TOPIC 4.5

Population

Why would the population of the province fluctuate?

What is the trend of population change in your community? What might be the impact of this trend?

Introduction

According to the 1901 Census, Newfoundland had a population of 220 984, including 3947 people recorded in Labrador. The population continued to increase through the first half of the twentieth century, despite significant emigration to Canada and the United States. The geographical distribution of people also began to change in response to push and pull factors in the economy. Thousands of people chose to leave their homes and relocate to regions that presented better economic opportunities.

Relocating Within the Fisheries

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the vast majority of people in Newfoundland and Labrador still lived in communities along the coast and made their living through the fishery – 70.6 per cent of the working population. However, the fishing grounds of the east coast had become overcrowded and families found it increasingly difficult to make a living in this industry. Consequently, people in some of the long-established fishing communities left their homes in search of less populated bays where there would be less competition for fish. In each of the census years between 1891 and 1935, the population of the Harbour Grace, Carbonear, and Port de Grave districts consistently decreased* while the population of the St. George's and St. Barbe districts on the west coast consistently increased.

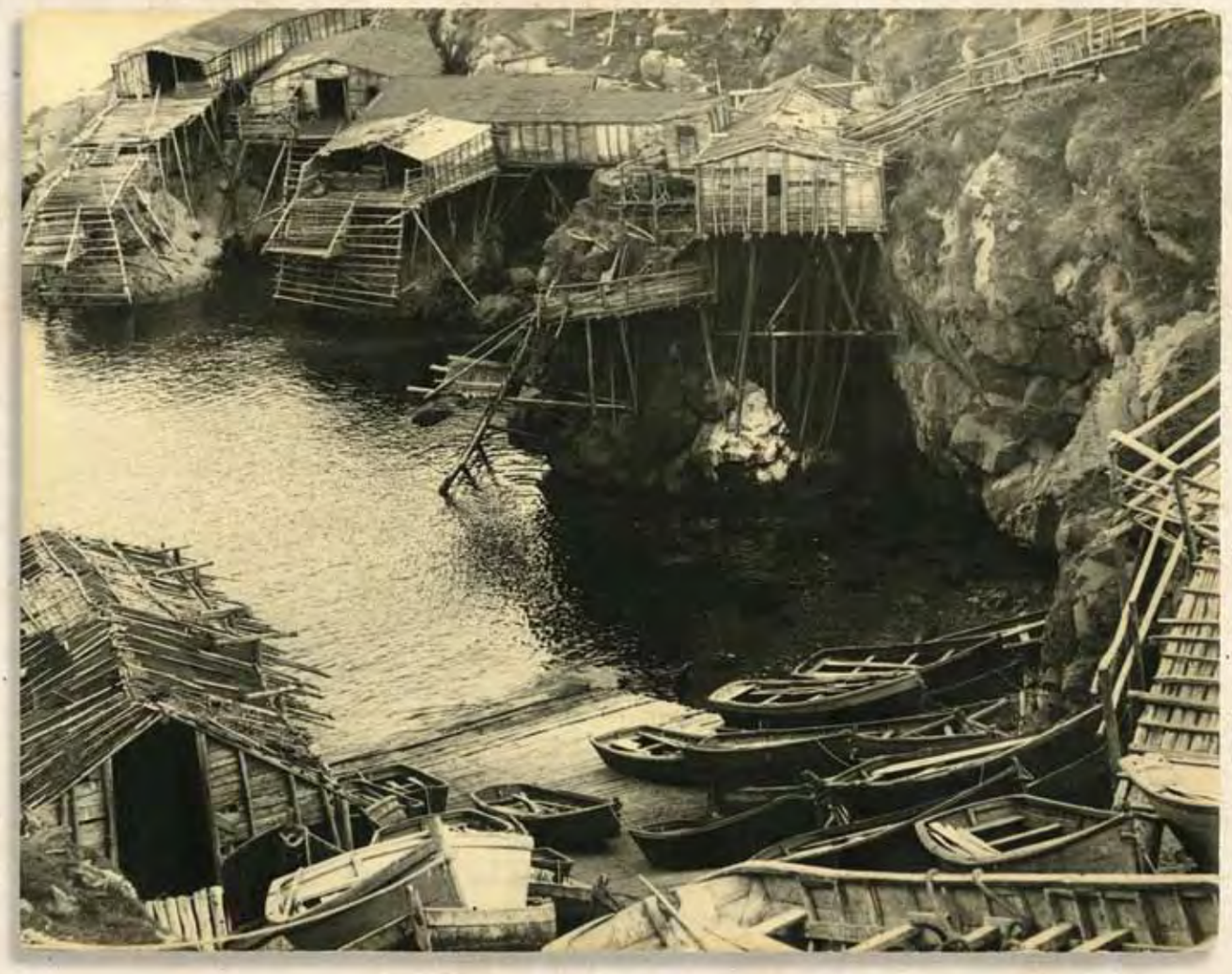
*Some of this population decrease also may be attributed to out-migration.

4.73 Population dynamics by district, 1891-1921

District	1891	1901	1911	1921	% Change
St. George's	6 632	9 100	11 861	13 556	104
St. Barbe	6 690	8 134	10 481	12 176	82
St. John's West	15 251	18 483	20 550	23 739	58
Twillingate	16 780	19 453	22 705	26 320	57
Fortune Bay	7 671	8 762	9 989	11 272	47
Bonavista Bay	17 849	20 557	22 894	24 754	39
Burin	9 059	10 402	11 616	12 579	39
St. John's East	20 776	21 512	25 135	28 419	37
Fogo	6 700	7 570	8 257	9 134	36
Burgeo and La Poile	6 471	7 011	7 793	8 645	34
Placentia and St. Mary's	12 801	15 194	16 099	16 472	29
Trinity Bay	18 872	20 695	21 788	23 422	24
Bay de Verde	9 708	9 827	10 213	10 666	10
Ferryland	5 853	5 697	5 793	6 015	3
Harbour Main	9 189	9 500	9 471	9 262	1
Labrador	4 106	3 947	3 949	3 774	-8
Carbonear	5 765	5 024	5 114	4 830	-16
Port de Grave	7 986	7 445	6 986	6 545	-18
Harbour Grace	13 881	12 671	11 925	11 453	-18
Total	**202 040**	**220 984**	**242 619**	**263 033**	**30**

4.74 Population dynamics by district, 1921-1935

District	1921	1935	% Change
Humber	4 745	15 166	220
Grand Falls	9 227	14 373	56
White Bay	6 542	8 721	33
Labrador	3 774	4 716	25
St. John's West	24 791	29 565	19
St. Barbe	5 634	6 662	18
St. George's-Port au Port	8 822	9 748	11
Harbour Main-Bell Island	13 619	15 017	10
St. John's East	23 010	25 321	10
Burgeo and LaPoile	8 645	9 293	8
Fortune Bay and Hermitage	10 540	11 334	8
Fogo	9 224	9 590	4
Trinity South	10 688	11 088	4
Burin	10 293	10 668	4
Twillingate	8 591	8 798	2
Trinity North	12 701	12 766	1
Placentia and St. Mary's	8 504	8 454	- 1
Placentia West	9 667	9 575	- 1
Green Bay	8 401	8 257	- 2
Bonavista North	12 605	12 319	- 2
Bonavista South	12 149	11 753	- 3
Harbour Grace	8 196	7 563	- 8
Ferryland	7 367	6 682	- 9
Port de Grave	9 991	8 750	- 12
Carbonear-Bay de Verde	15 307	13 409	- 12
Total	**263 033**	**289 588**	**10**

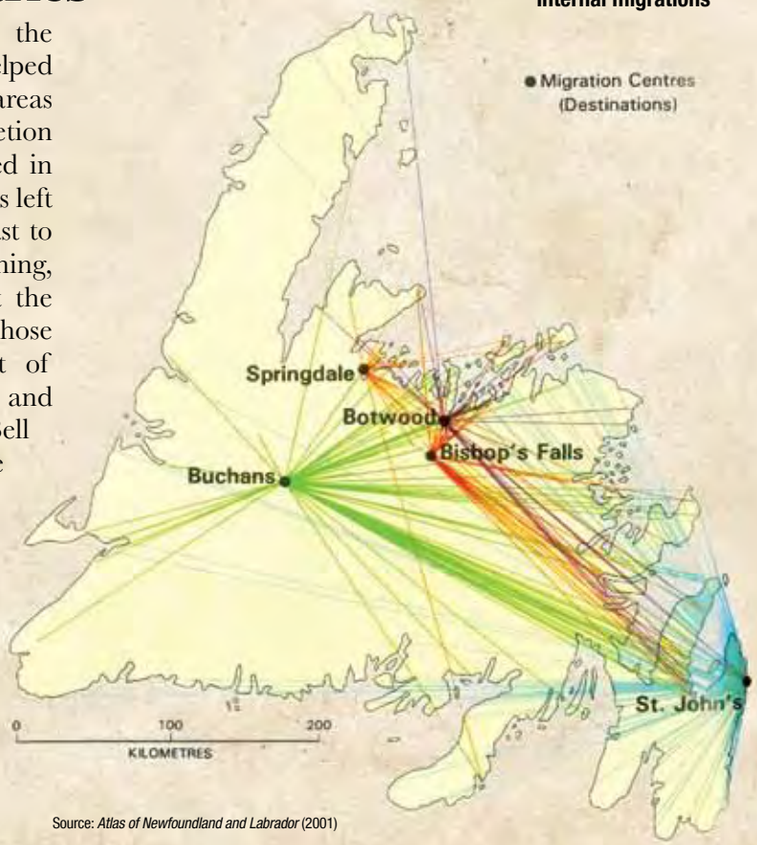


4.75 Making the most out of little space, Pouch Cove, c. 1934-38
Population growth in communities dependent on ocean resources sometimes led to a shortage of available land along the waterfront and overcrowding.

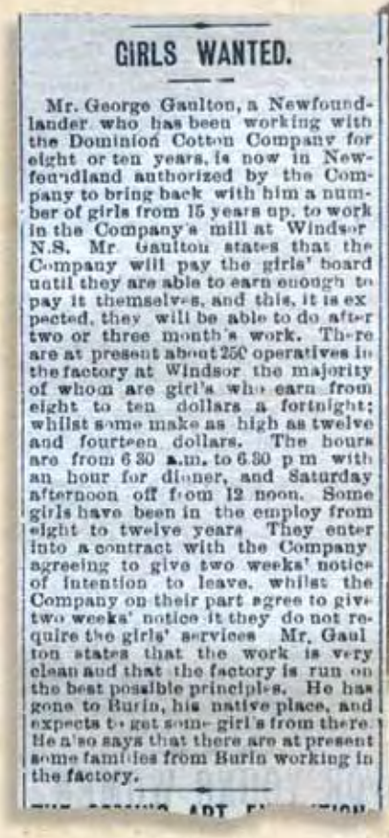
Relocating for New Industries

The diversification of the economy through the establishment of resource-based industries helped create employment opportunities for families in areas not associated with the fishery. After the completion of the railway, the numbers of people employed in these new industries quickly increased. As families left the overcrowded fishing grounds of the east coast to find employment in agriculture, forestry, and mining, new communities began to appear throughout the interior of the island and in regions close to those primary-resource industries. The development of pulp and paper industries at Grand Falls (1909) and Corner Brook (1923), and mining operations at Bell Island (1895) and Buchans (1928) made those locations popular destinations for thousands of Newfoundlanders in search of employment. For example, between 1921 and 1935, the district of Humber (in which Corner Brook is located) increased by 10 421 people – a population increase of 219.6 per cent.

4.76 Selected 20th century internal migrations



Source: *Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador* (2001)



GIRLS WANTED.

Mr. George Gaulton, a Newfoundlander who has been working with the Dominion Cotton Company for eight or ten years, is now in Newfoundland authorized by the Company to bring back with him a number of girls from 15 years up, to work in the Company's mill at Windsor N.S. Mr. Gaulton states that the Company will pay the girls' board until they are able to earn enough to pay it themselves, and this, it is expected, they will be able to do after two or three month's work. There are at present about 250 operatives in the factory at Windsor the majority of whom are girl's who earn from eight to ten dollars a fortnight; whilst some make as high as twelve and fourteen dollars. The hours are from 6 30 a.m. to 6 30 p m with an hour for dinner, and Saturday afternoon off from 12 noon. Some girls have been in the employ from eight to twelve years. They enter into a contract with the Company agreeing to give two weeks' notice of intention to leave, whilst the Company on their part agree to give two weeks' notice it they do not require the girls' services. Mr. Gaulton states that the work is very clean and that the factory is run on the best possible principles. He has gone to Burin, his native place, and expects to get some girl's from there. He also says that there are at present some families from Burin working in the factory.

4.77 Opportunities abroad
(left) Young women could contribute to the family income by taking jobs in Canada and the United States and sending a portion of their wages home. This ad is from *The Daily News*, March 8, 1902.

4.78 SS *Portia*, St. John's, c. 1890s
In addition to the railway, the coastal boat service and steamers that stopped in St. John's on the way to and from New York were used by people relocating for work.

Emigration

In addition to internal migration, the colony* also experienced out-migration, both temporary and permanent (See fig. 4.79 below), in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Just as the railway made it easier for people to relocate for work on the island, it also made it easier for people to leave Newfoundland for work. Many Newfoundlanders found seasonal and permanent employment in Canadian and American fisheries, on farms and construction sites, and in mines and manufacturing plants. In some cases, North American companies recruited Newfoundlanders and Labradorians to work abroad.

Young women also emigrated to obtain jobs in domestic service in New England. They would then send portions of their income back to their families in Newfoundland and Labrador. This was part of a survival strategy that families employed in order to adjust to downturns in the traditional economy. The daughter's wages would supplement the entire family's income.

