Chapter Four

INFLUENCE *of the* Land

4.1 A time of change
During the early 20th century the economy of Newfoundland and Labrador became increasingly diversified. The fishery was no longer the primary means of employment. (top left) Grand Bank, c. 1907; (top right) Ore Bed, Bell Island, c. 1920s; (left) Loggers stacking logs, c. 1916.

TOPIC 4.1

Diversification

What resources led to the creation of your town and other towns in your region?

What problems are associated with one-industry towns?

Introduction

European settlement in Newfoundland and Labrador was originally driven by demand for saltfish that was exported to southern Europe and the British West Indies. By the mid-1800s, however, several problems arose that limited the ability of the fishery to remain the primary economic activity. Recognizing this, the Newfoundland government began to look for ways to diversify the economy.

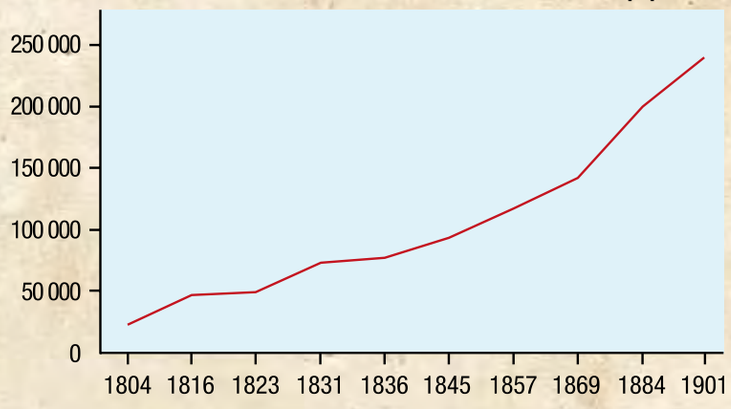
Changes in the Fishery

During the nineteenth century, the resident population of Newfoundland and Labrador grew, increasing the number of people seeking work in the fishery. This created two problems. First, the harvest rate per person declined as there was a limited amount of fish available to catch. In economic terms, all things being equal, each person involved in the fishery earned less. As you will recall from your study of chapter three, to compensate for declining harvests per person, fishers sought new fishing grounds, such as those in Labrador, and took advantage of new technologies, such as cod traps, which increased their ability to catch more fish in less time.

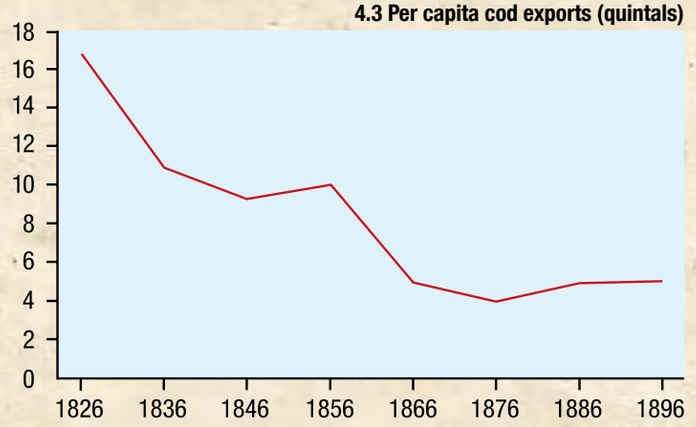
The second problem was the decrease in the cod **biomass** off Newfoundland and Labrador. One factor which contributed to this was a period of lower ocean productivity – this means the rate of cod reproduction was lower than in previous centuries. The combination of the increased rate of fish harvest with the reduced ocean productivity severely taxed the cod stocks. In fact, fisheries experts who have examined this period estimate that the cod biomass off Newfoundland and Labrador decreased by approximately 50 per cent between the late 1700s and the 1880s.

Remember, during the last half of the nineteenth century, the seal fishery also declined – thus, many people lost an additional source of income.

