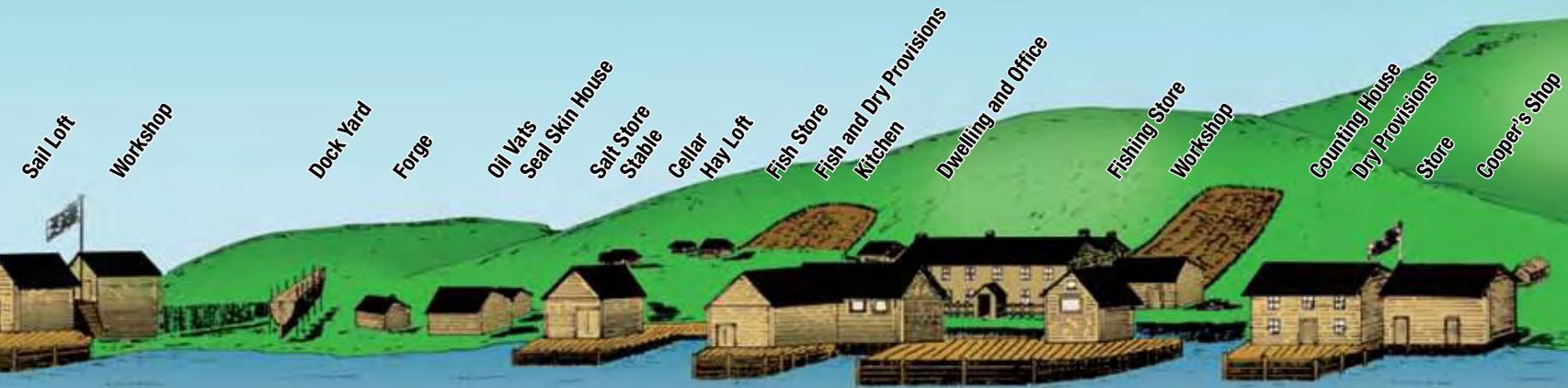


Chapter Three

INFLUENCE *of the SEA*





TOPIC 3.1

Settling In

How would you feel if you were asked (or forced) to leave your family and friends to permanently settle in an unknown area?

If you were to move today to a new country, what challenges might you face? How would you overcome them?

Introduction

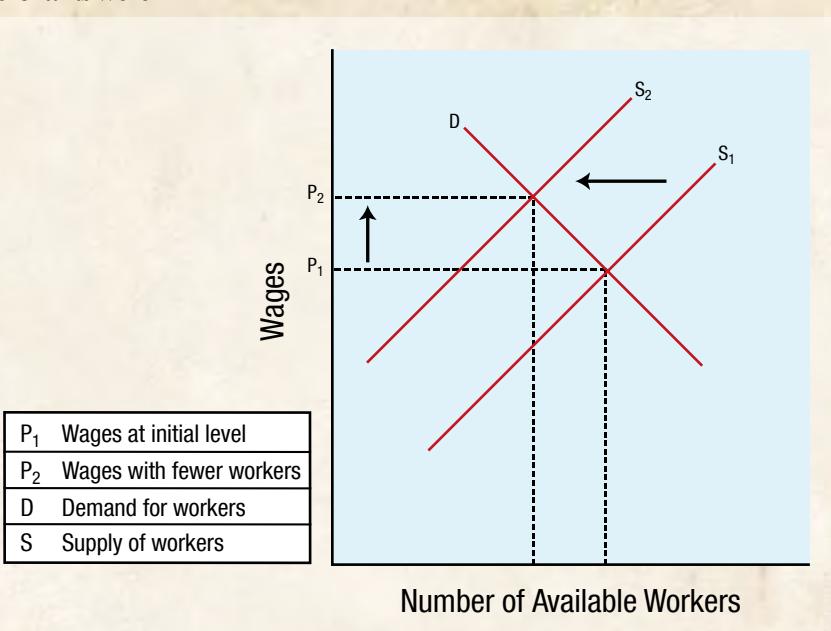
For nearly 300 years the fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador was a seasonal migratory activity conducted by Europeans during the late spring to early fall. A settled population, however, began to emerge from the early 1600s, and by 1815 the transatlantic migrations had almost ended.

workers and supplies needed for the migratory fishery. Also, large numbers of able seamen were forced to work in the Royal Navy. This created a labour shortage in the migratory fishery. As a result, British merchants were forced to pay more for wages and provisions, reducing their profit margins. These events encouraged the development of a resident fishery, since it did not depend on a workforce from Europe and required fewer ships. By 1815, residents were catching almost all the fish the merchants required.

Why did a resident fishery emerge?

By the mid-1600s, Newfoundland and Labrador was beginning to acquire a settled European population.* As it increased, the migratory fishery declined. Merchants were now able to get all the fish they wanted from residents without the risk and expense of catching it. The nineteenth-century fishery would be conducted almost entirely by residents.

Several important factors contributed to the growth of settlement and a resident fishery. One of these was the wars that Britain fought with America and France over the period 1775 to 1815. These wars disrupted shipping and interfered with the transport of



3.2 Labour shortage

When workers were pressed into the Royal Navy, there were fewer available for hire in the fishery; the supply line shifted to the left (S_2). As a result, market forces caused employers to pay higher wages (P_2).

*Europeans who settled in Labrador were called 'liverers', a term also sometimes used in Newfoundland.



Drawn by Collings.

Published as the Act directs by Bentley & C° June 1, 1790.

Robert Dighton.

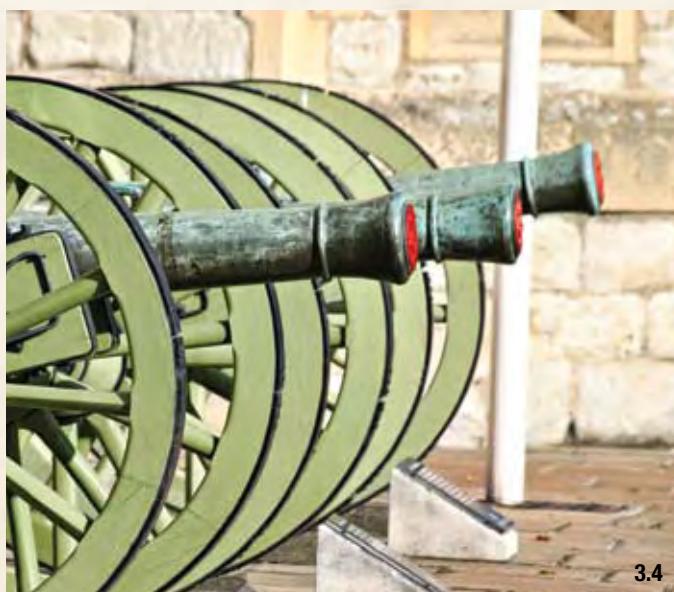
MANNING THE NAVY.

3.3 You're going to sea.

This caricature published in 1791 shows a Royal Navy press gang at work. During times of war, the Royal Navy was permitted to recruit seamen by "pressing" them into service by force. The Newfoundland and Labrador fisheries were supposed to be training grounds for seamen who, when required, were expected to join the Royal Navy. Not surprisingly, press gangs were actively recruiting in the fishing ports, looking for experienced sailors. Individuals with a seafaring background were preferred, but vagrants were also taken. After 1740, the age limit for impressment was 55. The impressment of large numbers of men resulted in a shortage of workers for the migratory fishery.

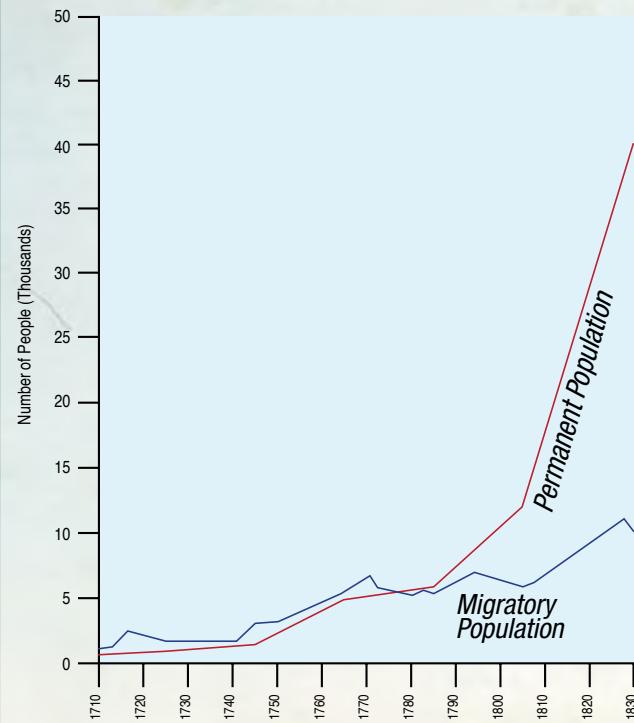
CONFLICTS IMPACTING THE FISHERY

Britain was involved with over 30 conflicts from 1750 to 1870. The identified conflicts made it more difficult for Britain to operate a migratory fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador and encouraged the development of a resident fishery.



- **French and Indian War*** (1754-63)
- **Seven Years' War** (1756-63)
- **American Revolution** (1775-83)
- **French Revolutionary Wars** (1792-1802)
- **United Irishmen's Revolt** (1798)
- **Napoleonic Wars** (1803-15)
- **War of 1812** (1812-15)
- **American Civil War** (1861-65)

* considered part of the Seven Years' War



Merchants began to find it more convenient, profitable, and less risky to supply resident fishers than to catch the fish themselves and shoulder the total cost and risks of the voyage. This encouraged them to move from a purely fishing trade to a general supplying trade, even setting up some of their former employees to fish for them. To do this, many of the smaller traders and byeboat-keepers settled here to handle their business in person. Larger merchants, on the other hand, often stayed in England and conducted their business through resident agents.

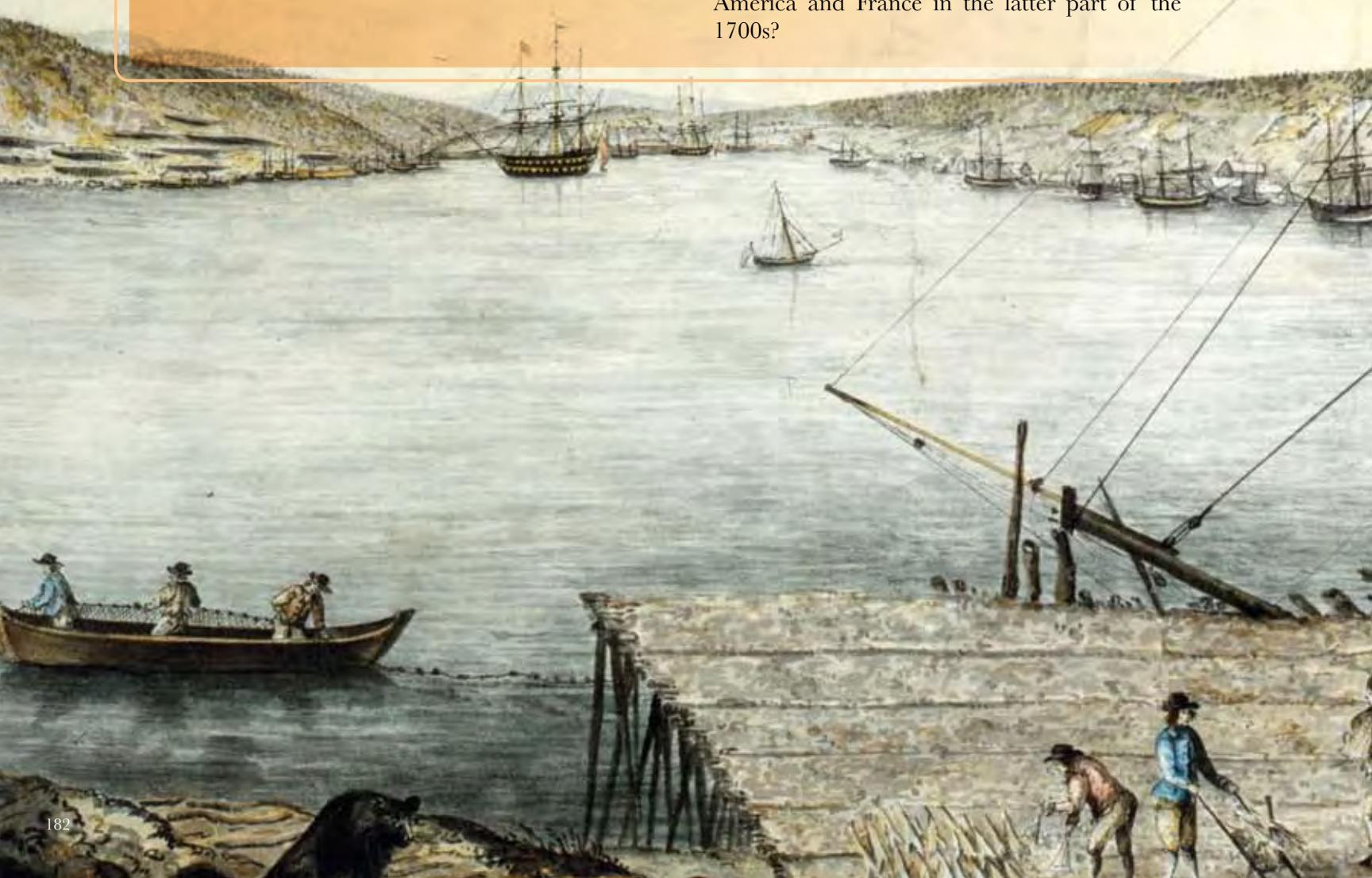
The emergence of winter industries (such as trapping, sealing, and boatbuilding) to provide a means of income during these months was another incentive for settlement. Worsening employment conditions in both England and Ireland promoted further **emigration**. By the 1790s, residents were the largest producers of fish in Newfoundland and Labrador.

3.5 Newfoundland population changes 1713-1830

(Based on information from "English Migration to Newfoundland" by W. Gordon Handcock in *The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography*, Ed. John J. Mannion. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1977.)

Questions:

1. What was the most significant reason for the emergence of a resident fishery?
2. How might our history have been different today if Britain had not been involved in wars with America and France in the latter part of the 1700s?



FUR TRAPPING

Fur trapping allowed fishers to earn income during the winter months. Beaver, rabbit, foxes, and wolves were taken primarily, as well as some ermine, marten, and otter. Although fur trapping contributed little value to the colony overall compared to cod and seal, it was important in some regions as supplementary income. Fur trapping was pursued mainly north of Bonavista (and to a smaller extent on parts of the island's south and west coasts) and especially in Labrador. Although fur trapping usually complemented the cod fishery, in some districts there were planters who were mainly furriers and salmon fishers.

The fur trade in Labrador began in the sixteenth century between French from Quebec and Innu. By the mid-1700s, the French had a chain of posts along the coast. They enjoyed a near-monopoly of the trade in southern Labrador until 1763, when the Treaty of Paris transferred the area to the English. English trading posts appeared in Labrador by 1765, including one established by George Cartwright in 1770 in the town

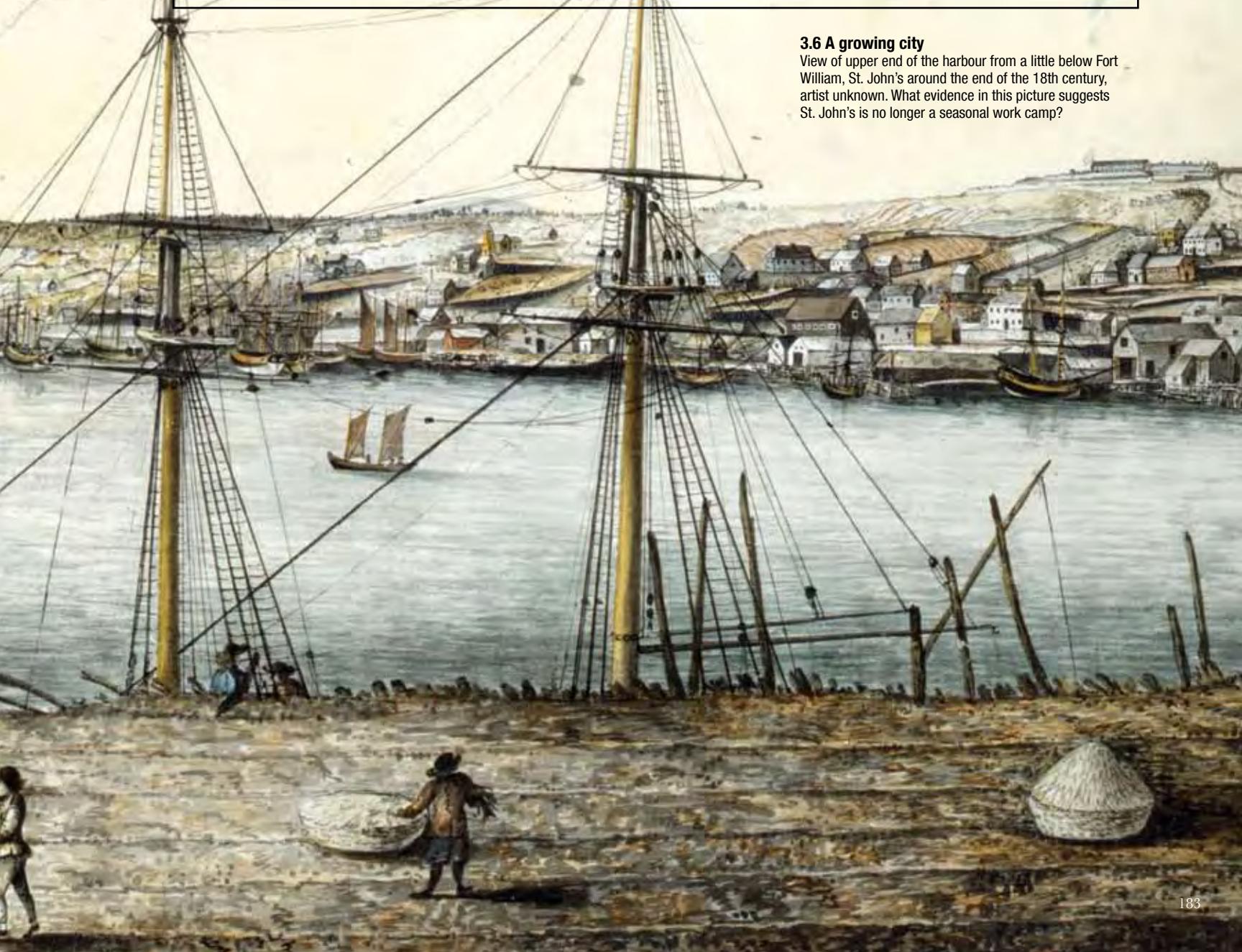
that now bears his name. By 1800, Labrador had a small winter resident population of English men employed by merchant houses to trap during the winter months. They also fished salmon and cod in the summer. Some of these furriers became permanent settlers who then trapped independently.

In 1836, the Hudson's Bay Company expanded its territory from Quebec into Labrador. They established their Labrador headquarters in North West River, which became a central point for trading European goods with Innu in exchange for furs. The Company set up posts at Rigolet and Cartwright that attracted trade with Inuit. Moravian missions along the northern coast also encouraged many Inuit to participate in the fur trade.

Thus, fur trading had several long-term effects on residents of Newfoundland and Labrador. It encouraged English and Scottish settlement, and established a pattern of trade for many Innu and Inuit, which would permanently impact their cultures.

3.6 A growing city

View of upper end of the harbour from a little below Fort William, St. John's around the end of the 18th century, artist unknown. What evidence in this picture suggests St. John's is no longer a seasonal work camp?



Those Who Settled

What countries of origin are represented in your community or region?
What is your family's ancestry?

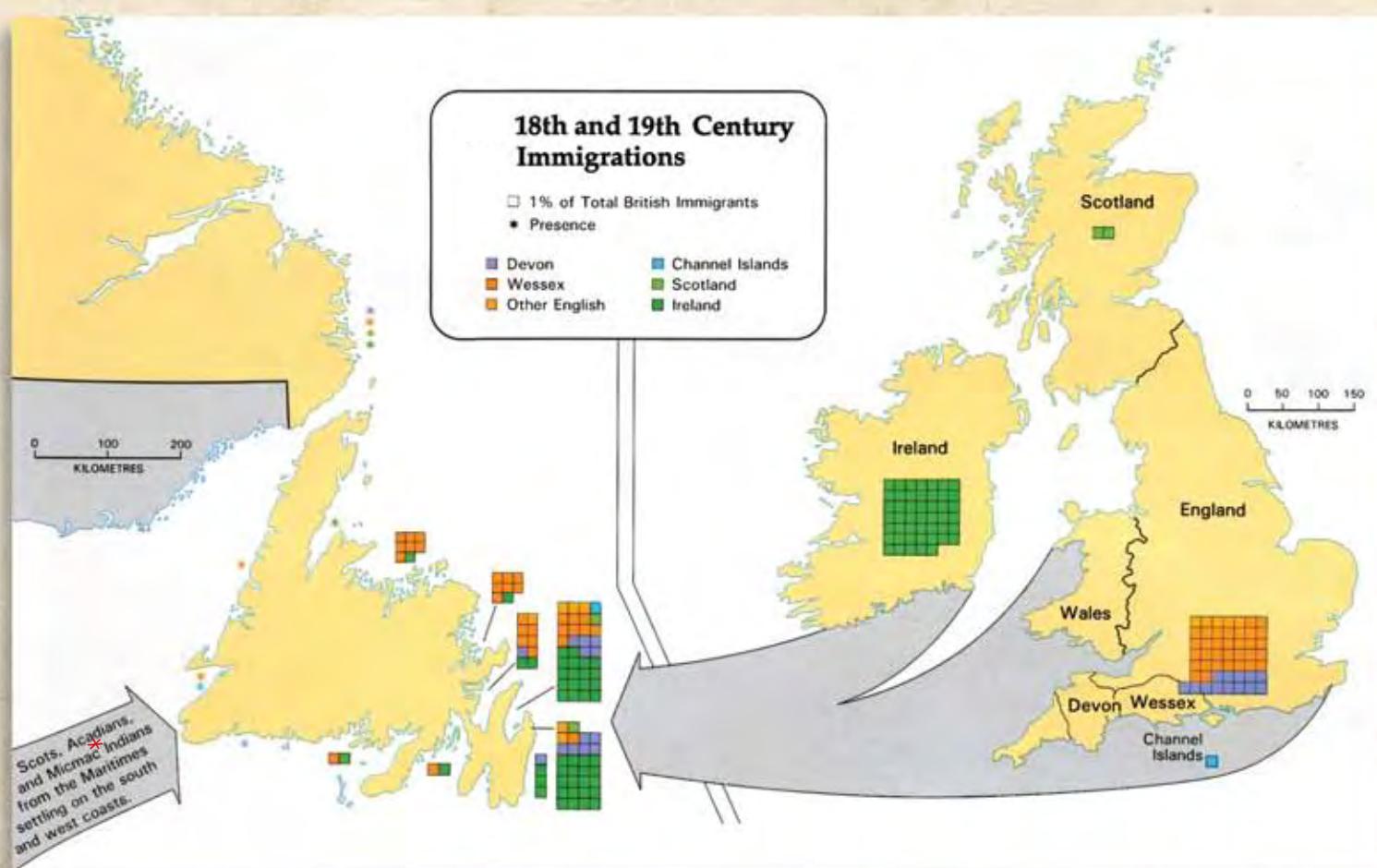
Introduction

The story of how Europeans first settled Newfoundland and Labrador is somewhat different from European **immigration** to other parts of North America. Our province's European population came almost entirely from England and Ireland, with small but significant inputs from the Channel Islands, Scotland, and France.

The two most important regions providing the labour in the migratory fishery also became the primary sources of the settled population. To this day, the great majority of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians can trace their ancestry to late eighteenth and early nineteenth century immigrants from the southwest of England and the

southeast of Ireland. Because of this, the effects of the migratory fishery are still prevalent today.

Another distinctive characteristic of settlement in Newfoundland and Labrador is that it was encouraged by merchants rather than being the product of individual initiative. Unlike other areas of North America, where ships brought large numbers of families seeking a better life, immigrants to the island of Newfoundland were primarily young, single men brought by merchants on their ships to work for them. There were few women or children in the early years.



*Today, Mi'kmaq is the common usage.

3.7 Early settlement

Some historians suggest that by 1800 there were hundreds of communities in Newfoundland with perhaps 15 000 permanent residents. However, definitions of "permanent resident" vary and other historians' calculations suggest that there were closer to 10 000 permanent residents.



3.8 An immigrant arrives in St. John's in the late 1700s

Immigration to Newfoundland required no more than leaving a ship. There were no formalities for subjects of the king – passports and immigration controls lay far in the future. Most settlers in Newfoundland came as individuals, not as members of a family unit. Family units were mostly formed here and marriage was often a main reason for staying.



3.9 The immigration experience

(above) Immigrants await processing in Ellis Island in an 1893 *Harper's Weekly* illustration. The immigration process that developed later in these immigration stations was more formal than the Newfoundland experience. (left) Dutch immigrants assemble in a hall in Pier 21 in Halifax (c. 1920-30).

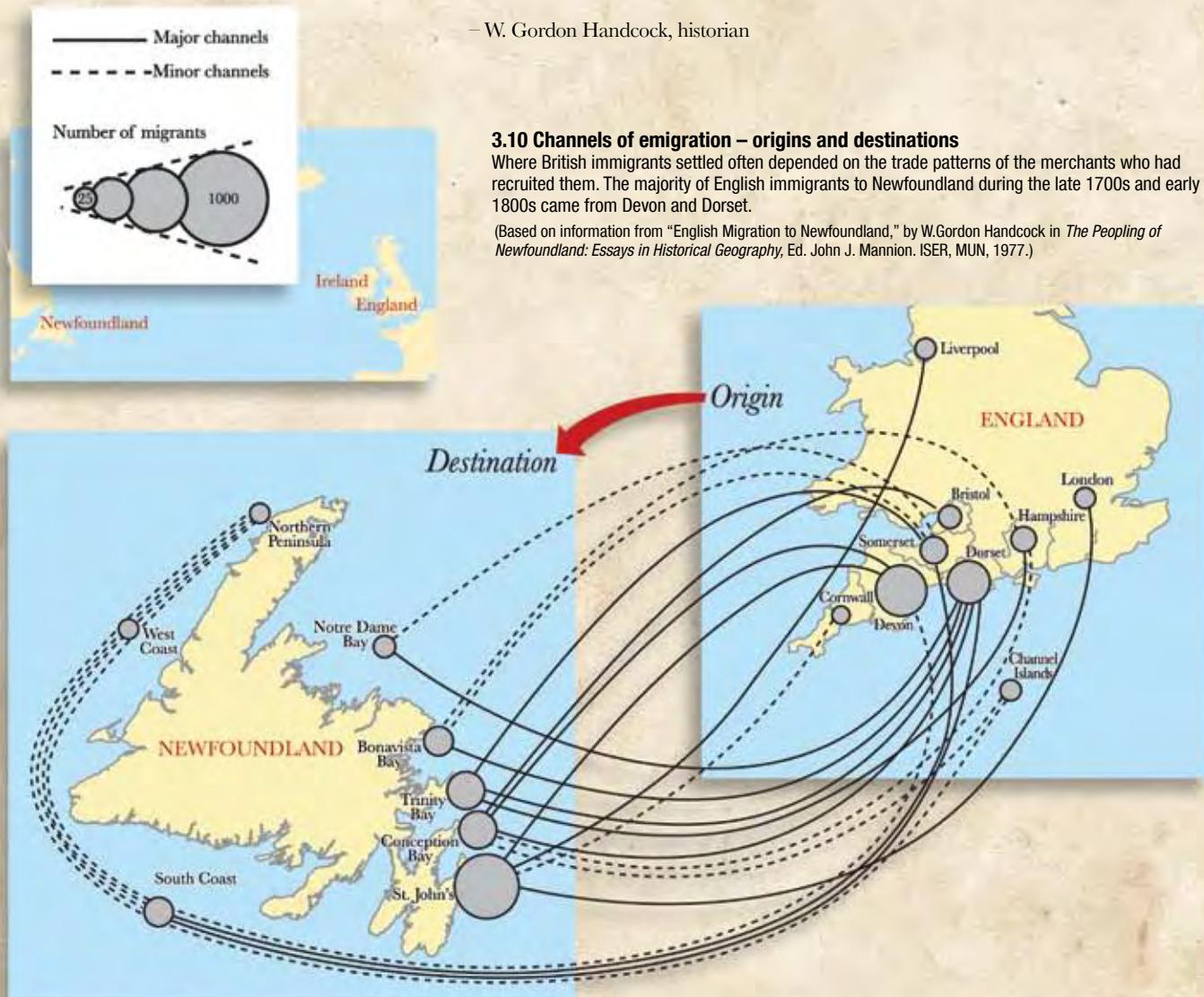
English Immigration

There were several push and pull factors that drew people to Newfoundland and Labrador. **Push factors** included low wages, boredom, and poverty; **pull factors** included adventure, good wages, and freedom. In southwest England during the 1700s, the population in rural areas increased, but without similar growth in the local economy. This created a surplus of labour and much underemployment.

Some of the men affected by this found seasonal employment in the migratory fishery and ultimately chose to immigrate to Newfoundland and Labrador. It was an opportunity for many teens and young men. For the most part, these immigrants were Church of England, Methodists, and Congregationalists.

Throughout this period, Britain's demand for fish increased because of its wars with America and France, creating more employment opportunities in the fishery. West Country merchants actively advertised and recruited men for employment in the fishery as servants and planters. Terms of employment usually required the men to stay for several years. Typically, the ports which had been the most involved in the migratory fishery contributed the largest number of immigrants to Newfoundland. These immigrants usually settled in communities where the merchants who had brought them over conducted their business.

“Throughout Newfoundland, merchant headquarters became dominant regional centres ... These centres also attracted to them the first community institutions such as churches, schools, and courts.”



