylogs" they called them. So he says to the boys, "Make for shore". So they all headed for shore and I stood beside him. "You'd better go, sonny", he said. I didn't know him. He didn't know me either. "Well", I said, "can I help you?" and he said, "It's pretty dangerous". "Well", I said, "If it's dangerous for you, it's maybe dangerous for me too, but if I can help you I'll stay with you." So he said, "for heaven's sake, when she breaks, follow right in my footsteps. Don't miss one footstep or you'll be crushed by the logs coming down by the force of the current". 'Cause the current was building up in a terrific fashion.

So anyway, we took this log out and, of course, away she went with a roar like thunder and Amable said, "Run". So he offed
for the shore and I followed right in
his footsteps, I'll tell you, and we
landed safely (MacCallum, I, i, 236-282).

Rafting and the "Big Tow"

At the mouths of the main logging rivers such as the
Pukaskwa and White Rivers, rafting would commence in May
and continue until August, as long as the logs continued
to run down the rivers. Each year, about ten rafts, each
containing about 10,000 cords, would leave the White River
for Sault Ste. Marie, towed by tugs with cables of 1400
to 1880 feet in length; the rafts would be approximately
one mile around the perimeter and some six feet deep at
the rear. The rafts would be contained by strings of boom
logs, Sitka spruce, each log usually being 25 foot long
and thirty inches in diameter. These strings would consist
of two inner "main" strings of one hundred boom logs
(2,500 feet) and two outer "wrapper" booms of 125 boom
logs (3,125 feet), some 450 boom logs in all.

At the mouth of the river, the four strings of the
raft are opened with "wrapper" booms anchored to the shore.
The "bow" booms closing the mouth of the river are then
opened and the logs flow into the raft booms. When the
usual load of about 1,000 cords has been reached, the
river booms are closed and the wrappers chained around the
rear of the raft, so containing the load. The tow tug with
its rafting crew of eight men then proceeds down the lake
at about one mile per hour, only stopping after the first
few hours of the voyage to take up the slack in the booms
and double it around the rear of the raft. Before
entering the narrower channels on the approach to the mills
at Sault Ste. Marie, the rafts are "banded" or reduced to
four or five "bags", each about 500 feet wide and held
together by banding wires thrown across them. The tug then returned up lake for the next load of logs which had been accumulating in the booming grounds (MacDonald, *East of Superior*, 1974; Waluk, int., 1979).

The process of making a raft is reported by Ivan Palmer:

Well the wood is held at the mouth of the river in a boom, a big boom, a double boom with logs from eighteen to twenty-four inches in diameter, one inch chain snubbed at each end with an inch cable ... first they attached the tug's boom to each side of the river and then they opened the bow boom and then the wood went out itself. There was quite a current there into the lake. They filled the boom with wood, eight, ten, 12,000 cords (I think they did take a 13,000 cord down one time because they couldn't get the boom closed. The current was too high). And then their raftsmen would tie the wood in and then they would be gone. It would take about ten days to make a round trip to the Sault from the mouth of the White.

In this operation, once the bow booms opened, the tug captain and crew were in charge, taking over from the lumbermen (Palmer, I,iii, 22-25).

Responding to how long this operation would take, Nap Michano replies:
That depends on how fast you can get them out from the river. If the current is good, it could take four, five, or six hours to pull a raft up, say 10,000 - 12,000 cords, then you got mild weather on the lake - about twelve hours then your raft is ready and you're on your way (Michano, I,iii, 808-885).

Harron's response to this question was similar:

It's pretty hard to figure that out because it all depends on how you got your raft. Sometimes you'd wait a couple of weeks to get a raft out of the river, you know. They'd get a big jam up the river and they couldn't get it going. Other times you get in there and they were away quick. And then another thing was the weather, what kind of weather you got ... if you had a raft, well, that's the first thing you head for the middle. You ran out in the deep and then you can handle any storm that comes. Just head easterly and keep her off shore (Harron, I,i, 867-898; II,iv, 503-593).

Once the tow was under way, the logs would jam up at the back of the raft so freeing up considerable slack in the towing booms. These would be wrapped around behind the raft by the tug, so providing a "double boom". Nap Michano describes this operation:
Forming the raft at the mouth of the White River, July 1961. (Original photograph owned by Graham and Dorothy Hurley, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario)
First, they start out with a single boom, and then when it gets so far the tug just swirls right around and cuts all the slack it can get. They tie the chains and then they wrap the rest of the booms around ... after he's got all the raft made, then you go around with ... small chains. Every ten booms you tie the booms together - lamp there at tie points (Michano, I,i, 420-514).

Every second or third day, the raftsmen would check the raft:

on a nice calm day - every second or third day - they would winch the raft right up to the boat then you got out onto the raft. Nice calm day. You are out there all day. They'd let the raft go back and you'd check all the chains and make sure there is none broke. You'd fill your oil can. There would be about a dozen ... Well, there, it was made out of poles like. There was a lantern hung up there. So you gotta fill that lantern and it would last a couple of days (Michano, I,i, 352-419).

Graham Hurley recalls that a raftsman would walk the raft everyday in his "caulked" boots, tightening chains and checking the booms (Hurley, I,i, 171-193). Patrick Kelly's recollections of the raftman's job are:
Oh, no, nothing. Just sit on the boat, and then every morning I'd get up and walk around on the booms. It takes maybe three quarters of a mile all the way around. They were double booms and the great big British Columbia pine and with big chains the size of my fists, the links. And I'd check every one of them as I'd go around to see that they weren't wore out or broke off or something. And then look at the back to see how the wood ... You see, you could only go a mile an hour with the tug because the pulpwood would all drift to the back of the boom. And then if you'd go any faster than that it would either go under the boom or over the boom. So we just go a mile an hour. It would take a long time to take a raft from Pukaskwa to Sault Ste. Marie (P. Kelly, I,i, 783-829).

The problems of towing a raft were also referred to by Bud Harron:

You see a rafting job is different than ordinary sailing. Now, if you get a fair wind going down the lake, you got to turn around and hold against it, you see, to keep the wood tight so that you wouldn't lose it. And then just let the wind blow you down the lake, you know. Just go fast enough to hold the wood tight and let the wind blow you down. And then when the wind goes down, or if it gets around the other (direction),
you turn around and start pulling.
So there's quite a trick to it you know.
(Harron, I,i, 379-413).

Harron is a valuable source for the towing operation from the Pukaskwa Lumber region. His recollections include the thirteen hour run up to the Puckasaw Depot with passengers and supplies; anecdotes about such captains as Alexander of the Reliance, Williams of the Gargantua, and Ramsey of the Gray; and details about the duties and wages of wheelsmen, firemen, watchmen and deckhands on the tugs. On the average the tugs were about 150 feet long and there was considerable rivalry between captains:

But the Gargantua was much wider, more beam and a much heavier boat than the Gray. The Gray was much better on a stuck load than the Gargantua, but the Gargantua could outlug her on a long pull ... The Gray could beat the Gargantua there cause she could get away and they used to fight over this all the time. They never got along very good.
I think they chewed the rag out until they died (Harron, I,i, 235-249).

Apart from towing to the Sault and bringing in supplies to the camps, the tugs also picked up logs from "beach-combers", mostly Indians who "would make small rafts and we'd get them and spill them into bigger ones". (Harron, II, iv, 66-91). He also recalls that the problem with towing from Pukaskwa was that there was no harbour there and sometimes "if it got rough there at the dock, we used to pull out and go on to Richardson and stay there until
the wind went down (Harron, II, iv, 92-104).

After eight to ten trips up the lake such as this, the logs would be moved out of the forests, out of the rivers, along the lake and to the mill. After the last tow of the year the boom logs would be returned up the lake by supply tug and be stored over the winter in Pulpwood Harbour to await the first tow of the year. The last tug would return in December with supplies and net cutting crews and a new season of isolation would commence.

Life in the Camps
The lumber operations required concentrations of manpower at depots, cutting camps and drive camps. The way of life of those who occupied these camps permanently or seasonally is touched upon by several of the people interviewed.

Labour
Estimates of the maximum population introduced to the two main lumbering operations are 400 for the peak population for the Pukaskwa operation (Diehl, Human History, 1974). While the estimated lumbering population for the 1940s period was only five camps of approximately 115 each, by the 1950s the White River operation employed some 1,175 men (Buchan, Logging, 1972).

While most camps maintained a small core crew to maintain roads and buildings, most of the labour requirements were seasonal and external to the region, being acquired by hiring agents in various urban centres such as Lakehead, Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury, Ottawa and Montreal. By early September the camps started to fill as the lumbermen moved in for the cutting season. For the 1953-54 season, the labour in the White River camps was composed as follows (Buchan, Logging, p.25):
Scandinavians - 27.7% (from Lakehead, Sault and Sudbury)
French Canadians - 25.3% (from Quebec and New Brunswick)
English Canadian - 20.8% (from western farms)
Central Europeans - 14.1% (from western farms)
Indians - 7.5%
Balts - 4.6%

By the end of March, many left at the completion of cutting and hauling, some returning for the May and June drives, and only a few remaining on for the whole season.

Commenting on the hiring practices of the General Timber Company, Mark Gowan noted the majority were hired by the Thunder Bay office and that there was "always an abundance of cutters around Thunder Bay". During the 1930s others "would ride the rails and jump off and go to work. There was an awful lot of men riding the railroad in those days" (Gowan, II, iv, 263-330). While the turnover was high, there were regular employees:

But a lot of the men, they just stayed together. Like all foremen came back, and blacksmiths came back, and all the main body of men came back anyway. The cutters or the skidders could change (Gowan, I, i, 164-187).

Both Cecil Cress and Ivan Palmer recall that they walked into the White River operation at Hayward Lake, a distance of about 24 miles, in one day (Cress, II, iv, 155-195). Palmer remembers the trip as being by train to Regan Depot, wagons to Herrick Lake along a tote road,
overland to Hayward Lake and White River and then by pointer or canoe to the Oskabukuta camps (Palmer, I, iii, 618-630). Those travelling to the Pukaskwa camps in the 1920s usually travelled by rail to the Sault and on to Michipicoten where they would board tugs for the Puckasaw Depot. Having served on the tow tugs, Bud Harron could remember these trips bringing in supplies and work crews:

We'd be coming up loaded with freight. With hay for the horses, and oats and grub for the men, and all this stuff, you know. And then going down we would be light. And sometimes we had passengers ... I've seen over two hundred on that thing. It was only licensed for nine. But they always went through the locks at night and they were down below between decks where nobody could see them (Harron, I,i, 666-744).

This was the experience of Dr. MacCallum who recounts his trip from his home in Buckingham, to Kushick's camp on the Pukaskwa:

Well, we all came down here (Buckingham) first and met the foreman, this Mr. Kushick, Frank Kushick. He went around the countryside. He was a German himself and he went all through - there's a German settlement up the river - and got quite a few of the German boys and some of the French boys to sign up.

From Buckingham, the group travelled together to Ottawa, then Sault Ste. Marie and on to Michipicoten. He found the ensuing boat trip to be impressive:
A beautiful shoreline, too. I couldn't take my eyes off the scenery there, until we arrived at Puckasaw, a kind of dismal looking place there (MacCallum, I,i, 134-164).

Mrs. Lachance referred to the system of hiring whereby her husband was paid by the company to hire in Buckingham.

They used to pay all his expenses and when we go down there in the spring and come back in the fall, well, he was always bringing a dozen, a dozen and a half, two dozen men with him to work, eh.

She concluded that the closing of the Pukaskwa lumber camps was "quite a blow" (Lachance, I,i, 673-714). Similarly, Mrs. Kelly noted that "most of the guys that came with my father were all (from) around Buckingham and the river. We called it going up the river". (J. Kelly, I,i, 404-508).

With Kushick, Kelly and Lachance all recruiting in the Buckingham and Masson area of Quebec, there was quite a sense of community in the Pukaskwa camps. This must have relieved the isolation by replicating the outside social ties in winter camps.

Camp Life

Headquarters depot camps, cutting camps and driving camps differed as they were occupied for different lengths of time, by different size communities and at different times of the year. The largest communities were the main depots where the personnel included a walking boss, clerk, doctor, warehouse man, scaler, harness maker, blacksmith, and cook
staff. At the cutting camps, there was less diversity but the crews of as many as 250 to 400 men were accompanied by foremen, cooks, blacksmiths, scalers, and clerks. The drive camps were smaller and featured only the drive crews and foreman. Again, both depots and cutting camps featured large bunkhouses, cookeries, stables for the hundred or so horses, hay sheds, blacksmiths, warehouses, and offices whereas the drive camps usually consisted of smaller bunkhouses, cookeries, and an office for the foreman. Other camps were even more temporary, consisting of tents at appropriate sites along the river. All of them had one dimension in common, however, that of isolation.

Gowan provides a detailed analysis of the basic constituent element of a lumber camp:

Well, you had your foreman. You had strip bosses - you could have one or two bosses, they'd lay out the wood - the wood to be cut by the cutters. And then you would have your barn bosses, and your clerks and your cooks, and your government scalers. Usually, the office comprised of a government scaler and a company scaler and a clerk and the foreman. That's who used to live in the office, so to speak, because they didn't have the buildings they have today. They were all log huts or cut by saw mills, portable mills (Gowan, I,i, 354-391).

In the most isolated camps, the cutting camps, the largest building was the bunkhouse which is described by Mark Gowan:
All double bunks and straw pallets there. You sleep on straw. You go to the barn and get your hay and put it in the mattress ... Blankets would be issued two to a man ... up to one hundred men in a bunkhouse ... big old pot belly stove ... fired by the "bull cook" ... drying room in between sections ... drying clothes, washroom (Gowan, I,i, 392-424).

But the most important building in the camp was the cookhouse and perhaps the most important person was the cook, although a hazardous occupation:

In those days, if you weren't a good cook, the men more or less chased you out of the camp. And they got to like certain cooks and the cooks could do no wrong if they like you and if they didn't like you, you were gone. And there wasn't anything the foreman or anyone else could do about it ... They more or less railroaded them out of the camp.

Potatoes, vegetables, canned goods and dry goods were brought in in the fall while the meat was brought in to the White and Black River camps by packers who "toted it out to the camps as fast as they could before it got too ... and then hang it in the meat house. And it would keep." In general, Gowan concludes:

They were well fed ... The very best food they could get at that time. Maybe today everyone would frown on it, but it was the best you could get then. You didn't have the refrigerator or the
place to keep the vegetables, other than potatoes  (Gowan, I, i, 433-467).

Blacksmiths and harness makers were essential craftsmen:

Well, the blacksmith did everything. He was a sleighmaker, a shoer, and anything at all ... But it was harness makers in those days, too. You used to have a harness maker on the job. Sewing harness or fixing harness. Sleighs in wintertime. You'd be breaking sleighs and sleigh runners and bunks. It was a big operation when you consider it.  (Gowan, I,i, 511-543).