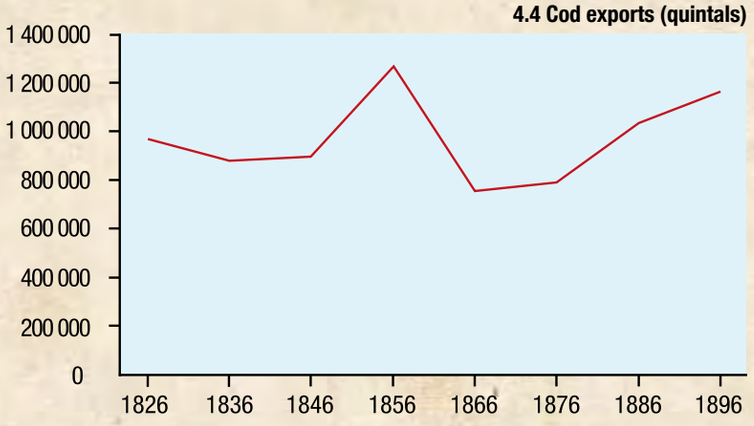
4.2 Newfoundland and Labrador population



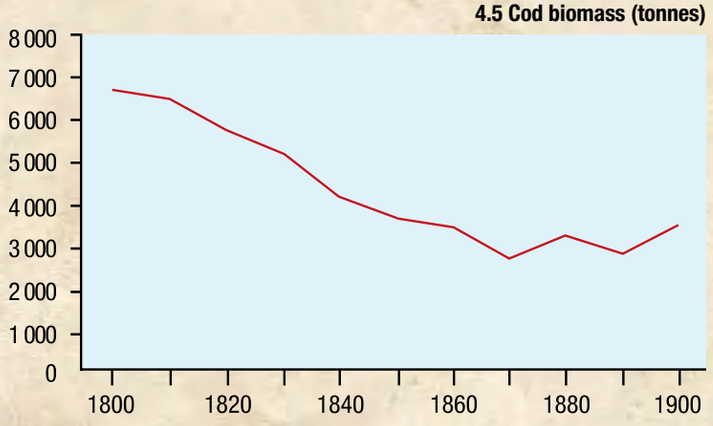
4.3 Per capita cod exports (quintals)



4.4 Cod exports (quintals)



4.5 Cod biomass (tonnes)



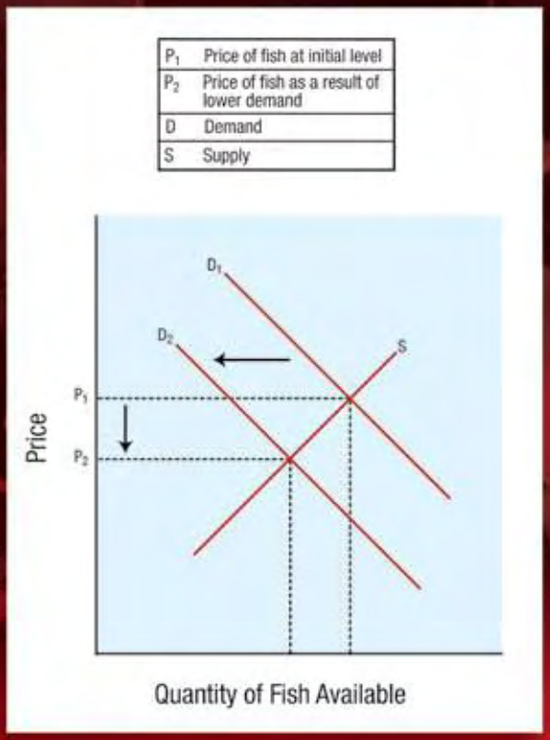
Source: Based on information from "Reconciling overfishing and climate change with stock dynamics of Atlantic cod over 500 years" by G.A. Rose in *Can. J. Fish. Aquat. Sci.* 61: 1153-1557 (2004)

An unsustainable pattern

As noted in chapter three, the pattern of expanding settlement along the coast of the island of Newfoundland, coupled with the growth of the Labrador and bank fisheries, provided a source of new stocks. However, this pattern masked an ecological imbalance between fishers and cod: as the discovery of new fishing grounds allowed for an increase in the number of fish caught, it became less apparent that older grounds had been over-exploited. Overall, catch levels remained relatively steady. However, with an increase in the number of fishers working to catch these fish, there was a steady decrease in cod landings per resident.