3.11 Example of employment terms: "youngster" from Slade shipping papers, 1793

*John Slade & Co.
G. Slade & Co.
Dorchester
Wareham*

MEMORANDUM. *James Clark* do now agree to serve *John Slade & Co.* or any other of the said *Slade & Co.* Vessels to *Labrador* or *Newfoundland*, there to be employed on a Fishing Voyage, and from thence on a Trading Voyage, to do the Duty of a good *Youngster* on Board *Slade & Co.* in the *Fishery at Labrador* and *Newfoundland*, and on every other Occasion as directed for the good of the Voyage, or said *Slade & Co.* Interest; for which Service duly performed the Wages agreed is to be *Seventeen Pounds for Two Summers & One Winter's Service at Labrador & Newf. Land.*

As Witness my Hand in *Wareham* *James Clark*
this 29 day of *March 1793*

3.12 Example of employment terms: "master" from Slade shipping papers, 1792

MEMORANDUM. *Richd. Miller* do now agree to serve *John Slade & Co.* or any other of the said *Slade & Co.* Vessels to *Labrador* or *Newfoundland*, there to be employed on a Fishing Voyage, and from thence on a Trading Voyage, to do the Duty of a *Master* on Board *Slade & Co.* in the *Fishery at Labrador* and *Newfoundland*, and on every other Occasion as directed for the good of the Voyage, or said *Slade & Co.* Interest; for which Service duly performed the Wages agreed is to be *Three pounds per Month from the Sailing over Dore Bar till the End of the Voyage or Discharged — without leave to carry Goods or Trade or Cabin to Damage or other purpose.*

As Witness my Hand in *Poole*, *Richd. Miller*,
this 6th day of *Decemr. 1792*

Clear of Hospitals

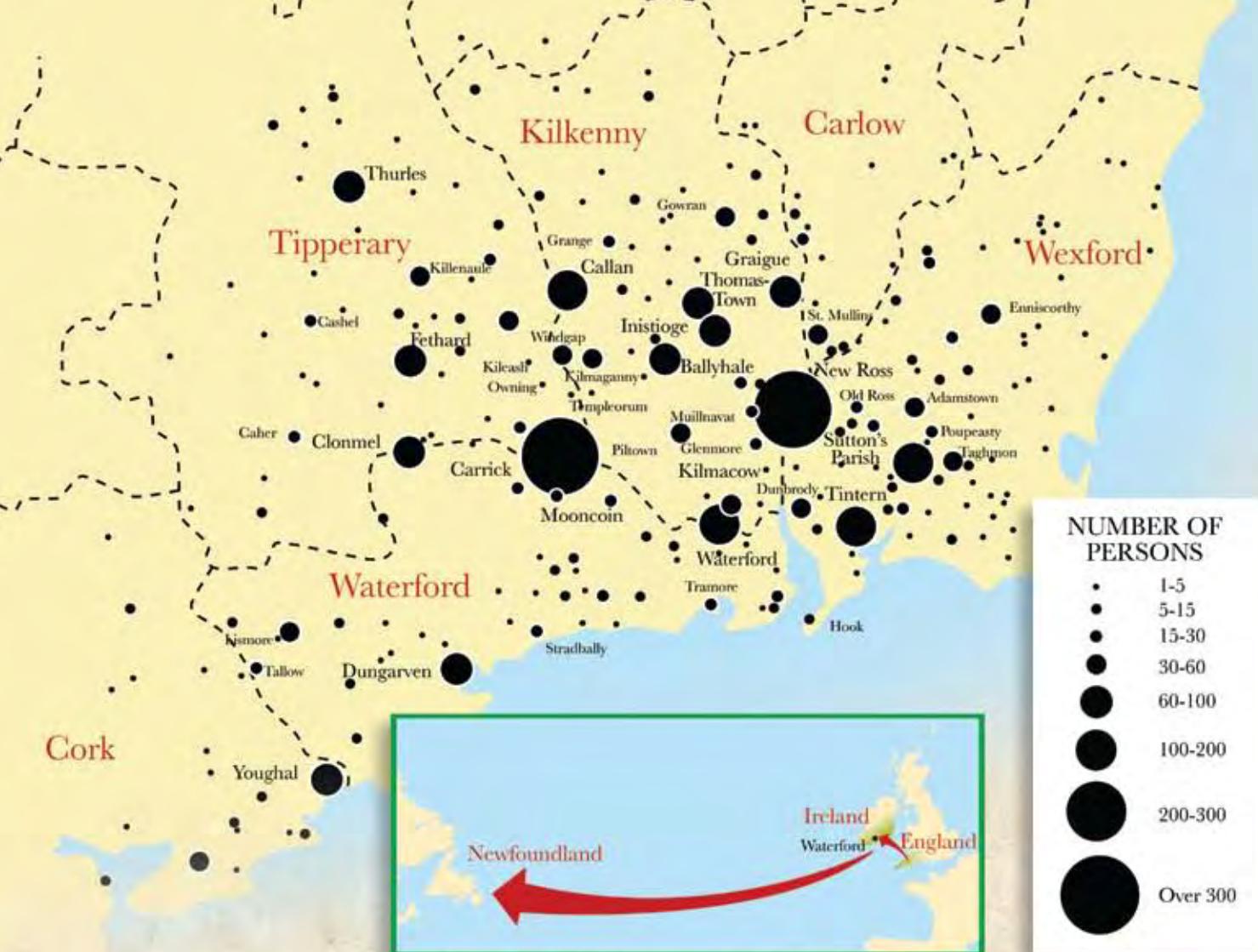
Newfoundland
170(3)
Archives



3.13 An indication of the importance of cod to British merchants

Dried cod, a symbol of the family's source of wealth and prosperity, is featured on this marble mantelpiece in a property built during the late 1770s in Poole, England for members of the Lester family. The Lesters were important merchants in the cod trade at Trinity. Today the Lester house is the site of the Mansion House Dining Club and Hotel.





3.14 Sources of Irish immigrants: 1790-1850

The majority of Irish immigrants to Newfoundland during the first half of the 19th century came from Waterford and Wexford.

(Based on information from "The Irish Migration to Newfoundland," a summary of a public lecture delivered to the Newfoundland Historical Society by John Mannion on Oct. 23, 1973.)

Irish Immigration

In Ireland there was a similar desire to escape hardship at home. A series of crop failures in the 1730s and 1740s impoverished various regions of Ireland and there was little work to be found in local towns. In addition, with each generation, peasants were finding it more difficult to subdivide their land among their sons into farms that were still economically viable.

The Newfoundland migratory fishery provided alternative employment to farm labourers and tradesmen in southeastern Ireland. Many men found seasonal employment in the fishery when West Country ships called at Waterford for lower-priced provisions en route to Newfoundland. Recruiting and hiring occurred there and in the rural market towns and villages.

Irish labour* was seen as another commodity to purchase. At first, very few workers stayed permanently in Newfoundland: there were probably fewer than 500 Irish settlers in the 1730s. However, by 1770 there were approximately 4000 permanent Irish residents and by 1836 they comprised roughly 50 per cent of the island's total population. Most of these Irish immigrants were Roman Catholic.

* Irish labour tended to be less expensive than English labour.

3.15 From Waterford to Newfoundland and Labrador

Irish workers often joined West Country ships that called at Waterford looking for workers and supplies on their way to Newfoundland.

The influx of Irish Catholic immigrants into a population that was largely of English Protestant descent caused some tension. In fact, for much of the 1700s, Roman Catholics had been prevented by law from openly practising their religion by a series of decrees from naval governors. Although there were some priests, for the most part they operated out of sight of British authority. Roman Catholics were not officially allowed religious freedom until Governor John Campbell gave permission for Roman Catholics to build a chapel in St. John's in 1783. However, in many harbours and coves, and on numerous ships and in fishing crews, the English and Irish worked together. There were many intermarriages. Many Irish also attained the status of merchants, ship owners, captains, and leading planters.

The 1760s and early 1770s were good years for the fishery. Exports increased and prices remained steady. Employment soared, with perhaps 20 000-30 000 men working seasonally in the fishery.

Roman Catholics were also discriminated against in the United Kingdom until the 1820s.



3.16 Freedom to worship

The first Roman Catholic church was built in St. John's in 1783.

Note that Roman Catholics were the only exception to this decree!

“... You are to permit a Liberty of Conscience to all Persons (except Papists) So they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving Offence or Scandal to the Government.”

— Excerpt from the Crown's instructions to Governor Osborn upon his Commission as Governor in 1729.



3.17 View of Waterford, Ireland

(artist William Van der Hagen, 1736) How does this picture compare to the image of St. John's harbour in fig. 3.6?

3.18 New York City, c. 1900

Cities like New York, where there was a high labour demand, attracted many Irish immigrants. By 1850, Irish made up one quarter of the population in New York City.

WHY DID THEY BYPASS NEWFOUNDLAND? UNDERSTANDING GLOBAL FORCES

Early in the nineteenth century there were two waves of Irish immigration that brought an estimated 45 000 Irish to Newfoundland (see page 188). This marked the end of large-scale Irish emigration to Newfoundland. The great exodus of people from Ireland caused by the potato famines in the 1840s bypassed Newfoundland completely in favour of the larger cities of the east coast of North America.

The volume of emigration from Ireland in the late 1700s and early 1800s was a trickle compared to the later flood. In the decade after 1845, two million Irish, a quarter of the population, emigrated to North America. Many more followed until, at the end of the century, the population of Ireland had declined by almost 50 per cent.

The post-famine Irish tended to avoid Newfoundland because of our depressed economy at the time. A Newfoundland governor of the period claimed that the Irish in Newfoundland advised their relatives not to join them there as they would not find work. Employment, however, could be found in the cities of the north-east coast of mainland North America. In fact, during this time period, the majority of transatlantic shipping activity was between Europe and this area, which was beginning to industrialize in the 1840s and had a large demand for labour. Although many Irish did find work in building railways and canals and other heavy construction, they faced a long climb out of poverty in their new homes.

Scottish Immigration

Originally, Donald Smith was "banished" to Labrador by the HBC as punishment for taking time off work to see a doctor without permission.

Scottish migrants did not settle in Newfoundland and Labrador in significant numbers until the nineteenth century. Unlike many of the settlers from England and Ireland who were fishers, most Scottish migrants during this time were artisans or involved in the merchant trade. As well, most were Presbyterian and relatively well-educated. Until the 1840s, almost all Scottish immigrants came from the Scottish Lowlands, especially the port towns of Greenock and Glasgow, where there were merchant firms that had regular trade with Newfoundland and Labrador. Eventually several Scottish merchant firms were set up in St. John's, and in outport communities such as Harbour Grace, Trinity, and Bonavista.

While the vast majority of the Scottish migrants from the Lowlands settled in St. John's, Harbour Grace, and the eastern part of the island of Newfoundland, smaller numbers moved to other regions. Some Scots migrated to Labrador in the 1800s to work for the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). Prominent among these was Donald Smith, who became the Hudson's Bay Company's chief trader for Labrador in 1852 and established the company's headquarters at North West River. Smith lived in Labrador for 21 years and became Lord Strathcona in 1897.

The second Scottish immigration occurred between 1840 and 1860, when a few families of Highland Scots arrived on the island's southwest coast from Cape Breton. These migrants (or the generation before them) had originally migrated from the Scottish Highlands and Western



3.19 Sources of Scottish immigration

Scottish immigrants came from two areas. Those who arrived prior to 1840 came mostly from the Lowlands (especially from Greenock and Glasgow). Those who arrived from 1840-1860 came mostly from the Highlands via Cape Breton.



3.20 Scottish immigration from Nova Scotia to Newfoundland

(Based on information from "Highlands Scots Migration to Southwestern Newfoundland" by Rosemary E. Ommer in *The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography*, Ed. John J. Mannion. ISER, MUN, 1977.)



St. Andrew's (Presbyterian) Church, St. John's, N.F.



3.21 St. Andrew's Church, St. John's, c. 1910

Scottish Lowlanders living on the island's east coast helped to establish the Presbyterian Church in Newfoundland and Labrador. The colony's first Presbyterian congregation opened St. Andrew's in December 1843.

3.22 The MacArthur home, c. 1920

The MacArthur family was one of several families that emigrated from the Scottish Highlands to Newfoundland's west coast during the 19th century. Most Highlanders settled in the Codroy Valley and St. George's Bay and many of their descendants still live in the area today.



Isles to Cape Breton to farm. When land in Cape Breton started to become scarce in the 1840s, some of these Scottish families moved across the Cabot Strait to Newfoundland's southwest coast. Most settled in the Codroy Valley and St. George's Bay, where arable land of a similar quality to that in Cape Breton was available. It has been estimated that by the 1880s, 38 per cent of the households in the Codroy Valley belonged to people of Scottish descent.

The first census to enumerate Scots in Newfoundland occurred in 1857. It recorded 416 Scottish-born people living on the island, but the precise number of Scots who emigrated to Newfoundland and Labrador during the nineteenth century is unknown. Several of these Scottish immigrants and their descendants made significant contributions to the development of Newfoundland and Labrador's politics, economy, and culture – including political reformer William Carson, explorers John MacLean and William Epps Cormack, and merchants such as Baine, Johnston and Company, and John Munn and Company.

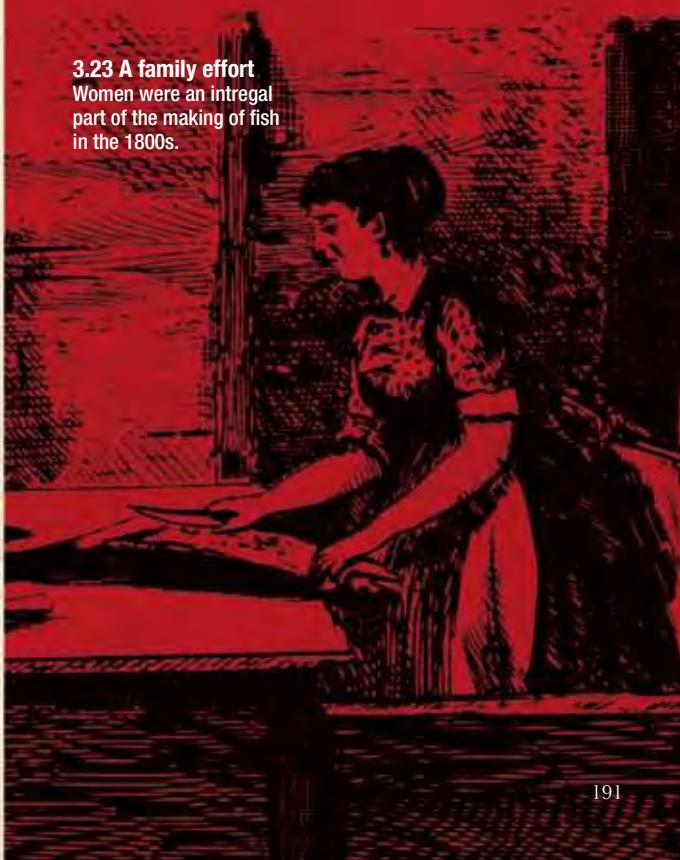
A COUNTING CONUNDRUM

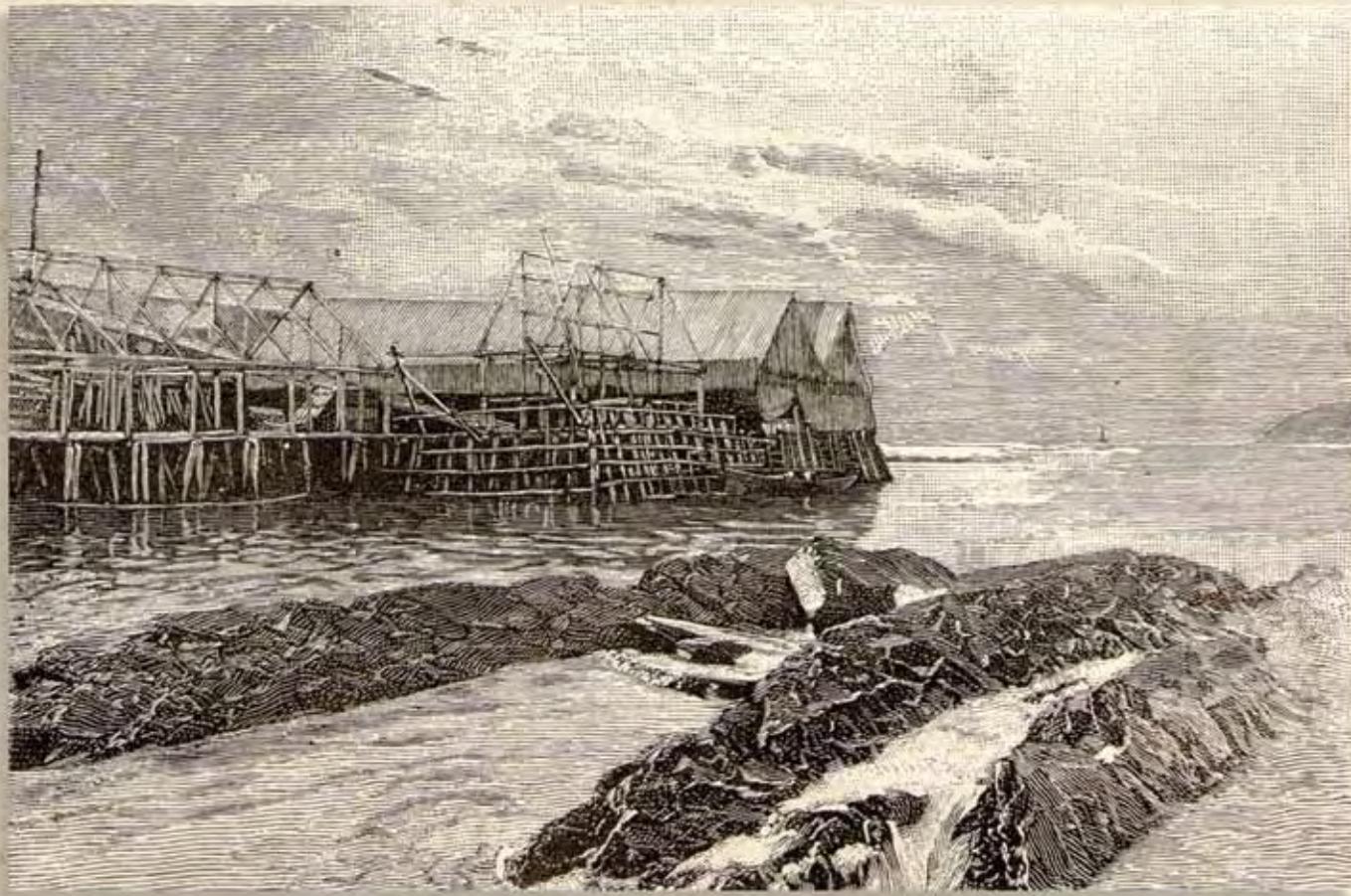
Because our fishery evolved over many decades, it is difficult for historians to get a clear picture of how many permanent residents lived in Newfoundland prior to 1800. Before this time, many of Newfoundland's European residents lived here only in the summer or stayed for a winter or two, without ever becoming permanent residents. One source puts the resident population in 1800 at 15 000, but others suggest the number of people who actually stayed here long-term was much lower.

One means of calculating the true resident population is to base it upon the recorded number of women and children. The link between marriage and the decision to settle was noted over 300 years ago. "Soe longe as there comes no women they are not fixed," wrote a seventeenth century observer. This suggests that the true resident population was the family population. This is calculated by doubling the number of women (to give each one a husband) and adding the number of children, which totals fewer than 10 000 residents in 1800.

3.23 A family effort

Women were an integral part of the making of fish in the 1800s.





3.24 French fishing rooms

This image depicts Cap Rouge Harbour, near Conche on the Northern Peninsula.

French Immigration

The cod fishery attracted Europeans to Newfoundland waters from the early sixteenth century, and the French were among the earliest arrivals. This was a migratory fishery: ships and crews sailed out each spring and returned to France each fall. Permanent French settlement began with the establishment of a colony at Plaisance (Placentia) in 1662.

This colony was short-lived. France claimed sovereignty over the island of Newfoundland, as did Britain (Aboriginal people were ignored). But in the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) France abandoned this claim. Plaisance was evacuated, and almost all the settlers moved to Cape Breton, which the French named Île Royale. However, France retained the right to fish, during the summer, on the northeast coast of Newfoundland between Cape Bonavista and Pointe Riche, near Port aux Choix; the limits changed after 1783 to Cape St. John and Cape Ray. These coasts became known as the French Treaty Shore. The French were not allowed to remain there year round. After 1815 Newfoundland residents called “gardiens” were often employed to look after their fishing premises in the winter.

In time, a small number of French people, either deserters from the fishery or migrants from Saint-Pierre-et-Miquelon* (originally ceded by Britain to France in 1763), settled on the Treaty Shore, mainly on the Port au Port Peninsula. The most important French **enclave** in Newfoundland, the St. George’s Bay area, was settled

by Acadiens (Acadians) from Cape Breton in the first half of the nineteenth century. They were descendants of French people who had settled in what are now the Maritimes and northern Maine, an area they called Acadie (Acadia) during the seventeenth century.

The Acadiens were fishers and farmers, and sometimes intermarried with French settlers and the local Mi’kmaq. St. George’s Bay for a time became the most important population centre on the Treaty Shore – Sandy Point was the main settlement – and in 1850 a French-speaking Roman Catholic priest was appointed to the area. Protestant clergy followed later to minister to English-speaking settlers.

The migratory Treaty Shore fishery declined steeply in the second half of the nineteenth century, as French outfitters either left the trade, or transferred into the offshore bank fishery based at Saint-Pierre. Quarrels remained, however, and it was not until 1904 that France and Britain agreed that the fishery clauses of the old treaties should be rescinded. The French Treaty Shore disappeared, as part of a comprehensive Anglo-French agreement known as the **entente cordiale**.

But the Acadiens remained, with their traditions. Archaeologists are now uncovering the artifacts and landscapes created by French migratory fishing crews centuries ago.

*Praised for their rich fishing grounds, this group of islands is all that remains of the former French Empire called New France.



3.25 The French Treaty Shore

Experiencing The Arts

As you read sections 3.1 to 3.3, create a comic art essay of 6-10 frames that summarizes:

1. The reasons why a permanent population emerged on pages 180-182.
2. The experience of one of the groups that migrated to Newfoundland and Labrador on

pages 186-192. Be sure to address the issue of push-pull factors.

3. The experience of a fisher in one of the fisheries discussed on pages 200-210. Be sure to address the forces that affected that fishery.

Add this to your portfolio.

3.26 Émile Benoit (1913-1992)

Émile Benoit from the French Shore was, perhaps, Newfoundland's best known fiddle player. His great-grandfather was a native of France and his mother was an Acadian whose ancestors came from Cape Breton Island.

Experiencing The Arts

Find out how Émile Benoit was discovered as a fiddle player... at the age of 60. To learn more, turn to page 590.



CASE STUDY

French Place Names – A Lasting Legacy

From the beginning, France was one of the main participants in the exploration of Newfoundland and Labrador.



3.27 Preparing the cod, Cap Rouge, c. 1858

THE FRENCH PRESENCE IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR dates back to the early 1500s. French fishers were found in many parts of Newfoundland, in the inshore fishery, and later the offshore bank fishery. The French gave names to many communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, and many of these names have persisted unchanged to the present-day. Some have evolved slightly over time; others are less obvious, but with a little research can still be traced to their French origin. Numbering well over one hundred, these communities are a lasting reminder of the role the French played in the settlement of our province.

On the Creation and Evolution of Place Names ...

Place names for new localities can be drawn from a variety of sources: they may be borrowed from the country of origin of the person(s) conferring the name; they may be saints' names, personal names, family names; they may recall historical incidents or refer to occupations; they may be descriptive.

Once a locality has been given a particular name, that name must become generally known and accepted. Finally, it must be recognized by cartographers, who, through the

creation of maps, give a degree of permanence to place names. Since the coasts of Newfoundland were known to early European navigators and cartographers and attracted fishing interests from Spain, Portugal, France, and England, it is sometimes difficult to identify the specific origins of particular names. This difficulty arises from the tendency of early cartographers to adapt names learned from seamen and explorers or found on foreign charts to the likeness of a word in their own language.

CATEGORY 1

3.28

Place names of Newfoundland and Labrador communities that have retained their original French form or have evolved with only a slight variation

Current name of community	Original name of community	Current name of community	Original name of community
Baie Verte	Baie Verte	Harbour le Cou	Havre de Cou
Bateau	Bateau	Harbour Mille	Havre Mille
Bay d'Espoir	Baie du St. Esperit	Haricot	Haricot
Bay l'Argent	Baie l'Argent	Hermitage	L'Ermitage
Bay Roberts	Baie des Robert*	Ile aux Morts	Ile aux Morts
Beau Bois	Beau Bois	Jacques Fontaine	Jacques Fontaine
Benoit's Cove	L'Anse à Benoît	Jean de Baie / D'Argent Baie	Baie d'Argent
Branch	Les Branches	La Manche	La Manche
Brigus	Brigue	La Poile	La Poile
Brigus South	Brigue	La Scie	La Scie
Burin	Les Burins	L'Anse au Clair	L'Anse St. Clair
Calmer	Calme Mer*	L'Anse aux Canards /	L'Anse aux Canards
Cape Anguille	Cap à l'Anguille	Black Duck Brook	L'Anse Amour
Cape St. George	Cap St. Georges	L'Anse-Amour	L'Anse au Loup
Cape St. George	Grand Jardin/ Petit Jardin (both now part of Cape St. George)	L'Anse-au-Loup	Petit Bréhat
Carbonear	Carbonière	Little Brehat	
Castors River	Rivière aux Castors	Maison d'Hiver /	Maison d'Hiver
Chapeau Rouge	Chapeau Rouge	Winterhouse	Pointe à Marche
Chateau	Château	Marches Point	Marquès
Colinet	Colinet	Marquise	Mollier*
Conche	Conche / Havre la Conche	Molliers	Mortier
Conne River	Rivière Conne	Mortier	Nouvel Ferolle
Corbin	Corbin	New Ferolle	Pacquet
Croque	Croc	Pacquet	Petit Port
Cul de Sac East	Cul de Sac	Petit Forte	Petite
Cul de Sac West	Cul de Sac	Petites	Pointe Egalle
De Grau	Dégrat	Point au Gaul	Pointe aux Morues
Felix Cove	L'Anse à Félix*	Point au Mal	Pointe la Haye
Femme	Femme	Point La Haye	Port au Bras
Fleur de Lys	Fleur de Lys	Port au Bras	Portichoa
Fortneau	Fortneau	Port au Choix	Orphor Portu
Fortune	Fortune	Port au Port	Port aux Basques
Francois	François	Port aux Basques	Port de Grève
Gallants	Gallant	Port de Grave	L'Anse de Pouche
Gargamelle	Gargamelle	Pouch Cove	Presque
Gaultois	Gaultois	Presque	Iles des Rameaux
Grand Bank	Grand Banc	Ramea	Rencontre East
Grand Bay East	Grande Baie de l'Est	Rencontre East	Rencontre Ouest
Grand Bay West	Grand Baie de l'Ouest	Romaines	Romaine
Grand Bruit	Grand Bruit	Rose Blanche	Roches Blanches
Grand le Pierre	Grand Ile à Pierre	St. Barbe	Ste. Barbe
Grand' Terre / Mainland	Grande Terre	St. George's	St. Georges
Great Brehat	Grand Bréhat	St. Jacques	St. Jacques
Great Brûlé	Grand Brûlé	St. Julien's	St. Julien
Griquet	Griquet	St. Lunaire	St. Lunaire
Grole	Grole	Trepassy	Trépassés
Harbour Breton	Havre Bertrand	Trois Cailloux /	
Harbour Buffett	Havre Buffet	Three Rock Cove	L'Anse aux Trois Cailloux
Harbour Grace	Havre de Grâce		

*Name appears to have a French origin, but has not been documented.

Based on information from *Carte de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador: Teacher Resource Book*, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Department of Education

CATEGORY 2

3.29

Place names of Newfoundland and Labrador communities that have evolved significantly from their original French form

Current name of community	Original name of community	Current name of community	Original name of community
Bauline	Baleine	Mattis Point	Pointe St. Jean Baptiste*
Bauline East	Baleine	Mose Ambrose	Ma Jambe
Bay Bulls	Baie Boulle*	Petty Harbour	Petit Havre*
Belleoram	Bande de l'Arier	Pinware	Baie Noire
Clattice Harbour	Cap Lattice*	Placentia	Plaisance
Crouse	Cap Rouge	Plate Cove	L'Anse Plate
Englee	Baie des Aiguillettes	Point Rosey	Pointe Enragée
Ferryland	Forillon	Point Verde	Pointe Verte
Gaskiers	Gascoigne	Pointe Crewe	Pointe Creuse
Grandois	Les Grandes Oies	Quidi Vidi	Quiédéville
Great Barasway	Grand Barachoua	Quirpon	Kerpont
Harbour Main	Havre Mein	Renews	Rougnouse
Lamaline	La Meline*	Rosiru	Roches Rousses
L'Anse aux Meadows	L'Anse aux Méduses	Roundabout	Rends à Bout
Lawn	L'Ane	Spillars Cove	L'Anse aux Piliers
Little Barasway	Petit Barachoua	St. Shotts	Cap de Chincete
Lord's Cove	Cap Lard*	Taslow	Tasse d'Argent
Mall Bay	Baie des Morues	Twillingate	Toulinquet

CATEGORY 3

3.30

Place names of Newfoundland and Labrador communities that have evolved significantly from their original French form

Current name of community	Original name of community	Current name of community	Original name of community
Boat Harbour	Havre à la Chaloupe*	River of Ponds	Rivière des Roches
Brent's Cove	Petit Coup de Hache	Rocky Harbour	Havre des Roches
Coachman's Cove	Havre du Pot d'Etain	Shallop Cove	L'Anse à la Chaloupe
Cow Head	Cap Pointu	St. Anthony	St. Antoine
Fox Island River	Ile du Renard	St. Anthony Bight	Havre St. Méen
Freshwater (near Carbonear)	Fréneuse	St. Bride's	La Stress*
Goose Cove	Petites Oies	Summerside	Petit Pas
Harbour Round	Grand Coup de Hache	Wild Cove	L'Anse à la Vache Gare
Little Harbour Deep	Grandes Vaches	Wild Cove	Havre Gouffre
Middle Arm	Havre Faux	Woody Point	Pointe Broussailles
Ming's Bight	Baie des Pins		
Red Bay	Les Buttes		

Here is an instance where a place name may have changed because of an error. Some historians suggest the original name L'Anse aux Méduses ("the bay of Jellyfish") probably morphed into its current name because of an early misspelling of its original French form.

3.31 French fishing premises in Conche, 1859



Questions: *questions*

1. What is the extent of French influence on place names of Newfoundland and Labrador?
2. Look at the names on the list that have changed slightly (category 1) or substantially (category 2). List three factors which might account for this change. Which might be the most important factor? Explain.
3. Do you think communities today should go back to their roots and change the names of the communities to the original names? Support your reasoning.

*Name appears to have a French origin, but has not been documented.

The Last Waves

The last half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century saw three main waves of emigration to Newfoundland. The first one in the late 1700s consisted mainly of English Protestants. The next two influxes of emigrants, from 1811-1816 and from 1825-1833, were primarily made up of Irish Catholics. After 1835, however, immigration to the island was greatly reduced, and most population growth came from natural increase as the great population movements of the Victorian era bypassed Newfoundland and Labrador.

With permanent settlement came self-government (in 1832) and in the decades that followed there emerged a sense of national identity. Early settlers had seen themselves as English or Irish but, by the 1857 census, 90 per cent of the population had been born in Newfoundland and knew no other home. Fishing communities changed from being work camps into the more familiar settled “outports.”