But if the lumber operation was well catered for, the men had to rely on itinerants for other services. Thus, a doctor visited once a month to inspect the camp, pull a few teeth and generally serve their needs during the few hours he was in camp.

in fact, the clerk in those days was the medical officer too. He looked after the cuts and bruises and anything serious they had to take out. But they'd have a camp doctor come around periodically. The men as I recall paid something like a $1.00 a month for medical. This included the doctor's bill, whether they got cut up, or whatever, whether the doctor met them at the train at the other end. Or if it was an emergency  (Gowan, II,iv, 21-45).
The Puckasaw Depot had a doctor based there permanently, his duties requiring that he also visit the outlying cutting camps. Harron's recollections are that the doctors there were students, "just young lads, you know, going to school or partly through for doctors" (Harron, I,i, 155-181).

An interesting dimension of life in the lumber camps is the way in which the communities were served by several itinerant functions. The potentially large market at the camps attracted a variety of peddlars and goods:

Just like the travelling salesmen in those days, used to bring the watches up and sell the fellows suits, clothes - tailor made - so that when they came out of the bush back to Thunder Bay the suit would be waiting for them (Gowan, II,iv, 345-362).

Gowan also recalls the visits of itinerant ministers, called "shantymen":

Then they used to have the old gospel men. I forget what they used to call them, "Shantymen". Kind of like a Salvation Army deal but it was for the woods. They would come up and preach maybe some Sunday or something and pass a little literature around. Move to next camp. They didn't really push the religion down our throats, but they would get up and preach a little sermon or read a little gospel (Gowan, II,iv, 363-381).
Puckasaw Depot was not as well served as recalled by Mrs. Lachance:

The priest, the minister used to come up there. And a priest came up once while I was there too. But a teacher, we never seen any teacher ...
(worshipped alone) ... we never bothered with ... anybody else, because there was so many religions there, you know. We never bothered. We always said our own prayers together. We recited our rosary. That's all we had to do to pray at night (Lachance, II,iv, 65-89).

Finally, another group of visitors, the union organizers trying to "line up the camps, or line up the men to join the unions", were noted in the Black River area in the 1930s:

I remember lots would come in and half the time the men would chase them out ... Oh, they weren't well received at the start of things because if a fellow in those days had a job that was something ... And if he figured he was making at least a wage. Nobody was making any big money in those days, but everyone was living (Gowan, II,iv, 331-344; 382-398).

Being the son of a lumber contractor, Mark Gowan's recollections of these events might be somewhat impressionistic. However, the presence of such organizers is worthy of note.
A winter activity that several refer to is trapping. Mrs. Kelly recalls trapping for foxes, beaver, and mink with her father (J. Kelly, I,i, 573-625), while Mrs. Lachance remembers the visits by fur buyers to buy from Mr. Mills in particular although others were also trapping (Lachance, II,iv, 90-106). Dr. MacCallum who spent a full season on the Pukaskwa states "we had wonderful trapping there. The country was full of beaver, mink, otter, marten and fisher". He reports making $400 - $500 by trapping on Sundays and selling to buyers in from the Sault. He recalls there being only four or five trappers among the forty-five or so lumberjacks but that Frank Kushick was a "marvel at trapping" (MacCallum, I,i, 479-653).

Not all the personnel of the camp were single men. At both the Puckasaw Depot and the White River camp, women were present and, in some cases, several families were part of the lumber camp communities. The recollections of Mrs. J. Kelly, Mrs. Lachance and Mrs. Hurley provide further detail and also bring to it a woman's perspective, of the society and family life.

Both Mrs. Kelly and Mrs. Lachance spent winters at cutting camps at the Seven Mile Camp and Kelly Camp respectively. Being only nine years old at the time, Mrs. Kelly's recollections are not detailed but include the boat journey from Sault Ste. Marie to Pukaskwa and the wagon ride from the Depot to the camp in the middle of the bush (J. Kelly, I,i, 125-177). She remembers the community of two or three families and the lumberjacks. In 1923, Mrs. Lachance married Philaeus Lachance, a cook and as an eighteen year old bride, followed the same route as that of Mrs. Kelly to one of the most isolated
of the Pukaskwa camps. Her recollection is that they were isolated except for a few other families and the visits by Dr. Harper. But every second day she would walk three miles to see her sister, the wife of Amable Raby, and other relatives in a nearby camp. Dressed in moccasins and snow shoes "like an Indian" she recalls the winter there as being "really fantastic, you know. I really enjoyed it. It was quiet and peaceful" (Lachance, I,i, 95-159). Even though she is commenting on a period thirty years later in the late 1950s, Dorothy Hurley's view of her stay in the White River rafting camp at the mouth is remarkably similar, except that she was the only woman there:

Usually it was from April, the first year we were there from April till September and I was into camp and I didn't go out of the camp at all. So, I just seen the men. I didn't see any children or women or anything like that. Like I just stayed right at the camp. And like the Abitibi captain would come up and we would talk to him and find out some news. The radio was all we had up there.

It was quite an experience. It was lovely and I had my sewing machine and I would sew. But I had to bake bread made right from scratch and everything, so the time was taken up. There wasn't that much time to think about too much. It was beautiful up there. It was really nice. Go up the mountains. I had a little dog
and I would take him and we would go for a walk up the hill. And Graham would go out and get the mail every week or so, eh (Hurley, I,i, 288-324).

Both Mrs. Kelly and Mrs. Lachance spent time at the Puckasaw Depot in the 1920s. Mrs. Kelly passed the year of 1927 there as a fifteen year old, while Mrs. Lachance spent two seasons there in 1925 and 1926, including a full season from September 1926 to December 1927. In several instances their recollections of the social fabric of the community are complementary. They both recall their living quarters. For Mrs. Kelly it was a cabin and she commented:

It wasn't very fancy. I'm telling you. It was three bedrooms, and a great big room - It was kitchen, living room and everthing together. And the furniture were not that fancy either (J. Kelly, I,i, 256-272).

After the accommodations at the Kelly camp, Mrs. Lachance found her facilities at the depot for her and her children to be more luxurious:

He built a cabin for me in logs and he had linoleum and we had a record player and I had a bed with a spring and mattress. I didn't have to sleep in straw anymore. We were right at the headquarters. We had a big place there. All the boats were coming in and the people were staying there (Lachance, I,i, 227-248).
From the perspective of the cutting camps, the Depot was obviously considered to be a considerable advancement.

Other families at the Depot at the same time were Mrs. Lebrun, Mrs. Desjardins, Mrs. Lefebvre, Mrs. Harper (the doctor's wife), and Mrs. Mills. Commenting on Mrs. Mills, Mrs. Lachance noted, "She was the big shot there. Because her husband was the clerk, you know, and then it didn't take much to be a big shot" (Lachance, I,i, 215-226; 627-639). What social life there was consisted of visiting between these families and occasional card playing. Other activities included fiddle playing in the cookery - "but no dancing", crochet and embroidery of bleached sugar bags; and "tell stories, that was the pastime, tell the story" (Lachance, I,i, 280-314; II,iv, 579-614; II,iv, 261-282). Mrs. Kelly's childhood memories of winter life at the depot included English and piano lessons from Mrs. Mills (J. Kelly, I,i, 273-281). Naturally Christmas and New Years were special events and the community would all get together for eating, drinking and playing cards. At New Years, it was time for the "réveillon", the French Canadian custom of visiting all the various families (Lachance, I,i, 443-484).

But for all, the event of the year was the arrival of the first supply tug of the year marking the end of the winter's isolation which had been relieved only by the infrequent visits by the couriers of the White River Trail. Commenting on this isolation, Mrs. Kelly remarks:

I don't think there was anything going on like you do in towns. We didn't have any Easter eggs, or anything like that. We were too far away from everything. And the boats were not running from the beginning of December
'til May. So there was not much we could get, except through the catalogue, the Eaton's catalogue for candies and for Christmas gifts. That's, remember they came through the catalogue and through White River on the trail with dogs (J. Kelly, I,i, 204-230).

Mrs. Kelly also recalls the excitement of the arrival of the men and families from the interior camps to await the first steamer at the Depot, the families staying at the special house, "the harem", built for them there:

they would know about when the boat was going to come along, because the mail kept coming through by dog sled in the wintertime. They knew about it - they didn't have telephone or teletype either, or anything like that in those days - but they kind of knew when the boat was due. And they would come down and some would go by the first boat and some would go after with their husbands. They would stay for a few days, that's all. They had a camp especially for them to wait. To wait for the boat to come (J. Kelly, I,i, 389-403).

In the same vein, Mrs. Lachance recalls the commencement of the spring drive and the increased activity at the Depot with the booming of the logs and the arrival of more people. She goes on to comment:
But the only thing that was more exciting (than the drive) was when you see the first boat coming in the spring. That was very, that was just like Christmas. You know, to see the boat coming in. Coming in with all the stuff and that. People ready to go away and go back ... As soon as we heard the whistle we used to run down to the dock and see the boat come in (Lachance, II, iv, 355-391).

For most, the boat meant the end of the season at Puckasaw, leaving only a few families to stay behind to maintain the camps. Summers were spent around the Depot with occasional picnics along the shore of the lake, fishing and berrying.

Daily Regimen
The daily routine started each morning in the cutting camp at 4:00 a.m. with the cooks and cookees getting up to prepare breakfast and the packed lunches. The men would rise at 5:30 a.m. to wash. Breakfast was at 6:00 a.m. and included porridge, cereal, eggs, pancakes, potatoes, sausage, bacon, cold meat, toast, juice, tea, and coffee. By 6:45 a.m. the men would be on their way to the cutting area between one and two miles from the camp. About noon, depending on the progress of the cutting and hauling, the men would take a lunch break in the bush, lighting a fire and eating their lunch - which could include bread, salt pork, ham, beef, garlic sausage, canned fruit, cookies, etc. Depending on the time of the year, they would return to camp about 5:30 p.m. Supper, the big meal of the day was
at 6:15 p.m. and consisted of potatoes, vegetables, roast beef, or pork, fish on Fridays, pies and cakes. A particular feature of meals in the camps was the prohibition of talking to ensure quick meals to allow the cooks to clear up. The men would then return to the bunkhouse where some prepared their tools for the next day and recreation was limited to reading or cards (Buchan, Logging, 1972).

This picture is amplified by the recollections of those interviewed. For Gowan, daily life started early in the camp:

Well, early morning, you get up, it's still dark, pitch dark. Have your breakfast. By the time you get dressed and breakfasted and out, it was still dark. Summertime it was better, in the early hours in the morning ... Actually, the men quite liked it (Gowan, I,i, 425-432).

The evening ritual was as follows:

But they would be in and sharpen the saw every night. Bring the saw blade in with them and leave the (frame). They would fix it up every night and sharpen them. That's the last thing they do, and go to bed. Sharpen the axe and there wasn't anything for them to do at nighttime... Sit around and read or play cards (Gowan, I,i, 498-510).
Ivan Palmer recollects the daily routine at the camps along the White River in the 1940s starting at 6:00 a.m., work continuing until noon when they stopped for lunch and, hauling often stopped until about 3:00 p.m. when the roads hardened again, supper at 6:00 p.m. and then back to the bunkhouses for reading and cards, including a camp favourite, Regan rummy (Palmer, II, iv, 343-431; I, iii, 709-779).

At the White River rafting camp, Mrs. Hurley's routine as cook followed the pattern described above:

Make breakfast (6:00 a.m.) and have that over with and then a couple of cups of coffee. Then at ten it was coffee break. Noontime for dinner. Then I had the afternoon pretty well to myself. And then we had supper about five or six. It would all depend if they were working or not, like working with the tug Abitibi. So when I finished my dishes at supper time, I would make another pot of coffee for them for the coffee break at night. We had a lot of coffee.

The diet at the camp is commented on also:

Well, we had for breakfast for instance, you would have bacon and sausage and potatoes and eggs. Like you had to have a variety of things. At dinner time you would have pork chops if we had any pork chops. Two kinds of meat usually every day, three times a day.
And your vegetables, home made bread and pies when they were eatable, when they turned out that is. Graham said the seagulls were fed good up there (Hurley, I,i, 618-743).

Connections with the outside
A unique dimension of the social life and logistics of the lumbering community in the area is the system of trails and routes between the camps and the outside society. Three such routes are pertinent to this study:

1. The "White River Trail", a winter route between Puckasaw Depot and White River, following the Pukaskwa River across into the Bremner basin.

2. The Michipicoten Trail between Puckasaw Depot and Michipicoten Harbour, along the coast.

3. The White River run between Regan and Lake Superior, along the line of the White River from both its mouth inland and from Regan downstream.

Of these three, most is known about the White River Trail and details of the basic operation have been provided by others.
From December until May, the period during which there was no longer communication by means of the lake navigation, Puckasaw Depot relied upon dog teams operating along the White River Trail. Starting from the Puckasaw Depot on Imogen Creek, the trail followed the northwest branch of the Pukaskwa, crossing over into the Bremner watershed for the run down into White River. There were cabins located along the 70 mile route at the junction of the Fox with the Pukaskwa, Partridge Lake, Mongoose Lake and on Poirier's Cabin on Bremner River or Bremner Lake. These cabins were stocked with supplies and the trail maintained during the summer months. With the onset of the winter, the route was opened twice a month with a service which usually required a fourteen day round trip. With good snow conditions in February and March the time was cut down to seven days round trip and on one occasion, one leg of the trip was done in thirty hours. Indeed, Patrick Kelly recalls an emergency run to White River for medicine for one of Dr. Dillabough's patients which he did in two days each way (P. Kelly, II, iv, 484-498). For safety, the system was operated by two men, each with a low dog sled capable of carrying a 300 pound load. Rather than two teams travelling together, however, Bud Harron's recollection is of two teams starting out at each terminal and meeting halfway:

They had one team going in and one going out, you see, and they had a place to meet there. Whoever got there first waited for the other fellow to come. You couldn't let the dogs get together (or) they would fight. You couldn't get them apart. And they had like two ways, you see, kept about a mile apart.
In between, the two couriers would meet at the camp and spend the night (Harron, I,i, 114-154). While he was at the Depot at the time that Patrick Kelly was operating on the trail, it might be that there were different systems of operating the service at various times.