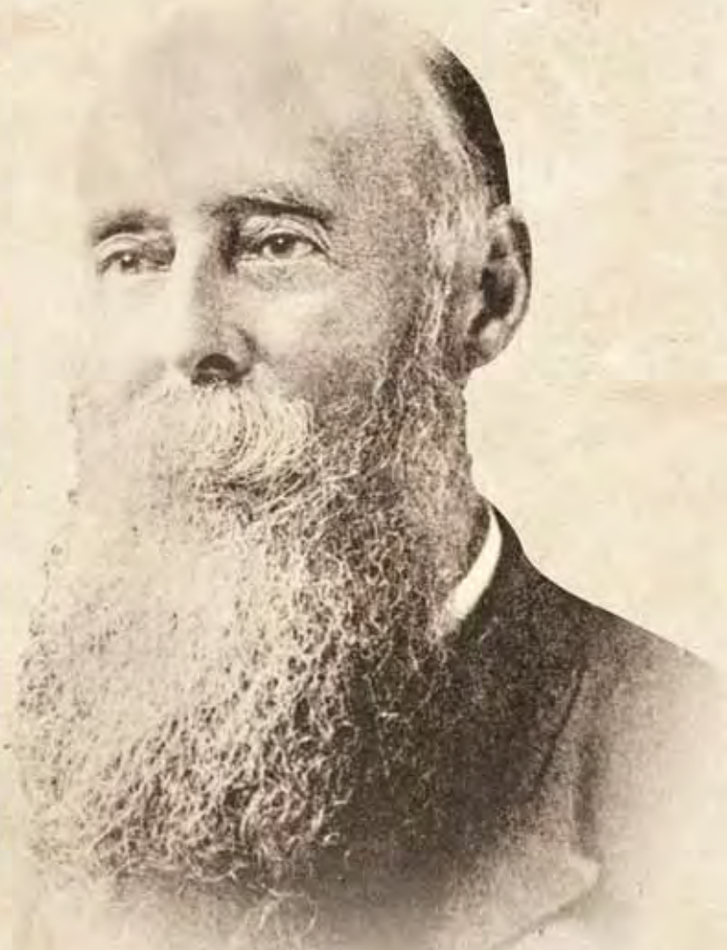
CHANGING MARKETS

Increased foreign competition was another problem for the fishery during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. With the construction of rail lines and steamships in Europe, France and Norway could ship fish to southern Europe cheaply and reliably. As Newfoundland merchants rushed to compete, our fish was often of poorer quality, thus fetching lower prices at market. By the early twentieth century, demand for saltfish in some markets further declined as canned meats became more popular. The saltfish market was also reduced by the introduction of fresh frozen fish in the 1920s.



4.6 Decline in demand for saltfish
This graph shows the decline in the demand for saltfish as a result of the introduction of frozen fish. This lower demand (D2) forced prices down (P2).

4.7 Geological map of Newfoundland, 1919
This map was created by the Geological Survey of Newfoundland, which was formed in 1864. James P. Howley (1847-1918), who became the director in 1883, explored and mapped the northeastern and western coastlines of the island, central Newfoundland, and other parts of the interior. Much of the information in this 1919 map by Howley came from these explorations.



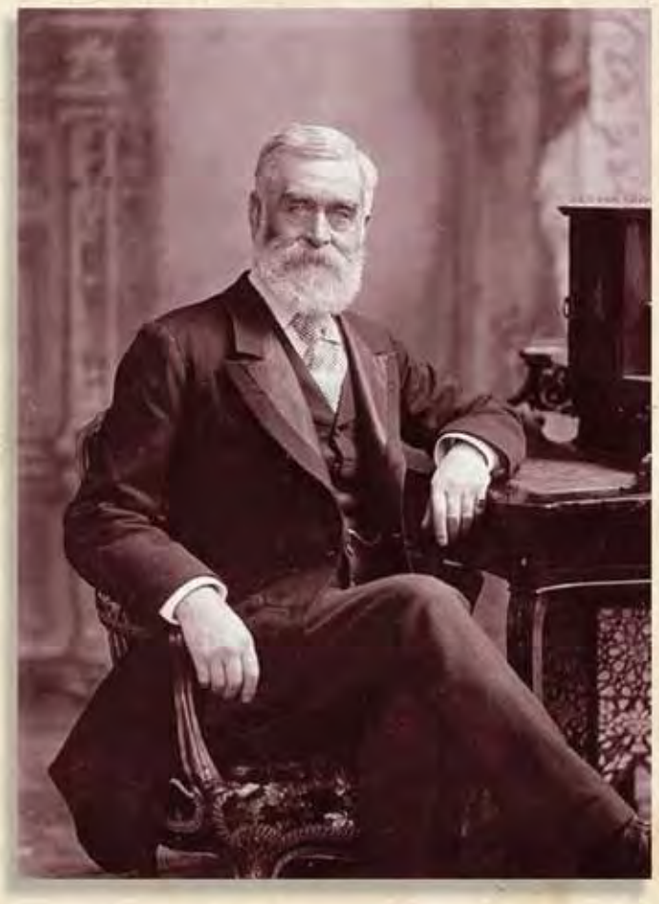
4.8 Frederic Newton Gisborne (1824-1892)
During the 1800s, several explorers and surveyors added greatly to the government's knowledge about resources in the island's interior. Gisborne* was one of these. He journeyed across the southern interior in 1851 and kept a detailed journal and survey record. His knowledge and work helped to initiate the telegraph system on the island.