The “settlement” of Newfoundland and Labrador, however, continued throughout the 1800s by **internal migration**. Some of this migration was short-distance, as the surplus population of overcrowded harbours

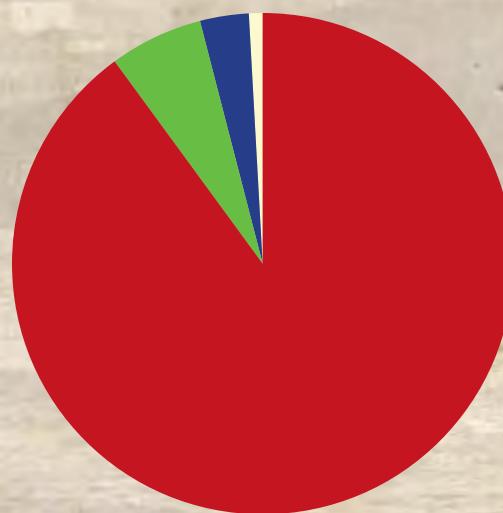
moved to nearby (and often less productive) sites along the coast. Many new communities arose this way along the east coast. Other migration took place over much longer distances, from the older areas of the east coast into the frontier regions of the south, west, and Labrador coasts to take part in the fishery there.

In many instances the peopling of these frontiers went through the same stages European settlement had earlier – seasonal occupation to fish followed by over-wintering and finally permanent settlement. By 1845, the older districts near St. John’s, Conception Bay, and Ferryland had finished a stage of rapid population increase. Growth continued in Trinity, Bonavista, Placentia, and Burin until the 1850s. In the frontier regions of the southwest, west, and north coasts, settlement by internal migration lasted until the 1870s.

The colony’s population continued to grow during this period, but the economy could not support any more people. By the 1880s, migration (mostly by those of Irish descent) to the United States and Nova Scotia became a response to the challenging economic conditions in Newfoundland and Labrador.



3.32 19th century internal migrations



3.33 Newfoundland population: place of birth, 1857 Census
Data is only for island of Newfoundland. Labrador data not available. French Shore information is not included, as census notes “Countries where born only partially given.”

Place of Birth	Population	Percentage
Newfoundland	107 399	90.0%
Ireland	7383	6.2%
England	3516	2.9%
British Colonies, Scotland, and Foreign States	475, 390, and 136	0.8%

Questions:

1. What were the main reasons the English, Irish, Scottish, and French immigrated to Newfoundland and Labrador?
2. What ethnic group(s) settled the region in which you live? If your region is not represented by either of these early groups, speculate why this is the case.
3. What inferences can be made from the data in fig. 3.7 regarding English, Scottish and Irish settlement patterns?
4. Why was it mostly Irish (as opposed to English) who left Newfoundland in the 1880s? Why might those individuals have tended to emigrate to the United States?
5. Describe the patterns of internal migration. Is this process still evident today? Explain.



3.34 St. Shotts, 1968

In some cases, a new community arose when an existing community could not accommodate an increase in residents. Parts of the Southern Shore, for example, became overcrowded. Some people left the area completely, while others moved to coves and harbours which had previously been considered as less favourable locations for the fishery. This is how St. Shotts, located between Trepassey and St. Mary's Bay, came to be permanently settled.

The Resident Fishery

What role does the fishery play in the province today?

What are the best arguments for and against continuing the seal hunt today?

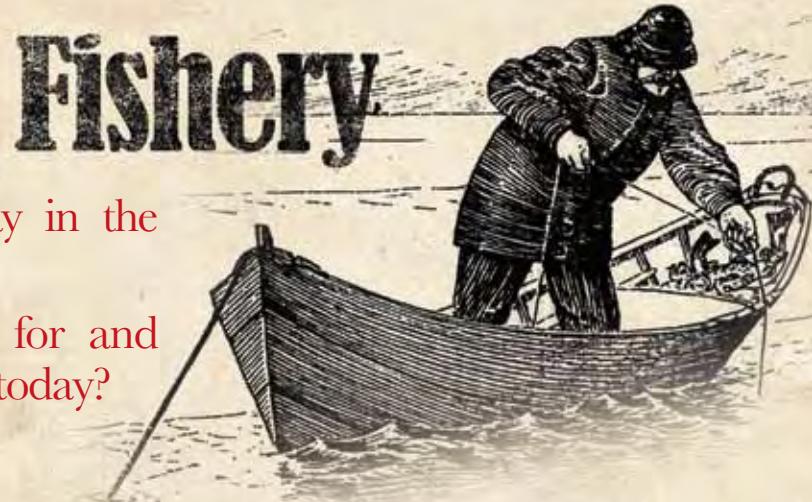
Introduction

The fisheries remained the main source of livelihood for residents throughout the nineteenth century. Although there were several types of fisheries, as a resident once stated in an 1879 newspaper: “(Those in) this isolated community have no choice of an occupation, and must pull upon a single line, and fish or die.”

The Shore Fishery

After the migratory fishery ended at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Newfoundland fishery was conducted mainly in inshore waters using small boats. This shore fishery produced a lightly salted, hard-dried “shore” cure of fish that was preferred in foreign markets and had the advantage that no other nation produced it.

The fishery before the nineteenth century, both migratory and resident, had used hired servants to catch the fish and separate shore crews to cure it. However, the nineteenth century fishery used family members for both catching and curing. Hired hands augmented family labour in the boats where family alone could not crew them. These labourers usually received a share of the proceeds of the voyage – and hence were called **sharemen**.



3.35 Hard work

Handlining from dories consisted of using a single line with one or more baited or lured hooks attached. Quick jerks of the line, called “jigging,” are an effective way to snag the fish on the hook.

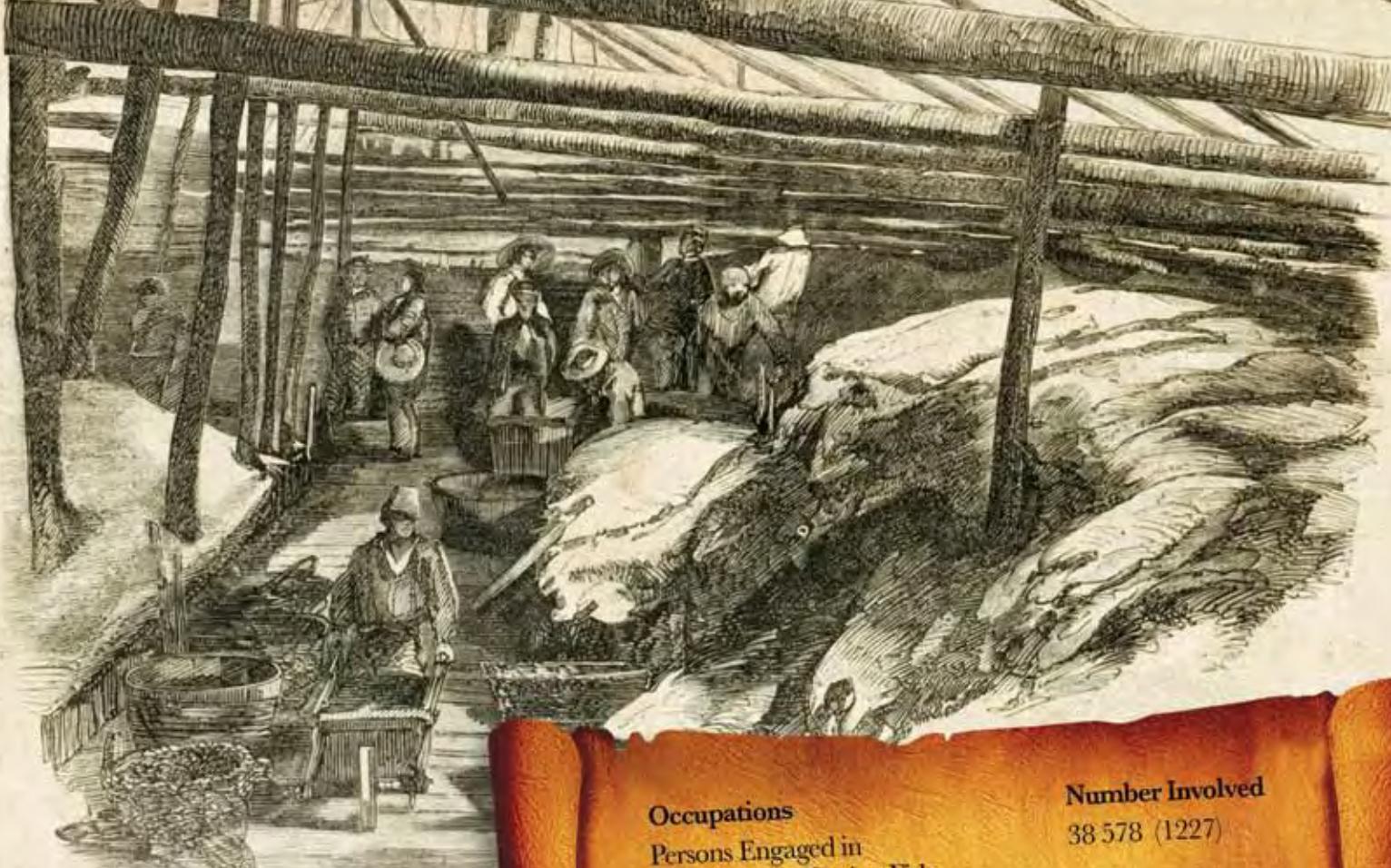
New Technology

Contrary to the image of the unchanging outport, several innovations were introduced to the inshore fishery throughout the nineteenth century. New types of boats and fishing equipment were introduced, such as **dories** (of American origin) used in the bank fishery, and the use of the **long line** or **bultow** (of French origin) at mid-century.

The most important innovation in the shore fishery, however, was the **cod trap**. Invented in 1866 in Bonne Espérance, a small island (that belongs to Quebec) off the south coast of Labrador, it was widely used in the shore and Labrador fisheries by the 1890s. Although the cod trap caught more fish than **handlining**, the trap was expensive and needed bigger crews and boats to operate. Often family ties were used to acquire the gear and to form trap-fishing crews.

3.36 Cod drying at A.H. Murray's fishing premises, Water Street, St. John's





3.37 Interior of a fishhouse
Most likely depicting the French fishery c. 1850

Occupations	Number Involved
Persons Engaged in Catching and Curing Fish	38 578 (1227)
Able-bodied Seamen and Fishermen in Colony and Dependencies	20 311 (576)
Mechanics	1 970
Farmers	1 552 (145)
Merchants and Traders	689 (3)
Persons Engaged in Lumbering	334
Clergymen or Ministers	77
Doctors and Lawyers	71

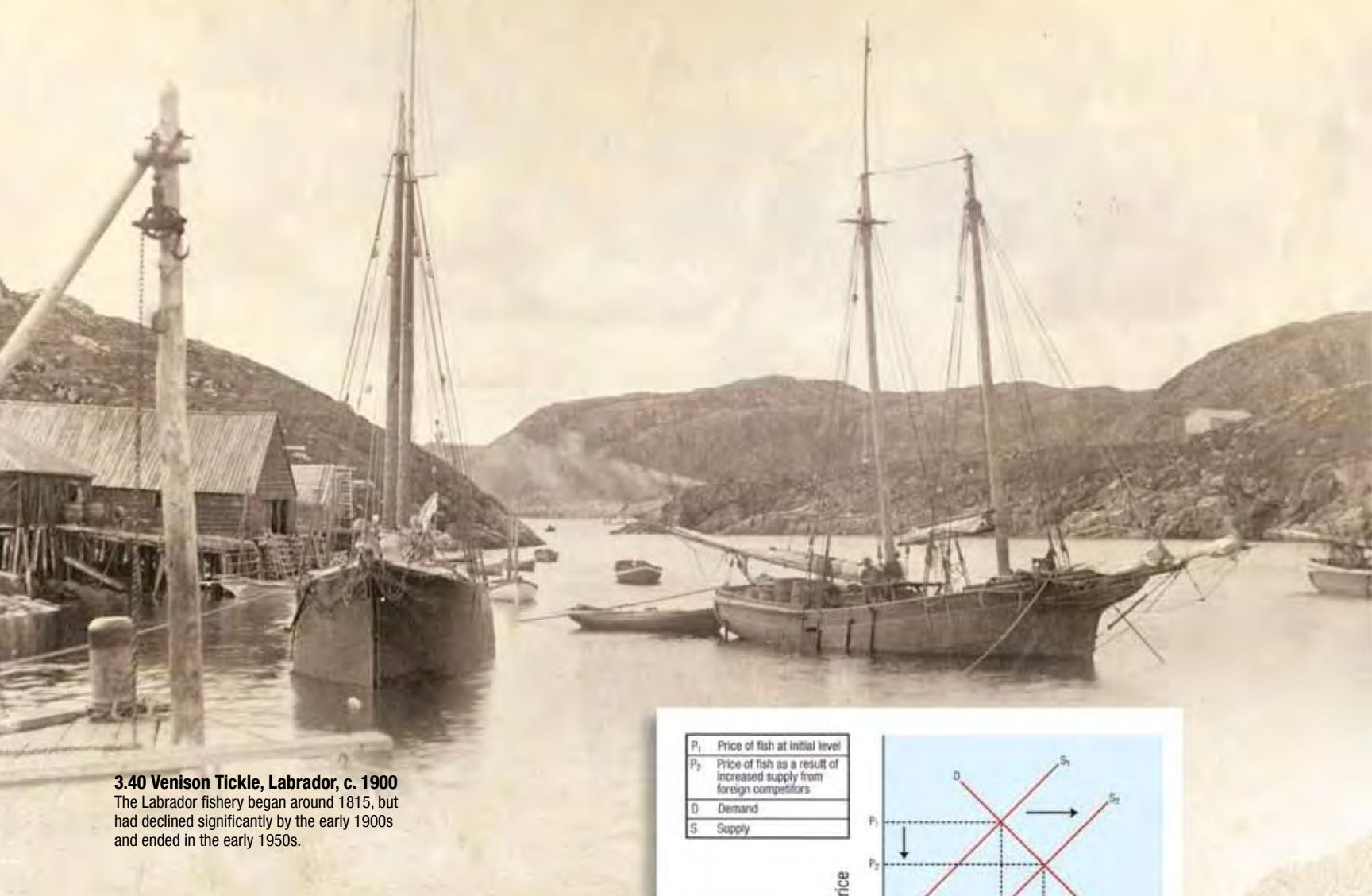
3.38 Occupations of residents of the island of Newfoundland, 1857 Census
(above) Figures in brackets indicate numbers for French Shore.



3.39 Cod Trap on Bragg's Island,
artist David Blackwood, 1994
The cod trap was a box of nets. Cod entered it by following a leader. Once inside, the cod found it difficult to get out.

Experiencing The Arts

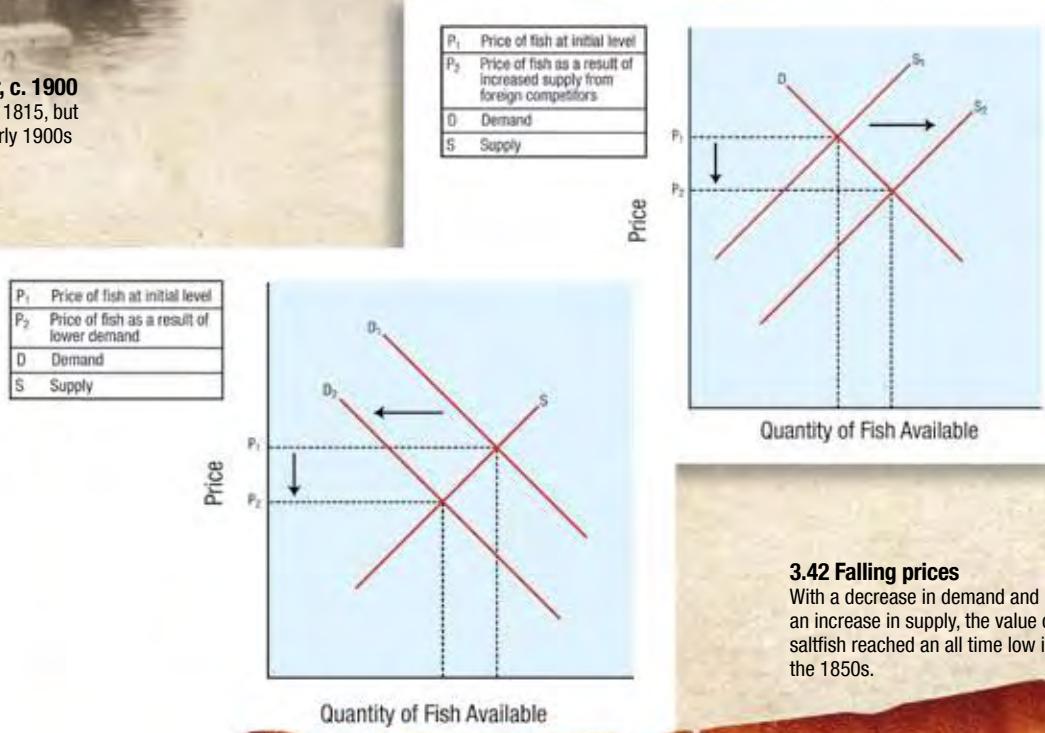
To see more of David Blackwood's work, turn to page 594.



3.40 Venison Tickle, Labrador, c. 1900
The Labrador fishery began around 1815, but had declined significantly by the early 1900s and ended in the early 1950s.

3.41 Supply and demand
The graph (right) shows the decline in the demand for fish when Britain no longer needed to maintain (and feed) a large army and navy. As a result there was less demand for fish (D_2), forcing prices down (P_2).

The graph (far right) shows the effect of additional fish being brought to market by foreign competitors re-entering the marketplace. A new supply of fish (S_2) is available, again forcing prices down (P_2).



Labrador Fishery

In the early 1800s, there occurred one of the few booms in the fishery that the province has known. This boom was caused by the need to provision armies during the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812. However, when Britain's conflicts with America and France ended, the demand for fish fell, as did the price. The price fell even further when foreign competitors re-entered the market. After 1815 the markets collapsed.

PRICES OF NEWFOUNDLAND SALT FISH

1801	1.13	£ / quintal
1813	1.60	"
1816	0.75	"
1850	0.50	"
1860	0.95	"

Newfoundland changed from the pound to the dollar in 1865.

**During the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812, some fishers had resorted to fishing on the Northern Peninsula. They were forced to leave when the French returned to the "French Shore" after 1815, and consequently went to Labrador.*

In addition, depletion of cod stocks began to be a problem in Newfoundland in the 1800s as a rising population caught larger volumes of fish. Cod became scarce in areas where people had been fishing the longest, such as Conception, Trinity, and Bonavista Bays. Some fishers compensated for this by fishing farther from shore – moving from fishing grounds within the island's large bays to those on outer headland areas. Eventually, this search for more cod led fishers north.*

By the 1820s, increasing numbers of fishers began migrating from Newfoundland to Labrador to fish during the summer. This fishery served two purposes: it provided a use for sealing vessels in the off-season; and it allowed fishers from bays where the cod stocks were depleted to still earn a living. However, only those who possessed schooners, jack boats, or bully boats were able to travel north. As these fishers had to spend weeks or even months away from home, some brought their families with them for company and to help cure the catch.

The coast of Labrador was returned to Newfoundland in 1809. See page 79, chapter one.



3.43 A bully boat
Bonne Bay, 1909

The Labrador fishery consisted of two groups: **stationers** and **floaters**. Fishers who set up living quarters on shore and fished each day in small boats were known as stationers. Floaters lived and fished (usually with **seines** and handlines) on board their vessels and sailed up and down the Labrador coast, often travelling further north than stationers.

Floaters packed their fish in salt and brought it back to Newfoundland at the end of each season to be dried, while stationers salted and cured their fish on shore shortly after catching it. Both methods had drawbacks. Labrador's damp weather often resulted in a poorer cure for stationers, while floaters risked damaging their catch during the long voyage home. Generally, the Labrador fishery produced an inferior product which fetched a lower market price, but the catches were usually larger.

Over time, some Labrador fishers decided to remain on the Labrador coast. They settled mostly around the Labrador Straits and in southeastern Labrador, where various merchant firms operated, such as the highly successful Job Brothers and Company, which operated from c. 1750 to 1967.

3.44 At home in the Big Land

Labrador fisher's dwelling, c. 1930. This was likely the family's residence by the sea. Note that children look healthy, robust, and well-clad, despite the poor dwelling appearance.



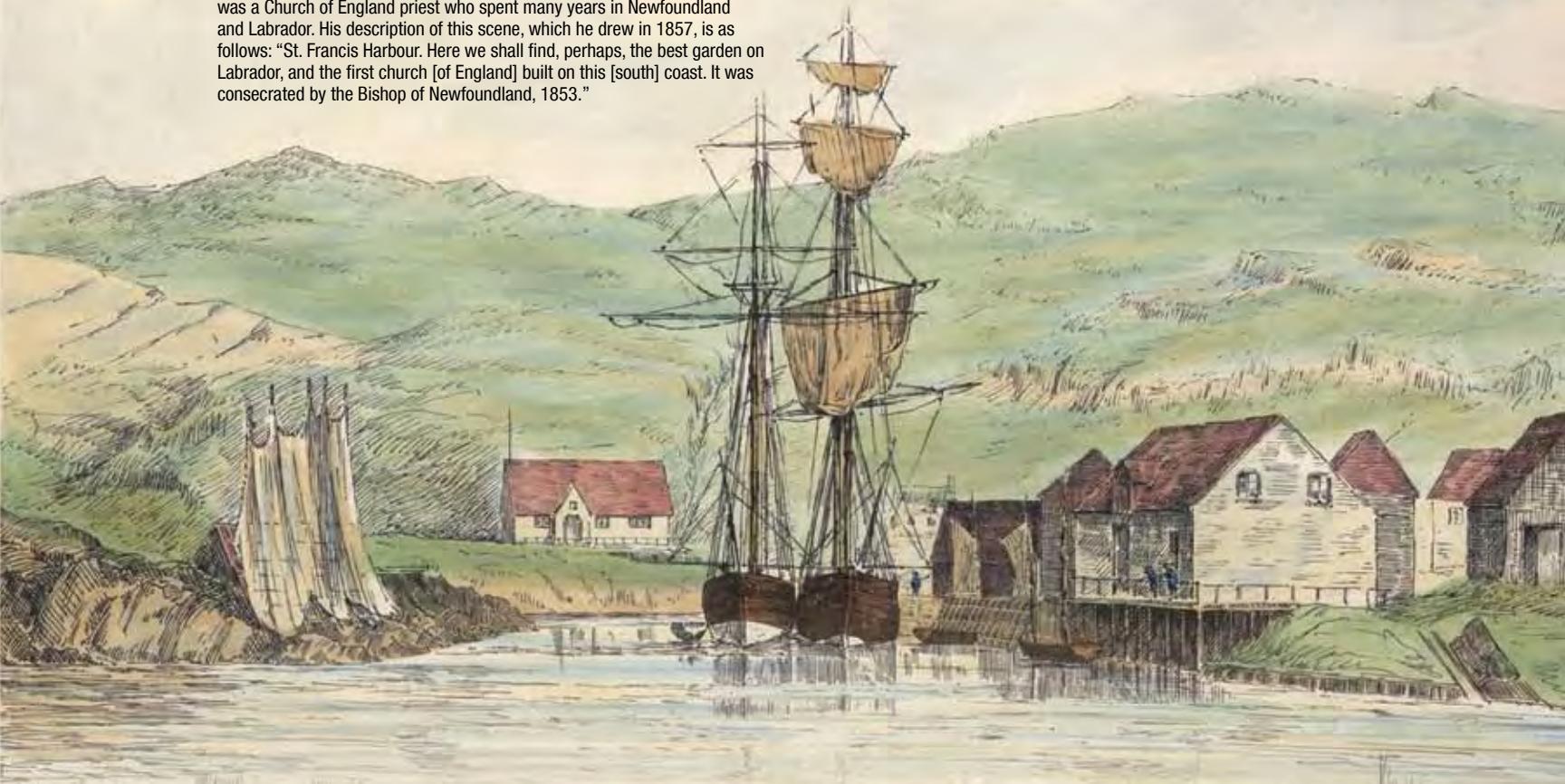
3.45 Using what's available

Sod-covered dwellings were common in Labrador due to a lack of timber in some areas.



3.46 Early settlement goes north

As the Labrador fishery grew, so too did Labrador's population. The buildings in this visual represent a merchant's establishment. William Grey was a Church of England priest who spent many years in Newfoundland and Labrador. His description of this scene, which he drew in 1857, is as follows: "St. Francis Harbour. Here we shall find, perhaps, the best garden on Labrador, and the first church [of England] built on this [south] coast. It was consecrated by the Bishop of Newfoundland, 1853."



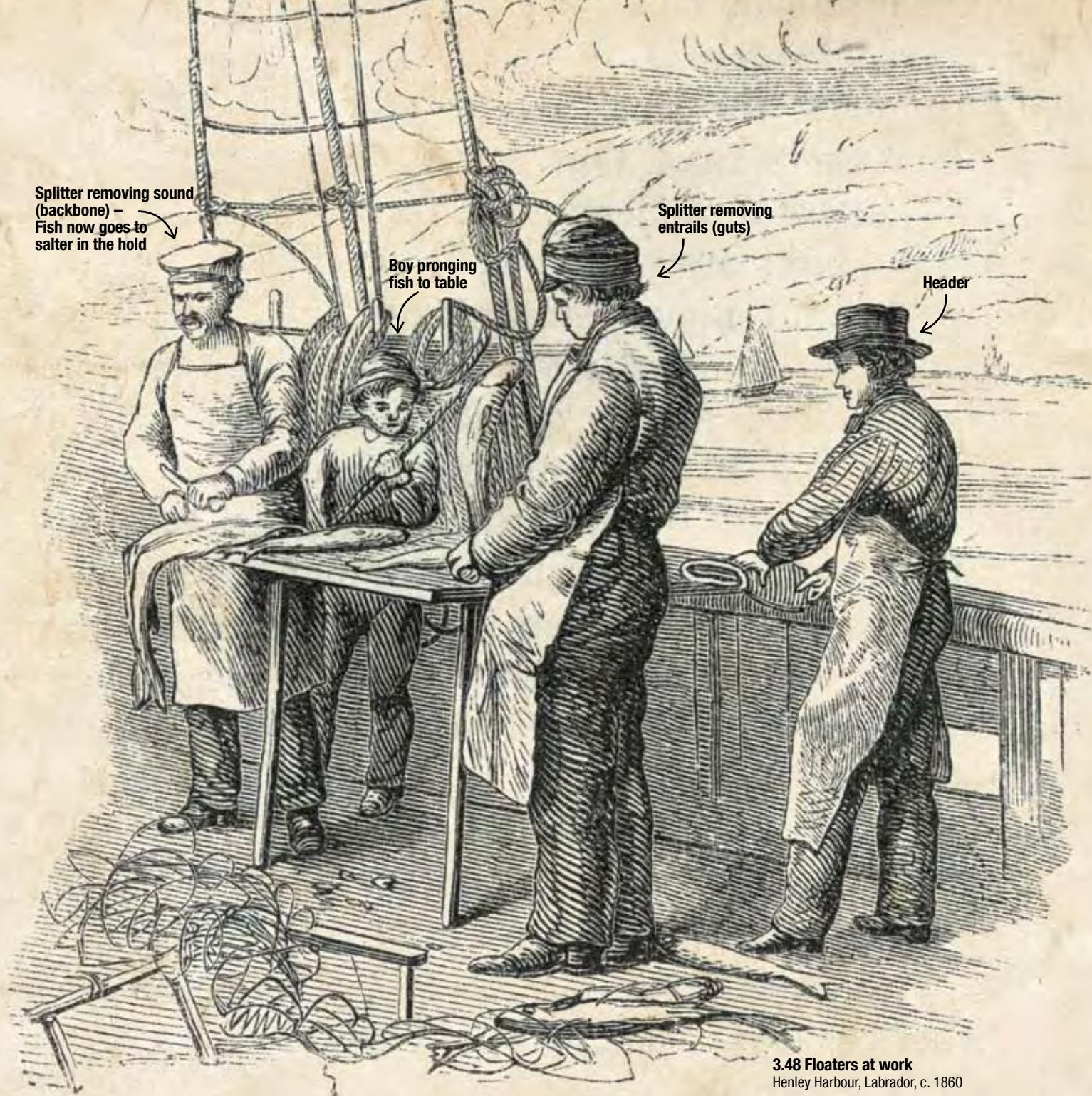
“... fishing stations [are] busy with men and women during the fishing season ... 'flakes' of poles or brush strew every level rock, covered with codfish drying in the sun.”



3.47 Settlement in the Straits, 1884

(Based on information from "The Demographic and Mercantile Bases of Initial Permanent Settlement in the Strait of Belle Isle" by Patricia A. Thornton in *The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography*, Ed. John J. Mannion. ISER, MUN, 1977.)

— Charles Hallock, American author of the *Fishing Tourist*, published in 1873



3.48 **Floaters at work**
Henley Harbour, Labrador, c. 1860

By the mid-1860s, the catch rate for the cod fishery on Labrador's south coast began to decline. This may have been largely due to the pressure on the stocks by Newfoundland fishers, as well as American and Canadian fishers. To compensate for declining catches, some fishers began using more efficient gear, particularly cod traps, while others travelled further north to find new fishing grounds. The northward expansion, coupled with the use of new gear, for a time resulted in larger catches and allowed the colony to maintain or increase its exports. Some historians argue that this pattern masked the fact that older fishing grounds had been over-exploited.

Another factor that contributed to the decline of the Labrador fishery was the introduction of steamships in the

1870s. By the mid-1880s, fish from Iceland and Norway arrived at markets earlier than fish from Labrador. In their haste to beat the competition, shippers began to load steamers with fish at Labrador and send it directly to market. This meant that fish was often imperfectly cured and more difficult to sell.

In the beginning many stationers travelled to Labrador as passengers on schooners, and some continued to do this throughout the life of the Labrador fishery. In the late nineteenth century, however, the government hired steamships to take stationers northward. These stationers took their families, boats, fishing gear, lumber, firewood, household goods, and even livestock. Many went from places like Carbonear, Harbour Grace, and St. John's.



3.49 A popular American fishing station: Henley Harbour, Labrador, 1860

American fishers were given rights to fish off Labrador under the 1783 Treaty of Paris, and by 1803 were conducting a large fishery there. This was interrupted by the War of 1812, but they were back again by 1818. They continued to fish there until the 1860s, when they turned their attention to the Grand Banks. Fishers from England and Nova Scotia also frequently fished in Labrador.

A great jealousy exists between the Guernsey* adventurers, who occupy the western side of this bay, and the English families established upon the opposite shore. The latter stigmatize the former as cheats and swindlers; whilst the former represent the latter to be notoriously knavish in all their dealings. The fact is, that they are only envious of each other's gains; and the Guernsey people, by being the most industrious, are generally the most calumniated. The vessels of these thriving islanders are slightly built, and calculated to make speedy voyages: so that by hurrying out to NEWFOUNDLAND as early in the year as possible, they quickly procure cargoes of cod; and as speedily recrossing the Atlantic, they by this means succeed in getting the first of the Spanish and Portuguese markets, whereby they obtain a high price for their fish, and incur the resentment of those who are less expeditious in their mercantile speculations. There are, in all, about eighteen boats constantly employed at Fortean. During the fishing season, the English reside in Labrador all the winter; but the Guernseymen quit it in the autumn, and return thither again in the spring.