The names of the men operating on the trail include Einor Pettula, Nap Laroque and Patrick Kelly (J. Kelly, II, iv, 288-363), the latter also identifying his assistant on one trip, Bob Gorman, and his predecessor, Nolin (P. Kelly, I,i, 164-214; II,iv, 265-278). Charles Harron remembers travelling along the trail with Oscar Mann in the 1920s (Harron, I,i, 114-154) while Lachance remembers Johnny Jordan operating on it too (Lachance, I,i, 358-409). Patrick Kelly thinks that the trail was first cut about 1921 or 1922 and he served as a courier on it for five years, leaving the area in 1927 (P. Kelly, I,i, 588-617). His reminiscences provide valuable detail of the operation of the White River Trail.

Patrick Kelly describes a typical day on the trail as thus: up at five o'clock or by six; walk for six hours and then stop to give the dogs a break, have a pot of tea and an hour or so rest; then off on the trail until dark; get into camp about five o'clock and settle the dogs down in their dog kennel with the straw which had been packed in earlier; spend night in the cabin (P. Kelly, I,iv,202-220). He also provides some information regarding the allocation of the cabins along the trail. His recollection is that the typical trip took three days with two night camps. The first camp was eighteen miles from Puckasaw Depot and was an eight foot by ten foot log cabins with a portable stove in it (P. Kelly, II,iv, 247-264). The second camp was about eighteen to twenty miles further along the trail and
and on some days it was possible to hear the train whistle on the C.P.R. from it (P. Kelly, II, iv, 360-377). In White River, the company had rented a house for the mail courier in which one room was used for the toboggan and loading the mail with the other room being used for cooking, eating and sleeping. There the two couriers would stay for three to seven days before commencing the return run (P. Kelly, I, i, 215-242).

Apart from the itinerary and the general schedule, Patrick Kelly also allows some insight into the techniques of the dog team courier. On preparing the toboggan for the trail he remarks:

> It's no fun packing a toboggan, you know. You don't just go in there and throw that in a bunch ... you've got to place it just the width of the toboggan and then you've got to lace it like this, criss-cross it and solid, 'cause if it rolls over, it won't get wet or anything. Tarpaulins, you've got good tarpaulins.

On loading the toboggan:

> they claim you can put about sixty pounds to a dog, but I'd average about forty pounds to a dog. I figured there was pretty high mountains there, the trail wasn't too bad but there was one spot that was a pretty big mountain ... On this side of Breckenridge Lake, that was the first day out of White River just coming into the first camp going toward Puckasaw.
In such rough terrain, there were special techniques to help the dogs with their load:

What we'd do, we had a pole about that big, like a broom stick, sharpen it and when you climb up them mountains, you'd stick in behind the toboggan and stop the dogs and then release the traces and let them rest a little bit you see. Give them a little break. So we'd go about a mile that way. Just keep on climbing. It's pretty hard (P. Kelly, II, iv, 175-201).

In this way, they moved along the trail following blazes through the forest and balsam firs planted along the route across lakes (P. Kelly, II, iv, 230-246).

Mrs. Jeanne Kelly recalls the arrival of the mail was a big event (J. Kelly, I,i, 305-342; II,iv, 288-363). Apart from letters, magazines and shoes, small orders from the various catalogues were also transported while Patrick Kelly remembers having to bring out one lumberjack who had been in a fight and another feigning madness (P. Kelly, I,i, 483-534; 535-561). The trail was also used to visit trappers by such fur buyers as the Rosenthal brothers and Patrick Kelly was once used as a courier for them to pay for their furs (P. Kelly, II,iv, 393-433). Other travellers along the trail were the Finnish lumberjacks leaving the Pukaskwa camps after the completion of the cutting. He recalls eight or ten of them travelling out together in a group and that "Them Finlanders could make skis that could outwalk a snowshoe" (P. Kelly, I,i, 562-571). Finally, in the 1930s,
B. Murray recalls that his prospecting party missed the boat at the mouth of the Pukaskwa at the end of the season and hiked out along the trail using the cabins along the way:

Ah, just rough log cabins most of them. Some of them were real small and some was - the biggest one was maybe twelve feet square. That's the biggest one. The others were just room to back in and lay down on the bunk and go to sleep and that's all (Murray, I,i, 561-605).

Kelly's recollections, therefore, are of quite a diversified service and one which he found personally satisfying:

And you know, there was something fascinating about it. You were anxious to get there (White River) and then to come back to see the people how pleased they were to get their mail. You know it'd just make you feel good (P. Kelly, II,iv, 378-392).

Less is known of the Michipicoten Trail. Patrick Kelly refers to the Michipicoten Mail Service between Michipicoten Harbour and the Puckasaw Depot and states that it ran one month delivering letters, the courier being Jack Legarde (P. Kelly, I,i, 276-283; 306-314). Harry Bussineau's account of a buying trip with George Coutu to the Pukaskwa area seems to refer to a coastal route. He describes it thus:
On the way up we had a toboggan and we carried our snowshoes and our packsacks and stuff on the toboggan. On the way back, we came to Point Isacor over here and that's where this ice was all gone, eh.

From there, they were obliged to go inland through the "mountains" to Michipicoten Harbour (Bussineau, II, iv, 0-28). Other than these references, nothing else was discovered regarding the Michipicoten Trail.

The route in to the lumber operation around Hayward and Herrick lakes in the 1930s and 1940s followed a tote road to Herrick Lake from the railway at Regan, boats across the lake to a creek running into Hayward Lake, then down a creek to the White River and from there by pointers and canoes to camps along the Oskabukuta (Palmer, I, iii, 574-617). With the shift of cutting out of the area and into the country around White Lake, communications still had to be maintained with the drive camps along the White River throughout the forties, fifties and early 1960s. While helicopters and light planes took over in the latter part of the operation, the traditional method was packing with canoes along the river. During the 1930s and 1940s, Indian packers from Mobert were hired to carry mail and supplies from Regan to the cutting, drive and rafting camps. At the height of the season's drive, the packers would make one trip per week, averaging two days to get from Regan to the mouth of the White by canoe. Also, some packers operated out of Heron Bay, packing up river from the rafting camp (Waluk, int., 1979).

Harvey Sabourin of Mobert was involved in this packing along the White River and recall the route and procedures:
There is still a trail there yet. Well, I guess they are grown up. Like the rapids - they have got the portage over the rapids - they have got to portage over the rapids. There are about 30 to 35 rapids to portage over and around. There used to be good trails at that time (Sabourin, I,i, 833-907).

The route followed was from Regan landing up the White River to Herrick Lake, then down Swamp Creek to the Umbaba Falls, and then down to the Mouth. Commenting on the systems of packing:

There was a bunch of us that we used to pack 300 pounds each down to the mouth of the White River, or about half way. We used to pack from here (Mobert) and then take it down two guys in a canoe so that gives us 400 pounds. 400 pounds with something like potatoes or flour or those cases. We used to take it down. It would only take about one day (to go) halfway and we used to almost make a return trip again. Oh, there was a bunch of Indian groups from Garden River, Michipicoten they used to come from too. Yeah, hired for Abitibi, 200 pounds. Sometimes we travelled with 75 to 100 pounds over a portage. We'd make two trips. We had to cut the load in two. We used to pack, sleep one night, come back and go down again with another load ... They would
give us three days to go down, but we used to make it in one day and then we got a couple of days extra and sometimes one day and a half and then we just stayed in camp ... They had about six canoes like that packing. We were not all in one bunch but each in turn. A lot of portages from here to Herrick Lake there. That Swamp Creek there were about fifteen portages. Lots of rapids (Sabourn, II, iv, 719-900).

Pay was $14.00 per day and they packed in summer and worked in the bush in the winter in the lumber camps or trapping. With the advent of helicopters in the 1950s this system was discontinued and the river route was left to the recreation canoeists.

Summary
The several people interviewed provided much supplementary information regarding lumbering in the Pukaskwa area. Gowan, Palmer and Cress are valuable commentators on the general character of the lumbering operation and while Gowan's observations focus on the area of the Black River, the system he describes is the same as that which was operated by Abitibi in the White River basin. Their recollections of the details of the cutting, hauling, driving, and rafting stages amplify the known facts of the system. The more specialised component, that of the "Big Tow", is well documented by Michano, P. Kelly and Harron. The technology of this process has been known for some time, but these interviews provide insight into the more prosaic tasks associated with the day to day routine.
Finally, the interviews of Mrs. Lachance, J. Kelly, and Dr. MacCallum do much to provide insights into the pattern of life at the camps and the Depot. Much of this is lost, but impressions such as these are valuable not only because of the facts they provide but also for the recapturing of emotions and perceptions of that society and way of life.
Trappers, Prospectors, and Tourists

Introduction
These three users of the park area are unified by their seasonal use, limited number and limited impact upon the environment. But while prospectors and tourists were external to the area, visiting it from outside bases of operation, some of the trappers were permanent residents and constitute important elements of the lore of the park. Moreover, all three are characterised by extensive operations within or movement throughout the park. Their detailed knowledge of certain areas, together with their reminiscences on their way of life, constitute a valuable dimension of the human occupation of the area.

Trappers
The Marsh report commented upon the historic period of trapping using oral sources. In particular, the report identified those trappers who had been associated with various locales in the 1930s through the park: Lee Fletcher, and Frank and Gord Kushick at the Puckasaw Depot; Bazelot at the mouth of the Pipe River; Laroque and Brisbois at Simon's Harbour and Swallow River; and, finally, Gus Weidman, "the most colourful character in the history of the park". More recent participants in trapping identified include: K.T. McCuaig, Jack Mills, and Billy Newman.
While Marsh identified the major traplines and did much to identify some of the major trappers, little was said of the actual trapping process. Noting that trapping constitutes the longest continuous human activity within the park, the report concluded:

The nature of man's physical and mental interaction with the park landscape as seen by the trappers might be interesting to examine in more detail with more in-depth interviews being conducted with trappers (Marsh, Human History, p.173).

This was the intent of this study. Three distinct constituencies were contacted: Indian trappers operating out of Mobert into the park; those who remembered the trappers operating from the various harbours along the coast; fur buyers who crossed the area from their bases at White River, Heron Bay and Michipicoten both as independents and as representatives of buyers in metropolitan centres. These interviews provide some insight into traditional Indian bush lore, trapping techniques, the system of buying, and the way of life and characteristics of some of the personalities involved.

Traditional Bush Life
Three main centres of Indian settlement appear to have been the bases for incursions into the Pukaskwa region;
1. The Heron Bay settlement with trappers and fishermen moving south along the coast to the various harbours. More usually, however, Heron Bay men trapped the north and west which were more accessible by means of the Pic River than the areas to the south and east within the park boundaries (Moses, int.).

2. Mobert was the base for trappers moving out into the headwaters of the Pukaskwa, the Cascade and Bremner Rivers.

3. Michipicoten Harbour trappers appear to have trapped in the Lake Mishibishu area and as far west as Pukaskwa.

Most of the information gathered by the interviews referred to the operations out of the Mobert area although Mrs. Sabourin was able to provide some insights into life at Heron Bay before the family moved to Mobert. Of particular interest is her recollection of the annual spring camp at the mouth of the White River, sometime in the late 1890s or early 1900s:

[ Mrs. Sabourin ]
She said the boats used to come to the mouth there and she says they would go out with the barges or canoes or whatever they had. They'd go out and load it up and then come back to shore. That's how they transferred their provisions. They didn't unload them on a dock. They unloaded them on a barge or a canoe or whatever they had
and brought them to the shore and that's how they unloaded the sailboats (Sabourin, I,i, 634-832).

Referring to trapping out of Mobert, one family recalls that the trappers would travel overland to the south-east to the upper reaches of the Pukaskwa, Cascade, Bremner and Lurch rivers:

They didn't exactly trap in there. They used to come here to the height of the land, the whole bunch of them, eh, and then from there they spread out. One bunch goes over there, another bunch this way and they all spread out. It was a sort of meeting point they had there.

Other areas referred to were Louis, Birch and Widgeon Lakes, there being no permanent camps, "Where the sun sets you camp there". The Sabourin family lived the old style of life, trapping in the bush, and they recall groups hunting together:

He [Sabourin] said, the Indians all travel certain areas at certain times and they all kind of spread out from there. There's always one group there, and one group there, and somehow they managed to communicate with each other. They used to talk to each other even though they are a distance from, distances apart, they still communicate with each other..... And
he said they'll take a little branch and start tapping it and it'll carry the sound and somehow the other man that's on the other end sensed that there is some kind of message going the same thing and they, just like telegraph, each other (Sabourin, I,i, 372-475).

Indians from the Pic Reserve are mentioned trapping south along the coast, while Lyman Buck recollects a Mrs. Bob Soulier trapping in the Isacor area:

She was a type of trapper, the old type, she'd go up the shore for a ways, then she had wigwams all the way along. You've seen some of the wigwams. And then they would take the bark off in the summertime and roll it all up and hang it up. And then snowshoes and traps all along up in there. I always say of Mrs. Bob Soulier that, if there was ever aristocracy in the Indian nation, she was from it (Buck, I,i, 352-399).

The Sabourin family is particularly informative of the traditional practices of the Indian community when in the bush. Details are provided of the "mitcknegon" or dead-fall trap (Sabourin, I,i, 278-371), of fishing with lights, "jacklighting" (Sabourin, I,i, 476-580), of killing a bear with an axe:
I have often heard from my grandfather how they used to do that, you know. You make a bedding outside a bear's den, a brush bedding. After you're all finished what you were doing, then you kind of provoke the bear to come out. You sort of challenge the bear to come out and as he's coming out, you hit him over the head with the axe ... Anytime you go after a bear, you know, there's a certain time. Just about the middle of winter, eh, they say the bear turns halfways in the season and in his hibernations, eh, ... He'll lay one way one half of the winter and then he'll turn over and just the time when he's turning over that's the time you go after him. Because that's when its really, really fat, eh (Sabourin, II,iv, 305-416).

One such bear would yield 80 pounds of fat which in turn provided ten pounds of tallow which was used for cooking (Sabourin, II,iv, 417-479). Other practices of this traditional way of life in the bush included preserving blueberries:

they used to pick them by the basketful and each basket is around eighteen quarts, or so, eh. They used to make a little rack made out of cedar. Cedar bark, and you strip it, and then you sort of weave that and sort of make like a screen. Then they take it off the ground and make a little rack off the
ground, so high, and they dump their berries there and [dry them and] grind them up. And then there's different ways of preparing the berries to be stored for the winter - either drying them up just like that and putting them away, or else they put a little fire down in the bottom with a little bit of smoke and they'd dry just a little more, they go just like a little currant, eh.

After being preserved in this way, they could be cooked through the winter by putting them in a pan and they would expand "like popcorn". Whitefish and trout were preserved also:

A lot of different ways, they'd do it. They'd either salt the fish, or fried the fish, and just dry it from the sun, or else hanging it up under the light fire with a little bit of smoke, and just smoke it like that and put it away, eh.

Once processed in this way, the fish was packed in barrels and put into storage for winter (Sabourin, II, iv, 531-637).