*Gisborne and several other surveyors employed Mi'kmaw guides to assist them. The guides had a strong knowledge of the interior and were invaluable in helping the explorers plan travel routes and map many of the physical features of the interior.

The Need to Diversify

An examination of the economic activities of this time period highlights another problem associated with over-reliance on the fishery. While subsistence activities helped Newfoundlanders and Labradorians produce many of the items they needed, some items, such as flour, tea, molasses, rum, tobacco, bulk salt, and medicines, still had to be imported. With an increasing population and a struggling fishery, the cost of imports was often greater than the value of fish exports.

In 1878, Sir William Whiteway was elected as Premier of Newfoundland on a "Policy of Progress." This involved a determined push to create employment through the development of natural resource industries – especially forestry and mining. Whiteway felt that the building of a railway across the island was the essential first step to opening up the interior and developing these industries.



4.9 William Whiteway
Whiteway served as Premier of Newfoundland from 1878-1885, 1889-1894, and 1895-1897.

4.10

THE

Newfoundlander.

Excerpt from a letter to the editor of ***The Newfoundlander*** who reported on a speech given by William Whiteway in Heart's Content on October 22, 1878.

... They were received most enthusiastically, and after the subsidence of the many hearty cheers which greeted them, E. Weedon, Esq., was moved to the Chair, from which he briefly in a few well-chosen words explained how he had accepted the duties of Chairman in courtesy to the Hon. W. V. Whiteway and colleagues. Silence being restored, the Hon. the Premier advanced to the front and began giving an account of his stewardship during the past four years, and also the many wise measures which his Government or party had passed for the general welfare of the country. He also touched on the vast mining enterprises now producing such good fruit to the country in giving so much employment to hundreds of our fishermen who would otherwise be idle during the winter months. He alluded to the importance of cutting roads through the interior so as to open up the vast tracts of valuable agricultural land for settlement, also what labour the lumbering business would give, and how great a source of wealth it would be for the country. Coastal steam was next brought before the meeting, and the advantages derived from the splendid boats now on the northern and western routes, and how happy all should feel in being able to hear from their friends on the Labrador every fortnight. The future Railway across the country, telegraph extension around the Island, and several other topics of interest, were adverted to and thoroughly explained to a most admiring audience ...

*The government did not undertake any surveys in Labrador during this time.

**Remember, European exploration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was driven in part by a desire to find and exploit the wealth of the "new world." Newfoundland and Labrador was no exception.

Although government leaders recognized that an economy based on a single industry was problematic, very few jobs existed outside the fishery. In an effort to correct this problem, the government began looking for ways to develop other resources. Government-sponsored surveys,* completed during the second half of the nineteenth century, confirmed the existence** of agricultural, forest, and mineral resources in the island's interior that could be developed. However, a way to access them had to be found. An 1880 government report suggested that a railway across the island could be the solution.

When fish prices were low, fishers sometimes ended up owing more for the supplies they bought than what they made from selling their fish. In these cases, local merchants often assumed the financial risk of carrying fishers through the winter.

4.11

19th Century Newfoundland Trade

Year	Exports	Imports	Surplus/ Deficit
1826	759 319 (£)	862 453 (£)	−
1836	850 334	632 576	+
1846	759 103	802 247	−
1856	1 338 797	1 271 604	+
1866	5 694 305 ($)	5 784 849 ($)	−
1876	6 551 380	7 205 897	−
1886	4 862 951	6 020 035	−
1896	6 638 187	5 986 861	+

4.12

Employment by Primary Sector
(as percentages of total workforce)

	1858	1869	1874	1884
Agriculture	4	4	2	2
Fishery	89	84	86	82
Forestry	1	1	1	2
Mining	-	1	-	0.5
Other	6	10	11	13.5

4.13

The question of the future of our growing population has for some time engaged the earnest attention of all thoughtful men in this country ... The fisheries being our main resource, and to a large extent the only dependence of the people, those periodic partial failures ... [result in] pauperism ...