Emigration had important economic and social consequences for Newfoundland and Labrador as author R.A. MacKay noted in his book *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic, and Strategic Studies* (1946):

> *While it has no doubt tended to drain off some of the more enterprising and energetic youth, it has provided an outlet for 'surplus' population, often a serious problem in a non-industrial area with limited natural resources. Emigration has also kept Newfoundland in closer touch with developments on the mainland, seasonal workers and returning Newfoundlanders bringing back with them an acquaintance with the industrial techniques and tastes for standards of living of Canadian and United States communities. The national income has also been increased by emigrant remittances, both in the form of contributions to the family at home by those who had emigrated, or in the form of savings brought back by returning workers.*

*Similar patterns of internal immigration and emigration were ocurring at the same time in the Maritime Provinces of Canada.

4.79 Newfoundlanders living in Canada and the United States
according to Census Records, 1911-1941

Canada		United States	
Year	Number of Residents	Year	Number of Residents
1911	15 469	1910	9 311
1921	23 103	1920	13 342
1931	26 410	1930	23 971
1941	25 837	1940	21 361

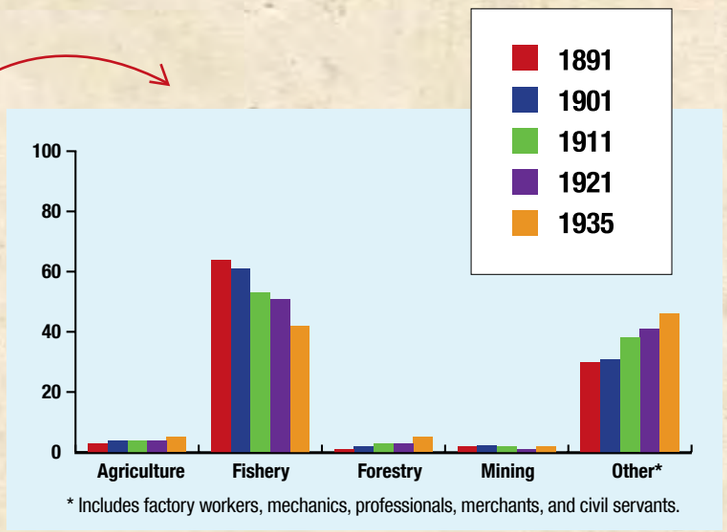
Interpreting Data
Take a look at the table above. Although at first glance, it appears that the number of Newfoundlanders going to Canada and the United States is increasing throughout the years illustrated, the reality might be very different. Census data records residents of a country for a given year. This means that the figure for 1921 most likely includes some of the individuals recorded in 1911. The actual increase of Newfoundlanders living in Canada between 1911 and 1921 is 7634. In 1941, there were fewer Newfoundlanders in Canada than in 1931.

Source: R.A. MacKay (ed.), *Newfoundland: Economic, Diplomatic, and Strategic Studies* (1946)

Was it Enough?

The economy of Newfoundland and Labrador diversified through this period, benefiting from Whiteway's policy of progress, the construction of the railway, the opening of the interior, and the development of land-based resource industries. The opportunities created by these industries, combined with increased accessibility created by the railway, resulted in the internal and external movement of people. However, the numbers of people involved with the fishery remained high, despite the fact that the economic significance of the fishery declined relative to other economic sectors. This has led some historians to ask the question: Did the development of land-based industries do enough to diversify the economy and decrease the colony's (and individuals') dependence on the fishery?

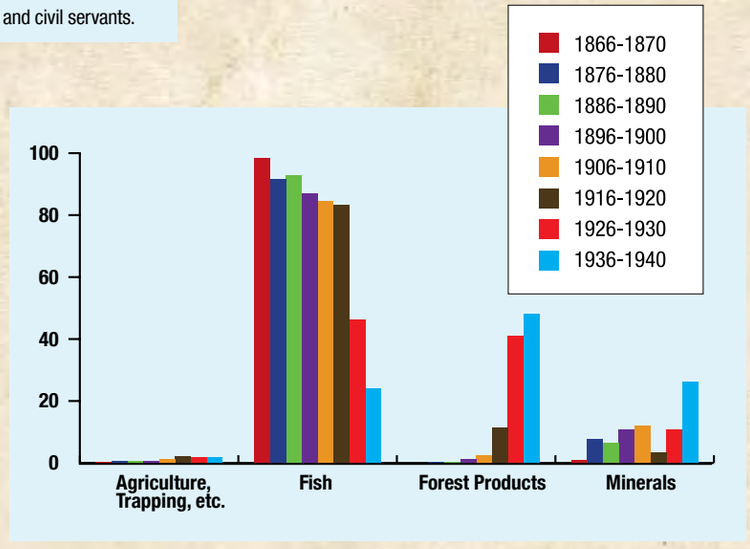
Dominance of fisheries employment – Note how this data compares to the information in fig. 4.11 on page 289 in lesson 4.1. What changes do you note?



* Includes factory workers, mechanics, professionals, merchants, and civil servants.

4.80 Employment by economic sector, 1891-1935
(as percentages of total workforce)

4.81 Commodities – percentage share of value of exports, 1866-1940
Growing Significance of Non-Fisheries Exports

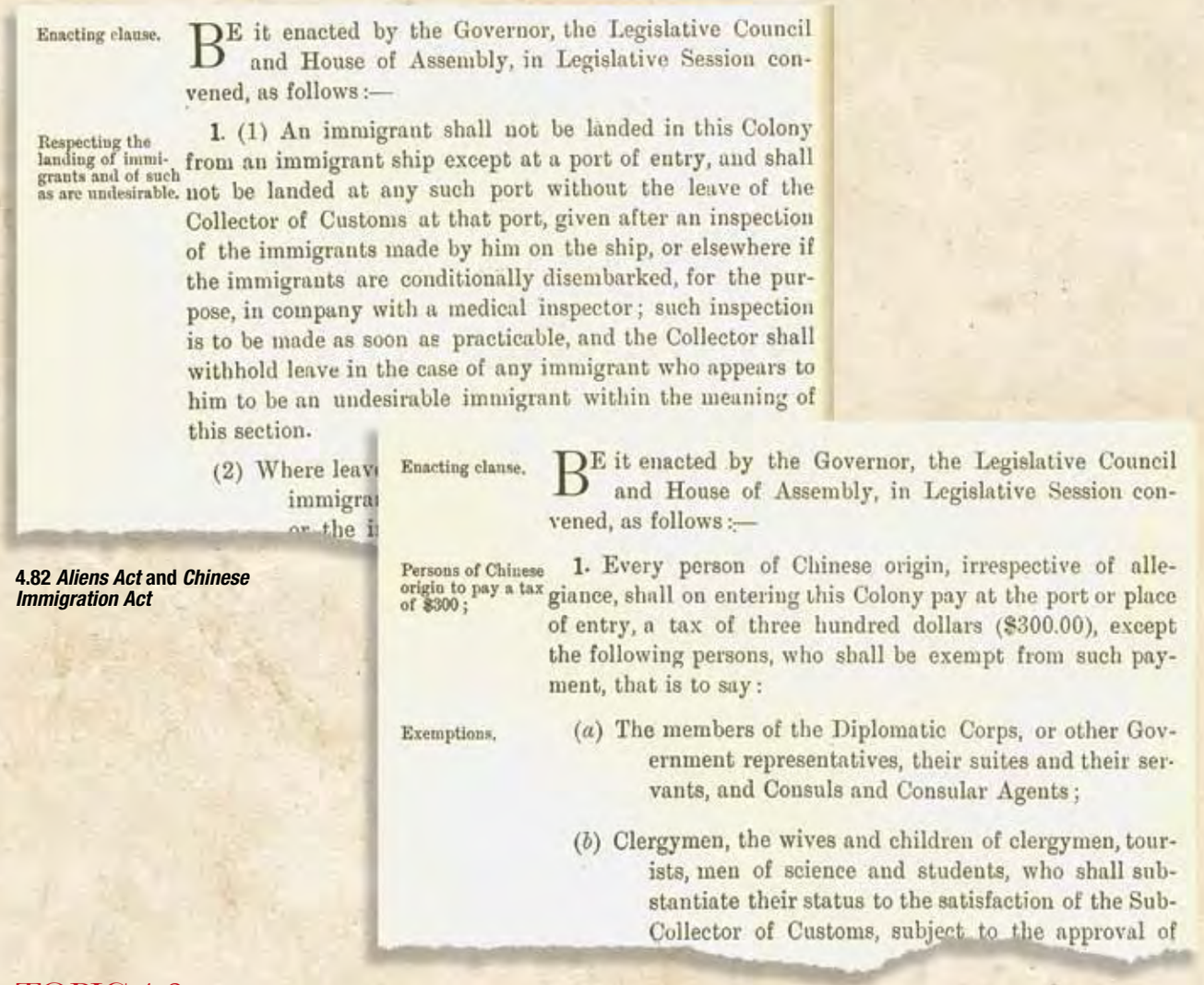


Questions:

1. There were a variety of push and pull factors that influenced a person's decision to migrate within Newfoundland and Labrador. Identify these factors. Which might have been most significant? Why?

2. What is the trend today in relation to internal migration? What might account for this? (See chapter one, page 55.)

3. Consider how our economy diversified between the 1880s and the 1930s.
   a. How did the significance of the fishery change during this time period?
   b. Rank the economic sectors in terms of: (i) percentage of exports, and (ii) employment.
   c. What are the top three economic sectors in terms of employment today? (See chapter one, page 46.) In terms of having an economically diversified economy, is the current distribution of employment by sector positive or negative?



Enacting clause. BE it enacted by the Governor, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, in Legislative Session convened, as follows:—

Respecting the landing of immigrants and of such as are undesirable. 1. (1) An immigrant shall not be landed in this Colony from an immigrant ship except at a port of entry, and shall not be landed at any such port without the leave of the Collector of Customs at that port, given after an inspection of the immigrants made by him on the ship, or elsewhere if the immigrants are conditionally disembarked, for the purpose, in company with a medical inspector; such inspection is to be made as soon as practicable, and the Collector shall withhold leave in the case of any immigrant who appears to him to be an undesirable immigrant within the meaning of this section.

(2) Where leav
immigra
or the i

Enacting clause. BE it enacted by the Governor, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, in Legislative Session convened, as follows:—

Persons of Chinese origin to pay a tax of $300; 1. Every person of Chinese origin, irrespective of allegiance, shall on entering this Colony pay at the port or place of entry, a tax of three hundred dollars ($300.00), except the following persons, who shall be exempt from such payment, that is to say:

Exemptions. (*a*) The members of the Diplomatic Corps, or other Government representatives, their suites and their servants, and Consuls and Consular Agents;

(*b*) Clergymen, the wives and children of clergymen, tourists, men of science and students, who shall substantiate their status to the satisfaction of the Sub-Collector of Customs, subject to the approval of

4.82 *Aliens Act* and *Chinese Immigration Act*

TOPIC 4.6

Immigration

What are some of the challenges faced by immigrants?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of immigration?

Introduction

The majority of immigrants to Newfoundland and Labrador during the 1800s were of English, Irish, and Scottish descent. From the late 1800s to the 1920s, small numbers of peoples whose ethnicities were not associated with Britain or Ireland arrived in Newfoundland and Labrador. Most prominent among these groups were Chinese, Lebanese, and Jewish immigrants.

Although immigration statistics are incomplete, it is estimated that approximately 500 permanent settlers came to Newfoundland and Labrador from Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and China during this period. The arrival of these "new immigrants" (those not from Britain or Ireland) was part of a larger movement of people to North America at this time. Approximately 15 million immigrants (largely from southern and eastern Europe) arrived in the United States and almost 3.4 million people immigrated to Canada from 1900-1920. Many of these immigrants were ethnic, economic, or political refugees.

At first, most governments had an **open-door policy** towards immigrants. But as numbers of immigrants increased, and the economy began to get worse in the 1920s, immigration policies grew more exclusive in the United States, Canada, and Newfoundland. The Government of Newfoundland made its first move towards restricting new immigrants with the introduction of the *Chinese Immigration Act* and the *Aliens Act* in 1906. Prior to this legislation, restrictions on immigration applied only to paupers, the sickly, elderly, and infirm. These new acts subjected all non-British aliens to financial checks and medical tests, and Chinese immigrants were forced to pay a $300 head tax. More restrictive immigration acts followed in 1924

and 1926, and in a proclamation in 1932. Government officials were given the power to exclude or deport "undesirable" foreigners who might become a "public charge" or who might use the colony as a stepping stone to the United States or Canada. In addition, the government reserved the right to prohibit "the landing of immigrants belonging to a race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of the colony, or immigrants of any specified class, occupation, or character."

Despite these restrictions, small numbers of new immigrants did manage to settle and prosper in Newfoundland and Labrador. Many of them opened their own businesses rather than compete with existing local trade and workers, and made a lasting impact on the communities in which they settled.

4.83 Interior of Chinese laundry, St. John's, c. 1922

4.84 Chinese community in St. John's, c. 1938

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Newfoundland Labrador

NLIS 6
June 28, 2006
(Executive Council)

Province apologizes for Chinese Head Tax

Premier Danny Williams made a formal apology on behalf of Newfoundland and Labrador today to the province's Chinese community for the head tax imposed on Chinese immigrants by the Dominion of Newfoundland between 1906 and 1949.

"The collection of the head tax placed on Chinese immigrants entering the province was clearly discriminatory, and created both economic and emotional hardship for Chinese immigrants at that time," said Premier Williams. "On behalf of the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador , I would like to offer a sincere apology to all member of the Chinese community of Newfoundland and Labrador for what many of their ancestors were forced to endure by this unnecessary levy."

The Premier said that the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador applauds the action taken on June 22 by the Government of Canada in apologizing for the Chinese Canadian Head Tax and the Chinese Exclusion Act. He noted that while the current provincial government does not assume legal or financial liability in relation to the imposition of the head tax by the government of the Dominion of Newfoundland, it recognizes and apologizes for the hardships visited upon these immigrants and their descendants by the Dominion of Newfoundland's head tax imposed by the Chinese Immigration Act. "We sincerely hope that this acknowledgment of past discrimination will help provide solace and support reconciliation and healing for all individuals affected," said Premier Williams.