In terms of managing the resources of their areas, one trapper makes the point that in his trapping he does not clear out areas of game, but rotates the trapping to ensure replacements. The Sabourin family also related their own methods of land and resource management:
In the ridges where they'd have blueberries they'd make a forest fire and then - naturally it's not going to be a big forest fire - but then the next two or three years the blueberries used to come up they were working what is known today, the ecology, right? .... They used to preserve everything. Preserve even the land. They used to burn, they knew how much to burn and they know how much is going to burn. They used to do that to get blueberries, eh  (Sabourin, II, iv, 480-530).

With the introduction of other opportunities in the area, members of the Sabourin family, as did other Indians in Mobert and Heron Bay relegated trapping and bush life to a seasonal activity, spending the rest of the year packing or on the river drives. Only a few families continued the traditional trapping practice into the more regulated system of recent years. Ghislaine Lecours commented on the dualism of these communities with wage earners located at the centre of Heron Bay and those still trapping being located along the perimeter (Lecours, I, i, 789-855).

Trapping Techniques
Before the institution of formally registered trapline areas, trappers operated in mutually recognized areas. Speaking of this system, Bussineau pointed out that "A long time ago you went as far as you see the snowshoe tracks. If after a while you came to another guy's tracks, well,
you went by, or you didn't go further" (Bussineau, II, iv, 344-381). George Coutu speaks of the same pattern of trapping:

Trapping you've got to get a township from the government. But in them days there was just an unwritten law. A trapper went into the bush and took so much territory and another trapper wouldn't intrude on it.... You just respected his territory. But today the government allots you a certain territory ... (Coutu, II,iv, 505-584).

Nap Michano recalls that you could trap anywhere in the old days, and that his area between the Pukaskwa and the Cascade went back eighteen miles; "They go by the height of the land ... like the Pukaskwa area - I take in all the water draining to the Pukaskwa" (Michano, II,iv, 29-67).

The annual preparation of the traplines would commence in the fall with "cruising" around looking for signs of beaver and game, cutting portages, leaving caches of traps and supplies. Bussineau remembers that:

All those trappers used to go up and take their stuff early in the fall. Take in their groceries and fix up their camps and cut their trails. Of course, when the snow comes, well, they have ran all fall back and forth and by that time they know the country pretty well, eh. They knew where all the (animal) trails were and they were all set (Bussineau, II,iv, 238-255).
Nap Michano thought that these preparations would take about two weeks in September to cut portages and "Put your line in. Untie your traps before the season, so you won't be having to do that when the trapping is open" (Michano, II,iv, 219-256). Commenting on the length of the trapping line, he states:

About fifty miles, I think. You make a round trip. Maybe, well, you go a week around this section of the lakes. You come back and you hit a corner and do the other section .... It's hard to judge (the time). Somedays you might go a piece and got a lot of skinning to do .... (You can't say) I'm going to start here and make that lake today. You may pass that lake if you don't get anything and you go to the next one. But if you get a bunch of fur. That's a lot of work. I never plan I am going to make such a ... I just get up in the morning, take my pack sack and away I go. When it gets dark I make my camp (Michano, II,iv, 257-291).

Traps would be visited every one to two weeks and the bait would vary depending upon the animals being trapped. Michano would use green poplar for beaver, beaver meat or fish for mink, marten and fisher, while anything would do for foxes and wolves (Michano, II,iv, 257-291). Once caught, an animal would be skinned in about ten minutes, a process which Nap Michano describes in detail (Michano, II,iv, 115-138). The processing of the fur was very
important to the eventual value of the fur and it was necessary that the fat be all cleaned off and the fur stretched properly:

this was one of the things between a good trapper and a poor trapper. Some of the beaver would be really nice and round and clean, and others would be a lot of fat left and ragged corners ... some of them had hoops. Some of them had frames. Some of them had old doors and they would tack it around all of them (Buck, I,i, 450-486).

The Pukaskwa country is too rough for trappers to travel much by canoe and most used snowshoes, making simple "trapper's" camps at night under a piece of canvas or lean-to in a lee (Coutu, II,iv, 605-636). Elzear Wissian is said to have carried a "snowshoe rabbit robe", made of skins, cut strips and woven together to form the "original sleeping bag". When camping on the trail, the procedure was:

build a balsam bed on top of the snow and a little brush lean-to, build a fire out in front and try to have enough wood to keep a fire going all night and lay down on the balsam palms and the snowshoe rabbit robe and freeze all night. (Calkins, I,i, 429-463).
Apart from these overnight camps, trappers would have cabins along their lines and Michano identified one four miles up Imogen Creek at the Old Depot, another seven miles up Otter Creek and his main cabin at Otter Cove (Michano, II, iv, 416-466). In the Widgeon Lake area, Elzear Wissian had a main winter base cabin and a series of little cabins along the traplines. John Calkins described one of these simple outpost trapping shacks:

Four or five feet. And big enough to have some balsam boughs thrown on the ground. Made out of crude logs and it didn't have a door. It had an opening that he hung a canvas screen over, but he always left it open when he was gone because a bear would tear it up if he didn't. And he left a few things in there, like some old tongs and a frying pan or two (Calkins, I, i, 429-463).

Another man remembers that trapping in the "old way" he would carry two small traps and his food -

Cause it's so hard to pack. The snow got deep and the next day you break a trail. Next day you come back and the wind blows that snow in there and you got to make yet another trail again ... sometimes it's very hard trapping.

For trappers such as Michano, Sayyea, Newman, Weidman and the Kushicks, this season would last from September until February and then there would be a break until the commence-
ment of the fishing season in May. Michano estimates that in the 1940s while his annual income from fishing was about $1200 - $1500 per annum, that from trapping was $3,000 - $4,000 (Michano, II, iv, 532-569). In responding to a question about good and bad years of trapping he replied:

They are all bad years as far as I am concerned, never made a fortune yet. So you couldn't call that a good year. I ate good and never was on welfare. So it was not bad (Michano, II, iv, 321-334).

Fur Buyers
Another constituency that travelled through the park area were the fur buyers operating out of Michipicoten Harbour, White River and Heron Bay. While many of the furs left the area for Montreal and Toronto, others sent their furs to North Bay or even Winnipeg. The buyers reached the area via the Michipicoten Trail or the White River Trail and travelled as far north along the shore as Simon's Harbour, buying off the trappers.

The buyers operating in the Pukaskwa area throughout the 1930-1960 period included Alex and Hymie Rosenthal of Thunder Bay, Sam Pierce of Thunder Bay, a Goldstein of Sioux Lookout, Saul Friedman of Sault Ste. Marie and an anonymous Hudsons Bay Company buyer operating out of Thunder Bay (McCuaig, 1979 int.). Buyers such as these would themselves travel throughout the trapping country visiting the trappers in their camps. Thus, Ivan Palmer can recall the visits of Saul Friedman to the White River district in the 1940s (Palmer, I, i, 543-596), while
Patrick Kelly transported the Rosenthal Brothers to the camps around the Puckasaw Depot via the White River Trail in the 1920s (P. Kelly, II, iv, 393-433). They would visit the area twice a year, once in the fall and once in the winter, and the mailmen running the White River Trail would act as couriers for them for the money back to the trapper. G. Coutu estimates that some trappers earned $2,000 and $3,000 in a season (Coutu, II, iv, 637-667).

Another element in the link between the market and the trapper was made up of local independent buyers such as K.T. McCuaig at Heron Bay, W.H. McDougall of White River, and L. Buck out of Michipicoten Harbour. Usually operating out of stores, these local buyers would travel through the area visiting the lumber camps and trappers. George Coutu recounts how he would leave on the day following Christmas Day, travelling at night, sleeping along the trail and visiting the lumber camps. There he would find out about other "jobbers" as well as buy furs from those lumberjacks who trapped. At the Puckasaw Depot, for example, Angus Baker, the head "walking boss" was his contact, and he bought the furs off the lumberjacks for later sale to Coutu (Coutu, I, i, 520-581). Similarly, MacCallum remembers this activity at the Depot in the 1920s and that "we had wonderful trapping there. The country was full of beavers, mink, otter, marten and fisher". He estimates that he made $400 and $500 by trapping on Sundays and selling the furs to a buyer from Sault Ste. Marie who visited the camp (MacCallum, I, i, 479-495). From the Depot, Coutu would travel as far north as the Cascade and Swallow Rivers visiting the trappers there and then return via the coastal route to Michipicoten Harbour (Coutu, II, iv, 505-584). His companion on one such trip in 1928, Harry Bussineau tells of the two week trip to the Depot from Michipicoten with dogs, and being very
conscious of the $7 to $10,000 in cash they were carrying (Bussineau, II, iv, 135-237). Other potential buying locales were the fishing stations such as the one at Quebec Harbour where F. McCoy recalls a winter of trapping and selling the muskrat, beaver and fox furs to Saul Friedman. Because he was trapping without a license, he remembers the low price he received (McCoy, I, i, 372-410). The system was different for Lyman Buck, however, and he remarks that "they (trappers) came down. Going up was before my time" (Buck, I, i, 486-517).

Some of these local operators such as Coutu were merely buyers for others such as Friedman who then marketed the furs in Toronto, Montreal, New York. Others such as McCuaig sold directly to such centres as the Dominion Fur Auction, Winnipeg, the Canadian Fur Auction, Thunder Bay, the Hudsons Bay Company at Thunder Bay or the auction at North Bay. They sold wherever they could get the best price, and did so by means of placing reserve bids on their consignments (McCuaig, int. 1979). Not only legally trapped furs left the area. Lyman Buck tells of how he shipped out such illegal skins: "Some of these trappers would come in and I shipped "cornflakes" (boxes) back to Algoma". He also tells of how illegally trapped beaver were hidden at the camps in the bush:

The old trick in years gone by, too, was to take beaver an roll them and then put tar paper on them and hang them in the trees. That was illegal beaver that was hanging there in the trees. And they put tar paper on it to keep the animals away from it, from chewing on them. You see if you left the skin there it wasn't
long till the mice and everything else would be at it (Buck, I,i, 333-344; I,i, 486-517).

McCuaig also recounts the devices and strategies for moving out less than legally acquired furs.

The Trapping Community
While many of the activities throughout the park were seasonal at best and most often sporadic and ephemeral, about a dozen individuals have been identified as having established themselves as permanent residents at certain locales, at least for short periods of time. Primarily trappers, these individuals also engaged in fishing in the summer and occasionally, as guides for visiting tourists. Marsh has referred to several of the main characters but the interviews effected by this study have amplified the accounts of those who are relatively well known and provided new material for hitherto little known individuals.

One centre of permanent residence for trappers was the former lumber camp at Puckasaw Depot. Lee Fletcher and Frank and Gordon Kushick continued on in the area after the demise of the logging activity and maintained themselves by trapping. MacCallum refers to Frank Kushick (father to Gord and Frank Kushick) as "one of the best bushmen that ever lived there. And trapper, he was a marvel at trapping" (MacCallum, I,i, 569-653). Lyman Buck's recollections of the Kushicks was that they operated out of the Depot between the Pilot River and the Pukaskwa River and as far inland as the line of the C.P.R. with base camps some eighteen miles apart. He too remembered them as good trappers:
their meals were all figured out, the calories, how many days they would be in the bush, and what was good for them, for travelling. You might almost say scientific trappers. Their fur was properly stretched and dried properly. (Buck, I,i, 460-486).

An amusing anecdote is told by George Coutu concerning a deception involved a shooting match with the Kushick brothers while on a fur buying trip to Cascade River (Coutu, I,i, 672-801).

The most colourful character living in the park area has been said to have been Gus Weidman. Marsh has documented his background and several incidents in his life. Operating out of Otter Cove, he trapped the Pukaskwa basin. Several anecdotes have been recounted concerning his strength, his temper and his mystery. The interviews carried out by the present study corroborate these. It is interesting that in at least three separate interviews, reference is made to his being able to lift a 45 gallon barrel weighing some 400 pounds. (Buck, I,i, 517-578; Coutu, II,iv, 63-86; Morden, I,i, 315-388). But one occasion he was bested by another and L. Buck recounts a wrestling match between Weidman and George Coutu:

And then this George Coutu was a very wiry man, oh just, well as I say a snowshoe man, and all that kind of stuff. And they got into the store one night, and I guess maybe a little firewater got involved. They got talking about who could throw who out the door. Gus was a big strong man and George was a wiry little
fellow. So they had a bet on, who would go through the door first.

The account continues with a description of the bout and the finale with Gus being ejected and having to pay $100 for the broken door (Buck, I,i, 517-578; Coutu, II,iv, 20-42). Lloyd Morden adds another story to the growing anthology narrating an account of the times when large yachts such as the Sylvia, Seaforth, and Seventeen would anchor in Otter Cove and, using their motor boats:

They would take him down, when they seen a moose coming into the water on one side or other of this cove, and as soon as it got swimming he would get on its back and he would swim all the way across the cove. Like he would ride the moose and they would take pictures of him all the way across, eh.

(Morden, I,i, 295-314).

Other accounts are not so complimentary, referring to his temper (E.A. Pozzo, int.) or disturbed nature (Ellis, I,i, 311-370), but all confirming the dominance of his presence in the Otter Cove section of the park.

Further north along the coast, Art Laroque and Henry Brisbois trapped around the Swallow River, ranging as far south as Otter Cove and as far north as Simons Harbour (Buck, I,i, 578-650; McCoy, I,i, 52-64). They too trapped in winter and fished in summer, selling their catch to Talarico at Otter Cove. An interesting addition to the lore of their presence in this section of the park is the belief that they kept large amounts of money scattered
throughout the bush, much of it thought to be still there. (Ellis, I,i, 264-330). Mrs. Cormier recalls their visits to her father's (Bill Sayyea) camp at Spruce Harbour (Simon's), together with Gus Weidman (Cormier, I,i, 407-440).

Immediately to the north of the Laroque and Brisbois area, Newman Bay, lived a hitherto little known character, Billy Newman. Nap Michano remembers him as a trapper there and a builder of cedar, clinker-built row skiffs twelve feet in length. More remarkable, he was renowned for constructing fiddles and Michano remembers him playing the fiddle at jigs at Heron Bay (Michano, I,iii, 517-551). Mrs. Cormier recalls his cabin there and also a garden where he used to grow potatoes in sand fertilised with fish. She too made reference to his more remarkable hobby:

He made his own violins. When he was out he picked up a piece of driftwood - different ones - and I guess he made several violins during his years down there. I suppose being alone he would walk the beach and find different pieces of driftwood. (Cormier, II,iv, 198-335).