Our fisheries have no doubt increased, but not in a measure corresponding to our increase of population. And even though they were capable of being further expanded, that object would be largely neutralised by the decline in price which follows from a large catch ...

It is evident, therefore, that no material increase of means is to be looked for from our fisheries, and that we must direct our attention to other sources to meet the growing requirements of the country.

Your Committee believe that no agency would be so effective for the promotion of the objects in view as that of a railway ...

— Excerpt from *Report of Joint Committee of Legislative Council and House of Assembly,* 1880

Bond was knighted in St. John's by the Duke of Cornwall in 1901.

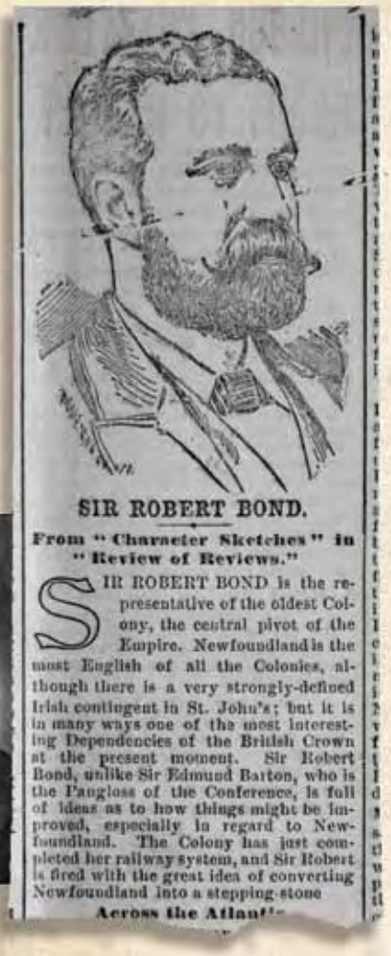
A Golden Age

In the decades that would follow, much of Premier Whiteway's vision would be realized. In fact, the first decade of the twentieth century began with promise in the colony. The recession of the late nineteenth century was ending, the prices for fish and other exports were increasing, and the forest and mining industries were growing. This pre-war period, 1900-1914, has often been considered a "Golden Age" in the country's history.

Much of this period (1900-1909) corresponded with Sir Robert Bond's term as Premier of Newfoundland. While serving as Colonial Secretary under Premier William Whiteway, Bond had worked to protect Newfoundland's fishing industry, challenging French and American fishing rights, and maintaining the colony's independence from Canada. As premier, he renegotiated the railway contract to the benefit of the colony and finalized the entente cordiale. These successes, along with the development of the mining and forest industries, helped strengthen the colony's economy. In fact, the government recorded numerous budget surpluses under Bond's leadership.

Bond also tried on several occasions to negotiate a free trade agreement with the United States, but was blocked

4.14 Excerpt from *The Evening Telegram*, Aug. 26, 1902



SIR ROBERT BOND.

From "Character Sketches" in "Review of Reviews."

SIR ROBERT BOND is the representative of the oldest Colony, the central pivot of the Empire. Newfoundland is the most English of all the Colonies, although there is a very strongly-defined Irish contingent in St. John's; but it is in many ways one of the most interesting Dependencies of the British Crown at the present moment. Sir Robert Bond, unlike Sir Edmund Barton, who is the Pangloss of the Conference, is full of ideas as to how things might be improved, especially in regard to Newfoundland. The Colony has just completed her railway system, and Sir Robert is fired with the great idea of converting Newfoundland into a stepping-stone Across the Atlan[tic]

4.15 Edward Morris was prime minister from 1909-1917

Experiencing The Arts

In this chapter you are asked to select an event or overall experience and compose a song to tell that story. There are a variety of experiences in this chapter:

- Changes in the fishery
- New industries such as the railway, forestry, and mining
- Changes in lifestyle and culture (both Aboriginal peoples and European settlers)
- The labour movement

Your task is to identify the subject for the composition of your song and to create the title for that piece. The song should focus on telling a story related to your area of interest. Remember, use this as an opportunity to explore something that interests you or is important to you. Set aside a notebook exclusively for the purpose of writing this song.

by American, Canadian, and British interests. Such problems in international affairs eventually led to Bond's downfall in 1909 and his retirement from politics in 1914. Edward Morris followed Bond as prime minister.* Until the outbreak of war, Morris promoted extensive railway construction, new industry, and resource development.