*Part of the Channel Islands located between England and France

3.50 An account of the Labrador fishery

From *Voyage of His Majesty's ship Rosamond to Newfoundland and the southern coast of Labrador* by Edward Chappell (1818)

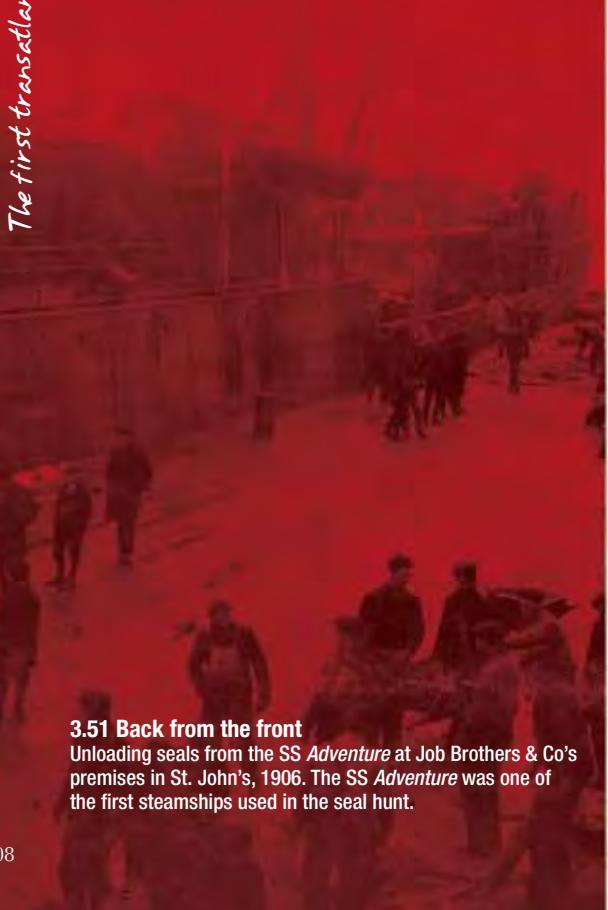
FROM CONCEPTION BAY TO ST. JOHN'S

Until the late 1800s, the seal fishery was centred in Conception Bay – primarily in Harbour Grace, Carbonear, and Brigus. This fishery brought prosperity to this region and, in some areas, was more important than the shore fishery.

This began to change around the 1870s. Wealthier St. John's merchants began acquiring steamships for transporting cargo, but soon recognized their potential value for the seal fishery. These vessels were more efficient and, over time, began to displace wooden sailing ships. However, merchants in other areas lacked the capital to make these investments. As a result, the economy of Conception Bay declined. By 1900, St. John's firms controlled the entire sealing industry and men from the outports had to make their way to the capital if they wanted to find a berth on a sealing ship.

"When Mr. Walter Grieve sent the first sealing steamer to the ice it was a poor day for Newfoundland. The only consolation we can lay to our hearts is that steam was inevitable; it was sure to come, sooner or later ... Politics and steam have done more than any other cause to ruin the middle class, the well-to-do dealers that once abounded in the out-ports."

– D.W. Prowse, historian



3.51 Back from the front

Unloading seals from the SS *Adventure* at Job Brothers & Co's premises in St. John's, 1906. The SS *Adventure* was one of the first steamships used in the seal hunt.

Seal Fishery

The commercial seal fishery began in the eighteenth century. In the beginning, English settlers caught seals, mainly harp seals, by nets* whenever the animals passed near to shore, or caught them by going out on the ice. They sometimes used small boats to hunt seals that were floating on ice pans near the shore. The best places for catching seals as they migrated were along the south Labrador coast, the Strait of Belle Isle, and the Newfoundland coast north of Twillingate. As a result, sealing encouraged permanent settlement in these areas because it offered a means of winter income.

Residents in southeastern Newfoundland became attracted to the profitable seal fishery at the end of the eighteenth century. As the Avalon Peninsula was off the route of the seal migrations, the only way to participate was to travel north and find the seals. In 1793, the first schooners sailed to the ice from St. John's, marking a turning point in the seal fishery. These schooners were the same ones used in the cod fishery.

In the 1800s the seal fishery came to rival the cod fishery in importance. At its peak in the 1830s and 1840s, it employed upwards of 14 000 men and comprised about a third of all exports by value (salt cod made up most of the rest). The most valuable product from seals was their oil.

Most of the seal oil and pelts were exported to England, where there was a great demand. Seal oil was used for lighting homes and wharfs, streetlights, lighthouses, in soap manufacturing, and as a lubricant. Seal skins were used to make upholstery, gloves, boots, jackets, hats, and other items.

Despite its value, the seal hunt was a risky enterprise for all concerned. Ship owners sometimes lost their vessels and frequently failed to make any profit because they did not get enough pelts in one season, although one good year in the seal hunt could undo the effects of several bad ones. For sealers, the hunt meant danger on the ice floes, squalid conditions aboard ship, and little pay. However, this improved slightly after a sealers' strike in 1832 ensured they were paid in cash instead of credit.

By the 1850s, yields began to decrease because herds were in decline. The prices for seal oil also fell in the 1870s as petroleum alternatives were developed. Thereafter, the economic importance of sealing declined and by 1914 the industry made up only five per cent of the colony's exports – a dramatic drop from the 30 to 40 per cent during the first half of the nineteenth century.

* Seal hunting is sometimes referred to as a "fishery" because of this early use of nets.

“... thick fog is one of the principal causes of danger in a sealing voyage, men having often been lost ... perishing miserably of cold and hunger on the surface of a frozen sea.”

—J.B. Jukes, *Excursions In and About Newfoundland During the Years 1839 and 1840* (London, 1842)

3.52 The fearless sealers



3.53 At the front



3.54 Location, location, location

Burin emerged as a significant port, due to its geographic proximity to the Banks. This image is a view of Burin, c. 1910, from an early postcard.

Bank Fishery

The original bank fishery was probably the oldest European fishery off our coast – engaged in by French, Spanish, Portuguese, and possibly English, from the early 1500s. The English fishery soon became a shore-based operation and remained well into the period of permanent settlement. An English bank fishery was begun off the southern Avalon Peninsula in the 1720s in response to failing inshore catches. It flourished up to the late 1780s, but then declined.

The Labrador, seal, and inshore fisheries showed signs of decline throughout the 1800s. The Newfoundland government, in an effort to stimulate the economy, offered subsidies encouraging fishers to again expand cod fishing to the Grand Banks. By the mid-1870s, fishers were arriving on the Banks in wooden schooners, sealing steamers, and other vessels ranging between 20 and 250 tons.

The bank fishery typically ran from March until October, but fishing schedules varied among different communities. Fishers living on the island's northeast coast, for example, often had to wait until April or May to leave because of ice. Vessels made three or four trips to the banks each season, and remained there for weeks before returning home.

After arriving on the banks, crews anchored their boats in

a favourable location and launched dories. These small boats carried two or three crew members who fished for cod using handlines, jiggers, or trawl lines. The fishers left the larger boat each morning, rowed to various fishing grounds, and returned several times throughout the day to unload their catch. They also gutted, split, and salted their own fish.

Fishers engaged in the bank fishery faced a number of dangers. Gales and rough weather threatened schooners and other banking vessels, while dory crews risked becoming lost in fog or storms. Large ocean liners also frequented the banks and could inadvertently capsize or run down dories and schooners in foggy weather. Living quarters were often cramped and any injured or ill crew members would usually have to wait until fish was brought to port to receive proper medical attention.

The bank fishery was profitable throughout the 1880s and peaked in 1889, when 4401 Newfoundland and Labrador fishers harvested more than 13 230 tons of cod. The bank fishery produced an inferior grade of fish. Already fetching lower market prices, the bank fishery was further devalued due to increased competition from Norway and Iceland. The industry declined into the 1900s and, by 1920, many communities had stopped participating in the bank fishery.



3.55 A hard day's work
Fishing for cod on the banks from a dory.

3.56 The Grand Banks
The Banks have been one of the world's richest fishing grounds.

**“You bully boys of Liverpool
I’ll have you to beware,
When you sail on them packet ships,
no dungaree jumpers wear;
But have a big monkey jacket
all ready to your hand,
For there blows some cold nor’westers
on the Banks of Newfoundland.”**

— Excerpt from “The Banks Of Newfoundland”
composed by Chief Justice Francis Forbes

Grand Banks

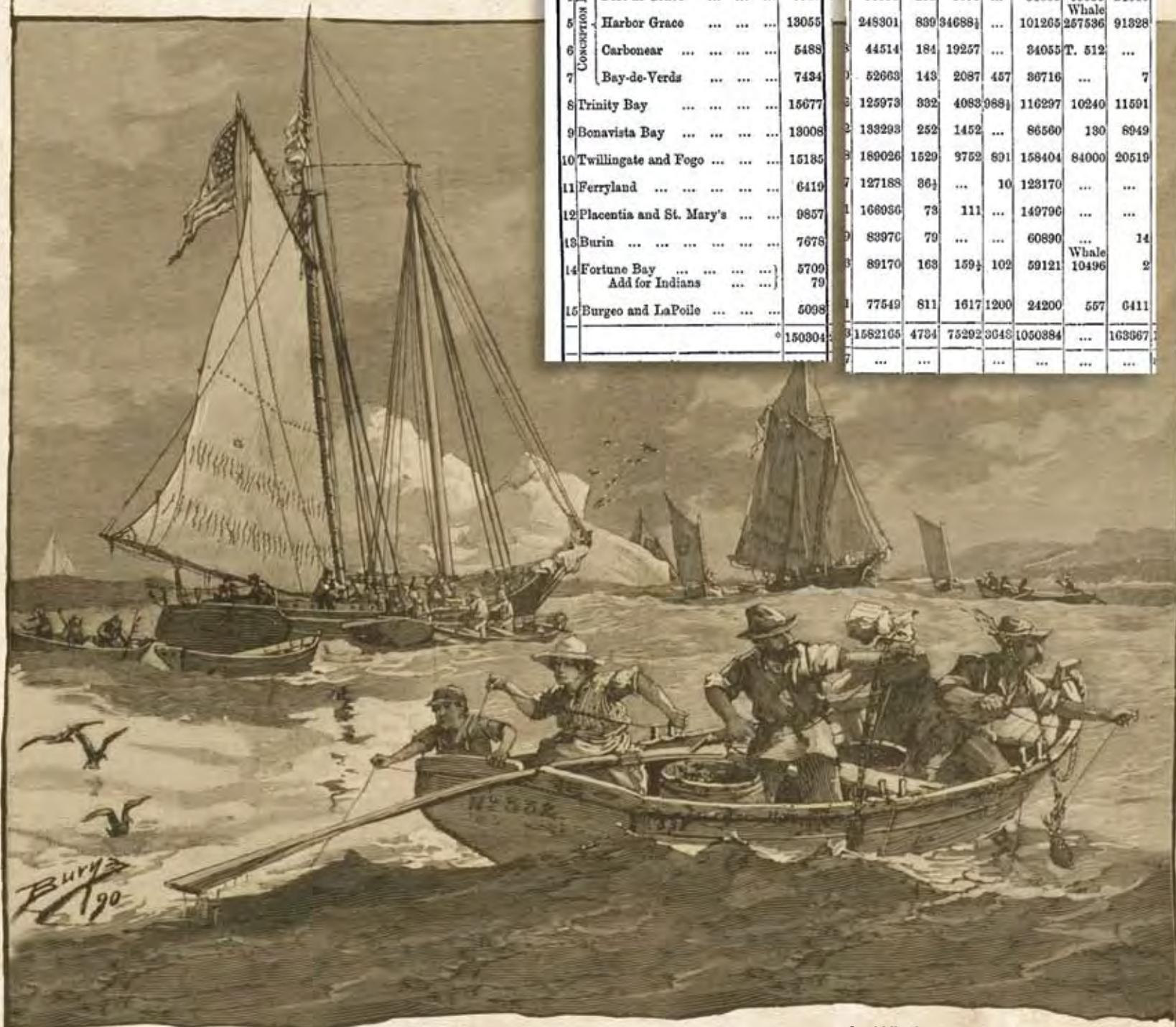
Other Exports

Alongside cod and seal products, the sea provided Newfoundland and Labrador with a variety of other, but much less significant, exports. These included salmon, lobster, herring, capelin, and squid – many of which found markets in France, Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. Although profitable (herring exports, for example, fetched almost \$200 000 annually during the 1890s), the impacts of these products on Newfoundland and Labrador's export trade were negligible overall when compared to saltfish.

3.57 Fishing exports by district

from the Newfoundland and Labrador census of 1874. Which district was most productive for each product listed?

No. ELECTORAL DISTRICTS & DIVISIONS.	No. of INHABITANTS.	PRODUCE.					
		Quantity of Cod-fish cured.	Salmon caught and cured.	Herring cured.	other Fish cured.	Cod Oil—Gallons.	Seal Oil.
1 St. John's East	17811	41148	4	760	...	84757	...
2 St. John's West	12763	42572	17	40	...	14112	...
3 Harbor Main	7174	61258	20	1214	...	17205	1060
4 Port-de-Grave	7919	98598	252	6071	...	31835	65536
5 Harbor Grace	13055	248301	839	34688	...	101205	257536
6 Carbonear	5488	44514	184	19257	...	34055	T. 512
7 Bay-de-Verds	7434	52663	143	2087	457	88716	...
8 Trinity Bay	15677	125973	332	4083	988	116297	10240
9 Bonavista Bay	13008	133293	252	1452	...	86560	130
10 Twillingate and Fogo	15185	189026	1529	9752	801	158404	84000
11 Ferryland	6419	127188	36	...	10	123170	...
12 Placentia and St. Mary's	9857	166036	73	111	...	149796	...
13 Burin	7678	83970	79	60890	...
14 Fortune Bay	5709	89170	163	159	102	59121	10496
Add for Indians	79						2
15 Burgeo and LaPoile	5098	77549	811	1617	1200	24200	557
	150304	1582105	4734	75292	3648	1050884	...
		7



3.58 Squid jigging

from *Harpers Weekly*, July 19, 1890



3.59 Lobster factory

from *Harpers Weekly*, July 19, 1890

The introduction of canning technology was very important in making lobsters commercial. Lobsters were now caught, cooked, and canned. Canning factories were built in many communities and provided some employment for women. In the mid-20th century, refrigeration on ships allowed lobster to be shipped to market alive.

Questions:

1. Compare the shore fishery, banks fishery, Labrador fishery, and seal fishery in terms of (a) where each fishery happened, (b) time of year, (c) how it was done (equipment, people involved), (d) dangers involved, and (e) reasons for decline. Organize your answer in a chart.
2. During the 1800s, several technologies were introduced to the fisheries. What impact did these innovations have on the respective fisheries? Who benefited the most? Who may have been disadvantaged by these changes?
3. Overfishing is a serious matter today, however, it is not a new phenomenon. What were the consequences of overfishing in the 1800s? How did this affect the life of the fisher?

A LONG HISTORY OF TAKING FISH FROM THE SEA

The waters of Newfoundland and Labrador have been supplying fishers with their livelihood for centuries. Although cod was a mainstay of the fishery until 1992, other kinds of fisheries have developed over the years when cod stocks became low and/or as market demands changed.

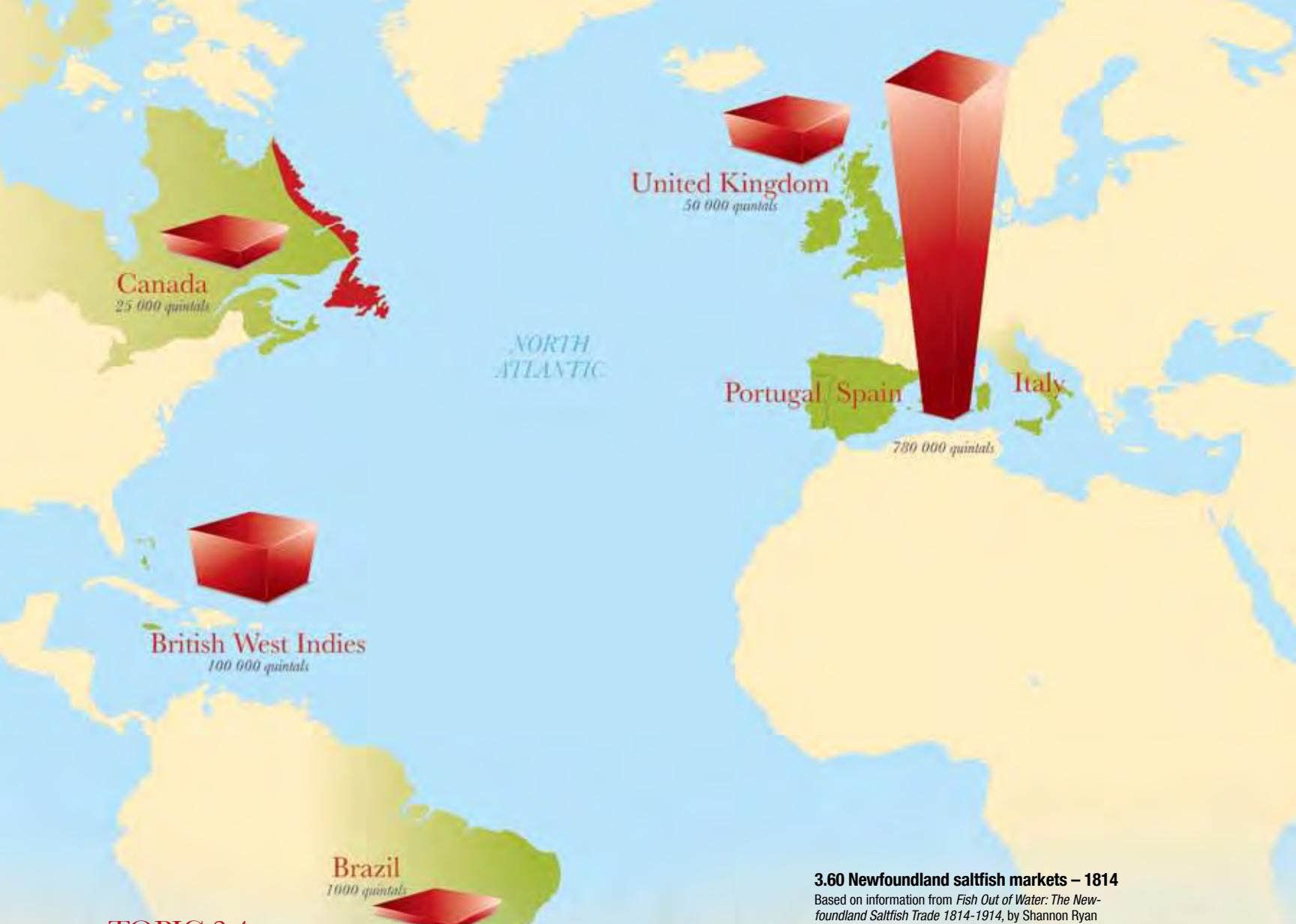
FIRST DATES OF CERTAIN COMMERCIAL FISHERIES

Species	Year
Cod	1500
Whaling	1530s*
Salmon	1705
Sealing	
Landsmen	1730s
Offshore	1793
Herring	1790s
Lobster	1870s
Squid	1930s**
Scallop	1960s
Redfish	1960s
Shark	1964***
Crab	1967
Shrimp	1970s
Aquaculture (salmon, steelhead trout, and blue mussels)	1980s

*Whaling began with the Basques, but had virtually died out by 1580. In the nineteenth century, some merchants in Newfoundland ventured into small-scale commercial whaling. Cycles of whaling continued up to 1972, when it was banned by the Government of Canada.

** Squid was taken long before the 1930s for use as bait.

*** This fishery ended in 1970 when high levels of mercury were found in sharks.



TOPIC 3.4

The Economics of Saltfish

To what extent do people rely on credit today?

Why were merchants considered prominent citizens in early Newfoundland communities?

Introduction

Unlike many other British possessions, Newfoundland was a significant trader in foreign marketplaces. While Canada and the British West Indies directed most of their trade back to Britain, Newfoundland sold its saltfish in places such as Southern Europe, Brazil, and the British Caribbean. The saltfish trade was big business. In 1814, the total amount of saltfish sold in overseas marketplaces was over 1 000 000 **quintals** – most of which came from Newfoundland.

Newfoundland's heavy dependence on international trade, however, made its economy vulnerable to external factors over which it had no control. If the demand for cod declined or if the price of imports increased, then the colony's economy was affected accordingly, and so was the household economy of every fishing family. Ultimately, this would lead to efforts by the government to diversify the colony's economy after 1870.

Fish for Sale

One of the keys to Newfoundland's success in the saltfish trade at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the ability of its fishers to produce a variety of grades of saltfish that could be sold in a wide range of markets. The island's inshore fishers produced the highest quality cure because they fished near their homes and could dry the cod almost immediately after catching it. This light-salted, hard-dried product was known as "shore" fish and often fetched the highest prices at the marketplace. Shore fish was sold in a variety of grades, as was Labrador and banks fish.

Once the fishers had caught and cured the cod, it was up to the colony's merchants to sell the product to foreign buyers. Most merchants hired agents to work directly out of the various markets in Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Brazil, and the West Indies. All of these areas had a warm climate, which created a demand for a well-preserved yet affordable source of protein. Saltfish was ideal – it was inexpensive, had a long shelf life if thoroughly cured, and due to its light weight and small size it was easily transported. Sometimes the saltfish was exchanged for money and sometimes for goods, such as molasses, which could not be produced in Newfoundland and Labrador.

NEWFOUNDLAND COD.

HOW THE FISH ARE CURED AND SHIPPED.

A recent letter from St. Johns, N. F., to the Montreal *Gazette* says: "We are now busy shipping our dried codfish for foreign markets. It is curious to note the history of a codfish from the moment when, on the hook of the fisherman, it is dragged from its native element till it disappears down the human throat on the banks of the Amazon, the Parana, the Tagus, or the Po. After a few expiring wriggles—and it is a comfort to be informed by naturalists that fish are almost insensible to pain—the cod is flung from the fisherman's

the process is finished, and they are then quite ready for storing. On being conveyed to the premises of the exporting merchant, they are first 'culled,' or assorted, into four different kinds, known as 'Merchantable,' 'Madeira,' 'West India,' and 'Dun,' or broken fish. The first is the best quality; the second a grade lower; the third is intended for the stomach of negroes, and the fourth, which is incapable of keeping, is used at home. The cod sent to hot countries is packed by screw power into small casks called 'drums'; that which goes to the Mediterranean is usually exported in bulk. We ship large quantities of dried codfish to Brazil, and there is hardly an inhabited corner of that vast empire where the Newfoundland cod is not to be found, being carried

MAKING THE GRADE

The fish produced in Newfoundland and Labrador was of varying quality. However, each grade satisfied a demand in the marketplace.



GRADE: Merchantable

DESCRIPTION: A thick, yellow or golden fish that was lightly-salted and not too dry (highest grade)

MARKET: Europe



GRADE: Madeira

DESCRIPTION: A thinner, lesser quality of fish than Merchantable (mid-grade)

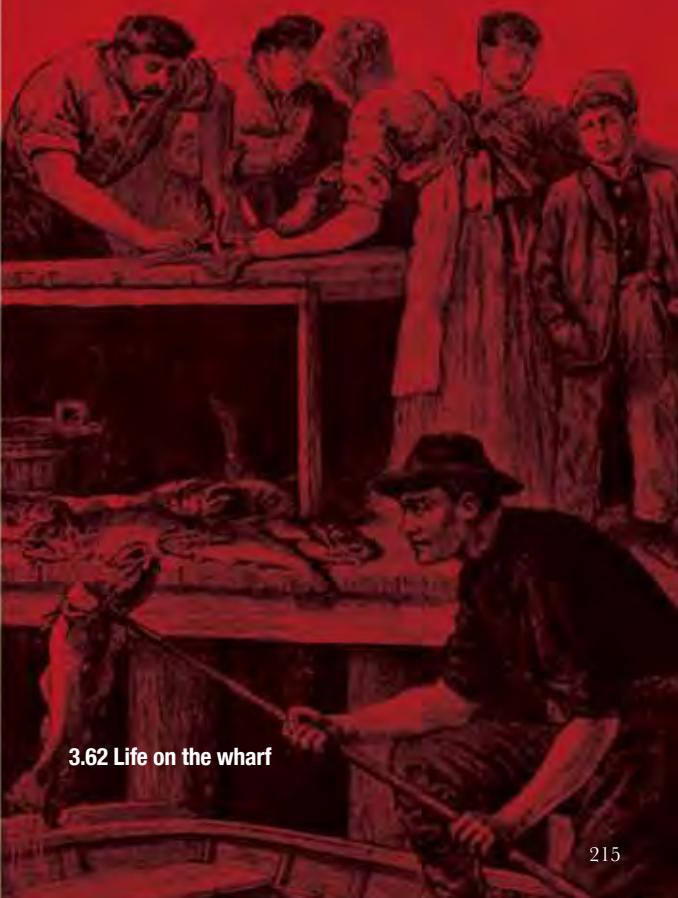
MARKET: Brazil



GRADE: West India

DESCRIPTION: Poor colour, and often broken (low-grade)

MARKET: West Indies



New technology was one of the reasons saltfish became less popular. By 1900, fresh meat could be frozen and shipped around the globe.



3.63 Curing cod
The image on the left shows drying saltfish in Newfoundland. The image on the right shows a similar process in Kirkjusandur, Iceland, c. 1898.

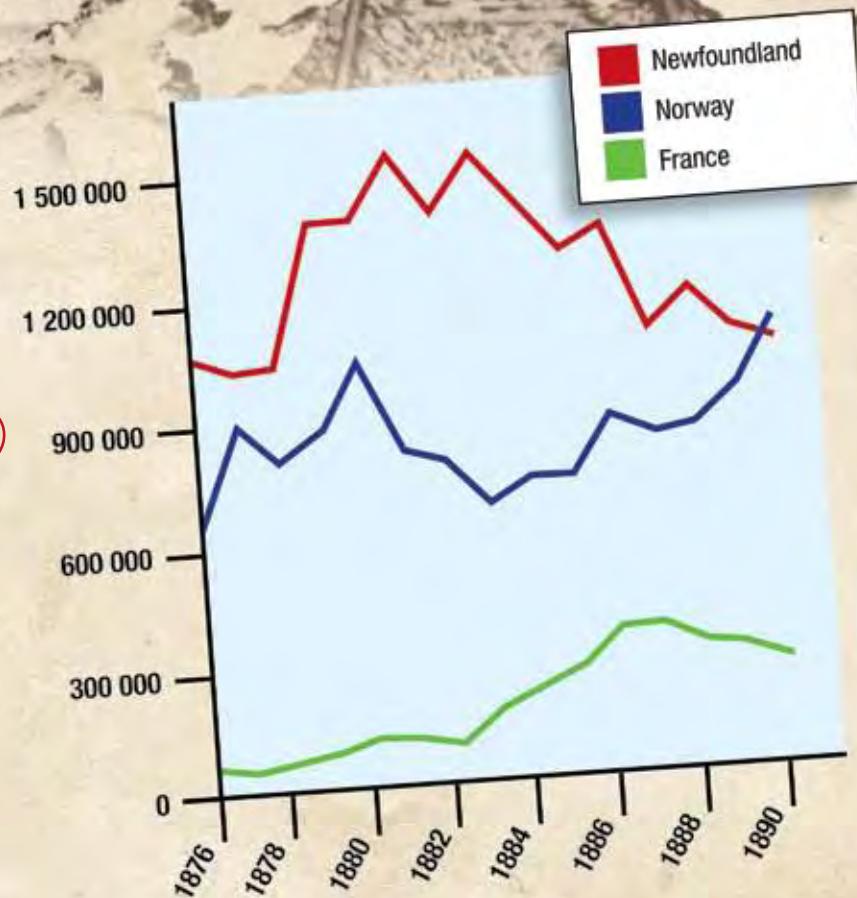


International Competition

Newfoundland and Labrador's position in world saltfish markets changed toward the end of the nineteenth century as saltfish became less important in people's diets. The saltfish trade grew more competitive as countries such as Norway and France increased their exports.

Although the colony slowly continued to increase its saltfish exports as overall world sales grew to feed the rising world population,* its share of the market dropped. By 1914, Newfoundland exports accounted for less than 30 per cent of the world sales of saltfish because of competition at market from other countries.

*Between 1500 and 1900, the world's population tripled to an estimated 1 564 000 000 people.



3.64 Saltfish exports by Newfoundland, Norway, and France, 1876-1890; cwts
Iceland and Norway started to become major competitors in the saltfish markets after 1815. As the 19th century drew to a close, Newfoundland faced increased competition from these countries in the saltfish trade.

(Based on information from *Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814-1914*, by Shannon Ryan (St. John's, Breakwater Press, 1986))



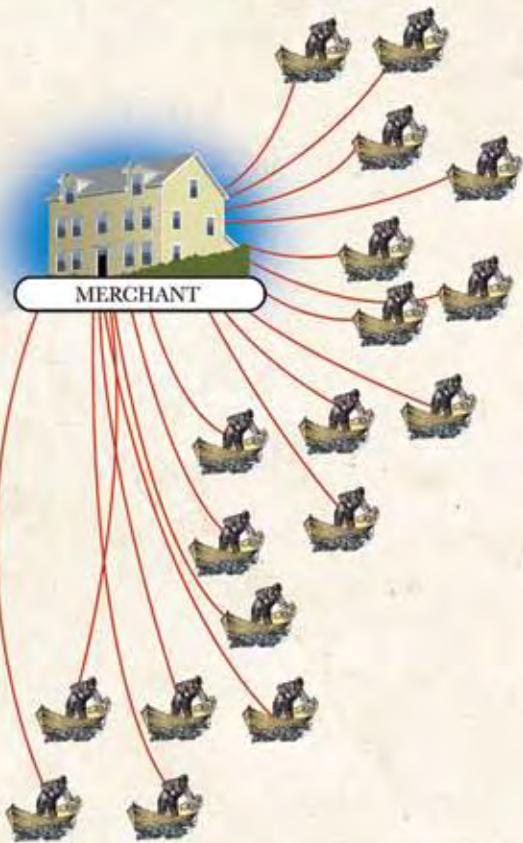
3.65 Culling and weighing saltfish
Tessier's Premises in St. John's, c. 1900

FROM DIRECT SELLING TO WHOLESALING

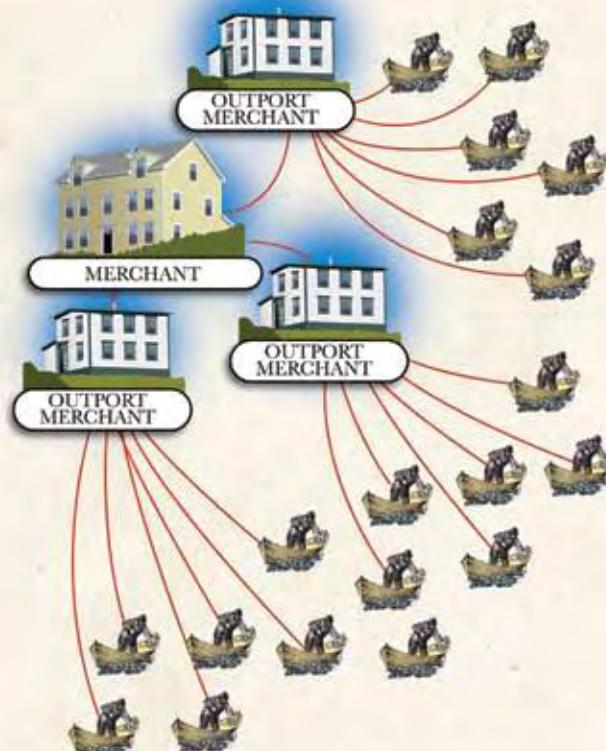
Towards the end of the 1800s, many of the larger firms made the shift from directly selling to planters to being wholesalers.