George Coutu also interacted with Billy Newman and reports that he had cabins from Agawa Bay up to Swallow River. One anecdote that further expands on the attributes of this remarkable character refers to an incident in his cabin after Coutu had told him the price he was prepared to pay for his furs:
And he had twelve violins all made and hanging up on his wall. And when I told him the price, he jumped up and he played us a tune on every violin he had ... And he could play too. And beautiful violins. And he would tell you the story of every one, where the wood came from and what it was and where he got it and so on and so forth up the beach. And, oh, he was tickled to death.

Coutu also confirms that he built "clinker" boats and also that he was said to have written stories that were published (Coutu, I,i, 186-317). On another occasion he ran into Newman at Swallow River:

> We came to a nice little opening, you know, and I smelt something - fire burning - and we went in there, and here it was Bill Newman and he was cooking and pot-roasting two black mallards. Well, do you know one thing, I never tasted duck that tasted better than that. (Coutu, I,i, 346-464).

It becomes apparent that Bill Newman was a man of many diverse talents and interests and given his presence in the area merits recognition as another of the noteworthy occupants of the park in the 1930s.
Billy Newman's violins, c. 1920-1930. (Original photograph owned by Harry Bussineau, Montreal River Harbour, Ontario)
In 1920, another hitherto little known character moved onto the Pukaskwa coast. In that year, Bill Sayyea built a cabin at Spruce (Simon's) Harbour, moving there from Port Coldwell where he had been an independent fisherman. He built two cabins there and his daughter, Mrs. Cormier describes one thus:

It was all log, one window facing the bay and another one facing towards the dock, that would be going out of the bay. There was a little square pane in the window. And of course, you had to run down to the lake to get your water, carry your water in - carry it out. I remember towards that side it had a little homemade, well they were all homemade, cupboard and the one table just below the window, and I think on this side there was a bed, a bunk bed ... And a floor was rough, well it had been rough lumber. It wasn't smooth at all. But there was no ice box, nothing, no sink. There was just a little stand, I think, built like a little board with legs, I think they were legs from out in the bush. (Cormier, II,iv, 336-425).

There was a dock there and a trail to a rock outcrop, "Blushing Point", where "we used to sit there and watch the sailboats go by", and where her parents carved their names, "not only them, other people have done all kinds of pictures and things" (Cormier, I,i, 366-406).
6 Bill Sayyea. Trapper on the White River, August 1944. (Original photograph owned by Hilda and Leo Cormier, Manitouwadge, Ontario)
While there, Bill Sayyea fished and sold his catch to the Nicol brothers who used the harbour for a base. McCuaig trapped there with Sayyea and he recalls that they also built an ice house there and a shanty for the crews of the Nicol tugs (McCuaig, int. 1979). Other recollections include her mother and a Mrs. Waboss shooting ducks from a canoe (I,i, 784-925) and a diet of fish, moose meat, salt pork, potatoes, onions and bannock (II,iv, 426-512). McCuaig reports that the traplines extended from Simon's Harbour to the Swallow River and that at that place another cabin was constructed. In the 1942-43 season, Bill Sayyea moved from Simon's Harbour to the Hayward Lake - Sand Creek area where he trapped using the abandoned lumber camps and tote roads there (Cormier, II,iv, 661-784).

Finally, other trappers to whom references have been made in the interviews include the following: The Wissian family who used to travel from the Pic Reserve and fish and trap between the White River and Oiseau Bay, being based at the latter area (Legault, I,i, 384-398); Elzear Wissian and Alger Widgeon who trapped the headwaters of the Pukaskwa (Pozzo, int. 1979); and at the southern end of the park's boundary, Lyman Buck refers to Ted Nytsky, Bill Perrault, Henry Peterson, McLachlan and Mrs. Bob Soulier (Buck, I,i, 352-399). These individuals merit further investigation to amplify what is already known about the nature of the trapping activity throughout the Pukaskwa region.
Since the middle 1800s, attention has been directed to the mineral potential of the Pukaskwa region but with limited development taking place. Marsh has sketched the periods of major activity and assessed the degree of actual mining activity at certain locales. It would appear that the pattern has been more characterised by prospecting, staking of claims and speculation than by investment in commercially viable operations. Apart from the absence of minerals in quantities sufficient to merit development, the area of the park has been protected by its relative inaccessibility. Until the advent of air surveys, access to the region by prospectors was limited to the major valley routes and along the coast. Considering these factors, the Marsh Report concluded that mining was not a significant theme for the park interpretation programme, "except in as much as it reinforces the idea of man's transience and minimal impact on the park area" (Marsh, Human History, 1976).

Prospecting, however, is of some considerable interest in that it reinforces another dimension of the human occupancy of the park area - the diversity of activities pursued by some of the early residents of the area. For many, prospecting or packing for prospectors, could be integrated into a way of life which included trapping, fishing and lumbering. Moreover, the skills required were essentially those of a bush-lore, a northern way of life, that were common to several of the activities. Because of
this, as well as because of the further accounts of travel through the park, the way of life of the prospectors is of some considerable interest. Another group, the company prospector, constitutes a different mode of operation in later years, being characterised by aerial access, instrumental survey and external logistical support. It too, however, must be added to the list of human interaction with the park environment.

Independent Prospectors
Local individuals often prospected for their own interests or else were commissioned by others to do so. G. Depew describes a prospecting trip in the early 1900s with Donald Gunn of White River. Having advised local Indian trappers to "keep their eyes skinned for iron ore", they investigated reports of finds around Pokei Lake in the Pukaskwa district. After a week's journey along the coast from the Pic to the Pukaskwa, they staked out their claims in the area:

Our equipment consisted of a pocket compass with sights to guide a straight line and axes. Donald handled the compass and we, with the Indians, did any necessary cutting. We did not have any of the equipment that engineers would have. But in order that our lines would be straight, should a large tree get in the way of the sight, we would simply cut the tree down.
In this way, they marked out ten - four sided claims, each side being one mile in length, with a post and a sample of the ore located at each corner (Depew, I,i, 390-443).

Clem Downey provides an account of a typical small scale prospecting venture in the Pukaskwa area in the 1930s, with his associates John Kondrat and Bob Campbell. He outlines the elements and stages in mounting a prospecting trip. The venture started with the discovery of a sample of barite at Simon's Harbour by a fisherman from Port Coldwell. On having it assayed, Downey found it to be 98 per cent barite with 2 per cent strontium, "The use and price would make the deposit close to water transportation of some possible value". With this decided:

The next thing is to finance and get out there. That is always the big sticker for a poor prospector. Go to a mining company. Yes, and immediately drop your interest from a hundred per cent to about ten per cent. No, we would go this alone as it looked promising.

But as with all ventures in the Pukaskwa area, the problem of access was considerable:

Now I also had to reach the property and get some samples. This took on some difficulties. If you know that shore or there is not a living soul along that shore for some eighty miles.
After attempting to fly in but failing to land because of rough water, a boat was hired at Rossport and he, together with Bob Campbell and John Kondrat, travelled into Simon's Harbour, where they stayed in a trapper's cabin:

A window and a door, none too frost proof; a partly constructed table, a bunk of poles with brush for a mattress, a couple of shelves and a large tin box. And, of course, a small stove. The tin box contained all things precious, so that no animal could destroy them. In it was a small bag of flour, matches, candles, salt, sugar, etc.

But after all this the barite turned out to be "bull quartz" and the venture was aborted after an expenditure of $200 for the airplane, $500 for the boat trip, and, including supplies, a total investment of some $1,000:

So John went back to his carpentry. I went back to my railroading. Bob Campbell went on his way, and Len did not even lose a trip or a cent. The next month we had another lead on a find. Did we go? Sure we did. How did it pan out? No good. I am still batting 001. (Downey, mss.)

B. Murray's experiences of prospecting are of acting as an agent for speculators in Sault Ste. Marie, Windsor and Detroit, as well as hiring out for Kenakott Copper Company (Murray, I,i, 111-201). He recounts a trip to the
Pukaskwa and David lakes area in the 1930s prospecting for gold and uranium. Leaving Michipicoten Harbour on June 1st, the party of six travelled to the mouth of the Pukaskwa on the steamer Manitou or Caribou and landed there with their supplies. There they stayed until October, using the tote roads and abandoned camps of the former lumber operation (Murray, I,i, 362-409). He commented that while they were there there were "quite a few in there, prospecting". While some went in by rail and then worked back to the coast, "a lot of them went down by streams there. They knew the bush, you know, and they'd go down in the bush with the canoes and small boats. Row boats. Wooden row boats, you know" (Murray, I,i, 707-808). Useful bush-lore included lighting a fire with a shoe lace, stick and dry birch bark: using an "Indian smoke pole" to get rid of the smoke and crossing rivers without a boat:

No. We never had a boat with us at all. And that's the way; oh, you get a cedar, maybe eight inches, nine inches or ten inches and, oh about twelve feet, fourteen feet long. Two of them and tie them together with a rope. Lay between them and then paddle with your hands right across. It was a lot simpler than anything else. You don't have to carry them with you. Take your tope off and roll it up. Put it in your pack sack and away you go. (Murray, II,iv, 20-49).
He also emphasized how careful prospectors were with their camp fires in the bush although Mr. Gowan argued:

Well, the only things that the timber company or contractors didn't like around was too many prospectors because nine times out of ten there would be a bush fire ... They used to blame every fire on a prospector if he was in the area. But there were never any big fires, but they were always afraid of them. Because you could wipe your whole outfit out with fires.

(Gowan, II, iv, 567-629).

Once the season was over, Murray returned to trapping for the winter season.

While no details have been obtained about their way of life, other trappers who have been identified as operating as prospectors in the Park area include Frank Kushick along the East branch of the Pukaskwa for beryllium, A. Vanderhyde, a "hermit like character" operating along the Pukaskwa coast out of Schreiber and Alphonse Moses, a private contract prospector who once explored for copper at Oiseau Bay (McCuaig, int., 1979; Mose, int. 1979).

Company Prospectors

Boyce Murray reports that independent prospectors in the Pukaskwa area also came across others representing Algoma Ore, McKinnon Copper, Kenakott Copper and others during the 1930s (Murray, II, iv, 109-253). One such company prospector, Nelson Reid, spent three weeks exploring claims
at Robin Creek near the eastern branch of the Pukaskwa. He reported that there were pits and other signs of working and that the area was probably active in the 1914-1918 period.

In the period since 1945, prospecting has experienced an increased sophistication in equipment and a change in the logistics of the operation. Nelson Reid reports that in the 1950s, the Pukaskwa region was surveyed for uranium and magetite and that in the 1960s the emphasis shifted to gold, iron and uranium. He recalls being involved in the aerial surveys of the Pukaskwa region as well as a coastal survey from Michipicoten Harbour to Nipigon River by boat (Reid, int. 1979).

Bill Richards provides details of the new system of prospecting in the post World War II period. Prospecting for Jones-Laughlin of Pittsburg, he visited the Pukaskwa region in 1947 and the 1960s. The new technology relied upon aerial surveys using magnetometers, followed by two man ground crews with dip-needle survey (Richards, I,i, 359-409). Richard's base camp was in the vicinity of Floating Heart Lake, Lawrence Lake, Maple Lake and the Pukaskwa River, and he describes the pattern of exploration from these camps:

So we take a very small outfit and we just start off. And we will go maybe two days north. Wherever we stopped for the night, that's where we camped. It might be on the branch of a creek like this. We know where we are because we know where we came in here ... But as I say, the country is hard to get at. Now when I was in there there was only one way we could fly in
and that was at Loon Lake. That's the only place where we could get a plane in. So we always landed at Loon Lake until we were on skis and then we could land at Cameron Lake and Floating Heart and Maple. And when we were off those lakes everything else was walking. (Richards, II, iv, 76-269).

The length of time in camp depended upon the type of job and Richards describes the general operation:

Usually in the wintertime these were magnetic surveys which meant you had to cut your baseline and you didn't have a big crew. You only had yourself and your helper. You cut your baseline and your section lines and then you set it all over again doing magnetics and you didn't do too many lines a day. If your lines, say, were a thousand feet out from your baseline on both sides, well you don't do too many, maybe three a day. So sometimes we'd be in three months. (Richards, II, iv, 276-301).

Food and supplies were flown in to the camp, weather permitting, and other than that there was no contact with the outside. The daily routine was regular and unchanging, leaving little time for spare time and recreation:

Say you get up around six o'clock in the morning, by the time you get ready and you get into the bush you
are not going to be home before dark. About the time you get your supper and get your dishes washed up you don't feel like playing many cards ... Hit the sack. (Richards, II,iv, 302-310).

Tourists and Guides
The Marsh Report defined tourists as "persons who visited the park are from another location with pleasure as a prime motivation". (Marsh, Human History, 1976). Given this definition, three groups of tourists were recognized:

1. Transient sightseers travelling on steamships and the railroad. These "pleasure excursions" commenced in the 1850s and continued into the twentieth century.

2. Motorized pleasure yachts started visiting the area at the turn of the century and constituted an elite group, primarily American in origin, limited in number but significant because of the detailed accounts provided by photographs, films diaries, and logs.

3. Seasonal vacation homes established around Otter Cove by Dr. Holly and friends. These constitute the only permanent tourist facility developed in the park area.
It was noted that this tourist activity, by its very nature was limited in impact because of the relatively small numbers involved and the concentration of the activity along the lake littoral, and lower reaches of the rivers, leaving the interior untravelled. The report recommended that there be "further research regarding earlier tourists, their character, activities, and attitudes".

To some extent, the interviews effected by the present report will attempt to do this. Also, it will attempt to identify three other constituencies associated with tourist activities in the park. While the affluent visitors in their large steamers were both important and highly visible, other visitors were anglers and canoeists who may have been more numerous and certainly more adventure-some in their travels. Also, a community of guides and outfitters emerged in the twentieth century to serve the needs of the wilderness seekers; while some operated out of residential tourist camps, other functioned as part time trappers and guides. They constitute another group of relevance to any history of the park. Finally, the fly-in service provided by a new mode of tourist operation became increasingly prevalent in the 1950s. Another constituency of tourists represented here by Messrs. Haight and Scott are the inhabitants of such communities as Wawa, Marathon, White River, Terrace Bay and others who have long used the Pukaskwa area without having need of guides.

Guides and Outfitters
From the accounts of the interviews, one of the main centres for guiding parties along the coast of Pukaskwa was Michipicoten Harbour. Harry Bussineau recalls his father operating out of there in an eighteen foot sailing boat:
built in Owen Sound or someplace down there, with spare sail, two sets of oars: and a compartment in the front and a compartment in the back, water tanks so that it wouldn't sink, eh, or capsize or anything, centre board, a rudder in the back, a boat and the two tents: and all the fishing equipment.

With this outfit, he recalled his father taking trips along the coast and a particular regular customer, Dr. Evans, an avid angler (Bussineau, I,i, 542-651).