"The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador recognizes the valuable contribution that the Chinese community has made to the cultural, social and economic development of this province, and wishes to express its profound gratitude to this community for enriching Newfoundland and Labrador ," said Premier Williams.

Wednesday, May 10, 2006 , marked the 100th anniversary of the *Act Respecting the Immigration of Chinese Persons* which imposed a $300 head tax on each Chinese person entering Newfoundland between May 10, 1906 , and March 31, 1949 . Chinese immigrants first arrived in Newfoundland around 1890 and went to work in traditional resource industries. Some Newfoundlanders and Labradorian's viewed them as a threat to employment, given their willingness to work for lower wages. In response to increasing public pressure against further Chinese immigrants entering Newfoundland , government introduced the Chinese Immigration Act.

"We sincerely hope all Chinese Canadians understand just how important and appreciated their contributions are to both their province and country. Again, we also hope these apologies bring some sense of closure, and we thank those individuals who have brought this issue to the fore and worked to rectify this injustice" Premier Williams concluded.

4.85 Press release from the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador apologizing for head tax

There was no Chinese immigration to the United States for almost a century after the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed there in 1882.

Immigrants from China

Most Chinese immigrants to Newfoundland and Canada came from Guangdong Province in mountainous southern China, where farming was difficult and poverty widespread. Although most immigrants arrived in Canada through the port of Vancouver, some chose not to stay in Canada, especially after Canada began imposing a $50 head tax on each Chinese immigrant in 1885 and increased this tax to $500 in 1903. Until 1906, when Newfoundland adopted its own head tax, some Chinese immigrants migrated to Newfoundland rather than pay this fee. During this long journey, most immigrants were escorted by police to discourage them from stopping and settling in Canada.

These Chinese immigrants settled primarily in St. John's, Harbour Grace, and Carbonear. Many Chinese established laundries; this type of work required little knowledge of English and, as it was done by hand, there were enough jobs for all newcomers. Other Chinese immigrants opened restaurants, or worked as shore workers in the fishery, gardeners, domestics, or miners on Bell Island.

Because few Chinese spoke English upon arrival and practiced Buddhism or Taoism, they sometimes experienced prejudice for being different. Sometimes mud and stones were thrown at them, their store windows were broken, and their traditions and appearances were ridiculed. Although there was little evidence, some people tried to make the case that new arrivals, like the Chinese, were taking away jobs from people who had been born in the colony.

Immigrants from Lebanon

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, religious persecution, poverty, and compulsory military service were common in the Turkish Empire. To escape these conditions, some Syrians, Assyrians, or Marionites from what is modern-day Lebanon migrated to Newfoundland and Labrador. A scarcity of existing research into the Newfoundland and Labrador Lebanese community makes it difficult to determine exactly how many immigrants arrived in the country, where they settled, and what they did. However, the 1911 Census enumerated 86 Syrians and 44 Turks.

Most Lebanese settlers were active in commerce and belonged to a prosperous merchant class. Many opened shops, hotels, movie theatres, and a variety of other businesses, which prompted them to settle in commercial or industrial areas, including St. John's, Bell Island, and western portions of the island. Anthony Tooton, for example, founded a successful chain of photography stores shortly after arriving at St. John's in 1904, while successful businessman Michael Basha ran the Bay of Islands Light and Power Company and later served as a Canadian Senator representing Newfoundland's West Coast from 1951-1976.

4.86 A restaurant/store
owned by Lebanese immigrant Margaret Boulos Basha, Stephenville, 1943.

4.87 Tooton's advertisement, 1918
Lebanese immigrant Anthony Tooton founded a successful chain of photography stores shortly after arriving at St. John's in 1904.


COLONY OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

ST. JOHN'S, }
To wit. }

Joseph Bola

of † Saint John, in the said Colony of Newfoundland,
heretofore of † Syria, declare that I have resided
in the said Colony of Newfoundland for the period of Five Years next preceding the
date of this declaration, and that I am desirous of becoming a naturalized British
subject.

Signed and declared by the said Joseph Bola
before me, at Saint John aforesaid,
this 11th day of October, 189 4

Stipendiary Magistrate.

his
Joseph x Bola
mark Declarant.

4.88 An immigration document
from a Lebanese immigrant to the Colony of Newfoundland in 1894.

Jewish Immigrants from Eastern Europe

Between 1881 and 1910, Jews in Eastern Europe were the victims of anti-Semitic violence. Many who escaped the region settled in New York City, but some came to Newfoundland and Labrador to open shops and work as travelling peddlers. One of the earliest known and most prosperous immigrants was Israel Perlin, who arrived in Newfoundland and Labrador in 1891 from Minsk, Russia by way of New York City. Initially a peddler of dry goods in Fortune and Placentia Bays, Perlin opened a wholesale shop, known as I.F. Perlin and Company, in downtown St. John's in 1893. In the following years, Perlin employed many Jewish immigrants as peddlers, selling goods such as jewellery, stationery, pencils, combs, ties, tea, and pocket knives from his company in outports across the colony. Some of these workers eventually opened their own shops at St. John's, Twillingate, Wabana, Grand Falls, and elsewhere on the island.

Many Jewish immigrants may have found it difficult to settle in a predominantly English-speaking Christian society where few visible minorities existed and

It is estimated about 12 000 potential Jewish immigrants tried to settle in Newfoundland and Labrador from 1934 to 1941 to escape the rise of the Third Reich (Nazi Germany). However, restrictive immigration laws at the time meant only a small fraction of this number actually was able to settle here.

4.89 A community dinner
at the original synagogue in St. John's, which was built on Henry Street in the 1930s.

kosher foods were non-existent. In response, many families appear to have converted to the Christian faith and attended various churches available on the island. This changed during the early decades of the twentieth century, as more Jewish immigrants settled in Newfoundland and Labrador. After 1895, for instance, there were enough Jewish residents in St. John's to begin holding religious services in stores and rental spaces. In 1930, work began on a permanent synagogue in St. John's, and in the following decade small synagogues were also built in Corner Brook and Stephenville.

4.90 Israel Perlin, c. 1900
Jewish businessman Israel Perlin emigrated to St. John's from Russia via the United States in 1891. He established a wholesale business, I.F. Perlin and Company and was a leading figure in the Newfoundland Jewish community.

Questions:

1. Identify the push and pull factors that influenced the immigrants discussed in this section. What inference(s) can be drawn from this data?

2. Changes in policy during the 1920s limited immigration. Why did this happen? Was this justifiable?

3. What are some of the pull factors that may influence people to immigrate to Newfoundland and Labrador today?

MODERN IMMIGRATION TRENDS

In more recent decades, our province has begun receiving immigrants from all over the world, including Africa, Asia, and South America. On this increasing diversity, Premier Danny Williams has said: "Newfoundland and Labrador can offer safe, clean, welcoming communities and generous people who are willing to embrace newcomers and celebrate diversity. Immigrants can offer fresh perspectives, entrepreneurial spirit, specialized skill sets, creative and innovative ideas, as well as new food, music, art, and culture."

4.91 Recent immigration to Newfoundland and Labrador, 2006 Census

Place of Birth	
United States	1405
Central and South America	385
Caribbean and Bermuda	145
Europe	4040
United Kingdom	2335
Other Northern and Western Europe	940
Eastern Europe	415
Southern Europe	345
Africa	555
Asia	1780
West Central Asia and the Middle East	265
Eastern Asia	540
South-East Asia	245
Southern Asia	725
Oceania and other	65
Total Immigrant Population	**8380**

Note: figures may not add to totals due to rounding.

Source: Statistics Canada

4.92 Rural and urban lifestyles in the late 1800s and early 1900s were often quite different
(top) This 1935 scene in Flatrock (approximately 30 km outside St. John's) shows a way of life that had probably changed relatively little over the years. (bottom) St. John's busy harbour, 1890.

TOPIC 4.7

Lifestyles

What factors can influence lifestyle?

How do changes in health care and education affect lifestyle?

Introduction

In the first part of the twentieth century, new communication and transportation developments began to connect Newfoundlanders and Labradorians with each other and other parts of the world in new ways. The degree to which this affected different communities varied. While change was slower to come in some communities – especially those not connected by the railway – other communities experienced major lifestyle changes.

Culture, Communication, and Transportation

Telegraph lines continued to be built across and around the island of Newfoundland with Premier Robert Bond's policy of a comprehensive government telegraph system in the early 1900s. Between 1912 and the mid-1930s, the Newfoundland government used this technology for mass communications. The Department of Posts and Telegraphs compiled daily news summaries from newspaper reports and transmitted these by Morse Code to all of the telegraph offices on the island. (Later this "Public Despatch" was also transmitted to Labrador by radio.) Wherever it was received, the news summaries would be written out by the telegraph officer and posted on a wall, or read by the operator to local people who could not read.

Another leap in communications technology occurred in 1921, when technically adept Newfoundlanders and Labradorians began using radio to transmit music and words to anyone who had the equipment to receive the signal. These dedicated amateurs provided the first

* Some content contributed by Jeff Webb

"broadcast" stations. Two churches also began using radio to broadcast church services to shut-ins. The Wesley United Church in 1927 sponsored VOWR, a station that undertook to provide entertainment and information under the leadership of a volunteer committee, and the Seventh Day Adventist Church began VOAC in 1933. By the 1930s, seven stations were operating in Newfoundland, six of which were in St. John's. Two of these stations, VOCM (which became a commercial rather than amateur station in 1934) and VOWR, are still broadcasting today. These local radio broadcasts meant that, in addition to connecting to the "outside" world, Newfoundlanders and Labradorians had the opportunity to share and celebrate their own culture through shows featuring "home-grown" music and talent.

These advancements, along with improvements in transportation brought about by the railroad and some road building, altered the way Newfoundlanders and Labradorians interacted with one another and the rest of the world. In many communities it became easier to purchase store-bought goods instead of having to produce or make everything by hand. Instead of waiting weeks or even months for mail and news to arrive by boat, residents in rural and urban communities began receiving news the same day it occurred. Likewise, as residents could travel more easily from one community to another by rail, regional cultures began to interact. Slowly Newfoundlanders and Labradorians began to have the tools to see their country as a whole and compare their daily lives to those in other places.

One sign of this emerging identity was the use of the "Ode to Newfoundland" (written in 1902) as the colony's unofficial national anthem.

4.93 Another first in communications for Newfoundland and the world
Guglielmo Marconi and his assistants launch a kite-supported aerial on Signal Hill, St. John's. Using this set-up, Marconi received the first transatlantic wireless signal on Dec. 12, 1901. Prior to this, messages had to be sent using the transatlantic cable, first laid in 1866.

4.94 Control room, VONF, c. 1934
VONF began as a commercial radio station in 1932. In 1939, it was taken over by the Commission of Government and became the Broadcasting Corporation of Newfoundland (BCN).

4.95 The coming of the railway provided communities another way to access manufactured goods from "away."
(far left) A 1914 catalogue advertises items that could be ordered from several of the larger stores in Newfoundland and Labrador. (left) Despite this, many items were still being made by hand, even in the late 1930s. Shown here is a woman spinning outside her house in Ferryland, c. 1937.

4.96 A look inside a 1912 school room
at a Grenfell Mission station (either Battle Harbour or St. Anthony).

Education

The denominational education system continued in Newfoundland and Labrador throughout the early twentieth century. Although government grants took care of many of the expenses of running and building schools, those established before 1909 were erected under church leadership without government support. In the beginning, each denomination determined its own course of study, but in 1893 an interdenominational committee, known as the Council of Higher Education, was created. This council set a common curriculum* that consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, and some history and geography, for all students from grade 6 to grade 11. The Council also established Common Examinations after grade 11, which enabled students to apply to foreign universities if they met the entrance requirements.

By 1901, the literacy rate of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians was approximately 64 per cent, and there were 783 schools in the colony. Most of these were one-room schools run by a single teacher. School was not compulsory, and parents were often charged school fees. In a 1903 speech in the House of Assembly, Sir Robert Bond noted that 16 584 of 57 783 children in the colony between five and fifteen years did not attend school. R.A. MacKay suggests that the very nature of Newfoundlanders' and Labradorians' lifestyles led to this low level of schooling:

> *…the distribution of population in small communities, often completely isolated from one another except by sea, makes for relative high overhead costs and small operating units in social and educational services. Moreover, the predominance of extractive industries in the economy – fishing, mining, forestry, agriculture – which require manual skill rather than book learning or technical training, has meant that Newfoundland people have not had the incentives to those forms of education which an industrial society develops. The fishing industry especially tends to interfere with continuous schooling; even at the elementary level, older children are useful in many operations in the industry, and there is constant temptation in the fishing season to employ them at the expense of their schooling.*

The 1920s saw several improvements in the education system, including the creation of a Department of Education with its own Minister in 1920, the establishment of Memorial University College** in St. John's in 1925, and the creation of circulating libraries in 1926. However, this progress was stalled during the Depression, when education grants were cut in half.

*Sometimes other practical skills were taught as well. Check out the needlework samples on the next page that were created by a student in 1902.

**Memorial University College was a non-denominational college.

"There are hundreds of men who are not able to read or write, who are able to plan and build their own house … who can make a model of a schooner, build the vessel according to scale, and then sail her as master to Boston or New York or Montreal, where they have never been."