*After 1909, the leader of the colony was known as prime minister instead of premier.

4.16 Robert Bond served as premier from 1900-1909

Robert Bond was born in St. John's on February 25, 1857, the sixth of seven children born to John and Elizabeth (Parsons). His father was a successful businessman and, upon his death, Bond inherited a large fortune. Bond was educated in St. John's and in Somerset, England. Although he studied law and became a clerk for William Whiteway, he did not practise as a lawyer. Instead, he entered politics and became one of Newfoundland's best-known politicians.

Along with his political career, Bond pursued several business ventures, which included mining speculation and interior development. In 1884, he bought 20 square kilometres of land on the Avalon Peninsula near Harbour Grace Junction and renamed the community Whitbourne (after 17th century colonizer Sir Richard Whitbourne). Bond built a large estate at Whitbourne, where he retired after leaving politics. He spent the remainder of his life there, enjoying his property and bemoaning the state of politics in Newfoundland. He died at Whitbourne on March 16, 1927.

Questions:

1. In 1620 Sir Richard Whitbourne commented on the suspected wealth of the island's interior. "… *there is great abundance of Trees fit to be imployed in other seruiceable uses … there might be found many other commodities of good worth. Amongst the which … there is much probabilitie of finding Mines, and making of Iron and Pitch.*"

   Why did it take so long for the colony's economy to diversify? Identify three factors that might account for this.

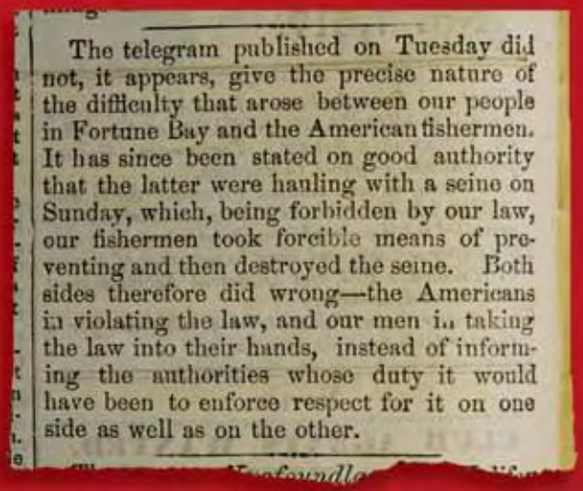
2. To what extent is the economy of your community or region economically diversified? What are the strengths and/or limitations associated with this?

3. What trends (both local and global) are affecting the economy today? Which trend might have the most significant impact on your community/region? Explain.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

During the mid to late 1800s, pre-existing British fisheries treaties with France and the United States were a concern for the Newfoundland government. There was considerable frustration among Newfoundland fishers with the privileges these treaties granted to French and American fishers in Newfoundland waters. Several premiers appealed to Britain to revisit these agreements. In most cases, Britain was unwilling to do so, fearful of damaging its own relationship with France and the United States.

In January 1878, a group of fishers from Newfoundland attacked Americans fishing in Fortune Bay. They forced the Americans to dump their catch and leave the area, claiming that they were violating Newfoundland fishing rights. Whiteway supported the Newfoundlanders and rejected American compensation claims. However, without consulting the colony, Britain paid £15 000 to the Americans and then expected Newfoundland to pay them back. Whiteway refused. Eventually a compromise was reached: Newfoundland would pay £3400 of the compensation and Britain promised to consult the colony in the future in cases involving payment from the colony.



The telegram published on Tuesday did not, it appears, give the precise nature of the difficulty that arose between our people in Fortune Bay and the American fishermen. It has since been stated on good authority that the latter were hauling with a seine on Sunday, which, being forbidden by our law, our fishermen took forcible means of preventing and then destroyed the seine. Both sides therefore did wrong—the Americans in violating the law, and our men in taking the law into their hands, instead of informing the authorities whose duty it would have been to enforce respect for it on one side as well as on the other.

4.17 Excerpt from *The Newfoundlander*, Feb. 8, 1878

CASE STUDY

The Significance of Events

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there were numerous events that affected Newfoundland and Labrador. Each of these events, in its own way, was significant. However, were they all equally significant?