Continuing this way of life, Harry Bussineau served a clientele from Michigan and Minnesota during the fishing season from May 15th to September 15th each year. Similarly, H. Bazelot built a tourist camp at Chippewa River in 1945 and operated it until the mid 1960s, taking tourists to the mouth of the Pukaskwa, a good fishing spot and an area of natural beauty. His American clientele were from Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Ohio while Canadian visitors were from Montreal, Galt, Sarnia, Wiarton, Schumacher and S. Porcupine (Bazelot, int., 1979). Figure 8 illustrates the places of origin of the tourists visiting the Bazelot tourist camp. Apart from these professional guiding outfits and tourist camps, inhabitants of areas within the park which were visited by tourists interacted with them and occasionally, performed services for them. Gus Weidman's feats have been reported elsewhere in this report but it is worth repeating here that he appears to have been one of the attractions of the area as well as an occasional guide. In the same area, Nap Michano recollects guiding parties into the bush for $15 to $20 a day:
TOURIST ORIGINS
Sept. 10 1947-July 30 1968

Source: Bazelot Guest Book
Chippewa River Camp
All along the shore here. It used to be in the cove, say about twenty or thirty years ago, it was no trouble to count five or six yachts a day. But they kind of disappeared as the fish disappeared from the lakes.

Michano would take tourists from these boats into the bush for four days a week, visiting interior lakes for fishing. He commented:

I hated guiding. I'd sooner starve than guide. I don't know if they make a living because the season's too short for it. Well, take moose hunting you might get a month out of it, and the fishing in the spring you might get a month. So that's two months. You are not going to quit a job just to go guiding for two monthers. (Michano, II,iv, 569-756).

Other locales involved in tourism included the fish station at Quebec Harbour which sold supplies to tourists and Michipicoten Harbour, where Lyman Buck used his tug to pick up several groups of canoeists after descending rivers to the lake (Purvis, I,i, 802-823; Buck, I,i, 50-67).

Several of the guides interviewed provided explicit accounts of the nature of their duties, accounts which are worth including here: Thus, Harry Bussineau recollects that:
Well, a guide has to be a man who knows the country and wouldn't get lost. That's the first thing. He had to know how to cook and had to know how to pack and he had to know how to put up tents. But of course at that time a tent was nothing to put up. There was only one way you could put up a tent. You cut a ridge pole and two cross pieces and hung her up there. That's all there was to it. And they had to know how to cook fish and meat. They had to be an all round cook, eh. Coffee, tea, but the first time I seen coffee was one of the tourists who used to come. (Bussineau, I,i, 406-427).

René Bedard's memories of the daily regimen were as follows:

Well, you got up at 5:30 in the morning and you cook them their breakfast and then we were in the canoe all day ... And they'd be in bed and sleeping, you still had dishes to wash about 8:30, 9:00 at night. You take the little gas lamp ... and cut dry wood. You got to put it under the canoe to make sure it will keep dry, you know, in case it rains at night and then you start everything over again in the morning again. (Bedard, II,iv, 194-228).
George Ellis gives an even more detailed account of this routine:

But as far as guiding is concerned, it's a good life. It's tough. It's hard work, but if you like the outdoors, it's good. You don't get to bed too early at night and you don't sleep in in the morning, that is for sure.

On one particular trip on Lake Superior, we had two boats, *Mooswa* and the *Truant* and we had eleven tourists. I would get up at 4:30 in the morning, and cook breakfast for ... about fifteen people and they'd have to eat in shifts. And after each meal was done I would have to wash dishes and cook some more and by this time it was almost daylight. The tourists were getting a little bit edgy. They wanted to get going and the guides haven't eaten yet, so by the time we'd have our breakfast, which was you just threw it down, and then you had to make your way from the boat to shore (now I am speaking off of Swallow River, Pukaskwa, Otter Cove, in that area) and then you had to pack lunch for eleven, fifteen people.

You had to take two or three canoes and we walked two miles, one and a half miles, two miles into Twin Lakes. And you paddled a canoe all day. Come in and make a lunch at noon. Paddle again all afternoon. Pack your
fish out. Pack your canoes out - you had to take the canoes out in order to get back to your boat. And then turn around and peel vegetables and cook supper for that many people again. By the time we got down to our supper it would be 11:00 or 11:30 at night, and your back up again at 4:30 in the morning. That's the way it went ... So that was fishing. (Ellis, I, i, 126-169).

For such services he recalls being paid $7.50 a day in the 1940s. Moose hunting in the fall was a different pattern again with its own particular requirements:

When they do knock one down then they all sit down and they rejoice and they have a real happy day. Well, then you've got to sit down and dress that thing out. It's not like sitting and dressing out a rabbit. You've got a few hundred pounds of meat to handle. And on one particular trip, three of us handled 1525 pounds and that was for twelve miles. Now, that was not all carrying. That's only one twenty minute portage; and another one over a little bit of a lift; and another one on a forty-five degree angle about fifty feet up the railway track. Now, you've got canoes, tents, equipemnt, plus all this meat, and it's hard work. Every dollar you make, you earn it. (Ellis, II,iv, 12-145).
While tugs from Michipicoten have played an important part in access to the southern part of the park, air transport in for tourists became increasingly common, especially since World War II. John Calkins provides an insight into the operation of one such outfit, Stan Deluce's White River Airways:

a one airplane man ...He took them to Pokei Lake for moose; and he took them to Widgeon Lake for brook trout ... but in the White River within an half hour flight there are walleye lakes; there are lake trout lakes; there are other pike lakes and there are moose hunting lakes; and brook trout lakes; and so he took people to those places. But he was always looking for somebody who was willing to take a chance and find something that was, find out something about some country that nobody had found out about it. (Calkins, I,i, 232-348).

The two major "fly-in" operations serving the Pukaskwa have been Air-Dale and White River Air Services. It appears that they had an understanding that they would serve distinct sections of the Pukaskwa area, although both companies landed on Widgeon Lake. Originally, Air-Dale flew in parties from Windsor, Detroit, Toronto, Illinois, Ohio and Michigan for moose hunting into the Pukaskwa area because of its isolation from highways (Schreiber, int. 1979). But commenting on the affect of new technology on the guiding and tourist industry, Ellis remarked:
A big change. A big change. When they brought out all-terrain vehicles, snow vehicles, snow machines, your terra-jets, four-wheel drives, lumbering companies going into the bush where we used to have to fly into. Went into virgin country. Now, good heavens, anybody can drive into it. Like Sonny Dale. Now in '46, he went into the fly-in business. He had camps set up all over the country. I shouldn't say all over, but he covered a pretty fair area and he done pretty well for himself. Now, the fly-in business (is over) because now you can drive to most any lake that you used to have to fly in. Now, in the wintertime, if you've got a skidoo, you can skidoo into most any lake, you could fly into. And with skidoos why you can go into lakes that a plane wouldn't be able to land in, or if they did land, they couldn't take off from. So this is where there's been a big change in that area. But the skidoo has been a big boost as far as the public has been concerned; but, for the tourist industry, it has really hurt us. (Ellis, II,iv, 146-187).
Canoe Trippers

A class of tourists which will increasingly use the park area are the wilderness canoe trippers who will focus their attention on the White and Pukaskwa rivers. Those geologists and prospectors who first entered the region by way of the Pukaskwa commented on the rigour of the trip. In recent years, there have been several parties who have travelled these routes and some of them have been interviewed for this study.

René Bedard, a guide for the White River Air Service, describes a trip down the Pukaskwa in 1950s with Elzear Wissian and another guide, Mark Lake. They were hired by a writer, Starbuck Smith, and travelled from Pokei Lake by way of Soulier, Gibson, and Jarvey lakes to Widgeon Lake and then via the Fox River to the Pukaskwa (Bedard, I, i, 168-313). The trip lasted from May 20th. to June 20th, including three days on the Two Pants portage.

Another wilderness seeker, John Calkins, was motivated to go down the Pukaskwa by the accounts of the fishing:

The way to get good brook trout fishing in Canada, and it's no secret ... work harder and go back further than anybody else cares to go just to get your brook trout. And that's the secret. Because brook trout don't stand a lot of pressure. Sure you can catch brook trout most any place, but if you want really good brook trout fishing, then you have to go where other people aren't willing to go. Because you have to pack your canoe too far; ride a few too many rapids; the streams are too
rushy; they are not canoe rivers at all, most of them. They are just too rough for, you know, for people to ordinarily consider for canoe routes (Calkins, I,i, 232-348).

Before embarking on the Pukaskwa trip, he took a preliminary trip with Elzear Wissian to Widgeon Lake in 1956 an area known to Wissian because it was his father's old trapping country. Calkins makes the point that he was aware that it was not the "ordinary guide relationship":

what I am saying is that there's no way that Elzear Wissian would have taken three people down the Pukaskwa and have been chief cook and bottle washer and packer and portager. He had to know that the people that he took would carry a canoe along with him and pack and cook and drag through the rapids and he didn't know that at first (Calkins, I,i, 349-403).

In July of the following year, 1957, Calkins' party flew into Widgeon Lake from the Sault to commence the Pukaskwa trip after making arrangements with a Purvis fishing tug to pick them up at the mouth. The planning and organization of the trip are detailed together with descriptions of their progress down river. A vivid account is provided of the two day and four mile portage around the Pukaskwa canyon at Two Pant portage. A detailed account of tumpline packing is also provided:
a tumpline tied to the canoe, thwart,
and tied just right, you can even take
your axe, sometimes with one hand,
but you can even take two hands on the
axe and you can tilt the canoe down
under limbs or up to see just by tilting
your head if you're an Elzear Wissian.
(Calkins, II,iv, 125-182).

On completing the long portage, the river was a considerable
relief after two days of rough packing:

So we let the canoes down to the river
bank where it was still deep in the
gorge like and then we had a beautiful
canoe ride. We didn't think about
fishing then because we had been working
so hard and carrying up in the black-
flies and mosquitoes and drinking
swamp water - and for two days
without even sitting in a canoe. And
the river was just perfect there.
It was just a chute, you know. But
we had to get out of it, and we went down
around quite a few bends before dark
just enjoying the beautiful ride. And
then pulled up and camped for the night.
And, of course, that was only one of the
oodles of portages and drags and carries
and chopping trees and carrying over
trees. But that was the one that
really was the big challenge, you
know. (Calkins, II,iv, 222-253).
On arrival at the mouth of the Pukaskwa after an eleven day trip, they had to wait for three days for the Purvis tug to pick them up. While this trip was successful, Calkins reports on the Carl Kidder trip down the Pukaskwa from Gibson and Jarvey Lakes and his attempt to find the Fox to get to Widgeon Lake. Having got lost, the party was air lifted out (Calkins, II, iv, 566-705). In April 1958, True Magazine published an account of the 1957 trip and included photographs taken by Mr. Calkins.

Another canoe trip down the Pukaskwa by a party of four was also filmed and copies of this film have been acquired for the park. The trip took place in 1959, took seven days and again, was taken because of the reports of good fishing. Gordon Haight and Hank Scott report on their planning and organization of the trip and the various sections of it from the start at Widgeon Lake to the Pic up at Richardson Harbour at the end of the trip. Their experience confirms that of others with regard to the scenery, fishing and severity of the portaging:

Some of the portages were pretty rough.
I don't know what they are like now, if they've improved them or not, but they sure weren't very good then. (Haight/Scott, I, i, 100-132).

Commenting on the best time of the year to attempt the trip they noted that "to go down later than the end of May or the first part of June, you'll carry the canoe all the way". But on the other hand, "The fishing was just fantastic. You wouldn't believe it." (Haight/Scott, I, i, 581-707).
Summary
Despite their disparate interests, trappers, prospectors, and tourists have had much in common in their activity in the Pukaskwa region. Of most striking significance, they have all travelled the same coastal and interior routes. Also, there has been considerable overlap - their activities with trappers occasionally involved in prospecting and serving as guides for tourists. Finally, while all groups have travelled extensively throughout the park, the major concentrations of activity are focussed on the series of harbours to the south of Oiseau Bay and concentrating on the Otter Cove - Puckasaw Depot area. Their detailed account of their experiences and way of life are valuable additions to our understanding of the way of life in the Pukaskwa region. More particularly, it would appear that the names of Sayyea, Newman, Michano and Wissian should be added to that of Weidman in the lore of the area.
Navigation and Lighthouses

The recollections of people familiar with the Pukaskwa region are able to recall the last years of the passenger steamship system which served the coastal communities, distributed prospectors, trappers and lumbermen to various points along the shore and maintained a flow of supplies during the navigation season. Also, reference is frequently made by several of those interviewed to the tugs operated by both fishing companies and lumber companies as part of their systems of operation. Finally, the era of large and small tourist craft is also remembered and details of their visits recaptured by some of the interviews. Each of these elements of lake navigation is treated in the appropriate section of fishing, lumbering and tourism. None interviewed were concerned specifically with navigation or shipping as a way of life outside of these contexts.

With regard to lighthouses and, in particular, the Otter Head lighthouse, little has been learned from the interviews to add to the account provided by Marsh (Human History, 1976). Nap Michano provides details of the annual season from April 9th to December 9th, and the daily routine between 10:00 a.m. and 6:00 p.m. (Michano, I,i, 172-248). An unrecorded interview with Mrs. Bob Collins, Sr. gives a woman's perspective on the life at Otter Head during her annual two month stint every summer. Her duties included laundry and the preparation of meals but no "man's work". She recalls travelling out to the lighthouse on board the Alexander Henry and comments on the
feeling of isolation she felt whilst there. Her recollections are also of her husband's part time fishing activities on his boat, *Doralin II*, fishing as far as the Superior Shoal and selling his catch to Mitchell fisheries at Sault Ste. Marie and various stores (Collins, int. 1979). Fred McCoy adds some emphasis to the claim that the lighthouse keeper's job was an isolated one with his story of the death of the helper there while McLachlan was in charge:

> You know, there wasn't a soul that came around close enough that he could send out a message or anything til September when the supply boat came. And he was there from April, May, June, July, and August, and the first part of September when the supply ship came to bring their supply of groceries and stuff like that and oil and stuff for the lighthouse and the plant. He were there by himself. There wasn't a soul showed up for them months (McCoy, I,i, 527-583).

Given the failure to locate more personnel with experience of the operation at Otter Head, this report is unable to suggest further directions of research by interviews. However, it has been suggested that Mr. Lionel Hubilet might be in possession of records relating to the operation in the boxes of material he purchased from the old lightkeeper's house at Otter Head (Hubilet, 1979). Another dimension of the record of the operation has been added by the organization of photographs of William Sherlock, Otter Head lightkeeper and film footage showing Albert Murray, another Otter Head lighthouse keeper.
Conclusions and Recommendations

Perhaps too much emphasis may be placed upon the isolated and wilderness character of areas such as the region bounded by the White and Pukaskwa rivers. Isolated it was and still is but for considerable numbers of people it constituted a permanent place of residence for significant periods of time while even for others it was a place of seasonal residence or periodic contact. Moreover, such contacts and settlements of varying duration each were characterised by their own raison d'etre and each featured a distinctive use of the resource base. Having investigated the personal recollections of this former way of life throughout the study area, several conclusions may be advanced.