PRIOR TO THE LATE 1800s

3.66



AFTER THE LATE 1800s



The Role of Merchants

Early in the nineteenth century most merchant firms were British, but by mid-century the fish-exporting trade was dominated by St. John's firms and a few in communities such as Trinity and Bonavista. At first, these larger companies dealt directly with fishers and supplied them on credit in return for fish. Later in the century these merchants became wholesalers, supplying small outport firms, which in turn supplied the planters.

As the fishery became less profitable, many large merchants began to diversify their investments and stopped depending primarily on fish to make a profit. This created an opportunity for smaller businesses in the fishery.

Dealings between merchants and fishers in the inshore fishery were usually conducted on credit instead of with cash. Fish went to market only once or twice a year and some means had to be found to maintain the fisher in between. Few fishers could afford to outfit themselves for the fishery so merchants advanced them household and fishing supplies. In return, the

merchants received the fishers' catches. Prices of fish and supplies were decided by the merchants.

The advantage of this system to the merchant was that he secured a supply of fish. The advantage to the fisher was that he could live and work, even when he could not afford to pay his way, as the merchant continued to supply him on credit. There were no cash dealings in this system; a balance in favour of a fisher was carried on the merchant's books to set against a bad year. Once firmly established, credit relations endured for years and, in some cases, for generations.

The Newfoundland credit system was frequently condemned (even by the merchants who practised it) and some would lay all the ills of the nineteenth century fishery at its door. It is said to have impoverished fishers to the benefit of merchants, saddled merchants with bad debts, produced poor-quality fish, and discouraged innovation to the detriment of the colony's economy. While there seems no doubt that the system was damaging to the industry, few fishers could have afforded to go fishing without credit.

IMPORTS

Due to poor quality soil and a short growing season, agriculture in Newfoundland and Labrador produced only a small variety of produce for local markets during the nineteenth century. Likewise there was little industrialization, with few goods manufactured in the colony. As a result, residents relied heavily on the importation of food and other consumer products from foreign countries.

In the 1600s, many of these goods arrived from Britain. Prominent were such items as salt beef and pork, peas, hard bread, beer, fishing gear, cooking equipment, candles, and, to a lesser extent, cheese, butter, vinegar, liquor, and cloth.

As the resident fisheries developed in the 1700s and 1800s, Newfoundland and Labrador began to trade fish for items from other countries. By the end of the 1800s, in addition to importing goods from Britain, it was receiving products from Canada, New England, southern Europe, Brazil, and the West Indies. The bulk of these imports consisted of food items, with many agricultural imports arriving from New England. Other imports included furniture, books, feather bedding, glassware, medicines, and other merchandise.



3.67 The Ryan Premises, Bonavista

James Ryan Ltd. started in 1857 in Bayley's Cove, Bonavista and relocated to the central part of Bonavista in 1869. The Ryans made their fortune selling cured cod to Europe and the West Indies. At one time, this saltfish complex exported nearly 10 per cent of Newfoundland and Labrador's entire fish production. Today the merchant premises of James Ryan in Bonavista are restored and open to the public.

The cod fishery had a long completion cycle. If all dealings were in cash, fishers would have had to wait until after their fish was cured and sold to receive payment. Until the days when fish could be sold fresh for immediate payment, the credit system remained a necessary evil.

There were a few exceptions to this. With lobster fishing and (after 1832) seal hunting, merchants did pay in cash instead of on credit.

Questions:

1. What combination of factors did fishers need to produce merchantable saltfish? Over which factors did the fishers have control?
2. Towards the end of the 1800s, many of the larger firms made the shift from directly selling to planters to being wholesalers. What were some possible advantages in this shift?
3. What reasons might account for a fisher having a bad year, and not being able to break even or earn a profit?
4. Outport merchants took many risks. Which risks could they control? Which risks could they not control?
5. Overall, was the credit system fair? Explain.

3.68 Food Imports
Evening Telegram ad on imports, April 29, 1882

Just Landed,
Ex Schr. "J. A. Smith," from Barbados,
50 PUNCHEONS choice
Retailing Molasses.
Ex "Frances," from Demerara.
161 Puncheons
Muscovado Molasses.
40 Barrels Muscovado MOLASSES.
Ex "Orleans," from New York.
300 Barrels
Extra Flour,
1200 Barrels Superfine FLOUR
376 Ditto No. 2 ditto
100 Ditto Extra Prime PORK
50 Ditto Mess ditto
Also—Ex "Marance," from Liverpool.
An Assortment of
STORE GOODS



TOPIC 3.5

3.69 Heart's Content, 1885

Lifestyle and Culture

What are the advantages and disadvantages of “winterhousing”?

In 1900, less than 50 per cent of children under age 15 attended school. Today more than 90 per cent attend. Why might this shift have occurred?

Introduction

During the migratory fishery, most occupied harbours and coves were essentially seasonal communities of transient populations. As the resident fishery developed, communities began to emerge.*

Life on Land and Sea

As most communities in the 1800s were based upon the shore fishery, they were located along the coast. Fishing communities, however, were not all alike. A few continued to function mainly as fishing stations, while others became regional centres with a wide range of occupations.

In some cases, even permanently settled communities lost some of their residents for parts of the year. (For example, whole families from Conception Bay would spend the summer working in the Labrador fishery.) In many areas, especially in the first half of the century, many families moved into the woods for the winter. This was called **winterhousing** and was practised in most regions outside the Avalon Peninsula. Usually the main reason for this move was to obtain wood for fuel and shelter. In some areas, winterhousing survived well into the twentieth century.

The nineteenth century inshore fishery was mainly a

family fishery. Family labour was used to crew boats and cure fish, replacing the hired hands that had been used in previous centuries. When expensive cod traps, requiring much labour to operate, came into use late in the century, **kinship** ties were used to acquire and utilize them. Brothers usually fished together and fishing crews were completed by **sharemen** when family members alone could not crew boats. Those able to form trap crews usually had higher incomes than those who fished with simpler gear such as handlines.

Although the cod fishery was the main economic activity for most, it only lasted for a few months in summer (except on the south coast), so it was combined with other fisheries or land-based work during other seasons. Rural households engaged in subsistence production for home use, and sometimes for sale. Subsistence was an important part of **outport adaptation**, which had emerged in some areas at the end of the 1700s and became common during the 1800s.

The seasonal round for most householders was built around the salt cod fishery, which ran from late May to early November. The land-based harvest of seals occurred during February and March. Subsistence farming began with the planting of crops in late May or

*Some would argue this was the true beginning of modern Newfoundland and Labrador society.



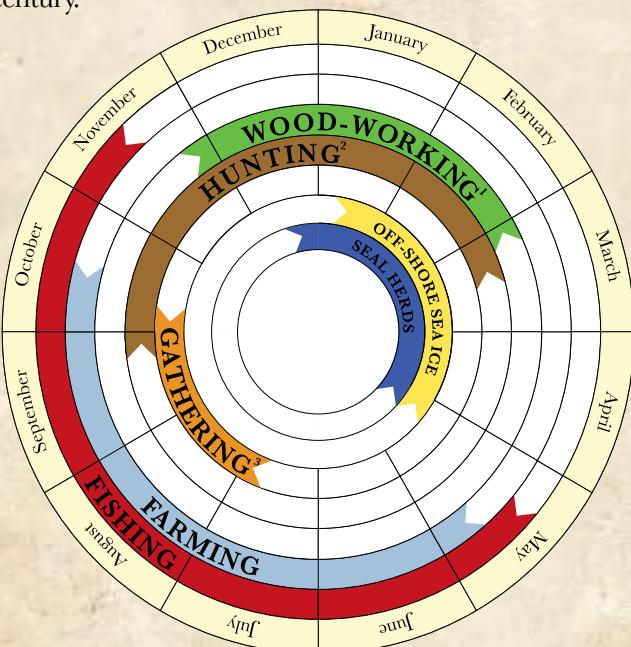
3.70 Farming near Quidi Vidi Lake, St. John's, c. 1900

This was an important activity for many households in 19th century Newfoundland and Labrador. Vegetable and hay gardens were common in many communities.

early June, and hoeing, weeding, and fertilizing with kelp, **fish offal**, and manure required attention during the summer.

Crops were harvested and stored in September and October. Fruit and berries were gathered in August and September to be preserved for the winter. From October to early March, game and seabirds were hunted. Early December to late February was the time to harvest timber for firewood and to repair or construct houses, outbuildings, wharves, boats, etc. During the late winter and early spring, nets, handlines, and boats had to be repaired in preparation for the fishery.

Shore fishing was combined seasonally with other fisheries – herring and lobster on the south coast, sealing and the Labrador fishery in the north. On the west coast, cod was not the main species. Rather, salmon, herring, and lobster fishing were combined with logging, trapping, and farming. Life in fishing communities, therefore, had a regional character in the nineteenth century.



3.71 Seasonal round

An example from a household in rural northeastern Newfoundland c. 1850.

1 Wood-working includes firewood, fencing materials, saw-logs, and other building materials

2 Hunting for birds, terrestrial mammals

3 Gathering of wild fruits and berries

NOTE: All boundaries are approximations and represent decreased activity

A HARD LIFE

Life was very labour-intensive for fishers in Newfoundland and Labrador in the 1700s and 1800s. This excerpt from William Harding's life story gives an idea of what life was like. Harding, a blacksmith by trade, shipped as a youngster from Devon in 1819 at a wage of £25 for two summers and a winter in the fishery. Although he began his life in Newfoundland and Labrador in the migratory fishery, he permanently settled in Burin where he later wrote his life story.

Upon Harding's arrival

We were soon sent from the vessel to the cook-room, with a set of Irishmen, and we soon found that we were not in old England enjoying the liberty we were used to, for we had to work from the dawn of the day to dark night about the fishery, as well as in the shop & at all calls. This we did not like! But even Sundays we had to work also, spreading fish on the Sunday morning and taking it up again in the evening.

I was not more than a fortnight in this place when I and seven men more was [sic] sent in a cod seine skiff hauling codfish. We were sent off Sunday after dinner and not to return to the cook-room until Saturday evening. No place to sleep only take a nap in the skiff, while one would be watching for a haul of fish, and only one meal of victuals cooked in twenty-four hours. If we wanted more there was bread and butter & water in the skiff. Saturday evening we went to the cook-room, put the seine on shore and spread to dry, and Sunday after dinner take it in with our week's allowance (of rum) and be off again, so we had only one night in the week to sleep in our bed. This continued six weeks and in that time we hauled six hundred quintals of codfish.

3.72 An excerpt from Harding's journal



3.73 Local justice

Shown here is Magistrate John Peyton, Jr. He was appointed Justice of the Peace for the northern district in 1818 and in 1836 he became Magistrate for the district of Twillingate and Fogo. It was in his home (above) that the last known Beothuk, Shanawdithit, came to live for five years.

Local Government and Justice

The system of using a **naval governor**, appointed by the British government, to handle matters related to civil justice continued in the latter part of the eighteenth century. To administer these affairs more effectively, the island of Newfoundland was divided into districts and zones in the mid-1760s. Nine districts were managed by **civil magistrates** and overlapped with five maritime zones looked after by naval officers commissioned as **surrogate magistrates**.

In each of the districts, a magistrate (also known as a Justice of the Peace) took **depositions**, held **petty sessions**, and organized **quarter sessions** for more serious matters of justice. At these quarter sessions, civil magistrates worked with naval surrogates.

Although governors worked to standardize the system, in reality, the operation of districts and zones varied considerably according to regional customs and available resources. In addition, although not part of the formal system, fish merchants often used their considerable influence to settle matters that directly affected them.

Improvements in this system of civil government and justice continued over the years, including the appointment of a chief justice in 1791, and the establishment of a supreme court in the following year. When Newfoundland was granted colonial status in 1825, a civil (rather than naval) governor was appointed to administer the affairs of local government.

“The vast wealth realized by the fisheries all went to enrich other lands. None of it was spent in the improvement of Newfoundland, or in the promotion of civilization among the resident population.”

– From *Newfoundland: The Oldest British Colony* (1883) by Joseph Hatton and Rev. Moses Harvey

Experiencing The Arts

Using the information in this section, create a piece of comic art that explores the lifestyle and culture of

European settlers during this time period. Your work should be 6-10 frames long. Add this to your portfolio.



3.74 The Harbour Grace Affray

One of the worst incidents related to religious tensions in Newfoundland and Labrador occurred in Harbour Grace on Boxing Day (St. Stephen's Day) in 1883. "The Harbour Grace Affray," as it is now known, began when approximately 450 Protestant members of the Loyal Orange Association held their annual parade through town. During their march, they encountered a group of approximately 125 men from Riverhead, who felt the marchers were intruding on a Roman Catholic part of the town. A violent confrontation ensued. Five men were killed and 17 were injured.

Religion

As permanent settlement by Europeans became more widespread in Newfoundland and Labrador, so did the institutions of organized religion. The original distribution of religious denominations was largely determined by early immigration patterns. Thus, most English immigrants were members of the Church of England (now Anglican) although some were Methodists and Congregationalists (now United Church) and most Irish immigrants were Roman Catholics. Lowland Scots settling in St. John's were mostly Presbyterians, but Highland Scots who moved to the Codroy Valley from Cape Breton were typically Roman Catholics. Most French settlers were also Roman Catholic.

Some changes to this distribution pattern occurred in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a result of the efforts of some denominations to gain converts. For instance, Methodist preachers sent as missionaries in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had some success in converting many of the English settlers to their teachings. Later, the Salvation Army and Pentecostal movements were able to establish strong congregations through conversions mainly among the Protestant denominations. Other smaller religious groups and denominations also arrived later – such as Seventh-Day Adventism, which was introduced to Newfoundland in 1893.



3.75 Congregational Church, St. John's, prior to 1906

Unfortunately, as in many parts of British North America, the growth of permanent settlement also brought with it some of the religious tensions and ethnic prejudices that immigrants had experienced in their European homelands. As one historian noted: "Old jealousies and distrusts were revived. The memory of ancient wrongs and grievances awoke. Each dreaded the political ascendancy of the other, and strove to gain the controlling power." In addition, as churches began to take responsibility for the education of their members, people socialized almost entirely within their denomination. Because of this, there has been a close association between religion and politics, education, and ethnicity in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Health

Even with an increase of permanent settlement, at the end of the eighteenth century there were few social services for residents. Health care services were non-existent for most – although there were naval surgeons aboard British military vessels patrolling the fishery, who sometimes treated local residents. There were also a few military infirmaries in St. John's, which treated civilian patients when their resources allowed. In Northern Labrador, Moravian missionaries provided some health-care services, but could only reach a fraction of the region's scattered population. Resident doctors were rare, especially outside St. John's, and physicians who did service outport communities had to travel long distances by snowshoe, horseback, or boat to examine patients who often could not afford to pay for treatment.

The first civilian hospital in Newfoundland and Labrador was the Riverhead Hospital established in St. John's in 1814. This was mainly thanks to a widespread public movement for better health care, led by Scottish reformer William Carson. Although the government was involved in the construction of the new hospital, the facility ran largely on public donations and struggled to provide adequate care because of the huge demands placed on it. Three more civilian hospitals were opened in St. John's by the end of the nineteenth century but, for the most part, the rest of the colony remained without health facilities and residents were left to depend on folk medicine and the skills of midwives.*

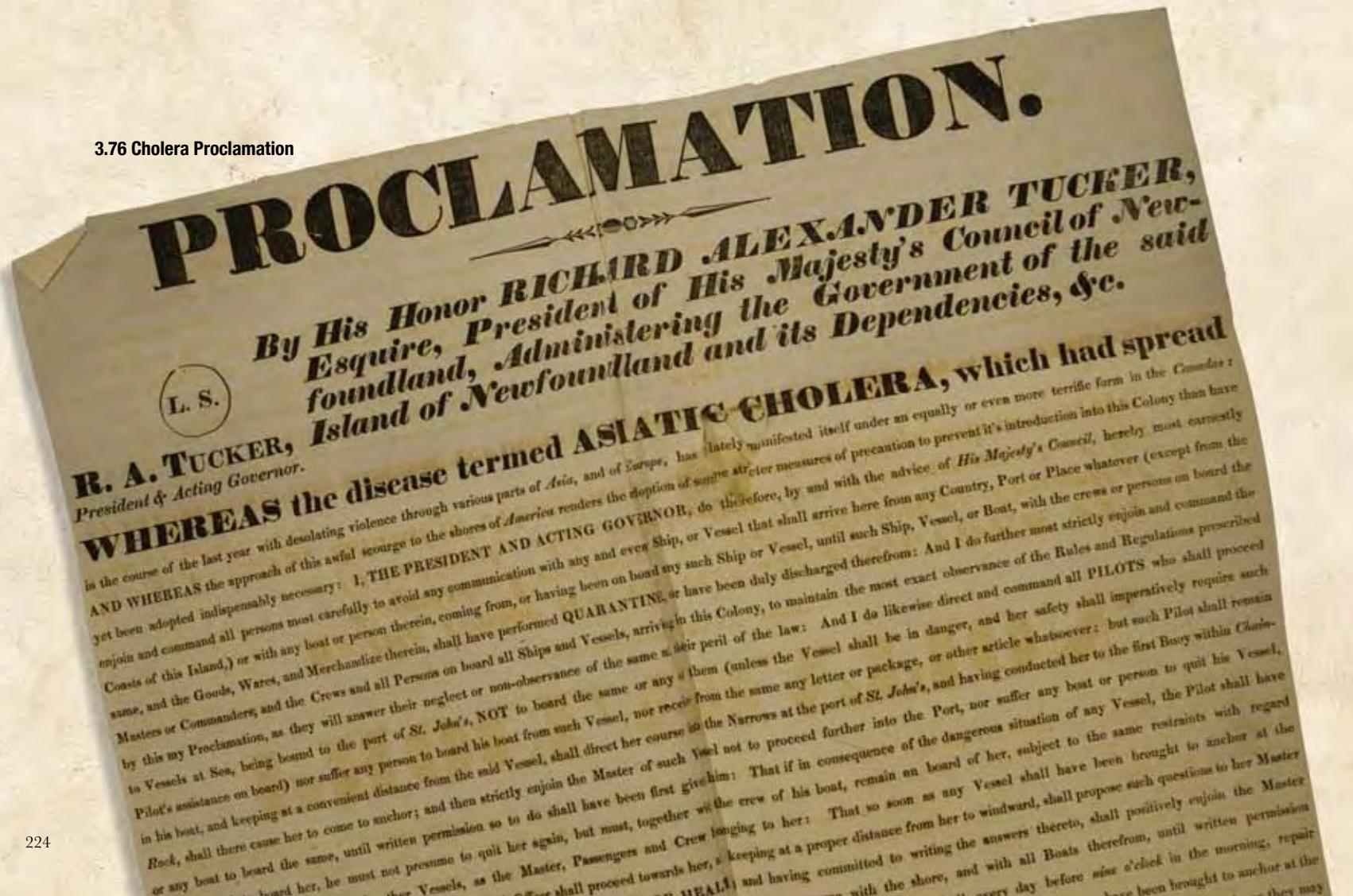
**Wilfred Grenfell opened a hospital in Battle Harbour in 1893.



3.77 Caring for the sick, c. 1880

The General Hospital served as a military institution until 1870, when Britain transferred its garrison from St. John's to Halifax. The facility reopened a year later as the Forest Road Hospital and became the General Hospital in 1880.

3.76 Cholera Proclamation





3.78 Typical one-room school

3.7.8 Typical one-room school
Built around 1820, this school house in Mosquito (now Bristol's Hope) is an example of typical wooden schools in outport communities in the 1800s. It still stands as a heritage structure.

3.79 Making the grade

A few private schools existed in the mid-1800s, such as Jersey Lodge, an "Establishment for Young Ladies" in St. John's. As indicated in this 1869 grade book from Jersey Lodge, the curriculum was tailored for girls from the upper class, who did not need to learn the same kind of practical skills that children in working class families learned at home.

*One reason for this was that the educational system was not well integrated with the economic system. In Denmark, for instance, schools teaching agricultural skills were established very early on. However, Newfoundland and Labrador did not get a fisheries college until 1964.

Subject	Mon.	Tues.	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
English Lessons,	100					
Spelling,	100	100	100	100	100	100
Scriptural Studies,	100	100	100	100	100	100
History,						
Catechism,						
Poetry,						
Chronology,						
Mythology,						
Geog. & Astron.						
English Exercises						
Diction.						
English Reading,						
Parsing,						
English Grammar,						
Science,						
Music,						
Pianoforte,						
French Lessons,						
French Exercises,						
French Reading } & Translation,						
French Grammar,						
Writing,						
Arithmetick,						
Work,						
Neatness,						
Punctuality,						
General Good Behavior,						

Education

Formal education was slow to develop in Newfoundland and Labrador. During the time of migration and settlement – the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – the typical community was mainly pragmatic in its values and outlooks. The main objective for every family was to make a living, mostly in the fishery. Thus, the primary goals of instruction were to train boys as fishers and to teach girls practical skills that contributed directly to household production.

Although merchants and traders did need some formal education to be successful, most did not see the necessity or desirability of schools for the working population. Some religious groups, however, did put a premium value on literacy as a means to enhance public worship and to read the Bible. The first school on the island of Newfoundland was established in Bonavista in 1726 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Other schools followed through the work of various societies and churches, such as the Newfoundland School Society, which opened a school in St. John's in 1823, and the Benevolent Irish Society, which opened the Orphan Asylum School in St. John's in 1827. A few privately operated schools, or academies, run by individuals were also established. Although many of these early schools were influenced by church involvement, they were officially non-denominational as they were open to all.

In 1836, four years after representative government was established in Newfoundland, the first Education Act was passed. The Committee appointed to review education in the colony recommended that "since the voluntary system works advantageously, assistance be given by the legislature to the several societies who direct the gratuitous education of the poor classes ..." To do this, the act created school boards to administer grants to existing schools. For the most part, churches were in favour of continuing to be responsible for the education of their members. It gave them strong control over their congregations and over what values were imparted to children.

The Education Act of 1843 stipulated that educational grants be divided equally between Protestants and Catholics, a first step towards a denominational education system. In 1874, an act was passed to make the educational system completely denominational, and three government inspectors were appointed, one each for Roman Catholic, Church of England, and Methodist schools. Despite these advances in the education system, there were still many children in Newfoundland that did not have access to formal schooling or were not able to go because they needed to work with the family. In 1900, less than 50%* of children between the ages of five and fifteen were attending elementary school.



3.80 Leisure and reflection
A view of the seven islands in the harbour of Placentia

Social Class

In the early 1800s there were two main classes – wealthy merchants and planters, and poor fishers. However, a rural middle class emerged towards the end of the century. Fishers who utilized cod traps to obtain higher catches began to accumulate capital. Likewise, local men who found employment in the civil service became members of the middle class. Fishers who owned little gear, as well as sharemen, who owned none, formed the lower class.

Communication and Culture

There are signs that distinctive regional subcultures emerged during the nineteenth century in some areas, incorporating elements from countries of origin and distinctly local elements. Language is a good example; sometimes communities just a few kilometres apart had distinctive dialects and different terms for the same objects. Other differences between communities in the same region can be explained due to variation in local economies.

Part of the reason for this phenomenon was the isolation that most outport residents experienced. While there were often paths between communities, there were no roads across the interiors of Newfoundland and Labrador, and most communities could only be reached by boat. As a



3.81 Family life in the 1800s
Lifestyles of families varied based on class.



3.82 SS Great Eastern at Heart's Content, July 1866

The SS *Great Eastern* was the world's largest ship when it was launched in 1858. This ship brought the first transatlantic cable from Ireland to Heart's Content in 1866.

consequence, there was little opportunity for extensive interaction between communities. The first postal service in Newfoundland and Labrador began in 1805 when the Governor established a postmaster in St. John's to handle letters to and from London. However, mail service to the rest of the island had to wait until the Colony took over the operation of the post office in 1851 and began to subsidize **packet boats** to deliver mail along the coast.

Telegraph in Newfoundland did not become operational until 1852 when lines were established between St. John's and Trepassey and St. John's and Carbonear. Additional lines were laid in 1867 to Old Perlican, Placentia, and Heart's Content – the latter being the site of the first transatlantic cable. More lines were built in the 1870s and 1880s, but it wasn't until the railway telegraph lines were built in the 1890s that the western and northern coasts received telegraph service.

Some international news began to reach St. John's when Newfoundland and Labrador's first newspaper, *The Royal Gazette*, began as a weekly publication in 1807. However, local news was subject to government scrutiny before publication to ensure the paper did not print anything that "may tend to disturb the peace of His Majesty's subjects." The first daily newspaper, *The Evening Telegram*, started in St. John's in 1879. Harbour Grace, Carbonear, and Twillingate also had newspapers by the end of the 1800s.

As parts of Newfoundland and Labrador slowly became more connected, regional subcultures began to develop into a "national culture." One indication that Newfoundlanders were beginning to think of themselves as a distinct group came with the creation of the Natives' Society in St. John's in 1836. The goal of this society was to advance the careers and interests of "native-born Newfoundlanders." The society even developed its own flag – an early symbol of identity for Newfoundlanders.

3.83 Locals only

The Natives' Society did not last long; it was, however, an expression of the tension that existed between Newfoundland-born and those born elsewhere.



Questions:

1. "The resident fisher's life was a hard life."
 - a. What evidence in the text supports this statement?
 - b. Compared to the life of a migratory fisher, was the resident fisher's life any easier?
2. Examine the visuals in fig. 3.80 and 3.81. Speculate as to which social class is represented in each visual. What evidence did you use to determine this?
3. What aspects of present-day Newfoundland and Labrador culture and identity have their roots in this time period?

3.84

Opposing forces

The juxtaposition of these two people speaks volumes. Sitting Bull (left) was a prominent Sioux Indian from the western U.S. representing Native American resistance to European encroachment. Sir Walter Raleigh (right) was a prominent 16th-17th century figure who encouraged Elizabeth I to support voyages of exploration designed to exploit the wealth of the “new world.”



TOPIC 3.6

Worlds Collide

Imagine you had to venture across an unknown region, as William Cormack did in 1822. How would you start your preparations?

How might First Nations and Inuit have felt about European settlement in Newfoundland and Labrador?

Introduction

The lives of Aboriginal people in North and South America underwent great change as more and more Europeans began to settle in their lands in the 1700s and 1800s. They faced social change, new diseases, unfamiliar technologies, and (often) hostility. The experience of Aboriginal people in Newfoundland and Labrador was no different. It was a time of great change for Inuit, Innu, Beothuk, Mi'kmaq, and Metis, as the European migratory fishery came to an end and was replaced by a resident fishery.

Inuit

Inuit continued to trade baleen with Europeans, mostly French, during the 1700s. However, this trade was temporarily disrupted in 1763 when Labrador became a British possession and the French were no

longer allowed to do business there. To smooth the transition for British and American merchants to take over the baleen trade, Governor Hugh Palliser attempted to negotiate with Inuit* in 1765. Although this did not eliminate all tensions between the cultures suddenly thrown together in business, it did contribute to increased European activity and settlement along the Labrador coast.

The settlement of Moravians on the northern coast of Labrador in the later part of the eighteenth century led to consistent contact between Inuit and Europeans. The Moravians, a Protestant denomination from Europe, established their first Labrador mission station in Nain in 1771. This was followed by the founding of Okak, Hopedale, Hebron, Zoar, Ramah, Makkovik, and Killinek. Inuit traded fish to the Moravians in these communities

*There were approximately 1500 Inuit living along the coast at this time.



3.85 A family portrait

Inuit in front of their skin tent (tupik), Okak, Labrador, 1896

This is an example of diffusion.

in exchange for European goods. As the use of these commodities became more embedded in their lifestyle, Inuit became dependent on some of these goods.

The Moravians' intent was to spread Christianity among the Inuit, but they became involved in many other aspects of Inuit life as well. They encouraged Inuit to abandon their traditional lifestyle and settle near Moravian mission stations. As a result, some Inuit traditional religious beliefs and practices were eroded. The Moravians did interact with Inuit in Inuktitut, however, and established a written form of this language. Thus, the Inuit language was preserved.

Inuit interactions with Europeans continued and increased into the mid-1800s. In some cases, this introduced European diseases to Inuit for which they had no immunity, resulting in a decline in Inuit population. In other cases, intermarriage often occurred between European men and Inuit women.



3.88 Mission station Hebron, Labrador, c. 1860

● Killiniq (*Killinek*)
1904

3.86 Moravian mission stations in Labrador



3.87 Hugh Palliser, c. 1775

Palliser was concerned by disorder in the Strait of Belle Isle between Inuit, French, and British fishers. He spent time in Labrador trying to establish better relations with Inuit and encouraged the Moravians to establish a mission there.



3.89 Changing religious practices

Roman Catholic Procession of Montagnais and Nasquapees at the Mission of Seven Islands, by William Hind, c. 1861. Colonialism brought dramatic and far-reaching changes to Innu culture, society, and lands. The arrival of Roman Catholic missionaries at Labrador during the 1800s greatly altered Innu religious practices.

Innu

Although European nations were in Newfoundland and Labrador since the 1500s, their presence did not greatly alter Innu culture and society until the 1800s. An increased European presence in Labrador in the 1800s brought dramatic and far-reaching changes to Innu culture, society, and lands. The arrival of Roman Catholic missionaries helped marginalize Innu religious beliefs. At the same time, European traders encouraged Innu to trap furs full time and spend less time on their other subsistence activities.

Traditionally, Innu believed in maintaining a balance between all the elements of creation. They believed in spiritual beings, some of which were associated with the animals they hunted. The Kanipinikassikueu, caribou master, was the most important of these. Missionaries objected to these beliefs and traditional Innu spiritual practices, such as drum dances, and converted many Innu to Christianity. Roman Catholic priests assumed many duties in the community. In addition to performing religious ceremonies, they distributed



3.90 Donald Smith at North West River, Labrador, 1860, by William Hind

Innu trappers often traded with the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trading post in North West River. Donald Smith (Lord Strathcona) became the Factor at North West River in 1848 and eventually was put in charge of the entire Labrador district for the HBC.

Experiencing The Arts

For more information on William Hind turn to page 640.