IT IS YOUR TASK IN THIS CASE STUDY TO EXAMINE SIX EVENTS and assess the relative significance of each. Remember that determining the degree to which an event is significant depends on three criteria:

1. How important were the consequences?
2. How many people were affected?
3. How long were the consequences felt?

Additionally, significance depends upon an individual's or group's perspective. This perspective can be affected by time, geographic location, and interests.

4.18 Use this table to help assess the significance of the events in this case study.

Assessing Significance

Criteria	Event #1	Event #2	Event #3	Event #4	Event #5	Event #6
How deep were the consequences?						
How many people were affected?						
How long were the consequences felt?						

The Great Fire, St. John's, 1892

Late in the afternoon of July 8, 1892, a small fire broke out in a St. John's stable after a lit pipe or match fell into a bundle of hay. Although containable at first, the flames quickly spread due to dry weather conditions, a disorganized fire department, and poor planning* on the part of city officials. The fire's rapid progress alarmed city residents, and by 6 p.m. many began storing their valuables in the Church of England Cathedral, Gower Street Methodist Church, and other stone or brick buildings they believed could withstand the flames. As the fire made its way downtown, however, it also gutted many of these structures; the Church of England Cathedral suffered so much damage that it took workers more than 10 years to complete its restoration.**

By 8 p.m., the fire had reached the core of the city's downtown, where it caused much panic and disorder. Looters ransacked many of the shops and businesses lining Water and Duckworth Streets, while residents in the buildings' upper levels ran from their homes with as many belongings as they could carry. Vessels in the harbour, meanwhile, sailed out of reach of the advancing flames, which quickly destroyed all of the wharves and their contents.

The fire burned into the night and did not end until 5:30 the following morning. Many people camped out in Bannerman Park or on property surrounding the Roman Catholic Cathedral, which was one of the few buildings the fire did not destroy. As the sun rose on July 9, more than two-thirds of St. John's lay in ruins and 11 000 people were homeless; many had lost everything they owned, except the clothes they were wearing. In just 12 hours, the fire had killed three people and caused $13 million in property damage – only $4.8 million of which was insured.

With its capital city and commercial centre in ruins, Newfoundland and Labrador experienced a sudden economic downturn. Rebuilding efforts dominated the months following the fire, and cost the government more than $300 000. A local Relief Committee distributed clothes, food, and other goods among the homeless, while a large influx of foreign aid also helped the city recover its losses. The fire prompted government officials to restructure the city's fire services and to provide firefighters with better training and equipment.

*The water supply had been turned off for repairs, so pressure had not yet built up sufficiently at the top of the hill, where the fire started.

**Lack of financial resources probably delayed construction as well.

4.19 Rebuilding after the Great Fire

4.20 Shacks erected to shelter the poor who had been burnt out by the Great Fire
In June 1893, many who had lost their homes in the fire were still living in temporary shelters erected in Bannerman Park, St. John's.

This date is sometimes referred to as "Black Monday."

The Bank Crash, 1894

On December 10, 1894, two of Newfoundland and Labrador's three banks, the Union Bank and Commercial Bank in St. John's, closed their doors and never opened them again. A contributing factor to their demise was a decline in the fishery that began in the mid-1880s. The downturn meant most fishing merchants were borrowing increasingly from the banks in order to continue operating. By 1894, six **mercantile** firms owed the Commercial and Union Banks a total of $2.5 million.

In order to extend such credit to the merchants, the banks began borrowing money from British banks. However, when the British banks called in their loans to the Commercial Bank on December 8, it was unable to meet its payments. The Commercial Bank turned to the merchants for repayment, but the merchants' assets were tied up in fish that had not yet gone to market. The Commercial Bank's credit was suspended and it was forced to close its doors.

News quickly spread about the Commercial Bank closure, and clients of the Union Bank and the Savings Bank rushed to withdraw their money. The Savings Bank barely survived the run, but the Union Bank closed permanently on the same day as the Commercial Bank. At the time, bank notes were the main source of currency in Newfoundland and Labrador. About $1.2 million in bank notes from both the Commercial and Union banks were in circulation in 1894. These bank notes were rendered temporarily worthless with the banks' closures and savings accounts at both establishments decreased in value overnight. (The government later guaranteed all Union bank notes for 80 per cent of their value and Commercial notes for 20 per cent.)