1. The first is a methodological one, but one of some import for studies such as this. The oral record is not only the sole source for much of what needs to be investigated for past ways of life, but it is also the best. Flawed by frail memories, inaccurate observation, and even too zealous romanticization, its provision of the very important subjective dimension is invaluable and irreplaceable. When correlated with the known objective sources it is corroborated and then adds colour and life to these other sources.
2. Despite the varied way of life as represented by fishermen, lumbermen, trappers, prospectors, guides and outfitters, they are all characterised by close working relationships with the environment, a detailed knowledge of bush-lore and resource evaluation and ingenuity and resourcefulness in meeting the challenges posed by life in such areas. In this context, Gus Weidman has been spotlighted as a remarkable and distinctive character. Much of this legend has been substantiated and even complemented by other material in this study. However, it has become clear that there were others leading lives very similar to that of Gus along the Pukaskwa shore and were, in many ways, typical of a community of such people rather than being idiosyncratic. Billy Newman's violins and boats, and George Coutu's feats of wrestling and travelling should be added to the anecdotes of Gus' life as part of the distinctive, but not peculiar, dimensions of the history of the area.

3. While the whole area contained within the bounds of the park constitutes a remarkable segment of wilderness environment, in terms of human interaction, three areas emerge as
areas of particular significance:

i. The Pukaskwa shoreline-
This zone of movement, traffic and access, should also be emphasized as being integrated into the human use of the area. The Pukaskwa littoral and adjoining waters have experienced the most regular visits and resource development of any area in the park. Measured in man-hours and continuity of contact, the annual visits by fishermen are a dominant human presence. Moreover, there was a detailed appreciation of the shoals, banks and seasonal movements of the fish rather than merely of a featureless body of water, as well as these invisible but very real lines of movement. Tangible evidence of their presence was also left at their shore bases and lay-over sites.

ii. Despite the extent of the park, much of the development on the land has been concentrated in two areas: The White River and Pukaskwa River basins. For obvious reasons of forest exploitation, lumbering was restricted to manageable water routes and in consequence it is the forests of these two areas which attracted
attention, experienced development, and occasioned the introduction of some hundreds of workers into the region. Moreover, because of their physical characteristics, and because of the requirements of the lumbering operation and lumbering communities, these rivers also became lines of movement and route-ways connecting the interior corridor between Marathon-White River-Wawa with the Pukaskwa coastal communities.

iii. Apart from the two main river valleys, the various harbours, bays and coves such Oiseau, Simon's, Newman, Otter Cove, Richardson and others feature as centres of activity along the coast. The nature of the Lake Superior environment and the characteristics of the coast in general determined that such coves would become desirable foci of settlement. While limited in numbers, the trappers and commercial fishermen who resided there constitute a distinctive form of settlement in general and a very interesting dimension of the park in particular.
4. For many people associated with the Pukaskwa region during the accessible past, several patterns of subsistence were integrated into one way of life. This was facilitated by two factors; a detailed knowledge of the environment and the skills required to live in it and profit from it; a seasonal regimen which allowed several cycles of activity to be integrated into one year. Thus, trappers could integrate their September traplines routine with either commercial fishing or guiding from May through to November. Similarly, commercial fishermen at the close of the season could take up trapping or move into the cutting camps. This diversity and interchangeability of activities, while more common in the past, and while still typical among other frontier societies and resource extraction communities, certainly is a distinctive feature of the ways of life portrayed by those interviewed.

With these general conclusions in mind, the following recommendations are advanced:

1. For interpretive purposes, two devices may be considered:
   i. The use of actual tapes such as those of Lyman Buck, Fred McCoy, Gilbert Gerow, or Mark Gowan which are particularly detailed and vivid of ways of life and lend
themselves to editing into actual representations of certain themes.

ii The development of composite sets using several sources for one idealized statement of a particular interpretive theme. It would be essential that actual phraseology and turns of phrase be used in preparing such composite scripts but they could then be recorded by an appropriate reader of the script to produce what may be a very imaginative and complete statement.

2. Apart from actual or idealized statements on specific themes, the principle of the changing seasons and integrated pattern of life could be represented by focussing on the changing rhythms of life at certain locations. The succession of trapping, fishing and tourism for an Otter Cove resident or a full season at one of the Pukaskwa camps would make this point.

3. Junior Naturalists' presentation of plays based on characters, incidents and activities in the park.
i) Meeting between Billy Newman, Gus Weidman, George Coutu and Harry Bussineau at Swallow River Camp.

ii) Canoe trip down the Pukaskwa with tourists and Elzear Wissian.

iii) Spring encampment at the mouth of the White River with reference to Indian folk lore.

iv) Logging at Pukaskwa with story of travel from Quebec to Pukaskwa and the annual round of life in the camps.

4. While this report did not develop the theme, sources such as Ghislaine Lecours and the Sabourin family should be further used to bring out the pattern of the Indian community's interaction with the Park area.

5. To add further to this record, other people who should be interviewed have been identified:
   Al Johnson - logging
   Andy Waluk - logging
   John Cook - guide
   Larry Perkins - Great Lakes Cruising Club
   Mark Herschede - sailor
   V. Kruger - canoeist
   E.A. Pozzo - Lands and Forest
Charlie Cook - Game Warden  
Norman H. Sloane - Lands and Forest  
H.G. Cumming - Lands and Forest  
Tom E. McKay - pilot  
Colin McDonald - Travel Officer  
R. Mucklestone - Travel Officer  
(See Appendix VI for details)

6. Other materials have been located in the course of this work and including films (René Bedard, Andy Waluk), slide (John Calkins), miniature logging tools (Mrs. Mary Ascah), and Otter Head journals and logs (Lionel Hubelit).

7. Several individuals have been identified who have interests and expertise which may be of interest to the park and who are prepared to serve as sources of further information or possible speakers. These include: Dr. Robert Kohrman (gentlemen anglers on the Great Lakes); Mr. John Calkins (canoeing and fishing on the Pukaskwa); Ms. Ghislaine Lecours (Pic culture); Mr. Tom McGrath (canoeing the Pukaskwa); and Dr. Ned Franks (canoeing the Pukaskwa).
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Marathon.

Canada

Lake Superior Maps, No. 2300, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310.
Canadian Hydrographic Service, Department of Mines and
Cowan, George W.

Collins, W.H., T.T. Quinke, and E. Thomson
Canada Dept. of Mines, Ottawa

Courier (Marathon)
"First Run of New C.P.R. Diesel" Jan., Feb., 1950
p.6

Daily Star (Sault Ste. Marie)
"Lightkeeper prefers isolation to high living". Dec. 17, 1913. p.1

"Lighthouse men are almost frozen coming to Sault"
Dec. 28, 1916. p.4

"Little Gros Cap Lightkeeper had hard rough trip".
Dec. 29, 1916, p.6

"Lightkeepers are back safely from Caribou Island".
Jan. 2, 1917, p.5

Visit of Their Majesties the King and Queen to Canada. Itinerary - May, June 1939.

Diehl, R.E.

Downey, C.
Memoir of a prospecting trip to Simon's Harbour. Unpublished manuscript.

Fletcher, Lee

Fraser, J.K.

Great Lakes Basin Commission
Great Lakes Cruising Club


Harris, Vaughan

Holly, L.E., Sr.


Holly, L.E., Jr.
Notes and comments on Tourism, chapter 15 of The Human History of the Pukaskwa National Park Area 1650 to 1975. by J.S. Marsh. Pukaskwa National Park, Marathon.

King, Adolph
History of Commercial Fishing on Lake Nipigon. Thunder Bay District, Ontario Department of Lands and Forests.
Langlois, W.J. (ed.)

Lecours, Ghislaine

Legault, Albert J. (Deputy Chief Ranger)

Lepenski, B.J.

Lieff, B.C.

Longstreth, T.M.
MacDonald, G.A.

MacKay, D.

MacMillan, Colin (ed.)

Correspondence, historical notes, letters, photocopies of newspaper accounts collected and donated to Pukaskwa National Park. Local History Collection 1936. Pukaskwa National Park, Marathon.

Notes on trips made along the Pukaskwa coastline from 1937 to 1977. Pukaskwa National Park, Marathon.

Notes and comments on Tourism, chap.15 of The Human History of the Pukaskwa National Park Area, 1650 to 1975 by J.S. Marsh. Pukaskwa National Park, Marathon.

Marsh, J.S.

Marshall, K.B.
McCracker, J. (ed.)

Mercier, K., M. Corrigan, J. Maronese, J. Maronese, and L. Black

Mills, J.


Mountain, J.A.

Nabigon, Camille

National Geographic
Novak, M.

Ontario Province Bureau of Mines

Ontario Province


Fur Management in Ontario Trapper Education Series Booklet No.1. Fur Management Unit, Wildlife Branch, Ministry of Natural Resources.


Ontario Province - cont'd


Reck, Franklin M.
"Fish a virgin river" John Calkins photographer, True April 1958.

Recorder (Gore Bay)

Stevens Family
Local History Collection 1929. Pukaskwa National Park, Marathon.

Stevens, J. III
Correspondence. Local History Collection 1926, Pukaskwa National Park, Marathon.

Stevenson Jordan and Marrison Inc.

Severs, S.R. and J.B. Theberge

United States

Wiegman, C.
Appendix I

Respondents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suggested by Parks Canada</th>
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<td>Bazelot</td>
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Appendix II

Respondents Identified by Themes:

1) Laura Bazelot - Trapping and tourism
2) René Bedard - Guiding and trapping
3) Bruce Brown - Prospecting and the Cascade River fire of 1931
4) Lyman Buck - Trapping, commercial fishing out of Michipicoten Harbour and outfitting tourists
5) Harry Bussineau - Trapping, fur buying and tourism
6) John Calkins - Canoe trip down the Pukaskwa River
7) John Cormie - Claims surveying
8) Hilda and Leo Cormier - Trapping
9) George Coutu - Trapping and fur-buying
10) Cecil Cress - Commercial fishing out of Port Coldwell and logging at Skunk Creek
11) George Depew - Prospecting, trapping and train dispatching
12) George Ellis - Guiding
13) Gilbert Gerow - Commercial fishing out of Rossport
Respondents - cont'd:

14) Mark Gowan - Logging by the General Timber Company
15) Gordon Haight and Hank Scott - Canoe trip down the Pukaskwa River
16) Charles Harron - Navigation on Lake Superior
17) Graham and Dorothy Hurley - Driving and rafting on the White River and cooking at the rafting camp.
18) Jeanne Kelly - Family life at the Puckasaw Depot
19) Patrick Kelly - Mail service along the White River Trail, logging at the Pukaskwa camps
20) Adolph King - Commercial fishing out of Rossport and Port Coldwell
21) Laura Lachance - Family life at Bill Kelly's camp and at the Puckasaw Depot
22) Ghislaine Lecours - Pic Indian culture and community life at Heron Bay in the 1930s and 1940s
23) Felix Legault - Commercial fishing out of Port Coldwell and Rossport
24) Dr. Thornloe MacCallum - Logging at Frank Kushick's camp
25) Fred McCoy - Commercial fishing out of Quebec Harbour and trapping
26) Napoleon Michano - Light-house keeping, rafting, trapping, commercial fishing and guiding
27) Lloyd Morden - Commercial fishing out of Quebec Harbour
28) Boyce Murray - Prospecting
Respondents - cont'd:

29) Ivan Palmer - Timber cruising and logging on the White River

30) Ivan and Nell Purvis - Commercial fishing out of Quebec Harbour

31) William Richards - Prospecting and claims surveying

32) Paddy Sabourin and Family - Indian culture, trapping, hunting, packing, Indian camp at the mouth of the White River, pictograph near the White River

33) William and Mary Schelling - Commercial fishing out of Rossport

34) William and Mrs. Shaganash - Trapping
Interviews Without Recording:
In addition to the interviews following the procedure out­
lined above, several interviews were conducted with persons
where notes only were made.

Two of these were with persons who would have been
useful interviewees but the use of a recorder was not
possible. The reasons for this and the topics discussed
are as follows:

Laura Bazelot - talked on trapping and
early tourism. Unsuit-
able for interview because
of her age.

Mr. and Mrs. William Schelling - talked
on commercial fishing.
Unwilling to have interview
recorded.

In addition to these, fourteen other less formal inter-
views were conducted and notes made:

Arnold Amos - fishing
Horst Anderson - fishing
Mrs. Bob Collins - lighthouse - Otter Head
Clem Downey - prospecting - report
on trip to Simon's
Harbour received
Jim Eaton - Oiseau Bay
Ferroclad Fisheries
Hugo Johnston - Oiseau Bay
Dr. Robert Kohrman - tourism
Notes on all of the above interviews and meetings are bound together under the heading, 'Notes on Interviews and Meetings' and are indexed by respondent. Where the volume of material warrants it each set of notes is preceded by a brief summary.

K.T. McCuaig - trapping, Oiseau Bay
Alphonse Moses - trapping, prospecting
E.A. Pozzo - trapping, commercial fishing
Nelson Reid - Algoma Ore, prospecting
Jim Sherlock - lighthouse - Otter Head
Andy Waluk - Abitibi logging on the White River
Appendix III -
Interview Questions

Theme I: Lumbering
Three main sets of topics were explored:
   1. Camp/Shanty/Depot Life
   2. River Drive
   3. Lake Tow

The main locations in the Park of concern in this study are the Pukaskwa River and Depot, White River drive and the Oiseau Bay area.