3.91 Effects of cultural interaction

When two cultures come into contact, both are affected. This picture (above) by J. Crawford Young shows a British officer in "Canada" wearing a caribou skin coat c. 1830. The painted coat worn by the man in the foreground was apparently acquired by a non-native owner. Note that it is similar to the Euro-Canadian coats worn by the other men in the picture. Europeans in Labrador likely also traded for and wore Innu coats.

food and European clothing. They also served as schoolteachers for Innu children, which increased the priests' influence over younger generations.

Traders from the Hudson's Bay Company persuaded many Innu to become trappers. In return for furs, Innu trappers obtained European foods, tools, and other supplies at trading posts. Giving up traditional caribou hunting and specializing in furs, however, made many Innu dependent on European goods for survival. The introduction of guns also changed their way of hunting. Instead of hunting being done in large groups, it became a small group or individual activity. This change weakened traditional community ties.



3.92 Intricate work

Ethnographer Dorothy Burnham suggests European styles also affected the traditional cut of Innu coats. Compare the European coats in Young's painting with the Labrador Innu coat (right) from the late 1700s to the early 1800s. Can you see any European influence in it?



3.93 A picture of a Beothuk camp and canoe from John Cartwright's map, *A sketch of The River Exploits and The east end of Lieutenant's Lake in Newfoundland* (c. 1768).



3.94 Beothuk made use of European items to make their own tools.

Shown here is a Beothuk projectile point that was created by hammering and grinding a European nail, and a European trap that was found in a Beothuk site. Beothuk took the traps apart and used the pieces to make spears.

Beothuk

Beothuk continued to face **encroachment** on their land and resources throughout the 1700s and early 1800s as English settlers moved into Notre Dame Bay and French fishing crews occupied harbours and coves on the west coast. Mi'kmaq, equipped with firearms, and allies of the French, increased their presence on Newfoundland's south coast and displaced Beothuk from their camps on the west coast. This loss of territory caused Beothuk to focus their subsistence activities on the area around the Exploits River and Red Indian Lake. It became their last refuge inland. In fall, large herds of caribou migrated through this area, which allowed Beothuk to hunt much needed meat for the winter season, particularly since their access to traditional coastal resources was now severely curtailed.

With the beginning of a commercial salmon fishery in the early 1700s, Beothuk in Bonavista Bay and to the north were soon excluded from productive salmon rivers between Cape Bonavista and Cape St. John, such as Gambo and Gander rivers. They responded by breaking down weirs, taking away nets, and killing several of the salmon catchers. It was the first time in documented history that Beothuk resorted to violence. However, after the station owner sent a large contingent of men with the intent of keeping the country "clear of the Indians," no more disturbances were recorded. Soon thereafter salmon posts were also set up in Exploits and Halls Bays. In the 1760s, when English parties arrived to erect new fishing stations in these bays, Beothuk attacked and killed them. This seems to have been the last time Beothuk made a concerted effort to protect this resource, since retaining access to salmon rivers would have been a matter of life and death. The recent capture of a Beothuk child and the killing of his mother may have incited them to take action once more, though their victory was short lived.

In addition, Beothuk were excluded from the bird

islands, where they had traditionally collected sea birds and eggs, by being shot at on sight when they ventured out in their canoes. This severely restricted their ability to find an adequate food supply in early summer. As well, Beothuk faced competition for resources in their inland refuge as Newfoundland furriers began to intrude into their territory to trap fur bearing animals.

With the continuation of persecution and encroachment by trappers, fishermen and settlers – including the violent abduction of two more children – Beothuk intermittently took revenge for the many injustices they had suffered. They pilfered fishing nets from rivers to turn them into rope, took traps set in the forest to fashion them into arrow and spear heads and sometimes cut fishing boats from their moorings. On occasion, Beothuk also ambushed fishermen. The settlers, who resented Beothuk presence and their habit of stealing equipment, never doubted their right to the country and its resources and retaliated. Many cruel acts perpetrated by the settlers have been recorded.

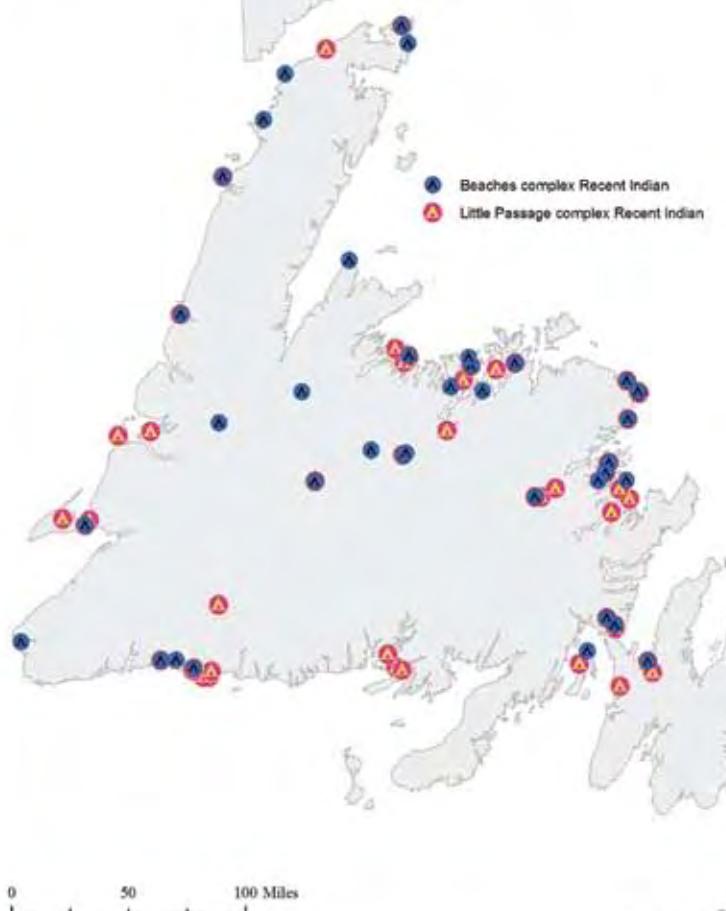
Towards the end of the 1700s, hostile encounters increased. Beothuk, having no firearms, were not able to adequately defend themselves. Overwhelmed by their foes and hemmed in on all sides, they were unable to hunt sufficient food and began to starve. Some historians believe that by the 1760s the Beothuk group had already decreased to about 350 members and continued to decline sharply in the decades that followed. Recorded population figures suggest a decrease to 72 in 1811, to 27 in 1819, and to 12 or 13 in 1823. A contributing factor to this decline was the transmission of tuberculosis to Beothuk by English parties who came to their camps in an attempt to appease them. In addition to causing a number of deaths, this disease also weakened many Beothuk who survived it and rendered them unable to participate in their annual round of subsistence activities.

3.95 Prehistoric Beothuk sites

The symbols on the map mark some of the areas of Beothuk activity before European contact; archaeological explorations show that Beothuk exploited every coast and major river system of the island.

ANCESTRAL BEOTHUK SITES

Recent Indian



Source: Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office

HISTORIC BEOTHUK SITES

Beothuk site



0 50 100 Miles

3.96 Historic Beothuk sites

The map to the left shows that by the 1750s Beothuk camps and burial sites were clustered around the coast of Notre Dame Bay, the Exploits River, and Red Indian Lake. Though archaeologists have found Beothuk camp sites near Rencontre Island, the Avalon Peninsula, and in Trinity and Bonavista Bays, as marked on the map, only Bonavista Bay was used by Beothuk until c.1800. The other sites had already been abandoned in the 1600s.

DIMENSIONS OF THINKING

JUDGMENT

Whenever you examine an issue in the social sciences you ask various questions. Some of these questions relate to morality – or standards of what is considered right and what is considered wrong. For example, the story of the Beothuk raises questions such as:

- Were Beothuk justified in taking fishing nets and traps?
- Were the English justified in seeking retaliation against Beothuk who took their fishing and trapping gear?

However, these questions are secondary to a more fundamental moral issue:

- Did the English have any rights to settle and use Newfoundland's resources without making appropriate agreements with Beothuk?

Equally important are more subtle moral questions such as:

- Was it appropriate for the English to capture Beothuk in an effort to establish better relations?
- Should the English governors of the territory have done more to save Beothuk?

It is important when assessing moral issues to avoid two things: presentism (page 63) and making assessments without adequate information. Remember, examining moral issues is not just about assessing past actions. It also involves looking at past experiences and learning from them in order to improve the quality of peoples' lives today.

Making Peace with Beothuk

In the latter half of the 1700s, several governors and settlers began to realize their negative impact on Beothuk and attempted to interact with them to accommodate their needs. In 1768, Governor Hugh Palliser, appalled at the situation of the Beothuk, sent Lieut. John Cartwright to make contact. Cartwright recorded many deserted Beothuk camps as he trekked up the Exploits River, but failed to make actual contact.

Following Governor Palliser's efforts, Governor John Byron issued a proclamation commanding magistrates to charge settlers who murdered Beothuk. As historian Sir R. Bonnycastle noted: "(Byron) ... appears to have taken a lively interest in the ... Red Indians, who were ruthlessly massacred on every possible occasion by the barbarous furriers; he issued a proclamation for their protection which the lawless vagabonds on the north eastern coast cared very little about."

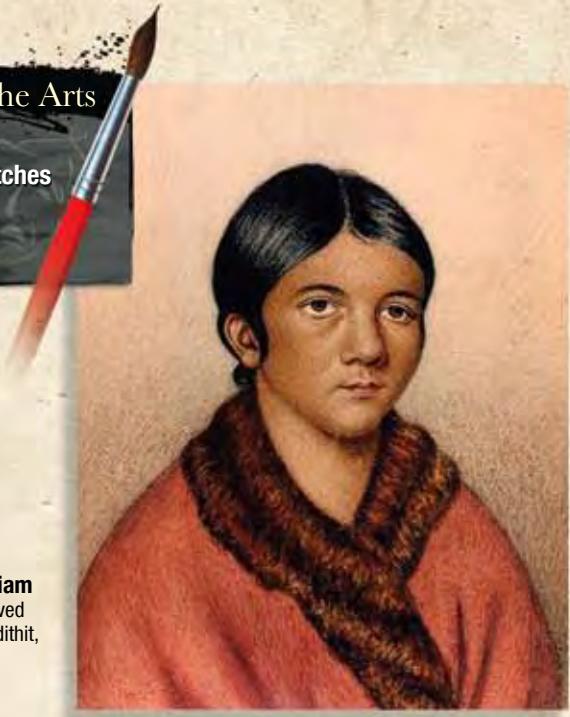


3.97 The handshake of friendship

John Hayward's interpretation of the painting left by Governor John Holloway to communicate with Beothuk

Experiencing The Arts

To see some of
Shanawdithit's sketches
turn to pages 236
and 638.



3.98 A miniature of A female Red Indian of Newfoundland by William Gosse, 1841 This is believed to be a portrait of Shanawdithit, who was given the English name "Nancy April."

but we regard it as one of national importance.

In our present feelings upon the subject, we cannot enter into a computation of the expences which may attend, or the commercial benefits which may result from it. We look at it from that high ground, which dictated the abolition of the slave-trade, and which lately shook the walls of Algiers to their foundation.—If any one, coldly conversant in the relative estimates of human life, will tell us that, the blood of a Red Indian is not so valuable as that of an African or an European, let him pay a short visit to the delicate, the sensible being who is lately come amongst us, and say, if he saw her life attacked by a maddened savage, for the value of the simple raiment she has on, whether he would not rush to defend it with his own—if he would not, from the impulses of his nature, we own that we have no suitable arguments to move his philosophy, but we think the answer would be short and ready—and yet it is horrible to reflect, that at the very moment, while we sit down at our fire sides, in peace and composure, many of her countrymen, in all probability, as amiable and interesting as this young woman, are exposed to all the rapine and wanton cruelty of those lawless wretches, whom Lord Chatham described as hell hounds in human form.

3.99 Excerpt of a letter concerning the treatment of Beothuk, from *Mercantile Journal*, May 27, 1918

In 1784, John Cartwright's brother, George, proposed the establishment of a Beothuk reserve in Notre Dame Bay to guarantee Beothuk access to resources and protect them from persecution by fishers, settlers, and trappers. However, the British government was not interested and the persecution of Beothuk continued. Lieut. G. C. Pulling, who was charged with the investigation of Beothuk-settler relations in 1792, recorded that settlers shot at Beothuk in their canoes, robbed them of their furs, and wounded and killed Beothuk in their camps. The description of a 1781 raid, told in the words of the perpetrator, stands out. On another winter expedition in 1790, the men destroyed everything useful, burnt Beothuk canoes and three out of four mamateeks. Although the men maintained they did not fire a shot, Pulling doubted the truth of this claim. In his report he urged the authorities to send a peace mission to the Beothuk and to protect them, but his plan was not approved.

As a means of conciliation, several governors promoted the idea of capturing Beothuk, treating them kindly, and sending them back with presents. As a result, the capture of a Beothuk woman in 1803 led to the death of several of her kin. In an attempt to avoid this kind of confrontation, Governor John Holloway suggested leaving a painting for Beothuk that showed trade between "Indians and English."

In another attempt to contact Beothuk, Governor John Duckworth dispatched Capt. Buchan with a naval party in 1811 to a Beothuk camp at Red Indian Lake. The initial meeting appeared to go well. But when Buchan left two of his men as "hostages" while he went to get more presents, the Beothuk became suspicious of his intentions and killed the two marines.

In March 1819, a party of settlers captured Demasduit, wife of chief Nonosabasut, at Red Indian Lake. When her husband tried to force her release, he and his brother were murdered. The couple's infant died shortly afterwards. (For more information on Demasduit's capture, read the account on page 239.) Demasduit, called Mary March by the settlers, was taken to St. John's.

"The townspeople could hardly believe that this gentle, modest, and intelligent woman was one of the 'savage' Beothuk." An anonymous article in the *Mercantile Journal* reflected on the "horrible" fact that Demasduit's people were still exposed to "wanton cruelty" and argued that Beothuk had better title to the island than the English. Never before had such an admission been made publicly. A citizen's committee planned to return Demasduit to her people, but in 1820 she died from tuberculosis before she could join her kin. Capt. Buchan brought her remains to the Beothuk camp at Red Indian Lake.

In 1822, William Cormack, a naturalist and explorer, walked across central Newfoundland with a Mi'kmaw guide in an unsuccessful attempt to contact Beothuk. A year later, trappers in Badger's Bay found three starving Beothuk women. Two soon died, but the youngest, Shanawdithit, lived for five years in the household of the local Justice of the Peace on Exploits Island. In 1827, Cormack founded the Boeothick Institution to gain public support for saving Beothuk. The following year, Cormack brought Shanawdithit to St. John's. With the help of drawings, she communicated much valuable information about Beothuk history and culture to him, including a list of Beothuk words. On June 6, 1829, Shanawdithit died from tuberculosis in a St. John's hospital. She was the last known Beothuk.

Settlers often gave Beothuk captives English names. The custom was to use the month they were taken as their surname.

CASE STUDY

Beothuk-Settler Interaction

“Red Injun not bad man,
if he mind to he could
kill every fisherman
without letting himself
be seen at all.”

— Statement reportedly made by a Mi’kmaw man to
James P. Howley Sr., author of *The Beothuks or Red Indians* (1915)



3.100 “Dancing Woman” from a sketch done by Shanawdithit

WITH THE EXPANSION OF THE FISHERY AND ENGLISH SETTLEMENT, continued contact between Beothuk and English was inevitable. At times this contact was peaceful, but more often it was confrontational. Written accounts from this time period detail some of these encounters. The following provide some insights into these meetings, and help shed light on why the relationship between Beothuk and English settlers unfolded as it did.

Account #1. Setting: Trinity Bay, 1612

John Guy believed that Beothuk could help the colonists obtain furs, which were a valuable commodity in Europe. To do this, Guy felt that it was imperative to establish peaceful trade relations with Beothuk. In the fall of 1612, he set sail to Trinity Bay in the hopes of making contact. He did encounter Beothuk on this trip, and goods were exchanged. The following excerpt comes from John Guy's journal (held at Lambeth Palace, London, England).

And coming togeather, the foremoste of them presented unto him a chaine of leather full of small periwinkle shells, a splitting knife, & a feather that stukke in his hair. The other gave him ane arrow without a head. The former [Indian] was requited with a linen cap & a hand toweel [and he] put presentlie the linen cap upon his head. ... To the other [Indian] he gave a knife. And after hand in hand they all three did sing & dance.

Account #2. Setting: Bay of Exploits, c. 1760

The following account appears in Lewis A. Anspach's *History of Newfoundland* (1818):

About the year 1760, one, Scott, with another shipmaster and a strong crew, went from St. John's to the Bay of Exploits, which was known to be much frequented by the Indians, during the summer season. Scott and his party having landed at the mouth of the bay ... Some days afterwards, a large party of Indians appeared in sight, and made a full stop, none of them showing the least inclination to approach nearer. Scott then proposed to the other shipmaster to go

among them ... They proceeded towards the Indians with part of their crew without arms. Scott went up to them with every sign of amity, that he could imagine, and mixed with them, taking several of them, one after another by the hands. An old man, in pretended friendship, put his arms around his neck; at the same instant, another stabbed Scott in the back. The war-whoop resounded, a shower of arrows fell upon the English which killed the other shipmaster and four of his companions. The rest of the party then hastened to their vessels and returned to St. John's, carrying one of those who had been killed with the arrows sticking in his body.

Account #3. Setting: Cape St. John, 1779

The following account is retold in Ingeborg Marshall's *A History and Ethnography of the Beothuk* (1996):

One of the most brutal recorded murders [of Beothuk] was perpetrated by a fisherman named Wells in the summer of 1779. On seeing a canoe in a cove near

Cape St. John, Wells fired directly at its occupants, three or four of whom fell. After landing, some of the Beothuk ran into the woods, but those who had been wounded hid behind cliffs. Wells searched them out, shot them again, and then took their canoe and contents.



3.101 A depiction by John Mauder Sr. of the capture of Demasduit (also known as Mary March) and the killing of her husband.

“The Beothuk had only done what every man ought to do, ‘to come to rescue his wife from the hands of the captors and nobly lost his life in his attempt to save her.’ ”

— Excerpt from a 1829 letter to the *Liverpool Mercury*.

The letter’s author claims to have been part of the capture party. His name is signed as E.S.

Account #4. Setting: Exploits River, 1781

From *A few facts by G.C. Pulling respecting the native Indians of the Isle of Newfoundland, anno Domini 1792*, Liverpool Papers, British Library, London.

In the winter of 1781, Mr. Peyton, Mr. Miller and their headman, Thos Taylor [travelled] up the Exploits River. Mr. Pitman recollects what Peyton had told him about this “glorious expedition” as follows: “he (Peyton) and some others went in pursuit of them (the Indians). And having travelled a long way came close upon them before the Indians saw ‘em ... They immediately discharged all their pieces at the Wigwams when they who were within ran out screaming some were wounded & all of course terrified.

They advanced and continued firing till they drove them away from their wigwams ... They enter’d the wigwams & took their skins & all they thought worth bringing away ... In one of the wigwams was a man which they had so crippled as not to be able to stand who had one of Peyton’s traps in his hand ... the wounded Indian sitting on his breach fought with the remainder of y/e Trap some little time but soon being conquer’d P-n wrested the Trap from him & beat out his brains.

This is an interesting and powerful story but there is some hidden bias in this tale of which the reader may not be aware. Whether Peyton really exhorted his men not to use violence or just said "don't indulge too easily on a shooting rampage" cannot be ascertained. While blame for the death of Nonosabasut and his brother can be spread to several people, the real reason for the conflict situation was Mr. Peyton's unwillingness to let Demasduit go with her husband. The way this excerpt begins is supporting this bias.

Account #5. Setting: Red Indian Lake, 1819

This excerpt describes the capture of Demasduit. It comes from an 1829 letter to the *Liverpool Mercury*. The letter's author claims to have been part of the capture party. His name is signed as E.S.

Mr....'s [Mr. John Peyton Jr.'s] objective was to open friendly communication with the Beothuk and he exhorted his men not to use undue violence. If the Beothuk continued to avoid him he planned to take one or two of them captive. On approaching the lake, some men inadvertently fired at a passing caribou ... [Beothuk] rushed from three wigwams: the last to emerge were three men, a woman, and a child. When the woman fell behind, Mr ... overtook her. She fell on her knees and begged for mercy by exposing her breasts.

Of several Beothuk in sight, three laid down their bows and came closer. One, the captive's husband, advanced with a branch of spruce and made a long oration ... He then shook hands with many of the party and attempted to take back his wife. Finding himself opposed, he brandished an axe but was disarmed. Mr ... intimated that the woman must go with him but that the Beothuk man might come also; they would both regain their liberty the next day.

When he led the captive towards one of the wigwams, her husband became furious and strove to drag her away. One of the furriers stabbed him in the back with a bayonet. The Beothuk knocked him down ... When he brandished his dagger, Mr ... fired his pistol and the Beothuk fell. Blood flowed from his mouth and nose, his eyes flashed fire, and he uttered a yell that made the woods echo ...

It was not until the captive was obliged to leave the remains of her husband that she gave way to grief and vented her sorrow in heartbreakingly lamentations ... After the party had retired for the night ... Mr ... and E.S. bitterly reproached the man who had first stabbed the Beothuk. While he had acted violently, there had been no need for such a brutal response. The Beothuk had only done what every man ought to do, "to come to rescue his wife from the hands of the captors and nobly lost his life in his attempt to save her."

The captive was tied securely and the party decided to take her back so that she could be used as an intermediary in the hope of developing friendly relations.

Account #6. Setting: St. John's, c. 1828

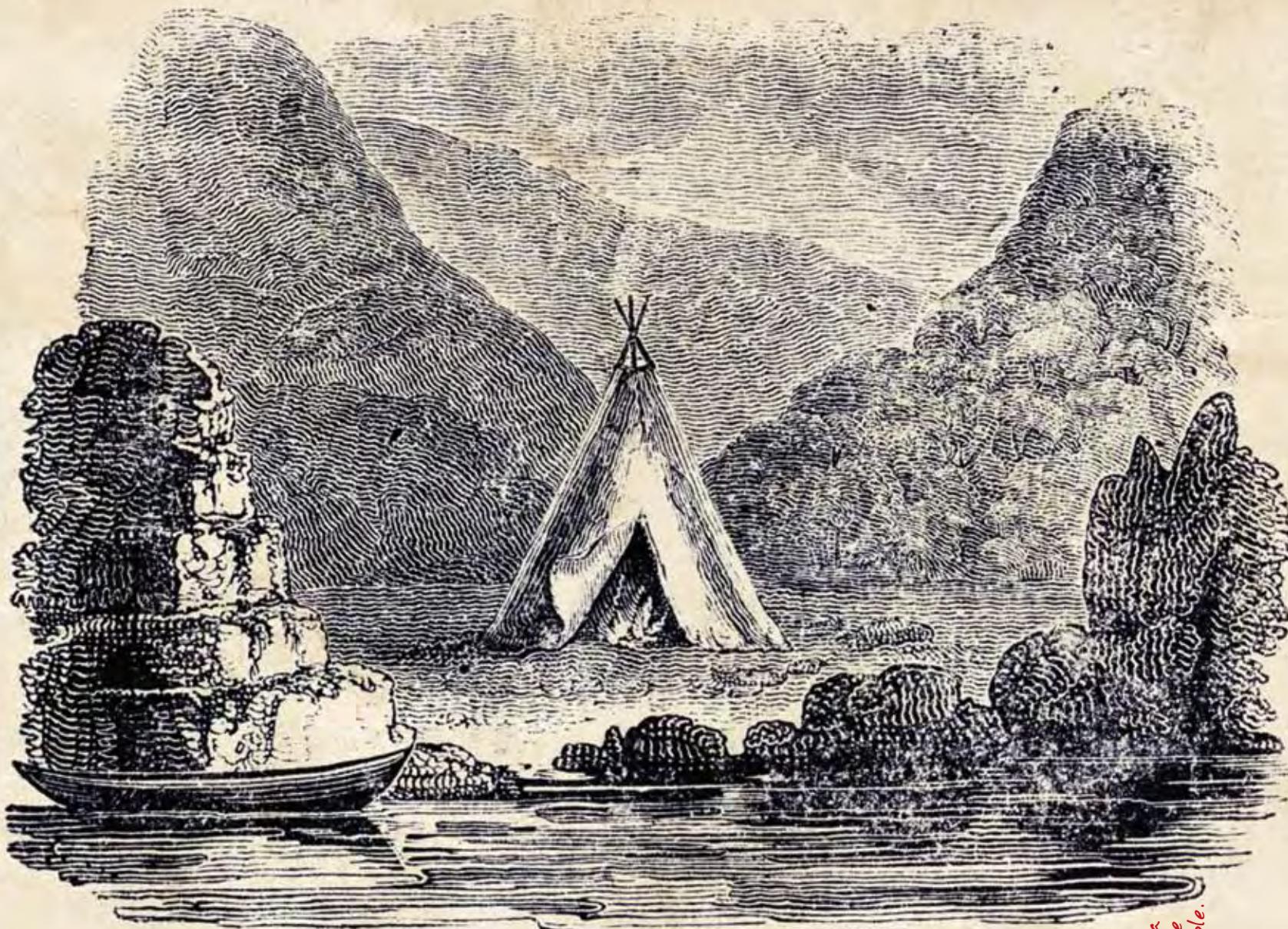
According to "Sketches of Savage Life," in *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* (vol. 13, March 1836), William Cormack gathered information about Beothuk from Shanawdithit. He learned that:

...from infancy all her nation were taught to cherish animosity and revenge against all other people; that this was enforced by narrating, during the winter evenings, the innumerable wrongs inflicted on the Boeoethics by the white men and by the

Mik-maks; that a tradition of old times told that the first white men that came over the great lake were from the good spirit, and that those who came next were sent by the bad spirit; and that if the Boeoethics made peace and talked with the white men which belonged to the bad spirit, or with the Mik-maks, who also belonged to the bad spirit, that they would not, after they died, go to the happy island, nor hunt, nor fish, nor feast in the country of the good spirit, which was far away, where the sun went down behind the mountains.

Questions:

1. For each source provided, determine:
 - if it is primary or secondary
 - who created the source
 - what inference can be made about the limitations of the evidence we have when learning about Beothuk-English relations?
2. For each excerpt provided, determine the degree to which the interaction was hostile or peaceful. Then make an inference/summary of how each party may have viewed the situation in question. Finally, make a judgment as to whether the interaction helped or hurt Beothuk-English relations.
3. In Account #5, were the English justified in taking any Beothuk against their will? Explain your position.
4. Based on the information provided, write a brief summary which explains how the relationship between Beothuk and English became more strained over time.
5. What should we learn from the story of the Beothuk?



3.102 Home by the bay, c. 1818
An illustration of a Mi'kmaw wigwam in St. George's Bay

Mi'kmaq

By the end of the eighteenth century, Mi'kmaq throughout the Atlantic region were trading furs with Europeans, especially the French, for metal tools, wool blankets, and other manufactured goods that often replaced Mi'kmaq handicrafts and other material items. Through this early interaction, many Mi'kmaq converted to Catholicism. This ultimately drew some Mi'kmaq to the southern parts of Newfoundland, where they could access Roman Catholic priests living at the nearby islands of St-Pierre-Miquelon.

With the extinction of the Beothuk in the early 1800s, many Mi'kmaq expanded their trapping and hunting range into the interior of the island. The Mi'kmaq's knowledge of the interior soon made them valuable as guides for explorers and sportsmen, professional trappers, postal carriers, and even surveyors.*

Mi'kmaq interaction with both Europeans and Newfoundlanders of European descent increased as it became common for these people to move into areas such as Bay d'Espoir, which were traditionally inhabited

by Mi'kmaq. By 1875, there were more non-Aboriginal people living in the bay than there were Mi'kmaq. Most of the new arrivals supported themselves by logging, farming, fishing, hunting, and trapping. As a result of increased competition for traplines and hunting grounds, some Mi'kmaq moved to Conne River from other communities in Bay d'Espoir.

Intermarriages also became common, especially between Mi'kmaw women and European men. This helped erode the **migratory lifestyle** of many Mi'kmaw families, as wives often chose to remain in communities year round with their children while their husbands hunted or trapped elsewhere. At the same time, many Mi'kmaw families began to abandon their traditional wigwams in favour of wood-frame houses.

In general, Mi'kmaq had positive relationships with European settlers, and shared their knowledge of this place with Europeans. All these interactions, however, came at a price. The traditional ways of life for the Mi'kmaq slowly disappeared.

*In the 1850s, the colonial government hired several Mi'kmaq to survey a route for a telegraph line from St. John's to Port aux Basques. After the completion of the line in 1856, some Mi'kmaq were retained as repair people.



3.103 Three Mi'kmaq women, 1859

By the 1760s, large numbers of Mi'kmaq were living at St. George's Bay, Bay d'Espoir, Codroy Valley, Bonne Bay, and other areas of southern, western, and central Newfoundland.

3.104 Journey across the island

1822 route taken by William Cormack and Sylvester Joe



3.105 The Lewis family, c. 1900

Reuben Lewis was Chief of Newfoundland Mi'kmaq.

SYLVESTER JOE

Sylvester Joe was a renowned Mi'kmaq hunter and guide who lived in the Bay d'Espoir area during the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1822, he was hired to guide William Epps Cormack on a journey across the then unmapped interior of Newfoundland.

The two men set out from Trinity Bay on Sept. 5, 1822 and emerged 58 days later on the shores of St. George's Bay. The crossing was gruelling, and it is likely that Cormack would have perished if not for Joe's knowledge of the land. The part of the interior through which they travelled was then unknown to settlers. Not surprisingly, Joe occupies a central place in Cormack's *Narrative of a Journey Across the Island of Newfoundland in 1822*. Much of the knowledge contained in this reflects Joe's knowledge and input.

Although Cormack had hoped to meet some Beothuk, he and Joe did not see any during their expedition. Nonetheless, Cormack's findings, which were facilitated by Joe, provided the basis for the later maps by the Geological Survey of Newfoundland that noted the commercial potential of the resources of the island's interior.