– An excerpt from *The Evening Mercury*, May 17, 1886 arguing that a person does not have to be literate to be clever

4.98 A 1903 certificate from the Council of Higher Education granted for passing Common Examinations taken after grade 11

4.97 Fine work: a needlework sampler created in a Newfoundland school, c. 1912.

4.99

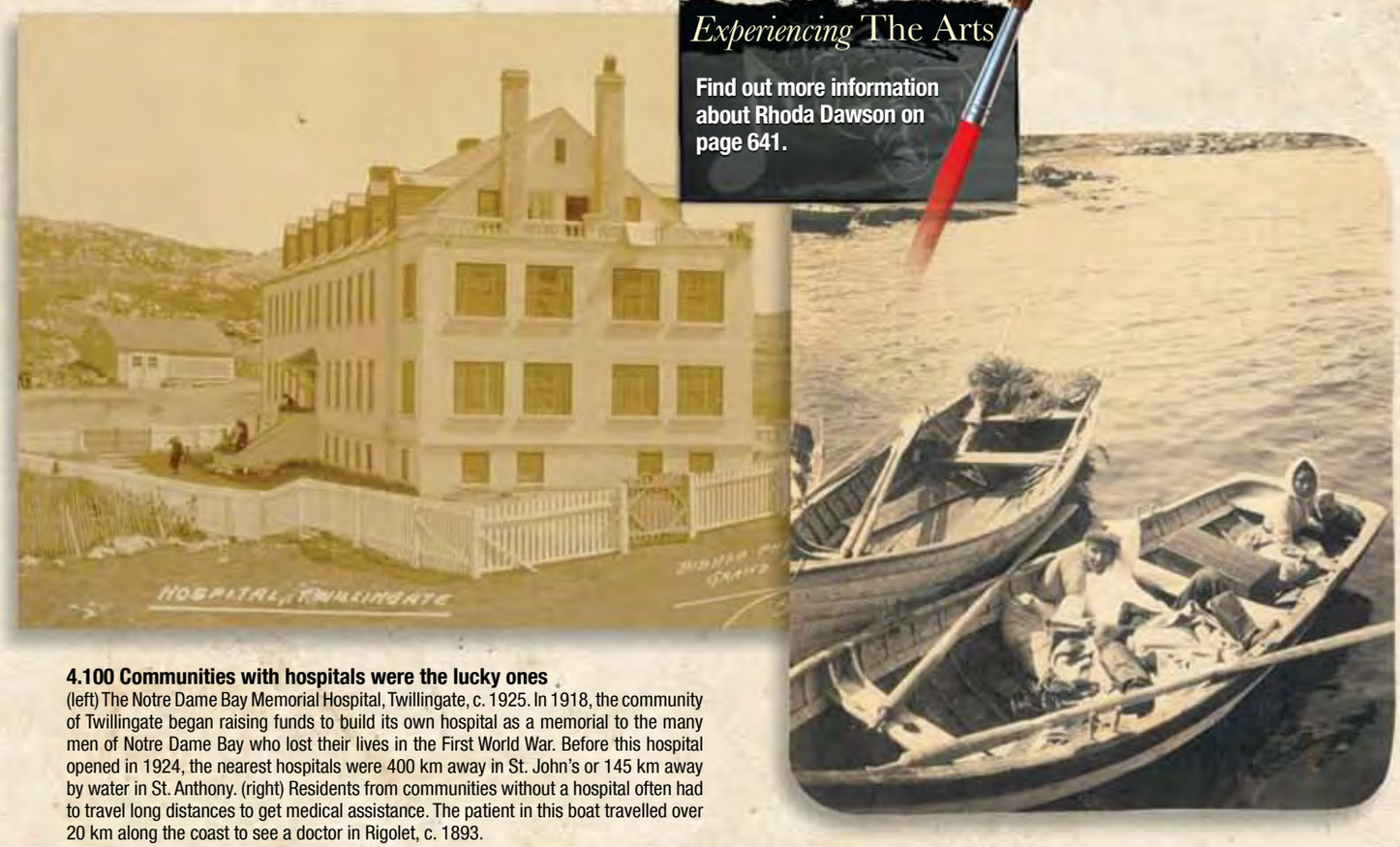
SCHOOL MEMORIES FROM THE 1920s AND 30s

Excerpts from *Them Days*, vol. 12, #2

We had slates when we were going to school and me friend and I were sharing the same seat. There was two of us to a seat. I was 12 or 13 at the time. Me friend that was sitting with me didn't know what I was doing. I was drawing a queer old picture … When she saw (it) she burst out laughing and of course the teacher blamed it on me. I had to stop in school and write 500 times, "I must be good."
– *Bessie Flynn, Forteau*

I went to school until I learned the first lesson in the Number Two book, then I left school and went fishin', 10 years old … 'Twasn't no schoolhouses here then. (The teacher) kept school over in Bill Earle's house over there … They were hard teachers, boy, awful hard teachers. (The teacher) had one of them hardwood canes, about two inches wide and a foot and a half long. We was devils though, boy, devils all of us!
– *William Ryland, L'anse au Loup*

First, when we'd go to school we used to have all slates, no pencils. You do your work on the slate and you'd have to bring a bottle of water to school with ya, and a cloth. Whatever you do on you slate, you'd take your cloth and wash it all off and when you come home in the evening, you had a clean slate … (On top of the slate) there was two little wires … with some beads on the wires. There was six pieces on one and six pieces on the other one … You'd go to work and take your beads and slide them along, counting, 1, 2, 3, 4 …
– *Michael Normore Sr., L'anse au Loup*



Experiencing The Arts

Find out more information about Rhoda Dawson on page 641.

4.100 Communities with hospitals were the lucky ones
(left) The Notre Dame Bay Memorial Hospital, Twillingate, c. 1925. In 1918, the community of Twillingate began raising funds to build its own hospital as a memorial to the many men of Notre Dame Bay who lost their lives in the First World War. Before this hospital opened in 1924, the nearest hospitals were 400 km away in St. John's or 145 km away by water in St. Anthony. (right) Residents from communities without a hospital often had to travel long distances to get medical assistance. The patient in this boat travelled over 20 km along the coast to see a doctor in Rigolet, c. 1893.

Health

Religion, political change, industrialization, and war helped advance medicine during the twentieth century. In northern Newfoundland and southern Labrador, British physician Wilfred Grenfell and the International Grenfell Association opened several hospitals and nursing stations, and operated medical ships that travelled along the coasts to treat sick and injured patients in isolated communities. In St. John's, the Roman Catholic Church opened St. Clare's Mercy Hospital in 1922 and the Salvation Army opened the Grace Maternity Hospital a year later. In addition, several other hospitals were opened in communities outside St. John's with the support of charitable groups and private industry. For instance, the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company (later Bowater Newfoundland Limited) built the Corner Brook General Hospital in 1925, and a civilian fundraising campaign led to the opening of the Notre Dame Bay Memorial Hospital in Twillingate in 1924.

Other communities on the island received some nursing services thanks to the work of the Outport Nursing Committee which formed in 1920. Funded by a government grant and public assistance, this organization – later known as the Newfoundland Outport Nursing and Industrial Association (NONIA) – brought in nurses from England and stationed them in rural communities throughout the island. In order to raise funds for the nurses' salaries, outport women created handicrafts which were then sold through NONIA. Nurses funded by this program provided a

4.101 Medical facilities 1814-1928

Year	Hospital
1814	Riverhead Hospital
1871	General Hospital (Forest Road Hospital)
1890	Seaman's Institute, Grand Bank
1893	Grenfell Mission Hospital, Battle Harbour
1894	Salvation Army Home for Girls (the Anchorage)
1894	Grenfell Mission Hospital, Indian Harbour
1901	Grenfell Mission Hospital, St. Anthony
1902	Cowan Mission Convalescent Home
1906	Fever Hospital
1909	Lady Northcliffe Hospital, Grand Falls
1910	Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire Tuberculosis Camp
1911	Hospital, Millertown
1911	Grenfell Mission Hospital, Pilley's Island
1914	Seaman's Institute
1916	Military and Naval Tuberculosis Hospital (Escasoni Hospital)
1916	Southcott Maternity and Children's Hospital
1916	Military Infectious Diseases Hospital
1916	Empire Barracks
1916	Jensen Camp
1916	Donovan's Hospital
1916	Waterford Hall
1917	St. John's Sanatorium
1918	Danson Hospital
1918	Second Southcott Hospital
1920	Children's Hospital
1920	Sudbury Military Hospital
1922	St. Clare's Mercy Hospital
1923	Grace Maternity Hospital
1924	Notre Dame Bay Memorial Hospital, Twillingate
1925	General Hospital, Corner Brook
1928	Hospital, Buchans

wide range of medical services, from delivering babies to pulling teeth, in 20 communities until 1934 when the Commission of Government assumed responsibility for all nursing services.

Despite these improvements, many communities still found themselves without any kind of professional medical care. In 1901, there were 117 doctors for a population of approximately 240 000. By 1933, there were only 83 doctors in the colony (outside of those associated with the Grenfell Mission) and 33 of these were in St. John's. This lack of medical care, combined with poor living conditions, led to high rates of infant mortality – especially when compared to the Dominion of Canada. For instance, the 1938 infant mortality rate in Newfoundland and Labrador was 92.8 deaths for every 1000 births. The same year, the average for the Dominion of Canada was 63 deaths for every 1000 births. As R.A. MacKay observed:

> *... for the outports generally, lean years have been the rule and fat years the exception. Many districts have not been able to support a doctor; the diet has been deficient in quantity and very often deficient in vitamin content; and housing and clothing are often below the standard demanded by a northern climate.*

4.102 Say "Ahhhhhh"
Originally a dentist chair, this seat was modified for use as an examination chair by a doctor in Newfoundland and Labrador.

4.103 Tools of the medical trade
(right to left) Apothecary chest used by doctors when travelling to people's homes and administrating medical attention; amputation saw (c. late 1800s) used to remove limbs from injured patients; needles case (back then, needles were used over and over again, rather than being disposable).

Experiencing The Arts

Finally, it is time to craft the lyrics for your composition. You will need to select an existing melody that serves the intent of the ideas and emotions you wish to express. Take the time to analyze the structure of your song. Once you have done this, it is time to compose your lyrics. Remember that typically your title would form part of the song. Refer to Step Three on page 280 for some reminders on how to craft lyrics for your song.

As you work on your piece, take time to share it with others, and perhaps even participate in a songwriters circle.

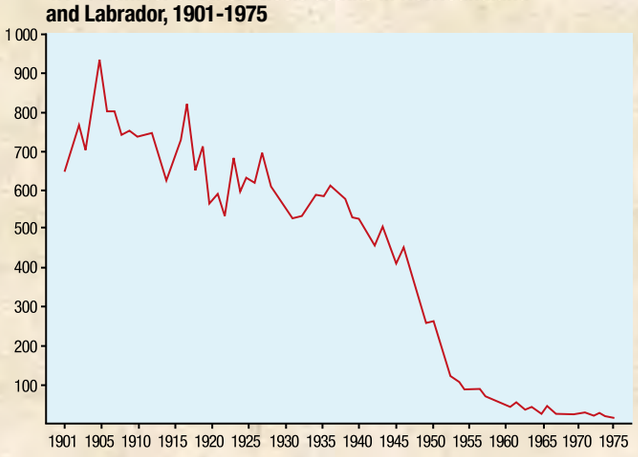
Be sure that you have decided on a single idea and emotion as your focus … and that you relax and have fun!

Tuberculosis was also endemic in Newfoundland and Labrador during this period. This infectious disease took two different forms (acute or chronic) and was spread by coughing and sneezing. It affected thousands of people each year (See fig. 4.104.) In 1908, a group of concerned citizens met in St. John's to discuss strategies for combating tuberculosis in the colony. They formed the Association for the Prevention of Consumption* (APC), a voluntary organization that was part of an international anti-tuberculosis movement. The APC focused their activities on increasing public awareness about preventing the disease, especially through better personal hygiene and home sanitation.

The Newfoundland government also became involved in the fight against tuberculosis. In 1912 it passed "An Act Respecting the Treatment and Prevention of Tuberculosis," which created a state-run Tuberculosis Public Service. The following year, the Tuberculosis Dispensary in St. John's opened its doors and began diagnosing and advising patients on the best ways to treat the disease and prevent its spread.

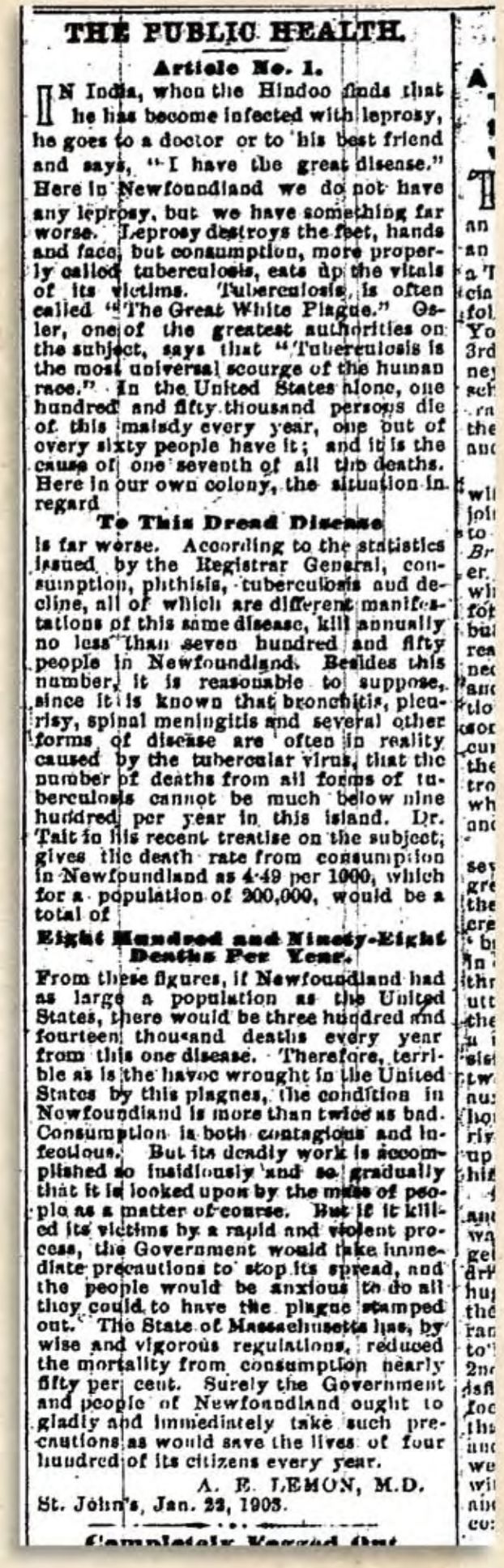
Epidemics of other infectious diseases were also a problem, especially for St. John's as a port city. An outbreak of diphtheria in St. John's caused over 700 deaths between

4.104 Number of tuberculosis deaths in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901-1975



1888 and 1892. This outbreak, and concerns that similar outbreaks of cholera and small pox might occur, led to the creation of the position of Public Health Officer in St. John's. This role was reorganized under the title of Medical Health Officer and was expanded to include responsibilities for epidemic control in 1905. In 1918, fears of an epidemic were realized with the introduction of the Spanish flu (see pg. 298) to the colony by sailors arriving from overseas. This epidemic killed more than 600 people in Newfoundland and Labrador in less than five months.