Camp Life (White River, Oiseau Bay and Pukaskwa)
   1. Seasonal regimen - start, finish, duration, dates
   2. Daily regimes - start, finish, tasks, times
   3. Locations occupied - where, duration, when
   4. Clothing, shelter, diet
   5. Other facilities at camp
   6. Wages - amount, basis of payment, hours, productivity, stumpage
   7. Ages, place of residence, ethnic background of workers. Turnover
8. Social life at camp, recreation, health
9. Sex roles
10. Lumber work routine
11. Other activities in camp - logging, hunting
12. Off-season activity

River Drive (White River)
1. Date started, peak movement, finish
2. Logs to river - techniques, equipment
3. Life on drive - shelter, food, clothing
4. Procedures - gangs, special tasks, skills
5. Equipment - boots, poles? boats
6. Hazards, perceptions, evaluations
7. Arrival at lake, paying off
8. Numbers involved - manpower - age, ethnicity

Big Tow
1. Set up of tow, booms, rafts, gathering of logs
2. Manpower - numbers, age, ethnic and residential background
3. Life and routine on tow - tasks, habitat, hazards
4. Tugs - origin, captains, crews
5. Routes followed
6. Timetable - setting up, towing, arriving

Theme II: Commercial Fishing
The main topics within this theme refer to those main stages of the operation; fishing, processing, marketing.
Fishing, on-lake activities

1. Seasonal regimen - start and finish, peak months
2. Daily regimen - routine, start and finish
3. Life on boats - diet, shelter, clothing, social life
4. Manpower - crew size, origin, age
5. Base of operation - community location, years
6. Location of fishing grounds - how recognized, how organized, how recognized by others
7. Habitats - how recognized, for different species, e.g. deep, reefs, coastal, etc.
8. Catch - numbers, individual sizes, species, variations in catch
9. Boats - size, type, manufacture
10. Gear - net types, lines, manufacture, maintenance
11. Fishing procedures, techniques
12. Hazards, danger, perception of lake environment
13. Numbers of local fishermen, outsiders, relationships between them.

Processing

1. Where - on boat, on shore?
2. Techniques - drying, salting, icing
3. Packaging

Marketing

1. Prices, return, profitability
2. Buying agents
3. Chief markets
4. Import of and reaction to decline of fisheries
5. Opinion as to reason for decline
Theme III: Tourism

People interviewed in this section included the following categories; early visitors, guides/outfitters; residents of Otter Cove cabins; early canoe trips.

Early Tourists
1. Where from - how came to know of area, when first visited
2. Seasonal stay - amount, departure dates, frequency of visits
3. Travel to area - mode, route, time, cost conditions
4. Destination - public lodges, private camps, towns, stay on banks, on-shore camping
5. Activities - solitude, aesthetics, fishing, canoeing, hunting, primary reason for trip
6. Way of life - food, clothing, supplies
7. Relationships with local population, other visitors
8. Original impressions of area, change through years

Guides/Outfitters
1. Base of operation, area for guiding, date of operation
2. Clientele - where from, how many, regulars
3. Season of operation - start, finish, peak months
4. Off season activities - what was most important
5. Income, rates, basis of payment
6. Relationship with, image of tourists
7. Any organization of guides, attempts at promoting business
Residents of Otter Cove Cabins

1. When were the cabins introduced?
2. Why did they locate there?
3. Where from - first visit, knowledge of area
4. Construction of cabins - by whom, how?
5. Seasonal stay - arrival, departure dates, frequency of visits
6. Travel to area - mode, route, time cost, conditions
7. Activities - solitude, aesthetics, fishing, canoeing, hunting, primary reason
8. Way of life - food, clothing, supplies
9. Relationships with local population, other visitors
10. Original impressions of area, change through years

Early Canoe Trips

1. Date of first visit - knowledge of route
2. Route followed
3. Number in party - other details
4. Access to start - rail, road
5. Schedule of trip - start, finish, duration
6. Impressions of route - environment, incidents
7. Travel out at completion
8. Contacts with local population

Theme IV: Prospecting and Mining

While limited mining occurred in the park - the sole operation being at McDougall Lake - there was considerable travel through the region by prospectors.
Prospecting
1. Date and area of operation
2. Seasonal regimen - start, finish, duration
3. Daily regimen - typical day, tasks
4. Field procedures - observation, transects, sample gathering, routes, lay of the land
5. Experience, knowledge, training
6. Mode of travel - to and through area
7. Supplies and outfitting - equipment, diet
8. Registration, establishing claims
9. Basis of payment - own interest, salary from company, sell information
10. Activities other than prospecting - most important?

Mining: McDougall Lake
1. Location of mine operation
2. Date and duration of mine
3. Life at mine - daily, seasonal regimes, diet, shelter, clothing, social life
4. Mine operation - methods, tools, transport
5. Production - volume, workers
6. Work force - numbers, origin, ethnicity, age organization, wages
7. Miners - off season activities

Theme V: Trapping
As with other occupations (lumber, fishing, prospecting) trapping associated with other activities, all being integrated into one schedule. For trapping, questions focused on trapping and marketing.
Trapping
1. Base of operation - where lived, when operated
2. Location of trapping lines - use maps
3. Seasonal regimen - start, finish, duration, peaks
4. Daily regimen - start, finish, tasks
5. Traplines - distance, number of traps, time to cover distance
6. Transportation - travel to trapping area, travel along lines
7. Camp life - shelter, clothing, diet, supplies
8. Equipment - trap types, snares, techniques, wood-lare
9. Species trapped - numbers, yields, values, fluctuations, habitats
10. Numbers of trappers - interaction with, knowledge of.

Marketing
1. Purchasers - identify, locate, individual, companies
2. Prices - profitability, fluctuations, basis for payment
3. Hardships, perception of way of life
4. Off-season activity - how did other activities fit in

Theme VI: Shipping and Navigation
While there has been limited commercial navigation along the shore of the Park area during living memory - other than that associated with the lumber operation - the lighthouse at Otter Island fits the theme of the Park, "Wild shore of an inland sea".
1. When associated with the lighthouse - how long?
2. Seasonal regimen - way of life throughout the year
3. Daily regimen - typical daily routine
4. Life on the island - shelter, clothing, diet, supplies
5. Social activities - hobbies, recreation, contacts
6. The island itself - environment, perception of it
7. Techniques, tasks related to equipment
8. Shipping - observation of, amount of traffic, nature of traffic, seasonal variations
9. Severe weather - experience of, isolation?
10. Unique events - e.g. Edward Fitzgerald.
Appendix IV

Research Materials Collected

Company records have been collected from the following firms:

1. Abibiti Paper Company
   Labor-General File Documents re:
   - "hours of work" agreement 1947
   - employee distribution, 1948
   - labour contract with the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union for season 1947-1948.
   - letter describing general camp routine, 1933
   - letters about timber rights lawsuit at Homer Township, early 1930s.
   - two articles by Jack Mills on the POW lumber camps and American space exploration programme

2. American Can Ltd.
   Proposal re lumber production 1941.
   Graph of comparative pulpwood costs - 1938-57.
   Biographical notes - John Stevens III and notes on the history of Marathon Corporation.
   Notes by John Stevens on park coastline.
3. Algoma Steel Co. Ltd.
   Documents re exploration near Pukaskwa River, including report of forest fire - 1910.

4. Purvis Fishing Ltd.
   Log book to tug Dobson.
   Summary of commercial catch off Michipicoten Island.
   Newspaper account of Purvis family.
   Copy of the Great Lakes Communication, August 1979.

Ministry of Natural Resources Publications:
1. Logging of Black and White watersheds:
   The Pre-mechanization Era, 1890-1950.
   Including list of eleven person's interviewed. J.D. Buchan - 1972.


4. "History of Commercial Fishing on Lake Nipigon" by A. King. Prepared for the Thunder Bay District of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests. (No date.)


Films Acquired for Reviewing and Selected Copying:
1. Bruce Brown - 1 reel (5") (copied)
2. Gordon Haight, Hank Scott - 1 reel (5") (copied)
3. Graham Hurley - 2 reels (5" & 7") (7" copied)

Photographs Copied:
1. L. Bazelot - 4
2. L. Buck - 8
3. J. Kelly - 2
4. G. & D. Hurley - 16
5. A. King - 9
6. H. & L. Cormier - 8
7. H. Bussineau - 1
8. K.T. McCuaig - 3
9. Mrs. B. Collins, Sr. - 2
10. L. Fletcher - 1
11. J. Sherlock - 2
12. P. Gerow - 3

Maps:
Abitibi - 2 copies - map of timber rights - given by A. Waluk
- 2 maps, hand-drawn, of the White River Drive - L. Fletcher
- 2 Homer Township cut maps - L. Fletcher
Abitibi - cont'd - 1 Homer Township timber estimates  
- L. Fletcher

- 1 Homer Township timber rights  
- L. Fletcher

Great Lakes Forest Research Centre, S.S.M.  
- 3 xeroxes of Oiseau Bay maps showing Abitibi's cut over the burned area.  
- M. Alexander

M.N.R. (White River office)  
- 5 maps showing boundary changes, White River District of M.N.R.  
- M. Alexander

- 2 maps of registered traplines (also in Marsh)  
- B. Gerrard

- 1 map of timber rights  
- B. Gerrard

- Homer Township, ca. 1910  
- L. Hubelit

American Can  
- Timber rights held by the General Timber Company on the Pic River, ca. 1937.  
- K. McLeod

Other Material (Offprints, etc.) Collected:

General:

Tourism:

Courtesy of Lyman Buck:
One sample issue of AKTAvator, March/78, Vol.2, No.2
Published by the Algoma Kinniwabi Travel Association.


Sample page photocopied from Laura Bazlot's guest book of the Bazlot's tourist camp at the Chippewa River.


Lumbering:

[Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1953.]

"Towing - an Operational Lifeline". Abitibi, April 1953.


Courtesy of M.E. Alexander:

Photocopy of "Fire History of Pukaskwa National Park", printed in the Great Lakes Forest Research Centre, Newsletter, Summer 79.

Excerpt from "A Geographic Study of the Northern Coasts of Lakes Huron and Superior", Master's Thesis by J. Keith Fraser, University of Toronto, 1953.

Copy of fire reports for Oiseau Bay, 1951.

Shipping and Navigation:

Xeroxes from the Sault Star about lighthouse keepers
William Sherlock and Jim Sherlock: December 17, 1913
December 28, 1916
December 29, 1916
January 2, 1917

Local History Collection, Sault Ste. Marie Public Library
xeroxed copy of (a) photograph of Captain J.W. Alexander; and (b) of article from Sault Star
April 30, 1960.

Mining:


Memoir of a prospecting trip to Simon's Harbour by Clem Downey of Thunder Bay, Ontario.

Other Research Material Located But Not Collected

Written Material

1. Lyman Buck - log books relating to commercial fishing, lampreys, Lake Superior boating, etc.

2. Ghislaine Lecours - material collected for her own research.
Films:

Bruce Brown - 1 reel (available for copying when other returned)

René Bedard - 1 reel on guiding not all relevant to Pukaskwa

Great Lakes Cruising Club - Lake Superior boating (1975)

Slides and Photographs:

Ivan Palmer - additional slides to those copied

J. Calkins - various Pukaskwa scenes available to Park staff on request.
Appendix V
Authorization for Release of Tape, Photographs, and Other Material

Parks Canada - Oral History

Accession No. ....................
Tapes .............................

Name ..............................

Release of tape, photographs, and other material

I hereby give this tape recorded material to the Government of Canada, to be used by it, as it may deem suitable, subject to the conditions below. I am providing also, photographs, documents, and other material to be photographed or otherwise copied and returned retained for its use.

It is understood that the conditions restricting the use of the recorded material apply during my lifetime only.

Special comments or conditions ..........................
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Signed ...............................
Date .................................
Authorization for Transcript Release

Parks Canada - Oral History

Accession No.

Tapes.

Name.

Transcript Release

I hereby give this transcript numbering pages, to the Government of Canada for use by it as it may deem suitable.

It is a transcript of a tape recorded interview with me and users should bear in mind that it represents my spoken rather than written words.

Special Comments or Conditions:

Signed.

Date.
Appendix VI
Recommendations for Future Research

I  Possible Interviews:

Logging:

1) Al Johnson
   188 Fiesta Way
   Fort Lauderdale, Florida. 33301
   - former owner of the General Timber Co.
   - comes to northern Ontario once a year
   - friend of K.T. McCuaig

2) A. Waluk
   General Logging Superintendant
   Abitibi Paper Company
   White River, Ontario.
   - worked on White River drive in the 1930s
   - will be retiring within five years
   - may have 8mm film of the White River
     logging operations
   - may also know of a commercial film on
     the drive done in the early 1960s

Tourism:

1) John Cook
   White River, Ontario.
   - guided for White River Air Service
   - works for CPR out of Chapleau

2) Larry Perkins
   2319 Lincoln Street
   Evanston, Illinois. 60201
   - past president of the Great Lakes
     Cruising Club
   - sailed Lake Superior for 30 years
Tourism: - cont'd

3) Mark Herschede
144 Edwards Rd.
Hyde Park
Eastern Cincinnati, Ohio.
- owner of the 'Jan-Mar'
- sailed Lake Superior for 30 years

4) V. Kruger
2906 Meister Lane
Lansing, Michigan.
- canoeist
- has travelled extensively around Lake Superior
- recommended by John Calkins

5) Colin McDonald and R. Mucklestone
former branch and publicity officers for Ontario Government. Recommended by the Deluces (formerly of White River Air Services) now living in Timmins, Ontario.

Former Ontario Department of Lands and Forests Officials:

1) E.A. Pozzo
Ministry of Natural Resources
- game warden and district manager in Franz and White River for 30 years
- will be retiring within five years

2) Charles Cook
- retired game warden
- worked in White River District

3) Norman H. Sloane*
305 Pim Street
- Forest Protection Supervisor O.D.L. & F.
  1949 - ?
Former Ontario Department of Lands and Forests
Officials: cont'd

4) H.G. Cumming*
   (no address)
   - Fish and Wildlife Division
   - working in the Pukaskwa area ca. 1950-52.

5) Harold Green*
   (no address)
   (Sault Ste. Marie?)
   - Deputy chief ranger
   - Retired

6) Mr. Tom E. MacKay*
   (no address)
   (Toronto?)
   - retired pilot for the Ontario Forestry Branch
   - flew into Otter Cove, ca. 1928
   - not certain if he is still living

* suggested by M.E. Alexander, Great Lakes
Forest Research Centre.

II Materials:

Films: René Bedard - guiding
       Andy Waluk - logging on the White River

Slides: Great Lakes Cruising Club - yachting on Lake Superior
        John Calkins, East Lansing, Michigan

Miniature logging tools: Mrs. Mary Ascah
                         Box 1440
                         Huntsville, Ontario.

Journals, logs: Lionel Hubelit
               Wawa, Ontario.

Library from Otter Head Light
III **Suggested Speakers:**

1) Dr. Robert Kohrman  
Chemistry Department  
157 Brooks Halls  
Central Michigan University  
Mount Pleasant, Michigan.  
- re 19th century gentleman anglers on the Great Lakes

2) John Calkins  
East Lansing, Michigan  
- re: canoeing and fishing on the Pukaska River. Mr. Calkins has given talks on the Pukaskwa and the north shore of Lake Superior to clubs in Michigan

3) Ghislaine Lecours  
1505 Baseline Road, Apt. 615  
Ottawa, Ontario.  
- re: Pic culture

4) Tom McGrath  
Rossport, Ontario.  
- re: canoeing the Pukaskwa