Training and preparation:

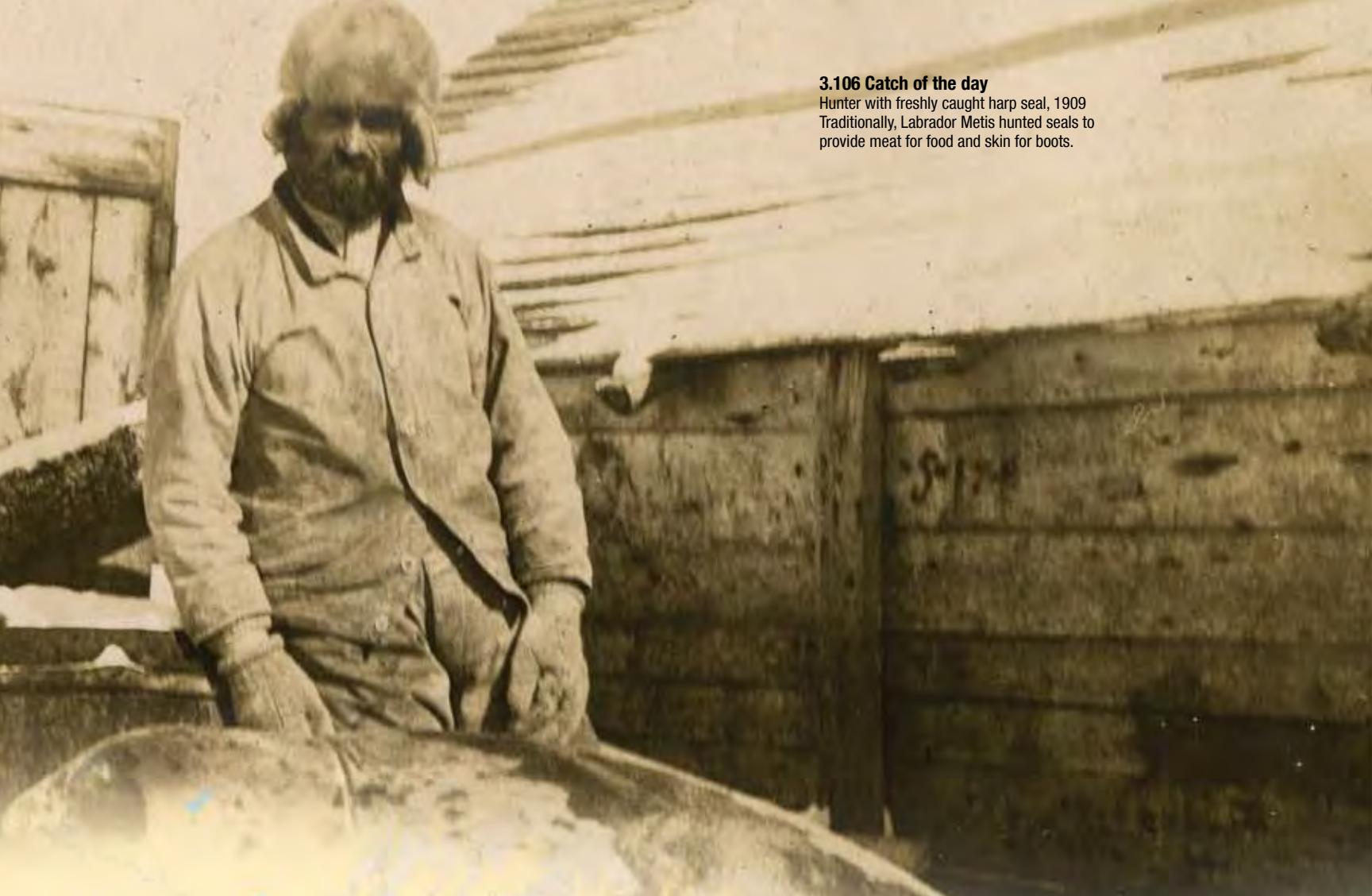
To accompany me in the performance, I engaged into my service, first, a Micmac Indian, a noted hunter from the southwest coast of the Island... For an undertaking involving so much uncertainty, hazard, and hardship, it was difficult to find men in every respect suited ...

September 5th: At sunset we halted... As the weather was fine, and no prospect of rain, our camp consisted merely of a fire and a bundle of spruce boughs to lie on. My Indian, Joseph Sylvester by name, at midnight rolled himself up in his blanket, and evidently slept perfectly at home ...

September 11th: In the whole of this savanna territory, which forms the eastern central portion of the interior, there rises but one mountain ... It served as an object by which to check our course and distance for about two weeks. I named it Mount Sylvester, the name of my Indian ...

Excerpts from *Narrative of a Journey Across the Island of Newfoundland in 1822* by W.E. Cormack

Or was it Joseph Sylvester? Historians disagree on the answer to this question. While Cormack's account refers to his guide as "Joseph Sylvester," other historians suggest his name was *Sylvester Joe*.



3.106 Catch of the day

Hunter with freshly caught harp seal, 1909

Traditionally, Labrador Metis hunted seals to provide meat for food and skin for boots.



3.107 Metis trapper and settlement system, c. 1930s

(Based on information from *Environmental archeology and cultural systems in Hamilton Inlet, Labrador; a survey of the central Labrador coast from 3000 B.C. to the present*, by William W. Fitzhugh.)

Metis

The intermarriage of Inuit women with European men resulted in descendants who later identified themselves as Labrador Metis. An early example of intermarriage occurred in 1785 when William Phippard and John Nooks (Newhook) came to Hamilton Inlet as the first English settlers, married Inuit women, and started families. Their children were accepted into the Inuit communities.

The Metis combined aspects of European with Inuit and Innu culture, and this created a lifestyle that exemplified a unique cultural expression. For example, Metis combined survival skills of Inuit on the coast with Innu trapping and inland hunting skills. They also made toboggans similar to those used by Innu for crossing the soft snow, but their main mode of transportation was the Inuit method – dogs and komatik. Unlike Innu, they did not take their families on the trapline with them.

Many Labrador Metis took part in a summer fishery, which was an Aboriginal tradition. Most fish was traded, but in the fall Metis caught fish for the family's consumption. Like all Aboriginal groups during this time period, they went to trading posts to trade their furs for European goods.

There was also some intermarriage with Innu women, and to a lesser degree Mikmaq women.

Unlike Metis in Quebec, Labrador Metis do not use an accented "e" in "Metis."

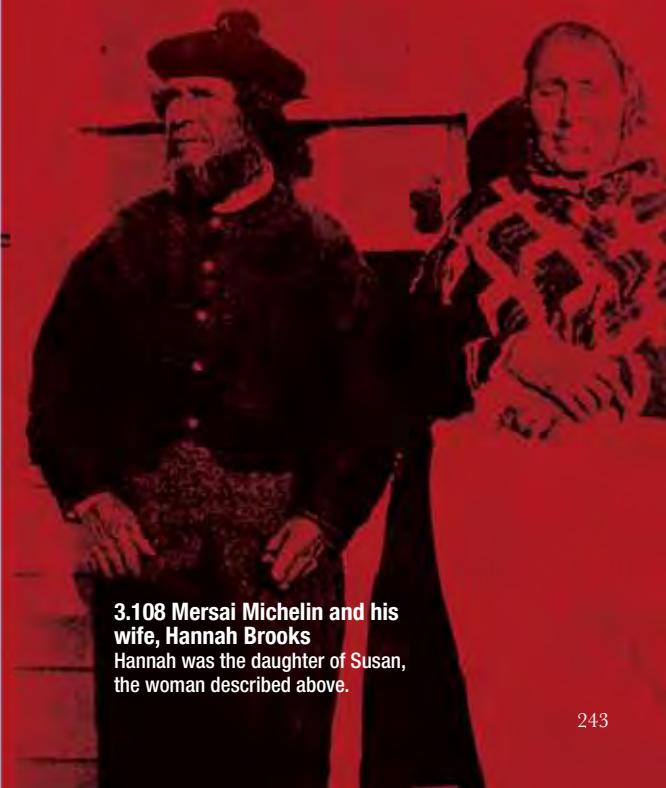


0 25 50 km

ONE OF THE FIRST METIS

Ambrose Brooks was an Englishman who left Europe during the Napoleonic Wars to escape being forced to fight by a press gang. In the early 1800s he settled in Hamilton Inlet and worked as a fisher and trapper. Susan, an Inuit orphan from Rigolet, ran away from her home around 1806. Susan's great-great-grand-daughter Elizabeth Goudie, in her memoir *Woman of Labrador*, says that Susan was escaping from her people because "The Eskimos there thought she had an evil spirit because her family died and they were going to cut her finger and bleed the bad blood out."

Goudie describes Brooks seeing Susan from a distance while tending his salmon nets on Pearl River. He brought her to live with a family in North West River. When Susan was 14 or 15, he "married her, but not until he taught her enough English to say the Lord's Prayer."



3.108 Mersai Michelin and his wife, Hannah Brooks
Hannah was the daughter of Susan, the woman described above.



3.109 A Metis family portrait, c. 1893

Image taken at Fox Harbour (today St. Lewis), Labrador

3.110 Interior of Mr. Brown's house, 1893

Image taken at Fox Harbour. Photographer Eliot Curwen recorded the following information when he took this picture: "House is 13 x 12 x 8 feet. Central iron stove held together by chain. Behind it is seen Mr. and Mrs. B's (Brown's) bed: to the right is shelf on which brother-in-law and his (Mr. Brown's) boys sleep: the girls sleep under this shelf on the floor."

Housing was influenced by both Inuit and European culture. Metis built log cabins for their families and built **tilts** along traplines. Some of the houses were partially submerged and packed in sod like Inuit winter houses. Clothing too was a combination of European and Inuit items. For example, Inuit waterproof sealskin boots were worn in spring and summer, while caribou moccasins were worn in winter.

Similarities existed between the values of Labrador Metis and Inuit. They frequently displayed generosity when interacting with neighbours. Also, like most people during this time period, they believed in using everything in their environment and avoided waste. Labrador Metis adopted a unique tradition of land ownership. Fishing "berths" were near the site of traditional homesteads; traplines were respected as personal property and passed from father to a surviving son. This enabled them to

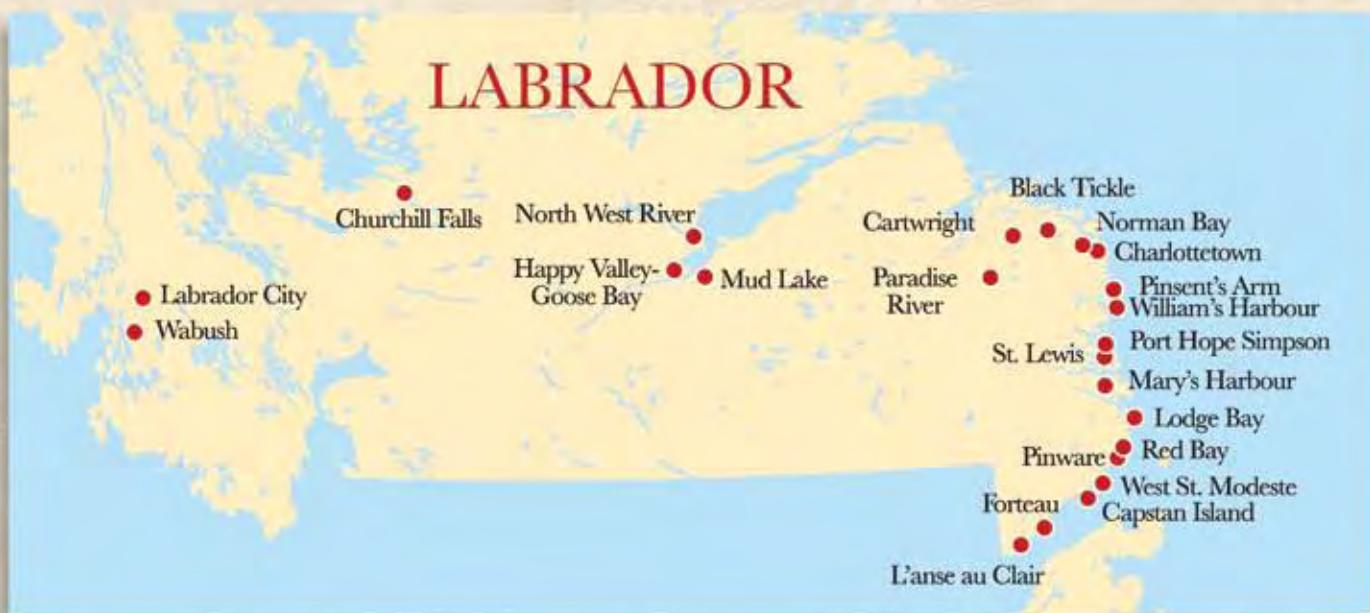


survive in a world dominated by outside commercial interests.

Most Metis were Christians, like other Aboriginals during this period. Metis worship was often non-denominational. Organized religion came in the late 1800s. Before this, Metis held services in a house in the community. The service was led by a person in the community who could read the text.

3.111 An example of a Metis family's annual round

MONTH	ACTIVITY
September–November	Family moves inland to winter home where equipment and supplies are readied for winter trapping. Family gathers red berries. Females make dickies, boots, and mitts for their families (and continue this throughout the year). Males saw wood and hunt spring duck. Some trappers may leave for their traplines at this time.
October–December	Adult males leave their family for about three months to trap. The traplines are laid out with tilts standing a day's walk apart. Women and young children hunt partridge and catch rabbits. A few breaks for the caribou hunt and Christmas might interrupt the months on the trapline.
January–March	After New Year's Day, the trappers head back for their second trip to the traplines. Women stay in the winter home and care for the family. Younger boys help by ice fishing, hunting, and trapping near the home. In March, when male family members return from trapping, they harvest wood and bring it home using a dog team.
April–June	In April and May, men hunt seals, catch spring trout, and hunt migratory birds; they also prepare for the summer fishery. The family moves to the coast for the summer fishery in June. Some families plant gardens before they go. Others plant gardens near their summer homes.
July–August	Family members spend time catching salmon, char, and trout, and picking bakeapples and blueberries. In August, family members catch cod, which are then split, salted, and dried. Some of the salmon and cod is sold to buy winter staples; the rest is kept to feed the family.



3.112 Metis communities today

Questions:

1. The indigenous peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador had extensive knowledge of “this place.” Some of this knowledge was shared with European settlers. What knowledge would have been most valuable for Europeans?
2. European settlers brought ideas and technologies to Newfoundland and Labrador. Some of this knowledge was shared with the indigenous peoples. What knowledge would have been most valuable for First Nations and Inuit?
3. European missionaries worked to convert First Nations and Inuit to Christianity, and gave them European names. What was the effect of this type of interaction?

Representative Government

The first general election for representative government was held in 1832. How do you think candidates campaigned for the election?

Why is representative government important?

Introduction

In Europe and the Americas, the late 1700s and the 1800s saw some movement toward democracy. “The American Declaration of Independence” in 1776, “The French Declaration of the Rights of Man” in 1791, and several revolutions in Latin America were evidence of the growing conviction that humans should be “citizens” rather than “subjects” of a monarchy without any say in their future. This was especially true after the Napoleonic Wars. Some residents of Newfoundland and Labrador also held this belief.

The Move Toward Representative Government

Along with a growing resident population came a need for a better system of governance than that provided previously by fishing admirals and naval governors. The British, recognizing that Newfoundland was no longer a collection of work camps, appointed a year-round governor in 1817. In 1825, colonial status was granted to Newfoundland. This meant that a civil governor administered the colony with an appointed council.

However, reformers felt that even more reforms were needed. They argued that they should be able to elect representatives to a legislature that would make laws to represent their interests. This kind of representative government was the system in place elsewhere in nearby Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Upper and Lower Canada. Two of these reformers were William Carson, a Scottish doctor and businessman who had settled near St. John’s, and Patrick Morris, a recent immigrant from Ireland to St. John’s and President of the Benevolent Irish Society. Carson and (later) Morris, among others, blamed many of Newfoundland’s problems upon a “despotic” British administration and argued that representative institutions would help bring about greater prosperity.

Merchants were divided on the issue. Most of the merchants who dominated the local economy opposed



3.113 Sir Thomas Cochrane (1789-1872)
Governor of Newfoundland from 1825 to 1834

The British, recognizing that Newfoundland was no longer a collection of work camps, appointed a year-round governor in 1817.

the granting of representative government. They argued that the cost of a legislature would have to be borne by taxes – which would raise the price of producing fish and hurt business. Other merchants supported representative government because they felt a local legislature could prevent the British government from raising taxes for public works that did not benefit the fishery.

Experiencing The Arts

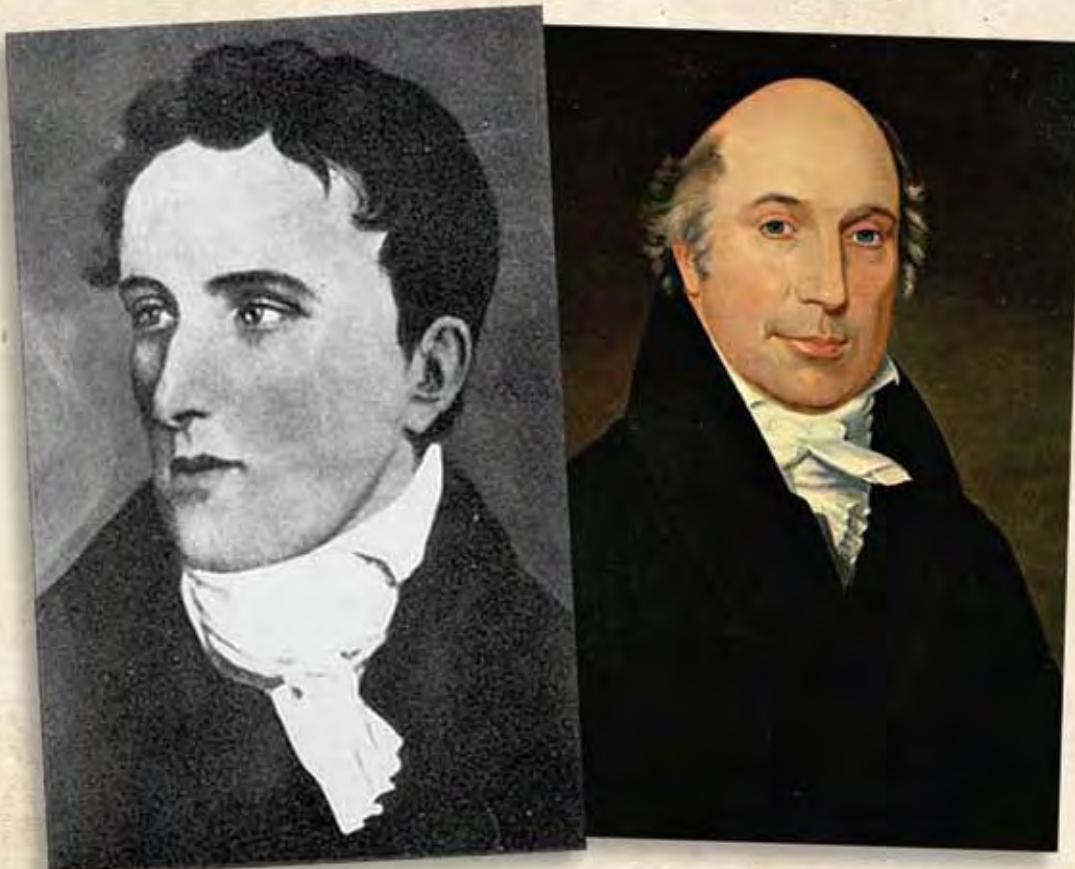
Use information from this section to create a comic essay of 10-20 frames that explores changes in government during the 1800s. Be sure to identify

examples of cause and consequence, and continuity and change. Add this to your profile.

3.114 Political reformers

Carson (far right) published the first political protest pamphlets in St. John's, in which he attacked the government for abusing individual liberties and demanded that an elected assembly be established in Newfoundland.

Morris (right) argued that the island fully deserved institutions consistent with the needs of a civilized society: the old system of naval government was no longer sustainable in what had become a permanently settled colonial society.



**This was the same year that the right to vote was extended to many British male citizens and the House of Commons was reformed.*

The Structure of Representative Government

The bill to grant representative government to Newfoundland was passed by the British Parliament in 1832.* The British government saw the creation of a Newfoundland legislature as something that would benefit the colony and reduce British expenditures there. Proponents for representative government believed it would develop the colony's resources, eliminate poverty, and ensure elected representatives had control over the way government raised revenue.

The first general election was held in the fall of 1832, and the new system came into effect in 1833. Under representative government there were two chambers: an elected lower house known as the House of Assembly; and an upper house or Legislative Council, whose members were appointed by the governor. There was no premier or prime minister, and members of the upper house held the

most important offices, such as Chief Justice and Colonial Treasurer.

Members of the lower house were elected by men, age 21 and older, who had occupied a house for one year prior to the election. Voters cast their vote in public, not by secret ballot as we do today. The elected house had 15 members representing nine districts. Some electoral districts were given more than one member in the interests of providing denominational balance. No districts existed along the French Shore, where permanent settlement was not officially allowed, or in Labrador and the sparsely populated interior regions of the island. The lower house's powers were limited, but as its assent to legislation (including measures dealing with the colony's finances) was essential, it did have some influence.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

(1832-1855)

MONARCH

- head of government is the King or Queen
- monarch normally grants Royal Assent to the requests of British government

GOVERNOR

- appointed by the British government
- reported to the Colonial Office in London, England

British government could reject any legislation coming from Newfoundland.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(Cabinet)

- appointed by Governor
- mainly consisted of members from Legislative Council
- along with the Governor, they were essentially "the government," assuming portfolios that ran various departments
- drafted bills and sent them to Legislative Council for debate and approval

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

(Upper House)

- appointed by Governor
- most appointees were government officials, military officers, and influential citizens: lawyers, merchants, sea captains, etc.
- purpose was to debate and approve legislation
 - required to send bills to House of Assembly for debate and approval
 - sometimes referred to as the "Governor's Council"

JUDICIARY

- appointed by Governor
- chief justice, who was a member of Executive Council
- included supreme court (which went on circuit every summer to hear cases) and **magistrates' courts** (which dealt with minor offences)

CIVIL SERVICE

- very small as government assumed few responsibilities in this time period
- mostly concerned with financial issues, such as collecting import duties (the colonial government's primary source of income)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(Lower House)

- initially 15 members were elected from nine districts
- over time the number of members in the House changed in an effort to provide balance between Protestants and Catholics
- main role was to debate and approve bills sent from Legislative Council
- if a bill was not approved this could create a crisis, making it difficult for government to work effectively, if at all
- could introduce bills; if passed, the bill was sent to Legislative Council for approval

Unlike the House of Assembly, which represented the voting public, the Council was answerable to the British government and not to the people of Newfoundland.

ELECTORATE

- males, aged 21+ who had "occupied" a house for at least one year prior to the election

The main issue here was there were times when the House of Assembly was mostly Roman Catholic and the Legislative Council was Church of England, which created conflict along denominational lines.

Efforts of Representative Government

It is difficult now to realize how limited the influence of government was in the 1830s and how little its actions affected the everyday lives of its citizens. Until the Colonial Building was completed in 1850, the legislature had no permanent home and met in a succession of rented and borrowed rooms.

The main expenditures were courts and jails, the upkeep of public buildings, the expenses of the legislature, and relief to the poor. A tiny amount spent on roads and bridges comprised the transportation budget. Acts were also passed for the erection of lighthouses at various points along the coast. Although none of these public works were extensive, it was the first time that improvements such as these had been undertaken by the government. Health and education services, to the

extent that they were provided at all, were largely left in the hands of non-governmental bodies, particularly the churches. It was well into the twentieth century before government departments of education, health, and welfare were established.

Government departments, such as there were, covered justice and finance and little more. The whole civil service consisted of a few dozen officials in St. John's and a handful of outport magistrates and customs officers. Including part-time officers, the government employed perhaps a hundred people. There were no taxes and most government revenue came from customs import duties – although this only amounted to a few times the governor's annual salary.

3.116 Record of representative government expenditures in 1836
from the 1836 Blue Book

Specify each separate Head of Expenditure.	Expenditure 1836		Expenditure 1835	
	in Tenants Sterling.		in Pounds Sterling.	
	£	s.	£	s.
Court Department (Salaries)	5045	-	4975	-
(Contingent)	4717	-	4678	-
Customs Establishment	5011	7 9	4551	7 5
Judicial Department (Salaries)	3010	-	4951	6 3
(Contingent)	1473	5 11	1536	12 9
Police & Magistracy	3150	-	1410	10 0
ecclesiastical Department	300	-	375	-
Legislative Department	1390	0 9	1253	11 11
Printing, &c. of Government	302	15	376	14 1
Gaol Expenses	684	19 7	785	5 2
Coroners	126	8	132	10 7
Fuel & Light	203	18 7	192	3 2
Repairs of Court House & other Govt Buildings	61	4	289	10 1
Govt Buildings &c. (cont.)	391	7 6	591	12 11
Relief of the Poor	662	0 8	591	10 6
Repairs of Harbour Works	7039	7	1245	-
Vaccination	443	-	499	4 3
Postage &c. other Domestic	120	-	108	19
Redemption of Revenue Notes	-	-	4490	20 0
Taxes for Individual Officers	361	10 5	397	13 2
Miscellaneous Expenditure	318	17 9	44	17 7
Use of Colonial Vessel	-	-	2300	-
Pensions &c. gratuities	245	-	483	15
Taxes in Aid of Public Institutions	530	-	-	-
Disbursement to Anti-Slavery Act	1187	10	-	-
Tug Boats	446	7	-	-
Erection of New Court House	1529	9 4	-	-
Taking the Census	500	-	-	-
Total	36019	18 6	31074	13 7
			31032	9

OF THE COLONIAL EXPENDITURE.					
Increase in Pounds Sterling.	Decrease in Pounds Sterling.		Cause of Increase or Decrease.		
	£	s.	£	s.	d.
70	-	-	-	-	-
194	-	-	-	-	-
45910 4	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	1144	6	3
-	-	-	63	6	10
1739 10	-	-	1897	-	-
-	-	-	75	-	-
136 8 10	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	73	9	1
-	-	-	100	5	10
-	-	-	6	2	7
1916 5	-	-	-	-	-
32713 11	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	200	5	5
7042	-	-	-	-	-
62947	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	495	-	-



3.117 Ensuring safety at sea

The lighthouse at Cape Spear was built in 1836 with funds from representative government. Today it has been restored to its 1839 appearance.

The Problems with Representative Government

In theory, the representative government granted to the colonies was based on the British constitution. The idea was that the two houses would serve as a system of checks and balances, which would result in beneficial legislation. However, it did not work well in any of the British North American colonies. Elected Assembly members inevitably wanted more power, thinking they were the real government representing the people. Members of the appointed upper house feared "mob rule." They resisted any loss of power and frequently blocked measures perceived to hurt their interests.

In Newfoundland, most adult males were either fishers or merchants. Fishers were often illiterate* or had limited formal education. In the view of the Colonial Office, they were unsuitable to play a role in government. Meanwhile, merchants were mostly temporary residents, and tended to return to Britain. They were reluctant to support public works and services for residents that required taxes to be raised since this would affect their profit margin. This frequently resulted in division between the Council and the Assembly.

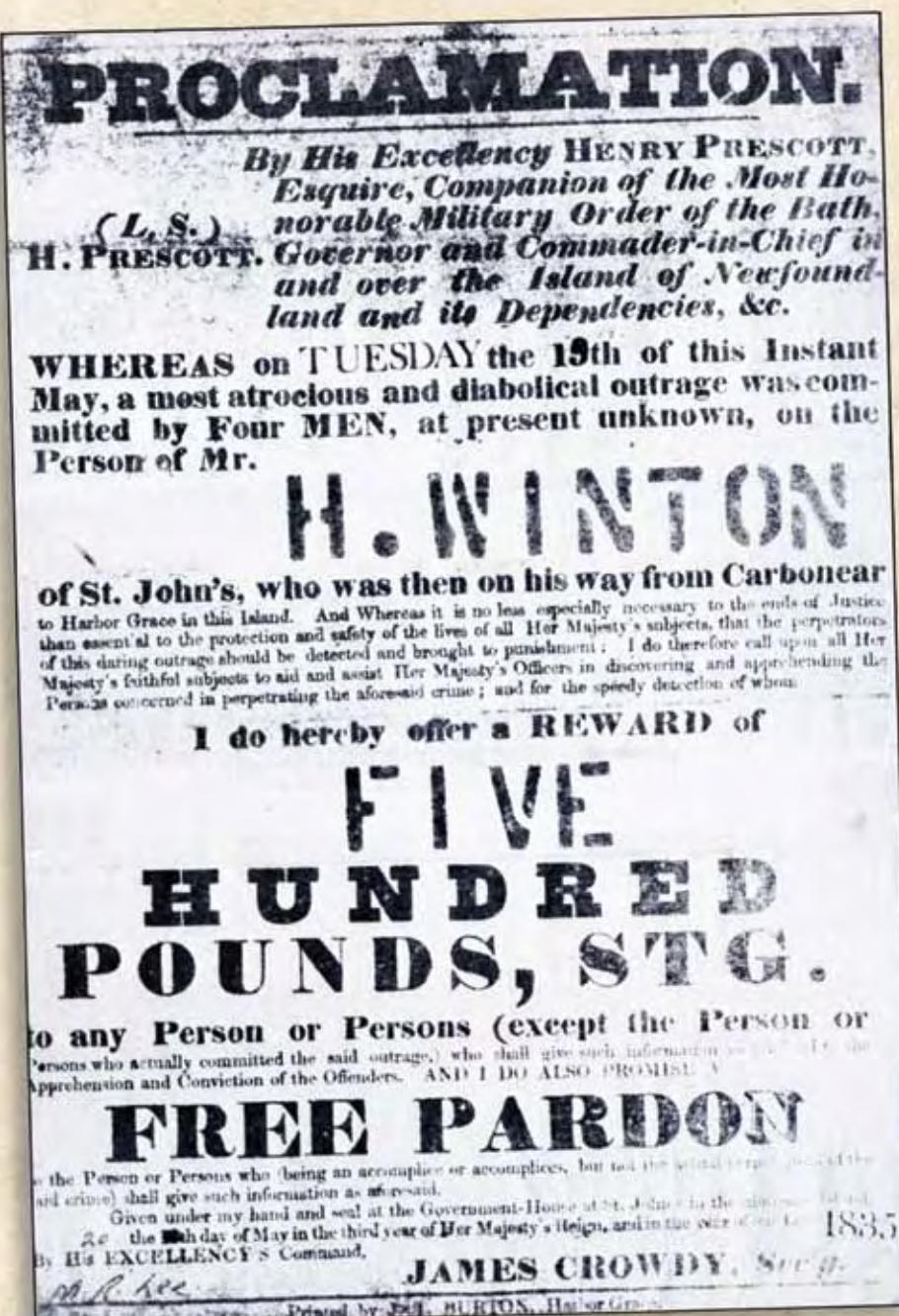
Both religion and ethnicity were factors as important as class in Newfoundland politics of this period. During this time there was much prejudice both in Britain and Newfoundland and Labrador, between English and Irish, Protestants and Roman Catholics. In particular the Irish resented the terms of the Act of Union, in which only members of the Church of England were permitted to become members of the Parliament of Ireland (though the great majority of the Irish population were Roman Catholic, and there were large numbers of Presbyterians in Ulster). In general, British legislation was hostile to the civil and political rights of Roman Catholics.

This tension carried over into the two houses of government in Newfoundland. Members of the appointed upper house were almost always members of the Church of England, while the elected lower house included significant numbers of Roman Catholics and Methodists. Frequently the upper house was accused of **patronage**, making decisions that favoured those associated with the Church of England. This was resented by other denominations, and was especially the case among the Irish Roman Catholics, many of

them recent immigrants. (The Irish had struggled against the British government for Catholic **emancipation** in Ireland, which was granted in 1829.)