In 1929, the Squires administration appointed a Royal Commission of Inquiry into public health. The Commission's report led to the passing of the *Health and Public Welfare Act* of 1931, which created a Board of Health as a separate department under the Colonial Secretary. Although this board was made responsible for the control of infectious diseases, the treatment of the sick, and sanitary conditions, it lacked the funds needed to carry out the widespread medical reform that later occurred under the Commission of Government.



THE PUBLIC HEALTH.

Article No. 1.

IN India, when the Hindoo finds that he has become infected with leprosy, he goes to a doctor or to his best friend and says, "I have the great disease." Here in Newfoundland we do not have any leprosy, but we have something far worse. Leprosy destroys the feet, hands and face, but consumption, more properly called tuberculosis, eats up the vitals of its victims. Tuberculosis is often called "The Great White Plague." Osler, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, says that "Tuberculosis is the most universal scourge of the human race." In the United States alone, one hundred and fifty thousand persons die of this malady every year, one out of every sixty people have it; and it is the cause of one seventh of all the deaths. Here in our own colony, the situation in regard

To This Dread Disease

is far worse. According to the statistics issued by the Registrar General, consumption, phthisis, tuberculosis and decline, all of which are different manifestations of this same disease, kill annually no less than seven hundred and fifty people in Newfoundland. Besides this number, it is reasonable to suppose, since it is known that bronchitis, pleurisy, spinal meningitis and several other forms of disease are often in reality caused by the tubercular virus, that the number of deaths from all forms of tuberculosis cannot be much below nine hundred per year in this island. Dr. Tait in his recent treatise on the subject, gives the death rate from consumption in Newfoundland as 4·49 per 1000, which for a population of 200,000, would be a total of

Eight Hundred and Ninety-Eight Deaths Per Year.

From these figures, if Newfoundland had as large a population as the United States, there would be three hundred and fourteen thousand deaths every year from this one disease. Therefore, terrible as is the havoc wrought in the United States by this plagues, the condition in Newfoundland is more than twice as bad. Consumption is both contagious and infectious. But its deadly work is accomplished so insidiously and so gradually that it is looked upon by the mass of people as a matter of course. But if it killed its victims by a rapid and violent process, the Government would take immediate precautions to stop its spread, and the people would be anxious to do all they could to have the plague stamped out. The State of Massachusetts has, by wise and vigorous regulations, reduced the mortality from consumption nearly fifty per cent. Surely the Government and people of Newfoundland ought to gladly and immediately take such precautions as would save the lives of four hundred of its citizens every year.

A. E. LEMON, M.D.

St. John's, Jan. 22, 1903.

4.105 A letter about the "Great White Plague" (tuberculosis) in Newfoundland, from *The Evening Telegram*, Jan. 23, 1903

*Organizations for the prevention of tuberculosis had already been formed in Britain (1898), Canada (1900), and the United States (1904).

Tuberculosis was also known as phthisis, consumption, and the white plague.

AN OUTPORT NURSE

English nurse Myra (Grimsley) Bennett came to Daniel's Harbour in 1921 under the employ of the Outport Nursing Committee (later known as the Newfoundland Outport Nursing and Industrial Association or NONIA). Although she started with a two-year contract, she stayed on as the only medical professional along 320 kilometres of coastline for the next 50 years. Once dubbed "The Florence Nightingale of Newfoundland" by *The Evening Telegram*, Nurse Bennett performed minor operations, delivered more than 700 babies, and pulled at least 5000 teeth during her career.

4.106 Women from Daniel's Harbour trained as midwives by Nurse Bennett (in white), c. 1930
She once explained: "Because it was impossible to be in more than one place at a time I decided to train some capable women in midwifery so that there would be someone available during my absence or if I should become ill. Six young women undertook this training and would accompany me in pairs to each confinement. Lectures were given in my kitchen. These women proved very efficient, and on one or two occasions were able to deliver a patient while I delivered another."

4.107 A NONIA depot, c. 1925
Communities using the services of a NONIA nurse formed volunteer committees that were responsible for the distribution of NONIA wool and patterns, sending the finished handicrafts to a NONIA depot, and distributing cheques to the crafters.

Questions:

1. For each aspect of lifestyle discussed in this lesson, identify one event or change that occurred. Create an idea web that explores some of the possible direct, indirect, and unanticipated consequences of the event or change.
2. Which changes presented in this lesson had the most significant impact on lifestyle? Create a "top three" list, and design a poster which uses text and graphics to examine why these changes were significant.

4.108 "Wash day on the Coast," Labrador, c. 1929-34
Photographer Fred Coleman Sears added the additional information: "These little streams, from springs, snow-banks, or glaciers, are often used in this way and except for the temperature of the water make pretty satisfactory laundries."

4.109 A glimpse of life in Makkovik, 1900
From a set of stereoviews made in Makkovik by a member of the Moravians around 1900. Handwriting on the back of the picture indicated that this was a "Cabin of the farmhand."

4.110 Nain, 1884

TOPIC 4.8

Labrador

How does life in Labrador differ from life in Newfoundland today?

Why might Labrador have a smaller population than the island?

Introduction

Although Labrador was under Newfoundland's jurisdiction after 1809, life in Labrador in the late 1800s and early 1900s differed in many ways from life on the island.

Life in Labrador

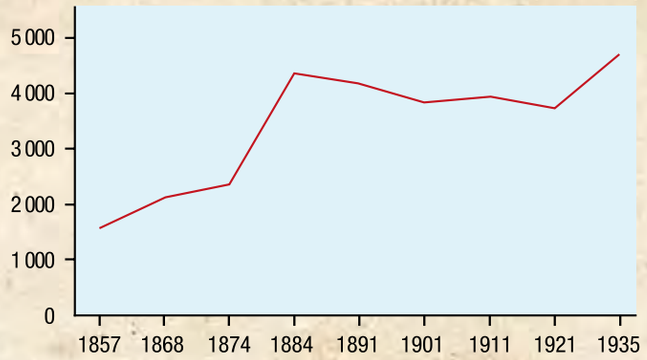
Until early in the twentieth century, Labrador's population was small and mostly confined to the coast, with Innu and Inuit practising a migratory lifestyle between the coast and the interior. Where there was permanent settlement, it was sparse. For instance, the 1874 Census enumerated 1275 people in 23 communities spread out from Blanc Sablon to Cape Harrison (see fig. 4.111)

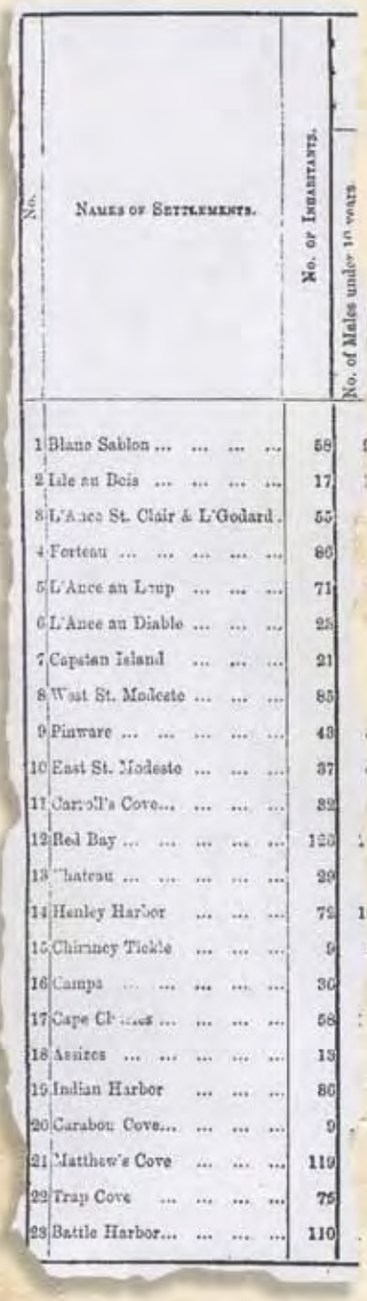
Although the Labrador fishery was the main economic activity of Labrador for much of the 1800s, few residents

engaged in it. Instead it was largely conducted by fishers from Conception Bay who came for the summer to fish in Labrador before returning home in the fall. The main economic activities conducted by the European and Metis resident population of Labrador were fur-trapping, sealing, and hunting – although, in some areas, fishing was also an important subsistence activity. Most trading of furs was done through the Moravian missions in northern Labrador and the Hudson's Bay Company in the southern portion of Labrador.

Despite being under Newfoundland's control, Labrador's population had no political representation in St. John's until 1946. Likewise, they received few services from the Newfoundland government until the 1940s. The few exceptions were the courts in Labrador that operated periodically after 1813 and the Labrador coastal boat and postal service that started during the 1880s. Before Confederation, most "social services" in Labrador were provided by non-governmental organizations such as the Moravian missions along the northern coast and the Grenfell Mission, which began in 1893 and operated along the southern coast of Labrador and the Northern Peninsula of the island.

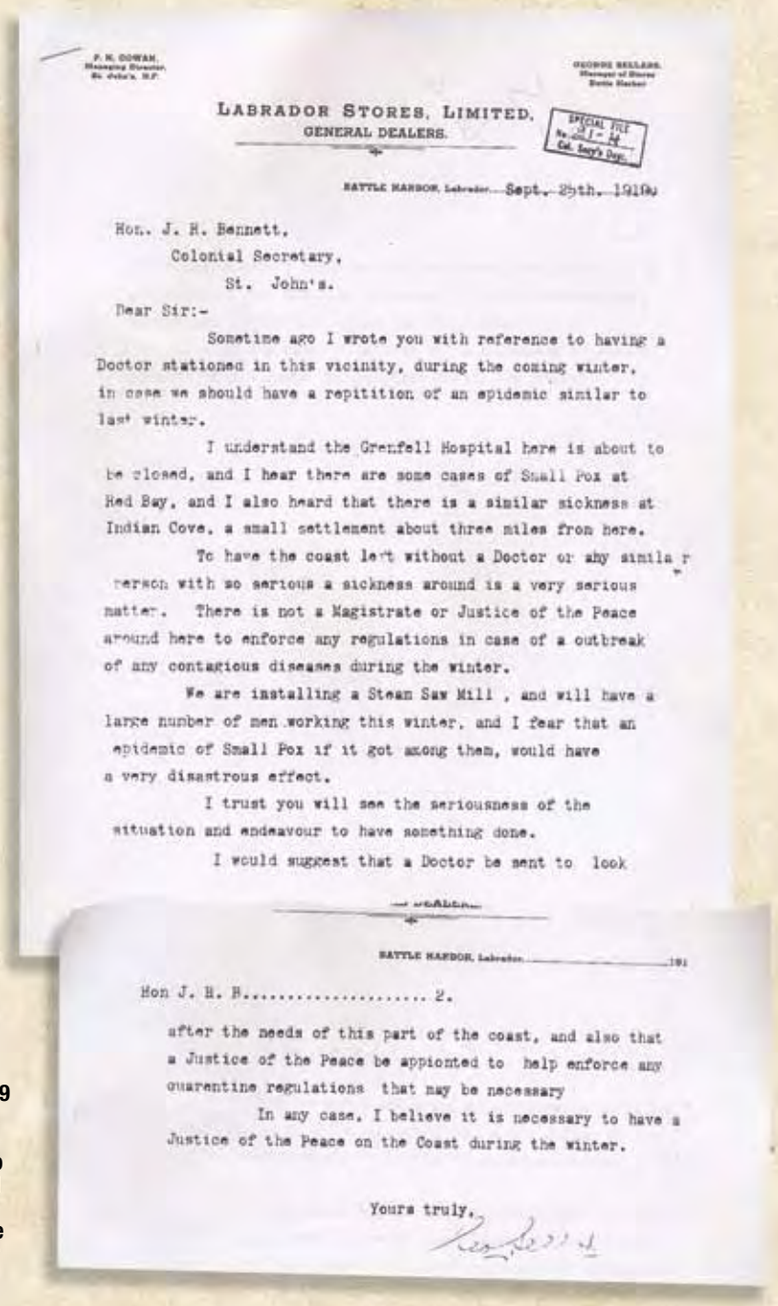
4.112 Labrador's population (1857-1935)





No.	Names of Settlements.	No. of Inhabitants.	No. of Males under 16 years
1	Blanc Sablon	58	
2	Ile au Bois	17	
3	L'Anse St. Clair & L'Godard .	55	
4	Forteau	86	
5	L'Anse au Loup	71	
6	L'Anse au Diable	25	
7	Capstan Island	21	
8	West St. Modeste	85	
9	Pinware	43	
10	East St. Modeste	37	4
11	Carroll's Cove...	32	
12	Red Bay	120	
13	Chateau	29	
14	Henley Harbor	72	1
15	Chimney Tickle	9	1
16	Camps	30	
17	Cape Ch...	58	
18	Assizes	13	
19	Indian Harbor	80	
20	Carabou Cove...	9	
21	Matthew's Cove	119	
22	Trap Cove	75	
23	Battle Harbor...	110	

4.111 Excerpt from the 1874 Census showing population distribution from Blanc Sablon to Cape Harrison in Labrador



P. N. GOWAN, Managing Director, St. John's, Nfld.

GEORGE BELLAND, Manager of Stores, Battle Harbor

LABRADOR STORES, LIMITED.
GENERAL DEALERS.

SPECIAL FILE 31 – 1919 Col. Sec'y's Dept.

BATTLE HARBOR, Labrador, Sept. 25th. 1919.

Hon. J. H. Bennett,
Colonial Secretary,
St. John's.

Dear Sir:-

Sometime ago I wrote you with reference to having a Doctor stationed in this vicinity, during the coming winter, in case we should have a repitition of an epidemic similar to last winter.

I understand the Grenfell Hospital here is about to be closed, and I hear there are some cases of Small Pox at Red Bay, and I also heard that there is a similar sickness at Indian Cove, a small settlement about three miles from here.

To have the coast left without a Doctor or any similar person with so serious a sickness around is a very serious matter. There is not a Magistrate or Justice of the Peace around here to enforce any regulations in case of a outbreak of any contagious diseases during the winter.

We are installing a Steam Saw Mill , and will have a large number of men working this winter, and I fear that an epidemic of Small Pox if it got among them, would have a very disastrous effect.

I trust you will see the seriousness of the situation and endeavour to have something done.

I would suggest that a Doctor be sent to look

BATTLE HARBOR, Labrador, ... 191

Hon J. H. B..... 2.

after the needs of this part of the coast, and also that a Justice of the Peace be appionted to help enforce any quarentine regulations that may be necessary

In any case, I believe it is necessary to have a Justice of the Peace on the Coast during the winter.

Yours truly,

4.113 A 1919 letter from a Labrador merchant to the Colonial Secretary urging more services for Labrador

4.115 A Hudson's Bay Company factor and two clerks hold a selection of furs in Cartwright, c. 1921-22.

4.114 Selected Hudson's Bay Company posts in Newfoundland and Labrador during the 19th and 20th centuries

The Hudson's Bay Company

In 1836, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) expanded its territory to Labrador and built headquarters in North West River. As the company expanded and built trading posts along the Churchill River in the interior and along the northern coast, it became an intricate part of Labrador's history. The HBC was the biggest draw for European migration to Labrador, and its fur-trading activities influenced Innu, Inuit, and European settlers' cultures throughout the region. In addition to its fur-trading business, the HBC also became involved in the salmon fishery in Labrador and the exporting of seal oil.

As an important source of European goods and a provider of credit, the HBC wielded significant power over many of Labrador's inhabitants. In addition, many of the company's agents took on duties from the Newfoundland government* and delivered poor relief, acted as justices of the peace, and/or collected customs duties. In 1926, the HBC expanded further into the north and leased the Moravian mission's stores in Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, and Hebron – which were faltering because of the decline of the fur trade. The HBC ran these posts until 1942, when it relinquished them to the Newfoundland government.

*The fact that HBC agents did these duties was cited as evidence of the Newfoundland government's involvement in the area during the Labrador boundary dispute in 1927.

4.116 Transcriptions of Hudson's Bay Company journal entries
Such journals typically addressed the state of trade with local hunters as well as employees' successes and failures at fishing, hunting, and even growing vegetables. Also recorded were the arrivals and departures of supply vessels, weather, health, and sometimes personal relationships. Entries were made at least several times a week.

Hudson's Bay Company Journal
Nachvak Post, Labrador
Friday, August 22, 1873

About the middle of the night there was a fearful gale from the North. I was almost afraid it would carry away out houses, and made quite sure something was going wrong outside, where we could not show ourselves in fear of getting hurt by something blowing about; we had to leave everything until day break, and in the mean time spent a very uncomfortable night. Our place in the morning was much like a town after a battle — barrels were floating about, which however were saved with the exception of a few flour barrels. Our boat in the harbour capsized, oars and rudder had departed, the roof of our Turfhouse was all found in pieces about the post; during the day however these trifles were restored to their former state.

Hudson's Bay Company Journal
Nachvak Post, Labrador
Saturday, February 24, 1872

... Some of the Esquimaux are talking of going to the Missionaries with some fur they have. I don't know the reason why they are going there as we have everything they need except tin kettles ...

Hudson's Bay Company Journal
Nachvak Post, Labrador
Saturday, March 6, 1875

Ikra died last night, his wife and children are better and managed to come down to our house, where they will have to remain until some Esquimaux come up from below. This is a time of horror! The Ghost of Death is lurking about every day.

Hudson's Bay Company Journal
Lampson Post, Labrador
Saturday, September 19, 1874

We are in for another winter without wood or other supplies. God knows I have had enough or more than my share of misery since I have been on the Labrador. I don't know what this post is kept open for.

4.117 Battle Harbour Hospital was the first Grenfell Mission building on the coast
The building for the hospital was provided by Baine, Johnston, and Company. It burned down soon after this picture was taken in 1930.

4.118 Dr. Grenfell provides medical assistance to a Labrador resident, c. 1939
The greatest health challenges the Mission faced related to nutritional diseases and tuberculosis. Even on the eve of Confederation, there were reports of poverty, malnutrition, and even starvation on some parts of the coast. Many people had severe vitamin and mineral deficiencies, which caused diseases like rickets and beriberi.

Experiencing The Arts

To see more about Grenfell hooked mats, see page 646.

The Grenfell Mission

In the summer of 1892, a young British medical missionary, Wilfred Thomason Grenfell, travelled to the coast of Labrador with the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen (MDSF).* During his first summer on "the Coast," with the MDSF, Grenfell provided medical treatment to approximately 900 people. The poverty and lack of basic health care that he witnessed that summer convinced him to form the Grenfell Mission as a branch of the MDSF. He returned to Labrador the following year and opened the first of many Mission buildings on the coast – the hospital in Battle Harbour.

4.119 The *Strathcona*, c. 1910
The Grenfell Mission acquired the medical vessel *Strathcona* in 1899, which allowed volunteers to treat patients at remote fishing stations and coastal communities in Labrador and northern Newfoundland.

The Mission was funded primarily through public donations – much of which were raised by Grenfell himself. For instance, in 1894 Grenfell toured across Canada in an effort to raise money and find support for the Mission. He was a captivating public speaker and his efforts for the people of the coast found a ready following. Grenfell later had similar success in the United States, which eventually became the source for the majority of the Mission's funds.

In the following years, Grenfell created an extensive network** of hospitals and nursing stations throughout Labrador, the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland, and the North Shore of Quebec. Hospital ships (and later, airplanes) also travelled along the coast as far north as Nain. The health care provided by the Grenfell Mission was of high quality. Grenfell was as successful in recruiting distinguished physicians, surgeons, dentists, and medical specialists for the coast as he was at raising funds. The hospitals contained up-to-date medical equipment and were centres for medical knowledge on the coast.

*This British evangelical organization, which focused on fishers in the United Kingdom, was part of a global Christian missionary movement aimed at improving the spiritual and daily lives of those deemed less fortunate.

**Prior to the establishment of these facilities, people on the coast would have likely received only one visit a year from a government doctor.

"… he led me to a tiny, sod-covered hovel, compared with which the Irish cabins were palaces. It had one window of odd fragments of glass. The floor was of pebbles from the beach; the earth walls were damp and chilly. There were half a dozen rude wooden bunks built in tiers around the single room, and a group of some six neglected children, frightened by our arrival, were huddled together in one corner. A very sick man was coughing his soul out in the darkness of a lower bunk, while a pitiable covered woman gave him cold water to sip out of a spoon. There was no furniture except a small stove with an iron pipe leading through a hole in the roof.
My heart sank as I thought of the little I could do for the sufferer in such surroundings."

– Dr. Wilfred Grenfell

4.120 International Grenfell Association medical services with dates of inception

However, with the scattered pattern of settlement, the medical staff at these locations could not reach everyone on the coast. In response, the Mission established nursing stations in some of the larger communities. From these stations, nurses travelled by foot, boat, dogsled, and eventually snowmobile and airplane to reach their patients in the surrounding areas. They also performed a range of health-related and non-health-related duties, as once described by a Grenfell Mission secretary in a correspondence to a nurse:

> *Nurses in charge of Nursing Stations need even more general experience, and to be interested in Midwifery as there is a great deal to do in these districts … They have in-patients and out-patients; visits to make in sometimes a scattered district, medical returns; housekeeping, gardening – chiefly vegetables – and sometimes looking after hens. They need to be able to give anaesthetics – that applies to most Stations – and to haul teeth. It all sounds very formidable, but the nurses do combine all these things, and thoroughly enjoy their life and work in the North.*

Although he began his career with the MDSF, Grenfell later became more inspired by the social reform movement in the United States, which emphasized practical assistance over preaching the Gospel. Based on these principles of self-help and practicality, Grenfell's Mission established many social projects in addition to its medical facilities. These included several schools, an orphanage, an industrial department, co-operative associations, and land-based industries which all attempted to diversify the northern economy.

The Grenfell Mission operated as a branch of the MDSF for over 20 years. It finally separated from the MDSF in 1914, with the incorporation of the International Grenfell Association (IGA) and the transfer of administrative authority to that organization. The IGA hired staff and distributed funds, but depended on five independent organizations for financial support. These organizations raised money by hosting lectures and by selling Christmas cards, postcards, and goods from the Industrial Department. They also collected clothing and other necessities for the coast and promoted the work of the Mission.

In the 1930s, the establishment of social projects declined as Grenfell became less directly involved in the Mission's activities. In 1937, Charles S. Curtis replaced Grenfell as Superintendent of the Mission and the organization began to focus more on developing further medical services. Confederation marked the beginning of a shift in the Grenfell Mission from a charitable organization to a government institution. The provincial government slowly became more involved with health care in the region and completely took over the Grenfell Mission's responsibilities in 1981 with the creation of the Grenfell Regional Health Authority.


A SHOP
for the sale of the
Products of the Industrial Department
will be opened on
NOVEMBER 1st, 1929
at
421 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY
HOOKED MATS in an assortment of sizes
GRENFELL CLOTH DICKIES for winter sports
MOCCASINS
SEALSKIN BOOTS
FIRESIDE BENCHES
FIRESIDE FOOTSTOOLS
TOYS
IVORY NOVELTIES
HOMESPUNS
RUNNERS
BEDSPREADS
ETC., ETC.
Industrial products are displayed and orders are received throughout the year by the
GRENFELL ASSOCIATION OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
21 Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1.

4.121 An advertisement for the sale of products from the Grenfell Mission's Industrial Department.

4.122 Non-medical projects, 1896-1938

Year	Project
1896	Cooperative Store at Red Bay
1901	Cooperative Lumber Mill
1906	Industrial Department (Grenfell Handicrafts)
1908	Reindeer Project
1909	School at St. Anthony and Industrial School at Red Bay
1910	Animal Husbandry at St. Anthony
1916	Gardens and Chicken Houses at North West River
1919	Cooperative Store at Flowers Cove
1920	School at Muddy Bay
1921	Orphanage at St. Anthony
1924	Sheep Flock at St. Anthony
1925	Cattle Farm at North West River
1926	Yale School at North West River
1928	Greenhouses at St. Anthony
1930	Lockwood School & Dormitory at Cartwright
1931	School at Mary's Harbour
1932	Greenhouses at North West River and Flowers Cove
1938	Machine Shop at St. Anthony

4.123 Grenfell supporting organizations

Organization	Headquarters
Newfoundland Grenfell Association	St. John's
Grenfell Association of America	New York
New England Grenfell Association	Boston
Grenfell Labrador Medical Mission	Ottawa
Grenfell Association of Great Britain and Ireland	London

"The fog played havoc with the Radio-telephone reception too. I had quite [a sick] patient here and was wondering what next to do ... no plane could possibly get in ... About ten days later Dr. Thomas arrived out of the blue literally no RT reception yet. During the 16 hrs he was here we did some intensive work, operations, X-rays to read, and patients to see ... We had not seen a Doctor for two months."

– Excerpts from a letter written by an IGA nurse on July 7, 1957 indicating that even in the 1950s practising medicine along the coast was challenging.

4.124 Boys in Labrador public school workshop, c.1925-26
These school boys in Muddy Bay, Labrador received daily manual training from a Mission volunteer.

4.125 Postcards were created by the International Grenfell Mission to raise funds
This one was used by Grenfell himself.

DIMENSIONS OF THINKING

JUDGMENT

What is the truth?

When is it okay to emphasize certain truths and leave out others? Is a narrative ever truly balanced? In some cases, could it be argued that the end justifies the means?

In order to raise money to support the Mission in northern Newfoundland and Labrador, Wilfred Grenfell frequently embarked on lecture tours across Canada, the United States, and Britain. Grenfell's lectures were known for captivating audiences with tales of adventure and heartache in the north and convincing thousands of people to support his cause. The focus of this fundraising technique was the portrayal of people on the coast as poverty stricken and in desperate need of social and medical assistance. While Grenfell gained a favourable reputation throughout North America and Britain for his humanitarian activities, he was sometimes criticized back in Newfoundland and Labrador for portraying such a negative image of the people. Here is a glimpse of two sides of the same story.

4.126 Grenfell lantern slides
These slides are typical of what Grenfell showed his audience while fundraising. Note – the following titles in quotation marks are the titles that the Grenfell Mission used to describe the images: (left) "Sir Wilfred and a little crippled orphan at St. Anthony Orphanage," 1930; (middle) "Bare footed girl standing on snow," date unknown; (right) "Forget me not-child patient," St. Anthony hospital, c. 1920-29.

... Of Dr Grenfell's lecture we can honestly say it was convincing. He spoke of the work of the Deep Sea Mission principally from the social and medical standpoint, and showed that on both sides it was working for the betterment and well-being of the people. Many photographs were shown of the sick and maimed, the halt and lame who by treatment in the coast hospitals had been relieved of suffering and made useful members of society ... when one considers what the relief from suffering is to each individual concerned, taken from torture and helplessness and lifted into a position to enjoy the blessings of life, criticisms must be silent and the words of approval must be spoken.