The election process was also problematic. Since there was no secret ballot, voters had to stand and be counted at polling stations. This provided opportunities for violence and intimidation. On several occasions, troops intervened when angry crowds confronted each other during elections.

Even between elections, religion and ethnicity played a role in politics. In a famous incident in 1835, Protestant newspaper editor Henry Winton, who had engaged in a campaign against priests' influence in politics, was assaulted by masked men and had his ears mutilated as retaliation for his newspaper's campaign.



3.118 Influence of the press

A reward was offered for information on the assailants who had attacked newspaper editor Henry Winton.

*In this context, this term means that a person cannot read and/or write. However, fishers still had extensive knowledge related to their craft and with minimal tools led a self-sufficient life.



3.119 New House of Assembly, Newfoundland

This political cartoon by John Doyle was published as a broadsheet in London in 1832 by Thomas McLean in anticipation of the opening of the House of Assembly in Newfoundland the following year. Entitled "The Speaker Putting the Question," the cartoon portrays the Newfoundland Legislature as a pack of dogs. The speech balloon reads, "As many as are of that opinion say ... Bow! Of the contrary ... Wow! The Bows have it."

Attempts to Improve Governance

The Colonial Office began to consider ways to end the constant warfare between the elected Assembly and the appointed Council. Between 1842 and 1848 the Colonial Office tried a new experiment in representative government – an Amalgamated Assembly. The Assembly and Council were merged, with some elected members sitting in the same chamber with a number of appointed members. The two groups had to work together, but it did not join them together in any common cause; and since

the experiment was temporary, there was only a brief break from the political fighting that had made the first 10 years of representative government so difficult.

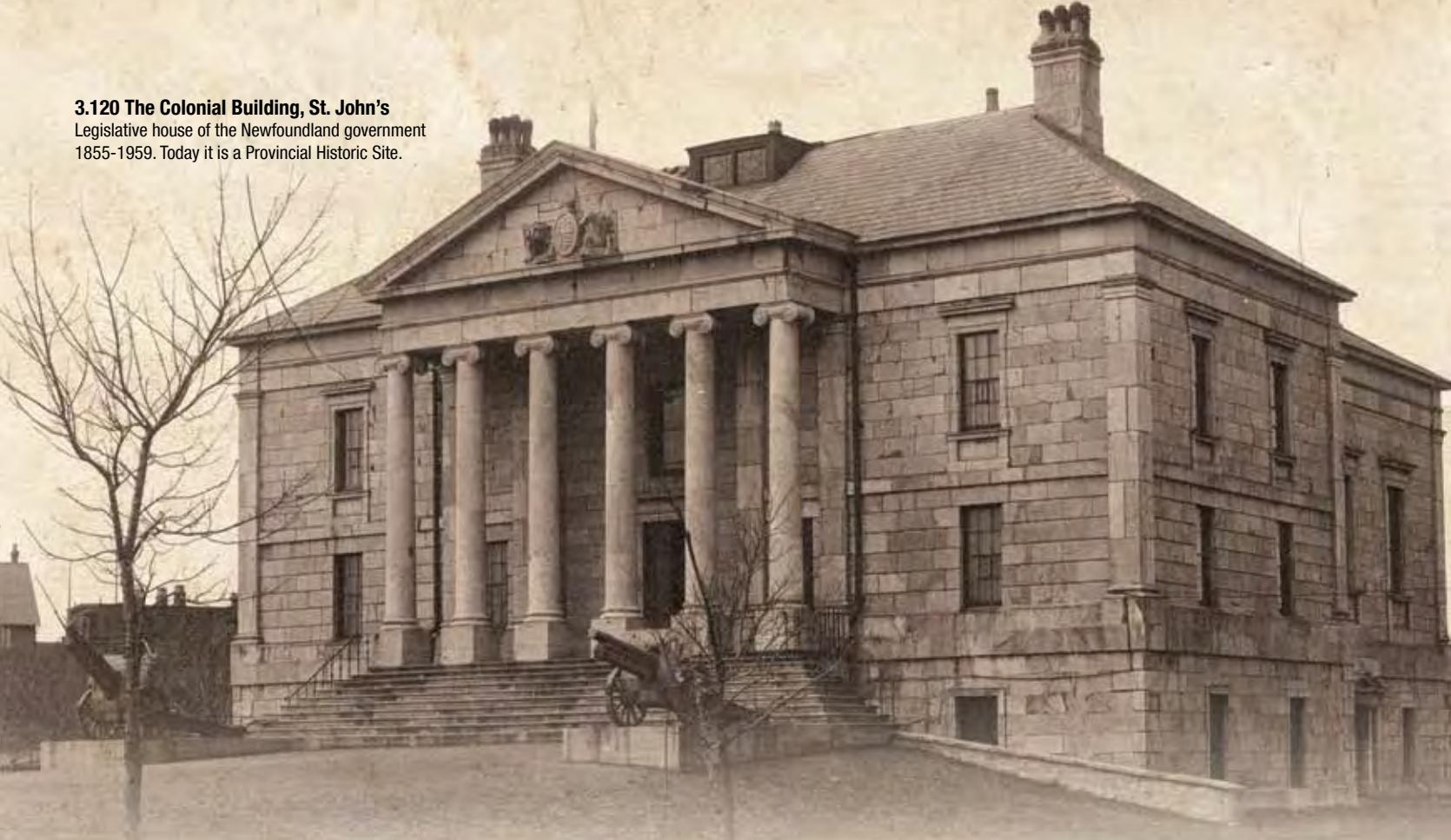
For a brief time, this approach worked, due mainly to the influence of Governor John Harvey. However, when Harvey finished his term as Governor, conflict again emerged. Around the same time another solution was being considered – responsible government.

Questions:

1. Individuals such as William Carson and Patrick Morris argued that an elected local government was necessary to represent the interests of Newfoundlanders. What might have been the three most significant issues a growing settler population would want a local government to address?
2. Some merchants argued that the cost of running a legislature would have to be funded by taxes, "which would raise the price of producing fish and hurt business." Many people today would say that there are too many taxes. Why is it necessary for governments to collect taxes?
3. In the view of the Colonial Office, fishers were not suitable to play a role in government. What arguments/evidence: (i) support this position, and (ii) refute it?
4. Newfoundland was part of a global imperial "system" with London as its centre. Newfoundlanders were proud to be part of the British Empire* and to fly the Union Jack, even if they did not always agree with British decisions concerning the colony. The House of Commons in London could reject legislation passed by the Newfoundland legislature. How could this have affected the colony?

* a.k.a. the "British World"

3.120 The Colonial Building, St. John's
Legislative house of the Newfoundland government
1855-1959. Today it is a Provincial Historic Site.



TOPIC 3.8

Responsible Government

During responsible government, politicians attempted to diversify the economy. Why would this be an important goal?

One of the initiatives of responsible government was the construction of a railway. Why are transportation infrastructures important?

Introduction

Responsible government was modelled on the British parliamentary system. The Executive Council (which today we call Cabinet) had to be drawn mostly from members of the political party holding the most seats in the elected House of Assembly. Most times, the leader of that party became the premier or prime minister.

The Structure of Responsible Government

The idea of responsible government, in some ways very similar to the system we use today, was proposed as a solution to the constant deadlocks in all settled

colonies between elected assemblies and appointed legislative councils. The Executive Council ("the government" or "cabinet") was to be drawn from the political party holding the most seats in the House of Assembly. The leader of that party then became "premier" or, after 1909 in Newfoundland, "prime minister." The Legislative Council became a separate but still appointed body, with the power to reject and review legislation.

Responsible government did not mean complete autonomy. The British government retained the final say on colonial legislation and on external affairs.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

(1855-1934)

MONARCH

- head of government is the King or Queen
- monarch normally grants Royal Assent to the requests of British government

GOVERNOR

- appointed by British government
- reported to the Colonial Office in London, England

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(Cabinet)

- recommended by Premier; appointed by Governor
- most were members of House of Assembly; some were from Legislative Council
- assumed portfolios for various departments
- were responsible to House of Assembly
- drafted bills and sent them to House of Assembly for debate and approval
- from the 1860s, the custom was to ensure that all major denominations were represented

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

(Upper House)

- recommended by Premier; appointed by Governor
- members served for life, or until they resigned
- reviewed bills sent from House of Assembly; approval required for all bills
- seen as a body of "sober second thought"
- could defeat or amend bills related to finances (until 1917)
- most appointees were influential citizens: lawyers, merchants, sea captains, etc.

JUDICIARY

- recommended by Premier; appointed by Governor
- included supreme court (which went on circuit every summer to hear cases) and **magistrates' courts** (which dealt with minor offenses)
 - it became custom to ensure that all major denominations were represented
- magistrates frequently dealt with other issues, such as poor relief and road works

CIVIL SERVICE

- expectations of government responsibilities changed over time
- consequently, the civil service grew as government assumed more duties; e.g., Department of Fisheries (1890s)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(Lower House)

- members elected (usually) every four years
 - number of seats changed over time; initially some districts had multiple members; by the 1920s trend was to have smaller districts with one representative
 - legislation was introduced, debated, passed, and then sent to Legislative Council for approval
 - elections normally held in fall after fishing season; House usually met in winter

The Newfoundland Constabulary was created in 1871. While peace officers are part of the civil service, their work helps ensure the presence of justice is maintained in the community. (However, many communities in this time period did not have a police presence.)

ELECTORATE

- males aged 21+ who "occupied" a house for one year prior to election
- women (until 1925), French Shore (until 1882), Labrador (until 1946) were excluded

The number of ministers grew over time; initially there were six departments: Attorney General, Colonial Secretary, Receiver General, Surveyor General, Solicitor General, President of the Legislative Council.

Most were from England, appointed without consultation with the colony. While viewed as a fairly important posting, it wasn't "high on the list" due to rate of pay and weather.

The government normally sits on the right but in NL they sit on the left because that is where the main heating was located. This practice is still evident today.

Efforts were made after 1855 to ensure that the boundaries of districts were defined in such a way as to allow for denominational representation.

Early Governments

One of the first challenges facing the newly formed government was how to accommodate ethnic and religious differences. The population was divided along denominational and ethnic lines; most Roman Catholics were of Irish descent, while most Protestants were of English or Scottish descent. The push for responsible government had been driven by an alliance between the Roman Catholics, represented by the Liberal Party, and members of the Methodist Church. Both groups resented what they perceived as an unfair exclusion from power and therefore access to government jobs, which seemed to be dominated by members of the Church of England.

The first administrations under responsible government were Liberal, built on a Catholic-Methodist alliance, but by 1860 this coalition was falling apart. The largely Protestant Conservatives, who had opposed responsible government, took power in 1861 and began a process of accommodation with other groups and parties. This resulted in an informal but enduring **denominational compromise**, whereby seats in the house, government offices, judicial appointments, and grants for education were shared proportionally between Catholic, Church of England, and Methodist denominations. This compromise remained the unwritten rule in Newfoundland and Labrador politics for a century.

Sovereignty and Economic Development

During the first 50 years of responsible government there persisted two main areas of concern: **sovereignty** and a desire for economic development. Although Newfoundland was internally self-governing* from 1832, its relations with other countries were controlled by the British government. This was the case not only in Newfoundland, but for all British colonies. All initiatives from the colonies that related to international issues had to be approved by the Colonial Office, whose mandate was to consider issues in the larger context of the whole British Empire.

In relation to sovereignty, there were two matters where the government of Newfoundland wanted to exercise control: the French Treaty Shore and the negotiation of a trade agreement with the United States. These were significant areas from London's perspective, but approval



3.122 Philip F. Little (1824-1897)

Little was the leader of the Liberal Party in the 1850s, and the first premier of Newfoundland.

would be granted only if it served the interests of the British government. Although Newfoundland clearly desired greater autonomy in these matters, it remained staunchly loyal to Britain.

A second concern was economic development. Many people realized that dependence on the fishery was problematic and believed future growth should be based on the North American model. Many Newfoundlanders supported politicians who advocated economic diversification through such measures as the construction of a railway across the island. The Newfoundland government decided, after a bitter and divisive discussion, to build a narrow-gauge railway from St. John's to the west coast. It would be expensive, but its supporters argued that the line would promote land-based industries, firmly link the east and west coasts, and

3.123 Reid Newfoundland Company passenger train, c. 1900

The island of Newfoundland had to wait until 1882 for its first railway line to be built. The first passenger train ran across the island in 1898.





3.124 French fisherman, c.1900

In addition to its own territory at Saint-Pierre-Miquelon, France had fishing rights in Newfoundland along the French Treaty Shore, which between 1783 and 1904 extended from Cape St. John to Cape Ray. Because the Newfoundland government did not have control over international issues, any concerns it had over the French Treaty Shore had to go through the British Colonial Office.

better join Newfoundland with the mainland through a regular ferry service.

While the desire for economic development, along with the belief that the colony should have more control over its territory and resources, arose in the early days of self-government, they have remained important elements of political life to present times.

“... a railway was required in Newfoundland ... to bring us into closer contact with the civilization and superior advancement of the Continent ... the go-ahead America of to-day.”

— D.W. Prowse in *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records*, 2nd edition, 1896

Questions:

1. What was the most significant difference between representative government and responsible government? Explain.
2. Economics continues to be a concern for all citizens. What economic issues affect the province today?

THE PUSH FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

The campaign for responsible government in Newfoundland was started by a coalition of Reformers – both Roman Catholic and Methodist – and some of the native-born. They felt that Newfoundland should enjoy the same constitutional status as other colonies, which began to receive responsible government in the late 1840s. They wanted elected Newfoundlanders, rather than Crown appointees, to set government policy. The reformers were opposed by the Tories and their allies, all of them Protestant, who feared both loss of office and a government dominated by Roman Catholics.

3.125 An editorial pushing for responsible government in *The Patriot*, July 13, 1850

connexion but a similar concession. The irresponsible system and the rule of our “seven Governors” must be given to “the moles and bats,” and to sustain our old affections for the British monarchy we must be permitted to enter upon the progressive system of entire self-government. All the resources of the country will then be in the people’s own hands, and all the institutions of the Colony will be improved, and purged of their corruptions. The fisheries now languishing for want of encouragement will be protected. Education will be advanced, and the Laws, codified and made to suit the exigencies of the people, will be so simplified that every man may be “his own lawyer.” But it is impossible to calculate the many blessings which will follow in the wake of Responsible Government in Newfoundland. Let the people act as we have pointed out in our last number, and before another General Election we shall possess the great boon for which all enlightened men are clamorous.



3.126 Fathers of Confederation (Quebec Conference)

TOPIC 3.9

Autonomy?

Newfoundland decided not to confederate with Canada in the 1800s. In what ways might this decision have affected the colony?

What do you think would have happened in Newfoundland and Labrador if, during the 1948 referendum, responsible government was the “winner” and not confederation?

Introduction

The question of whether to remain independent or join with other British North American colonies was an issue from 1864 to 1949. In 1864, two Newfoundland

delegates attended the Quebec Conference and signed the resolutions that became the foundation of the 1867 British North America Act. Although Newfoundland

3.127

A TIME OF DEBATE: *The confederation issue from 1864 to 1949*

1864-1869

Difficult economic times make the prospect of **confederation** with Canada an attractive option for some Newfoundlanders. However, a coalition of Roman Catholic Liberals and Conservative merchants – the former fearing a loss of power and the loss of a separate school system; the latter fearing increased taxation – help prevent the union.

1888

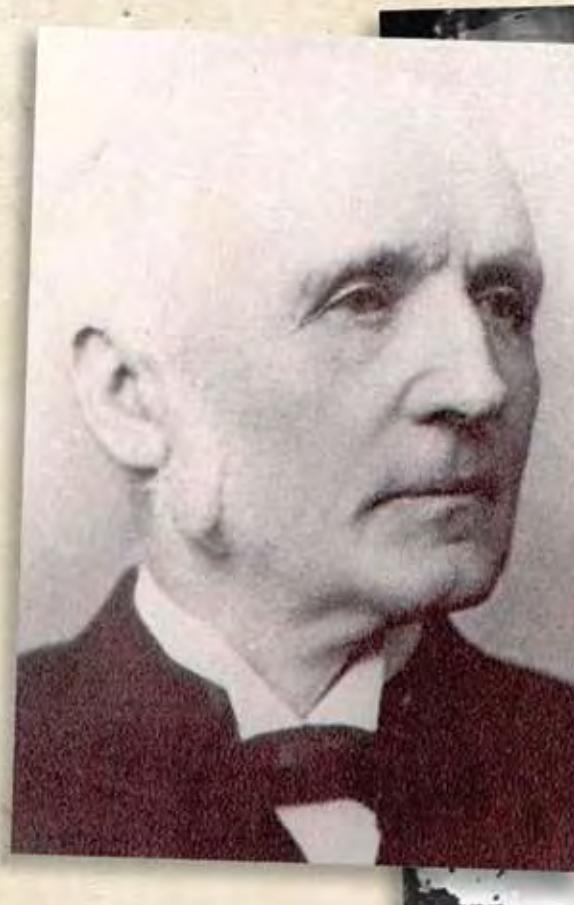
Fearing that a **bilateral** trade agreement might be reached between Newfoundland and the United States, Canada proposes that Newfoundland send a delegation to Ottawa to discuss confederation. None is sent.

1892

Newfoundland participates in the Halifax Conference, held to discuss issues affecting Canada and Newfoundland. Confederation is briefly discussed, but nothing concrete is achieved.

1895

An economic crisis brought on by Newfoundland's Bank Crash of December 1894 again raises the question of confederation. A delegation is sent to Ottawa. Neither side is very enthusiastic. The Newfoundland delegation feels it has its “back to the wall” and can see no alternative. The Canadian government is politically weak and plagued by financial difficulties.



3.128 Ambrose Shea (left) and Frederic Carter (right)

In 1864, Newfoundland's Conservative government decided to send two delegates to the Quebec Conference: Frederic Carter, Speaker of the House of Assembly; and Ambrose Shea, leader of the Liberal opposition. These delegates did not have the power to commit the colony in any way, but they signed the Quebec Resolutions "as individuals" to show their support.

delegates supported resolutions passed at the conference, the Newfoundland government feared opposition to confederation and declined to proceed.

The issue of confederation was debated in the colony throughout the 1860s. In 1869, this culminated with an election that was based almost solely on this issue. It was won by the anti-confederates in a landslide victory, winning 21 of 30 seats. Not yet ready to give up "independence,"

Newfoundlanders had decided that they could survive and prosper on their own. The election was so decisive that the idea of confederation was set aside – indeed, it became a dirty word in many circles. Thus Newfoundland became the only British North American colony to try the experiment of independence within the British Empire. It would be over 80 years before Newfoundland would become a Canadian province in 1949.

1933

The Newfoundland government is virtually bankrupt. The possibility of confederation with the Canadian government is discussed. However, no concrete steps are taken.

1946

National Convention is organized to address future form of Newfoundland government. Confederation is identified as one option.

1948

A referendum is held to allow Newfoundlanders to choose among three options: confederation with Canada, responsible government, and Commission of Government. As a result, Commission of Government (which received the fewest votes) is dropped, and a second referendum is held. Confederation wins and Newfoundland signs the Terms of Union on Dec. 11, 1948.

1949

Newfoundland becomes part of Canada just before midnight on March 31.



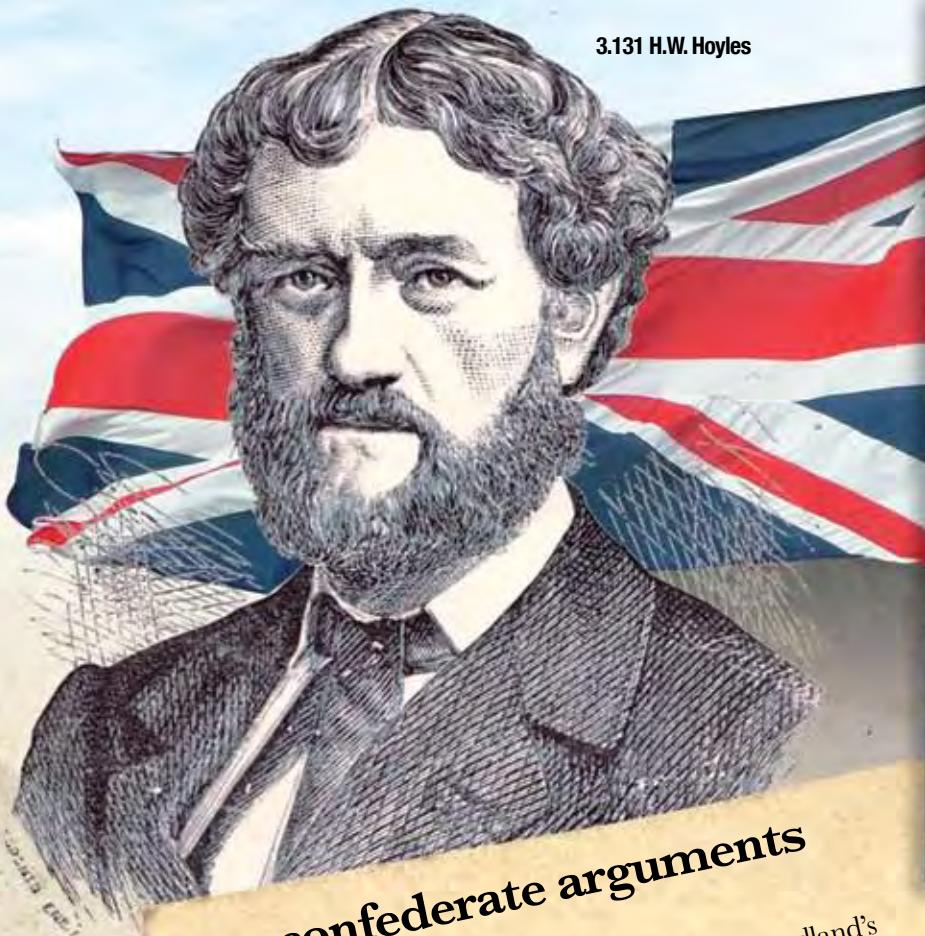
Anti-confederate arguments

1. Taxes would be increased.
2. Federal tariffs, in order to protect mainland industries, would hinder the ability of merchants to import and export goods.
3. There was no evidence that Confederation would be of any benefit to Newfoundland.
4. Newfoundland was part of a North Atlantic world, not part of the North American continent.
5. Confederation would remove state-funded Catholic schools and the Catholic share of government patronage.

3.130 An anti-confederation ad
from the *Morning Chronicle*, St. John's, Sept. 29, 1869

**“For my part
I believe that it [Union
with Canada] will interfere with our
present intercourse with the United States and
other countries, and do our commerce incalculable injury.
And if we are to be supplied with Canadian manufactures free of
duty, higher import dues will necessarily have to be imposed upon
our imports from Great Britain and elsewhere, and a heavy tax to be
levied also upon the export of our fish, oil, and other produce.”**

— An excerpt from a letter written by Charles Fox Bennett as printed in *The Newfoundlander*, Jan. 12, 1865. At the time, Bennett was a prominent St. John's merchant. He was premier of Newfoundland from 1870-1874.



Pro-confederate arguments

1. Taxes would be reduced.
2. Union with Canada would strengthen Newfoundland's economy; investment would be encouraged.
3. Newfoundland would have a better future by becoming part of the old North Atlantic world.
4. Confederation would improve public services in Newfoundland.

"As time rolled on, our debt increasing year by year, and a third of our population for a third of the year were in a starving condition. The end of all this it was not difficult to discover — certain, inevitable national bankruptcy; and if so, where was the hope, in our present isolated state, for the future of Newfoundland? Go into confederation, and these evils are, to a great extent mitigated."

— An excerpt from a speech by Premier H.W. Hoyles (Conservative, District of Burin) Assembly Debate, Feb. 14, 1865. *The Newfoundland*, March 16, 1865.

3.132 A pro-confederation ad from *The Newfoundland*, Sept. 10, 1869

Questions:

1. The 1869 election was centred on whether or not Newfoundland should become part of Canada. What might have been the most significant argument offered by each side in the debate? How would you have voted? Why?
2. "Not yet ready to give up independence, Newfoundlanders had decided that they could

REASONS WHY

THE PEOPLE OF THIS COLONY SHOULD WISH TO BECOME CONNECTED WITH THEIR FELLOW-COLONISTS OF CANADA, NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK.

1st.—Because the condition of this country for some years past, proves the necessity of some important remedial change in our affairs.

2nd.—Because if such change be not effected, a large number of the people must leave the country for want of means to live in it.

3rd.—Because capital is being withdrawn from the trade, and there is no chance of maintaining even the present means of employment if we continue to rely on existing resources.

4th.—Because the population are broken down by poverty, and there is no hope in the future for the rising generation unless we can improve our condition.

5th.—Because it is found that wherever a Union of countries takes place on just and honourable conditions, the Union is strength, and leads to prosperity, as in the case of the United States of America.

6th.—Because the proposed Union with the neighbouring provinces will be on the terms of fair and equitable partnership (which terms will be guaranteed by the Imperial Government), in which equal rights will be secured and the interest of all will be to uphold one another and protect the common welfare and prosperity.

survive and prosper on their own." To what degree was Newfoundland and Labrador truly "independent"?

3. Although the anti-confederates won the 1869 election, was it inevitable that Newfoundland and Labrador would become part of Canada? Support your position.



AT ISSUE

Economics and Migration



3.133 An urban community

3.134 A rural community

Throughout this course we have seen that economic factors can have a significant influence on culture and society. In fact, economic opportunity was one of the major factors affecting European settlement of Newfoundland and Labrador. We learned in this chapter that the promise of employment, the appeal of land, and the chance of a new and better life all encouraged English, Irish, Scottish, and French immigrants to settle here. In other words, economic factors were among the most significant **push and pull factors** affecting the settlement of Newfoundland and Labrador. Push factors encourage people to leave their points of origin and settle elsewhere, while pull factors attract migrants to new areas.

Today, economic push and pull factors continue to affect patterns of **internal migration** in Newfoundland and Labrador, as people move from one region of the province to another. Our province is becoming increasingly urbanized. This means that significant numbers of people are choosing to leave their homes in smaller communities to settle in larger centres, such as St. John's and Corner Brook. In almost every year since Confederation, for example, the number of people leaving rural communities has far exceeded the number of those moving in. Why is this happening? What push factors may influence people to leave rural areas and what pull factors may prompt people to settle in urban areas?

The answers to these questions may vary from one individual or family to the next, but it is possible to outline general push and pull factors motivating immigration into urban areas. Generally, economic and social forces

are among the most significant push and pull factors. Small communities tend to offer fewer and lower paying jobs than larger towns and cities. Also, residents in urban areas often have access to a greater range of social services such as hospitals, daycare centres, better-equipped schools, and more efficient modes of public transit, than people living in rural areas.

Although out-migration has long been a reality in rural areas of the province (and in much of Canada), it has intensified in recent decades. This is because a powerful new push factor emerged in the 1990s to encourage emigration from outport communities. In 1992, the Northern cod stocks collapsed and the federal government imposed a moratorium on the fishery. Approximately 30 000 people were suddenly out of work and no other industries or businesses existed in rural communities to absorb the unemployed. In the coming months and years, thousands of people left



3.135
Harbour Buffett,
Placentia Bay in
the 1930s

their homes to find work. Some moved to other parts of Canada or the United States, but many also moved to urban centres in the province.

Today, rural areas continue to lose residents to urban centres. Most people leaving small communities are either young adults, between the ages of 15 and 24, or families with young children. Although they leave for a variety of reasons, the most common are to find jobs or to have better access to educational and medical facilities.

Much uncertainty now surrounds the future of rural Newfoundland and Labrador. The moratorium is still in place and it is unknown when or if the cod stocks will rebound. The growth of a shellfish industry has created work for some displaced workers, while tourism and small businesses have generated employment in other sectors. Nothing, however, has been able to curb the flow of people from small communities to St. John's, Alberta, and elsewhere, or to employ as many rural people as the centuries-old cod fishery once did.

For Discussion:

1. What are the “benefits” of urbanization?
2. What are the “limitations” of urbanization?
3. Why do some people continue to live in rural, even isolated, areas?
4. What can be done to reduce the negative effects of urbanization?
5. What should be done to ensure that the cultural roots of our province are preserved?
6. How might continued out-migration from rural areas affect families and individuals still living in small communities?

Questions:

1. What push and pull factors originally brought your family to the community or region where you live?
2. How is your community or region changing today?
3. Where do you see yourself living and working 10 years from now? What push-pull factors account for this? Which factor will be the most significant?
4. Do you have any friends or relatives who left your community to live in a larger centre? If so, how has this affected you?



Chapter Three Review

Summary

In this chapter we studied the period of the resident fishery in Newfoundland. We began by examining the beginnings of European permanent settlement in the colony, and the main groups who settled here. This was followed by a discussion of the resident fisheries that were prosecuted in Newfoundland and Labrador waters. We examined the importance of saltfish to the Newfoundland economy. Changing lifestyles, including the lifestyles of Aboriginal peoples, were studied. The chapter concluded with an examination of representative government, responsible government, and the debates concerning Newfoundland's autonomy.

Key Ideas

Specifically, we examined the following key ideas:

- At the beginning of the 1800s, the migratory fishery declined, and the resident population expanded rapidly, as Europeans from England, Ireland, Scotland, and France began settling here.
- These European residents took part in the shore, Labrador, banks, and seal fisheries.
- Saltfish was the colony's main export. This industry was affected by international competition, and was controlled by the merchants.
- The lifestyle of fishers revolved around this industry, including life on the land and on the sea.
- Aboriginal groups were affected during this time period. Beothuk became extinct, and other Aboriginal groups adapted their way of life as they were introduced to European methods and practices.
- A new group, the Metis, emerged as European men married Aboriginal women.
- The growing population needed a new system of governance. Representative government was established in 1832. This system had some success, but problems led to the establishment of responsible government in 1855.
- Starting in 1864, debates examined the value of Newfoundland remaining autonomous versus joining the Canadian confederation. Up until 1890 (the end period of this chapter), the debates always ended in maintaining autonomy for the colony.

Key Terms

Autonomy	Immigration	Responsible government
Bank fishery	Labrador fishery	Seal fishery
Cod trap	Metis	Shore fishery
Colonialism	Push and pull factors	Technology
Confederation	Representative government	
Encroachment	Resident fishery	

Questions

1. Why did permanent European settlement occur in Newfoundland and Labrador during the late 1700s and early 1800s?
2. How did the lives of First Nations, Inuit, and Metis change as a result of European settlement in Newfoundland and Labrador during the late 1700s and throughout the 1800s?
3. From your study in this chapter (mid-1700s to late-1800s):
 - a. Identify three examples of change. Which is the most significant?
 - b. Identify three examples of continuity. Which is the most significant?
4. Assume that you are a tour guide for a group of visitors who know very little about “this place.” Provide a brief, yet comprehensive, explanation of:
 - a. continuity and change in the fishery during the 1800s.
 - b. the disappearance of the Beothuk.
5. Use comic art to create a series of artworks that explains each of the fisheries during the 1800s.