4.127 An excerpt from *The Royal Gazette*, Dec. 5, 1905

Mr. Editor, I said in my last letter that the means by which Dr. Grenfell obtains financial aid for his Mission is ***A Degradation of the People*** *of Newfoundland, and I am surprised that any person claiming to be a Newfoundlander or whose children are Newfoundlanders, should tolerate, much less approve of and abet, an enterprise supported by such means. ... citizens who wrote in the press in favor of Dr. Grenfell's work, must be entirely ignorant of the details of it ... or they would never give their sanction to a scheme which shows up themselves, their wives, and their children as a lot of* ***Half Starved, Squalid Savages.*** *Dr. Grenfell ... collects abroad some $20,000.00 (twenty thousand dollars) annually. This sum he collects by means of lectures which he illustrates by ... pictures, taken from the very lowest and poorest of our people's homes ... the impression left upon the minds of the hearers is that such is the general and* ***Normal State of Our People.*** *Thus the poverty of a few (and very few) of our poorest settlements is exploited as a means of extracting alms from a charitably-minded audience ...*

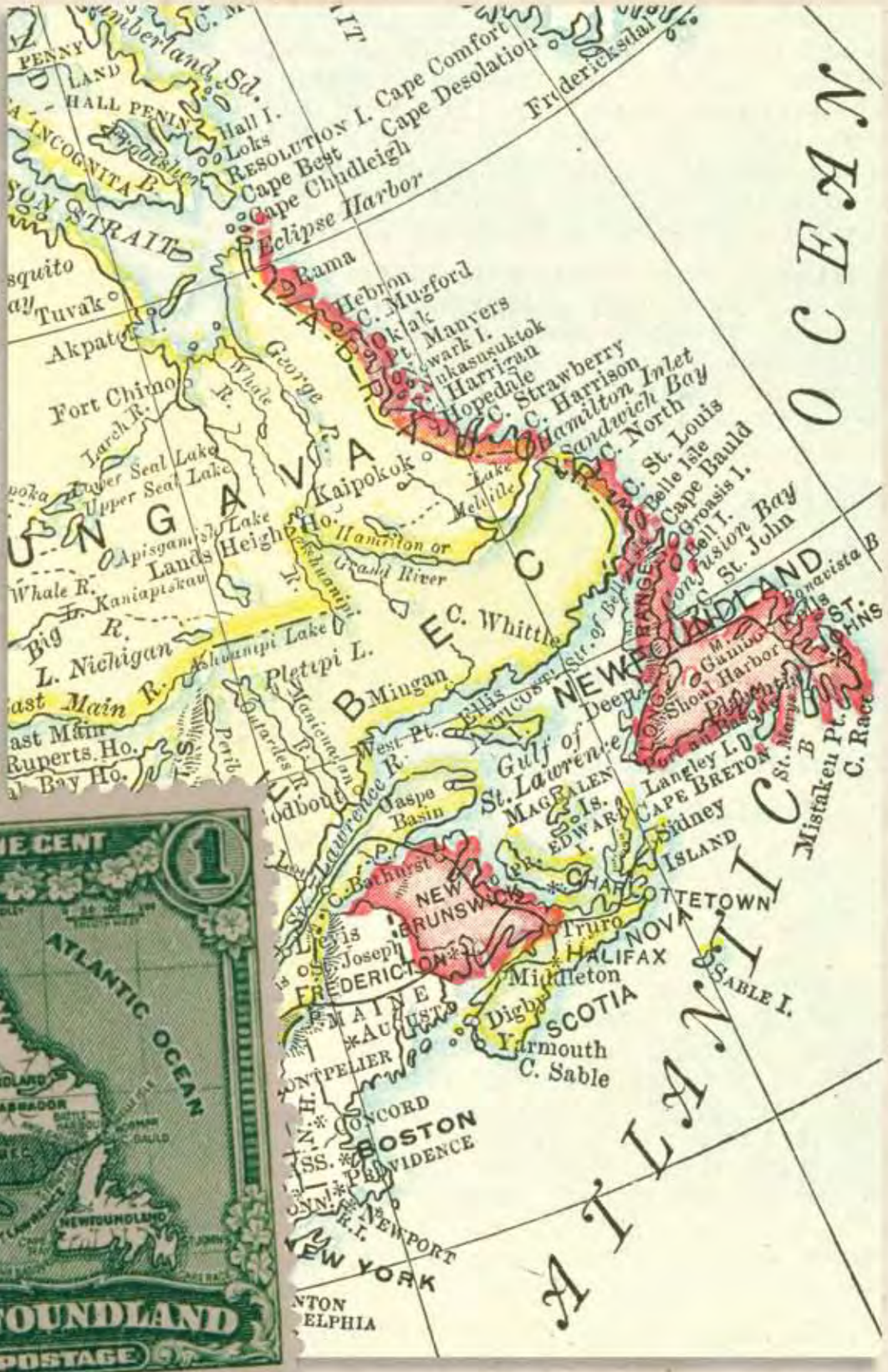
4.128 An excerpt from a letter to the editor by Archbishop M.F. Howley from *The Daily News*, Dec. 13, 1905

4.129 A recreation of a real adventure
Grenfell shows the improvised flag and cloak he made while trapped on an ice pan in April 1908. (Grenfell had been attempting to travel across sea ice by dog and sled in order to reach a patient.) The cloak is made from the skins of a few of the dogs that were with him. The flag is made from a bright flannel shirt which was hung from a pole fashioned from a dog's leg.

4.130 Rough conditions under which to practise medicine
Wilfred Grenfell administering anaesthetic to male patient on kitchen table, c. 1892-99

Questions:

1. Based on the data provided in this lesson, what were the benefits of Grenfell's work?
2. What were the issues raised by Archbishop M.F. Howley in this letter concerning Grenfell's work?
3. Many people would argue that Grenfell's work accomplished much good for the people of Newfoundland and Labrador. Was the way in which Grenfell depicted people to raise funds for this work appropriate? Explain.
4. Today, some charitable organizations use a similar approach to Grenfell's when fundraising. What are the strengths and weaknesses of using such an approach?



4.131 A map illustrating the Labrador boundary prior to the 1927 Privy Council decision.
Note how only a thin strip along Labrador's coast is shown as part of Newfoundland's jurisdiction.

4.132 Newfoundland postage stamp, issued 1928-29
This Newfoundland postage stamp is the first one to show Labrador's boundary as determined in the 1927 ruling by the Privy Council.

Jurisdiction Issues

As the importance of the Labrador fishery and fur trade grew, so did interest in controlling these resources. The first official agreement on who "owned" Labrador was the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which gave a portion of the Labrador Peninsula to Quebec and a portion to Newfoundland. However, as this treaty did not define the western limit of the territory, it caused friction between Newfoundland and Quebec over the exact location of the border. This resulted in a series of legislations that transferred jurisdiction over parts of Labrador from

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NEWFOUNDLAND MADE 3 TIMES PRESENT SIZE

Canada Loses Rich Prize in Privy Council Decision

SPECTACULAR FEATURES

Quebec Sees Uncertainty About Fate of Grand Falls—More Negotiations Likely

(Special to The Gazette.)

Ottawa, March 1—Canada loses a rich prize and Newfoundland annexes an area aggregating 111,300 square miles by the decision of the judicial committee of the Privy Council announced today in London. The stake includes some 60,000 square miles of spruce forest valued at $250,000,000 and a cataract known as Grand Falls compared with which the mighty Niagara takes second place. Incidentally, the Privy Council decision means that all the maps of Canada will have to be changed and the ancient British Colony of Newfoundland will be three times its present size. Of interest to Ontario is that Grand [illegible], which have been seen by comparatively few white men, were discovered by a Hudson's Bay official [illegible]hn McLean, whose descendants reside in the town of Fer[illegible]timated that the available [illegible] in the disputed area [illegible]al million horsepower, [illegible]tal available in the [illegible] of Quebec.

[illegible] acular feature in con[illegible]e legal tug-of-war is [illegible] has cost Canada and [illegible]omething like $1,000,- [illegible] expert fees. The dis[illegible]for twenty years and [illegible] million words were [illegible]e Privy Council by [illegible]n appearing in the [illegible]ve years for the con[illegible]s to agree upon the [illegible] of the question to be [illegible] the law lords, which was the location and definition [illegible]oundary as between Canada [illegible] Newfoundland in the Labrador peninsula under the statutes, orders-in-council and proclamations?"

4.133 Article from the *Montreal Gazette*, March 2, 1927

Newfoundland to Quebec in 1774 and from Quebec to Newfoundland in 1809.

In 1825, a court decision established the 52nd parallel as the southern boundary of Labrador. However, when surveys of Labrador's interior in the 1890s revealed the existence of great mineral and timber resources, the 1825 border again came under dispute. This boundary issue became the subject of prolonged litigation between Canada and Newfoundland until it was resolved in Newfoundland's favour by the Privy Council in London in 1927. They ruled that the Labrador boundary was:

> *... a line drawn due north from the eastern boundary of the bay or harbour of the Anse au Sablon as far as the fifty-second degree of north latitude, and from thence westward ... until it reaches the Romaine River, and then northward along the left or east bank of that river and its head waters to the source and from thence due northward to the crest of the watershed or height of land there, and from thence westward and northward along the crest of the watershed of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean until it reaches Cape Chidley.*

Ironically, the Newfoundland government tried to sell Labrador to Quebec in 1925 to help pay the public debt but Quebec turned down the offer.

Questions:

1. The place of Labrador in the history of this province often receives less attention than the island. What are some factors that might account for this?
2. Compare the experience of the peopling of Labrador to the peopling of the island of Newfoundland. Present your analysis in the form of a Venn diagram.
3. What were the most significant effects of the Hudson's Bay Company on life in Labrador?
4. What were the most significant effects of the Grenfell Mission on life in Labrador?

4.134 Hudson's Bay Company post and Moravian Mission buildings, c. 1935

4.135 Not as isolated as you would think …
By the 1930s, Hopedale had a surprising number of connections with the "outside world." The community received a short-wave radio in 1925 and a movie projector in 1931 to show over 100 films donated by the Government of Canada. In 1927, the mission house and church had electric lighting powered by a generator, and in 1930 a post office and a telegraph station (shown here under construction) opened in Hopedale.

4.136 A Moravian postcard shows a Labrador Inuk woman in native dress, c. 1920s

TOPIC 4.9

Further Encroachment

How would Innu, Inuit, Metis, and Mi'kmaw cultures have been influenced by the arrival of Europeans?

Is encroachment a concern today for Newfoundland and Labrador's Aboriginal people?

Introduction

The late 1800s and early 1900s continued to be a time of change for Aboriginal people as they faced further encroachment into their lands by the growing European population. As Inuit, Innu, Mi'kmaq, and Metis developed closer relationships with European settlers, they became exposed to the effects of outside influences such as the rise and fall of the fur trade, the arrival of the Spanish flu, the First World War, and the Great Depression.

Inuit

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Moravian mission stations in Labrador had become an integral part of the lives of many Labrador Inuit, both culturally and economically. While many Inuit grew increasingly dependent on the mission stations for European goods, such as flour, tea, rifles, ammunition, and European clothing, the missionaries also became dependent on Inuit to supply them with a steady source of cod* and furs, which they could sell in the European markets to pay for the missions' operation and supplies. This left both the Moravians and Inuit vulnerable to the supply of natural resources and marketplace conditions.

By 1900, Moravian trade operations had accumulated a huge outstanding debt from increased operating expenditures and the practice of advancing credit

*There were no cod north of Hebron.

4.137 The chapel servants, Hopedale, 1893

to Inuit families in less profitable times. To reduce costs, the Moravians began to close missions (such as Ramah) in 1908 and reduce the numbers of missionaries in the remaining communities to one. This move increased the influence of Inuit "chapel servants," who assumed greater responsibility for conducting church services and making pastoral visits both within the community and to outlying fishing camps. It also led to respected community members being elected as Elders. Together with the missionaries, these "watch committees" or boards initiated policies and settled a range of disputes.

Serious hardship occurred in the Inuit communities in 1918, when the Spanish influenza was unknowingly introduced to the Labrador coast by the Moravian ship *Harmony*. Although every community was affected, Okak and Hebron were decimated. Okak lost all but 59 women and children from its population of 263 and all its adult males succumbed to the disease. In the Hebron area, the Inuit population was reduced from 220 to 70. In 1919, Okak was closed as a mission station. Surviving family members of the epidemic were adopted by Inuit families in other communities, but sometimes family members were separated.

The Moravian missions experienced increased financial strain during the First World War and, by 1924, credit advances were stopped at the mission stores. In 1926, the Moravian Society leased its entire trade business to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) for 21 years. The HBC provided store managers who resided in the various communities, built some new stores, and made other investments in the communities that led to a renewed sense of hope.

The company kept credit advances to a minimum and encouraged Inuit families to spend the winter living away from the community to hunt and trap. Seal hunting in both spring and fall, along with cod fishing in summer, kept families at remote sites and provided natural resources for sale to the company. This continued until the Great Depression in the 1930s, when markets collapsed and Inuit families were left to look after themselves. Items such as ammunition for hunting, flour, tea, and other imported goods were no longer available unless they could be purchased with cash. While the Hudson's Bay Company did distribute some "relief" or welfare assistance for the Newfoundland government, these rations were very small and the health of many communities suffered.

This role was taken over by members of the Newfoundland Rangers who were posted to Labrador after 1934, when the Commission of Government established a rural police force.

FISH FOR SALE

In addition to trading with the Moravian missions, Inuit traded with the Newfoundland cod fishers who started frequenting the northern coast of Labrador in the 1860s. This encouraged Inuit to catch cod, salmon, and arctic char for trade, as well as for their own consumption. Recognizing the value of this trade, Moravian missions soon expanded their operations to become fish dealers and started accepting fish, in addition to furs, for exchange.

This new focus on summer fishing changed both Inuit seasonal round and their lifestyle in a number of ways. For instance, fishing coincided with the best times to hunt caribou because the herds were in prime condition for use as winter clothing. This meant Inuit had to change their hunting season and become somewhat dependent on European garments.

4.138 Yaffling fish, Hopedale, 1893

4.139 Mushuauinnuts at a camp on Mushuau shipu (George River), 1906 (top left)

4.140 Unidentified Innu woman and children, c. 1930
(top right) The Roman Catholic Church influenced many aspects of Innu culture in the 19th and 20th centuries. Missionaries objected to the Innu shamanistic religion and abolished many of its rituals, including drum dances, which they believed were connected to the devil.

4.141 Political borders were unknown to Innu bands in the early 1850s.
(left) The settlement of the Labrador boundary dispute in 1927 created new political boundaries between Labrador and Quebec that divided Innu territory almost in half. While this may not have affected Innu land use at the time, these boundaries would have implications in later years as Innu pursued land claim negotiations.
Source: Frank Speck, 1931

Innu

As the fur trade in Labrador grew in the early twentieth century, Labrador Innu had increased contact with European settlers. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) continued to open new trading posts, including one at Davis Inlet* in 1896 and another at Voisey's Bay in 1913.** This interaction with English fur traders led to an increased reliance on European goods from these trading posts.

Hunters were encouraged to trap furs full time for the HBC, rather than focusing on caribou hunting as they had traditionally done. This encouragement, combined with the introduction of guns from trading posts, caused Innu hunting methods to change. When using the traditional method, hunters worked together to construct fences and corrals. They then drove the animals into these enclosures and killed them with spears. When using guns, caribou hunting became an individual or small group activity. The use of guns also meant Innu were dependent on the trading posts for ammunition. During a year when fur-bearing animals were scarce, Innu often could not afford ammunition for their guns and this sometimes led to starvation.

Additional changes for Innu, resulting from European colonization, occurred when fur prices rose in the early twentieth century. As a result, there was increased competition for furs from Metis, who set individual trap lines and believed they had trapping rights in these areas. This conflicted with Innu, who believed in sharing the land.

*This was the original settlement. Innu moved in 1967 to a new location, which they also called Davis Inlet. After this time, the first settlement was referred to as "Old" Davis Inlet.

**The Hudson's Bay Company had already opened a trading post at North West River in 1836 and encouraged Innu to settle close by.

4.142 An Innu tent at Davis Inlet, c. 1930
The photographer, Fred Coleman Sears, included the following caption with this picture: "A Nascaupee Indian teepee at Davis Inlet, which is one of their summer settlements where they come down to see their priest (they are all Catholics) and to get supplies for the coming winter. This is certainly a primitive dwelling and one wonders how these Indians endure the myriads of mosquitoes and black flies which frequently, in fact usually, swarm about them."

Further encroachment on Innu territory occurred after 1900, when logging began in areas that were traditional hunting grounds, causing an imbalance in the ecosystem and a decline in caribou herds. Consequently, Innu were faced with both a decrease in their traditional food source and a loss of land on which to conduct trapping. A drop in fur prices during the Great Depression made things even more difficult for Innu and was compounded by a further decline in the caribou population during the 1930s. Starving, and cut off from their traditional means of making a living, many Innu had no option but to seek assistance from the government,* the Church, and charitable organizations. Increased reliance on government relief, however, made it difficult for Innu to maintain a seasonal-round-based lifestyle and many remained close to settlements where missionaries and government representatives worked.

4.143 Innu traders outside the Hudson's Bay Company post in Davis Inlet, 1903

*The Newfoundland government had little direct contact with Innu before the mid-1900s. Instead, it delegated dealings with Innu to missionaries and the HBC. In Davis Inlet, for example, up to the 1930s, Roman Catholic priests distributed food, clothing, and other forms of social assistance to Innu.

4.144 Labrador (possibly near Battle Harbour or Forteau), c. 1908-11
Many trapper families lived in extreme isolation during the winter months.

Metis

Metis blended qualities from their Aboriginal and European ancestors. Elliott Merrick, an American writer, described the uniqueness of the Metis as follows:

> … *the scattered families that inhabit the bay are a unique race with oddly combined cultures: Scotch Presbyterian in religion, old English in speech and custom, Indian in their ways of hunting and their skill with canoes ascending the big rivers bound for the trapping grounds far in the country. Sometimes it seems as though they had taken for their own the best qualities of the three races, the Eskimo laughter-loving happiness, the Indian endurance and uncanny instinct for living off the country, the Scotchman's strength of character and will.*

In the early twentieth century, most Metis were involved in the fur trade. As they became the predominant population in the Lake Melville region, they were the chief suppliers of fur to the Hudson's Bay Company posts located there. Some Metis also traded with the Revillon Frères Trapping Company, which established a post in North West River in 1901. For a while, this break in the Hudson's Bay Company's trade monopoly resulted in better fur prices for trappers, but by 1936 the Hudson's Bay Company had bought out Revillon Frères' interests.

The life of a Metis trapper was often one of isolation. Trappers had an extensive network of traplines, often quite a distance from home. These men spent months on the traplines. Typically, a trapline extended in a zigzag line with 200-300 traps set about half a kilometre apart along the way. Trappers built several small tilts along their line where they could sleep, and thaw and skin each day's catch. Traplines usually remained within a family for generations, but sometimes they were rented to other trappers for a season. By custom, trappers usually kept their lines at least 15 kilometres apart. However, as more and more generations of trappers' children grew up and began trapping themselves, they were forced to set new traplines at greater distances from their homes. By the 1930s, this meant that the traplines of the Metis and Innu hunting grounds began to overlap, but this seldom caused problems between the two groups.

A trapper's life was not easy, and the life of a trapper's wife was perhaps equally difficult. While her husband was on the trapline, a trapper's wife was left alone with children in an isolated setting. She took on the many tasks of her husband around the family home, as well as doing her own work.

Although many Metis lived in near isolation during the winter, some families in the North West River/ Mud Lake region were able to take advantage of new developments in their area by the early 1900s. In 1904, a lumber operation began in Mud Lake. For many, this was their first opportunity to earn cash for labour. In addition, in 1912 a year-round hospital was started in Mud Lake, in 1920 the Labrador Public School was opened in Muddy Bay (near Cartwright), and in 1926 a boarding school was built in North West River.

4.145 Spinning a yarn
at the Hudson's Bay Company post, North West River.

4.146 Students of the Labrador Public School in Muddy Bay (near Cartwright), c. 1920
Many of these students were orphans of the Spanish flu that swept the area in 1918.

4.147 A trapper and team carrying a live silver fox on Squasho Run, Caplin Head, c. 1912

OLD CUSTOM TRAPPING LAWS IN LABRADOR

An excerpt from details told by Walter McLean, North West River:

• If someone come on your (trapping) grounds. You could hang (their) trap in tree. If found second time, you could "beat up" trap.

• If a trapper's line along the shore extended to a neighbour's trapline, he must move trap 100-200 yards from neighbour's trap.

• When shorelines were taken, one must go five miles inland or over the hill before starting a line.

• If you come to a (another trapper's) trap with animal alive in it, you kill animal and hang it in tree or nearest tilt and must reset trap.

(Note: Innu were free to hunt on traplines.)

4.148 leg trap

CASE STUDY

Life as a Trapper's Wife

4.149 Interior shot of two clotheslines hung with fox furs, possibly in a trading post, prior to 1940

4.150 Elizabeth Goudie, shown here in c. 1975, wrote about her life in Labrador in the book *Woman of Labrador.*

Lydia Campbell (1818-1905), who lived and wrote about life in Labrador, describes the life of her sister Hannah Michelin, who was a trapper's widow:

SHE [HANNAH] BROUGHT UP HER FIRST FAMILY OF LITTLE CHILDREN when their father died, teached all to read and write in the long winter nights, and hunt with them in the day, got about a dozen foxes and as many martens. She would take the little ones on the sled, haul them over snow and ice to a large river, chop ice about three feet thick, catch about two or three hundred trout, large ones, and haul them and the children home perhaps in the night; catch salmon and seal in the summer the same way. And then the men of the Hudson Bay Company's servants used to get her to make a lot of things, that is, clothing, such as pants, shirts, flannel slips, drawers, sealskin boots, deerskin shoes, caps, washing, starching, ironing and whatnot.

– From: *Sketches of Labrador Life*, by Lydia Campbell, which appeared in the *Evening Herald* in 13 installments between 1894-5

One of Hannah Michelin's great-grandchildren, Elizabeth Goudie, also wrote about being a trapper's wife. The following description of her life in the 1920s talks of her family's dependence on the Hudson's Bay Company. Trappers selling their furs to a trading post were in a similar position to fishers selling their fish to a merchant under the truck system: they were paid in credit, which could be used to buy supplies from the trading post. Cash rarely exchanged hands.

… As each year went by we were a little more in debt. The Hudson's Bay Company was getting a bit more impatient with us.

In 1928, when we went to get our food again for the winter, the Hudson's Bay manager told us that if we could not pay off our bills that year, he would have to cut off our credit. Jim said we would have to do something. We needed a lot of things when our fourth child was born in 1927. We were living in a house in Davis Inlet with another family that summer because Jim had a job with the Hudson's Bay for a little while …

When Jim came out of the country the first time, he did very well with fur. We had to have food to eat and he put all he could against his bills. It was not enough. When he came back he had his mind made up. He said if he could get enough furs to buy food for us and the dogs, we would get in touch with the mailman and travel down the coast with him because we did not know the way … That was early 1929 … Jim said he thought he had enough furs to buy food for the trip. I had to make a couple of pairs of boots for Jim and boots for the three children and a pair for myself. The trip we had to take was roughly a little over 300 miles by the coast. We both thought it was going to be pretty rough for me and the children but there was not much else we could do because we would not get any help from the Hudson's Bay Company for another winter.

We talked about it and at first I did not approve because I was worried about the children. We would have to go over quite a lot of land. It was up hills and down other sides and through valleys. I had thought we might cripple our children. We only had six dogs. There were five of us besides our belongings, food and dog food. Jim said he would have to build a new kamutik. We had to be ready for the fifteenth of April because the mailman was making his last trip at that time …

– From *Woman of Labrador*, by Elizabeth Goudie, 1973.

4.151 Mrs. Thoms and seven of her nine children, Fox Harbour, 1893. The original photographer wrote the following caption: She is a widow: a half breed (children male: 19, 14, 7, 4, 1 1/2, female: 13, 11). They are wearing all the clothes they possess. They have no nets, only jiggers, and two old guns. Last winter they lived on 5 barrels of flour, 1 cwt. hard bread, G viii molasses, and lbs iv tea.

Questions:

1. What evidence is there in this case study that a trapper's wife led a difficult life?
2. How was the economic situation of a trapper's life similar to that of a fisher's life?

4.152 Two Conne River Mi'kmaw guides using tumplines to carry packs, c. 1906

Mi'kmaq

Mi'kmaq continued their interactions with French and English settlers in the late 1800s. As more English settlers moved into Mi'kmaw traditional lands, many Mi'kmaq moved to Miawpukek, which is today known as Conne River, and other communities such as Glenwood and the Bay St. George area. Originally one of many semi-permanent hunting areas used by Mi'kmaq, Miawpukek became a permanent community sometime around 1822.

However, no matter where Mi'kmaq lived on the island, the effects of a growing European population could be felt. At the turn of the twentieth century, the construction of the railroad had a huge impact on the Mi'kmaw way of life. The railway opened the interior to logging which, in turn, destroyed caribou habitat. It also provided a means for other caribou hunters to access the interior, destroying an ecological balance that had been maintained for centuries. Estimates suggest the caribou herds fell from between 200 000 and 300 000 in 1900 to near extinction by 1930. This decline in caribou, a staple of the Mi'kmaw diet, had devastating effects. Without a steady supply of this food source, it became hard for Mi'kmaq to live in the island's interior. Additionally, the decline in world fur markets in the 1920s and 1930s meant trapping was no longer profitable. Instead of hunting for themselves, many Mi'kmaq became guides for English hunters and explorers. Others took seasonal logging jobs for low wages.

Mi'kmaq in Miawpukek (Conne River) experienced another change in their way of life when a Catholic Church was established there in 1908. Although Mi'kmaq had practised the Catholic religion for 200 years, they had mostly maintained ties to the church through visits to French priests at St. Pierre. Regular contact with an English priest led to a huge change in culture – especially when Father Stanley St. Croix

4.153 Mary Webb (shown here c. 1970s), was a Mi'kmaw midwife, credited with assisting with the birth of over 700 babies. Born in the Codroy Valley, she later moved to Flat Bay. She often travelled by horse and sled, dog-team, or on snowshoes to reach expectant mothers. She was also very knowledgeable in the traditional medicinal uses of plants and was often called a medicine woman. Mary was fluent in Mi'kmaq, Gaelic, English, and French. She died in 1978 at the age of 97.

4.154 Mi'kmaw girl, Badger Brook, 1914

4.155 The Catholic church in Conne River, 1908

4.156 Mi'kmaw family and log camp near St. George's Bay, 1914

held the position during the interwar period. St. Croix established a mill at St. Alban's that provided work for the area and accepted coupons from the mill in his store. In addition to his social influence as a priest, this gave St. Croix economic sway over many in the community. With this influence, he abolished the office of Chief of the Miawpukek band and forbade the use of the Mi'kmaw language in both school and church. This helped to further erode Mi'kmaw traditional culture.

Questions:

1. How did the way of life of the various Aboriginal peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador change during this time period? Which changes had the most significant consequences? Use a chart to help organize your answer.

2. Based on the information presented in this section, and the information presented earlier in this book, describe the ways in which there was continuity in the way of life for the Aboriginal people of Newfoundland and Labrador.

TRADITIONAL HUNTING GROUNDS

In the early 1900s, Newfoundland Mi'kmaq lived in southern, central, and western portions of the island. These lands were mapped in 1914 by anthropologist Frank Speck, who numbered 13 "hunting districts" in the interior (See fig. 4.157.) These family hunting territories were generally transmitted from father to son. Large families had headquarters in the different coastal areas and in hunting camps distributed throughout their territories. (However, with the coming of the railway, some families moved their headquarters along the railway line so they could also work on the railway when needed.) The oldest hunter of each family was considered the boss and, based on his knowledge of the land and game conditions, he told the younger men in the family where to hunt. Upon the death of a head family member, the authority fell to the next most responsible Elder in the family.

4.157 Mi'kmaw hunting territories, as drawn by anthropologist Frank Speck in 1914