4.21 Letter from Governor John O'Brien, Dec. 14, 1894
Fearing public disturbances after the bank crash, Governor O'Brien requested the Royal Navy send a warship to St. John's.

NEWFOUNDLAND
Miscellaneous.

Government House
St John's 14th December 1894.

Sir,

In acknowledging the receipt of your telegram of yesterday's date allow me to thank you for so promptly ordering H.M.S. Tourmaline to proceed to St John's, where matters are in a state of chaos, and where the presence of a man-of-war to inspire confidence and to aid if needed in maintaining order is most necessary.

The only two Banks in the Colony having failed their notes are of no value and as specie is to but a small extent in circulation I took the liberty of suggesting that the Tourmaline should come up supplied with sufficient cash to meet her requirements for there might be difficulties in negotiating bills and obtaining money during the next few weeks. I also added the expediency of the men being supplied with what are known as creepers and which are used by all the troops in Canada, i.e. spikes that are fastened to the boot to enable them to march if landed with facility, which doubtless could be obtained from the military in Halifax.

I am happy to tell you that so far matters are quiet but as quite two thirds of our principal merchants and employers of labour have closed, it is next week and the weeks after that hunger may bring on the disturbances.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your obedient servant

(Sd) J O'Brien
Gov.

His Excellency
Vice Admiral Sir John O. Hopkins K.C.B.
Commander in Chief

4.22 Union Bank of Newfoundland $10 note, 1889

*Bond put up his assets for the loan to shore up the Savings Bank.

In the aftermath of the bank crash, three large mercantile firms went out of business, which affected approximately 19 000 people who had depended on them for employment. Other companies also suspended operations temporarily. The government was pushed to the edge of bankruptcy by this crash. Of immediate concern was interest on the public debt, which was due in London on January 1, 1895. If not paid, the country would have to default on the debt.

This bankruptcy threat was removed by Robert Bond, a senior member of government, who managed to negotiate loans* with Canadian and British banks. Canadian banks quickly began to open branches in St. John's and eventually in some outports. The Bank of Montreal became the government's banker, and Canadian currency became legal tender in the colony.

The entente cordiale, 1904

In 1904, the French Treaty Shore disappeared as a legal entity. Prior to this, it had been a long-standing source of grievance for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians and a cause of tension between the Newfoundland and British governments. The French Treaty Shore came into existence under the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which gave France fishing rights along that part of the shore and restricted Newfoundland's economic activity in the area. With the signing of the Anglo-French Convention of 1904, part of the "entente cordiale" which clarified several colonial disputes between Britain and France, this territory was placed under the control of the Government of Newfoundland.

According to the terms of this agreement, France relinquished its fishing rights in Newfoundland in exchange for territory in Africa and financial compensation for the French fishers who would be displaced. The entente cordiale secured Newfoundland's control of the French Shore fisheries and opened the way to settlement and industrial development on the west coast. Its announcement in the House of Assembly was, for the most part, enthusiastically greeted. The next day, April 22, 1904, was declared a school holiday, and a torchlight procession was held in St. John's that evening to mark the event.

NEWFOUNDLAND IS FAMISHING.

Hundreds of Homes Without Food or Fuel and with Slim Prospect of Getting Any Relief.

St. Jonx's, N.F., Dec. 13.—Hundreds of houses are without food or fuel, and the charitable societies were bankrupted by the failures.

The poor asylum and relief offices are crowded, while the labor bureau is besieged by men seeking work.

The few stores which remain open are discharging superfluous hands. The wharves and shipping are deserted. Not a fish is being handled. Some places have a few men at work who are being paid in flour and tea.

This is literally a city to let. Society is resolved into its elementary conditions, no circulating medium exists and nobody knows what the end will be.

Two-thirds of the citizens habitually lived from hand to mouth, earning enough one week to provide next week's provisions. Hundreds are still dwelling in tents, not having had means to rebuild their houses since the great fire. Death from starvation or cold must be their fate.

Tradesmen heretofore in comfortable circumstances are hopelessly crippled. No one can pay any one else, and no credit is given.

Hundreds from other parts of the island are stranded here. Many were prosperous business men who came to buy Christmas goods and the winter's provisions or to stock their shops. They cannot get home, the railways and steamers refusing notes. Those who can do so are walking back. One began to-day a journey of 227 miles on foot.

Nearly everybody in the outlying fishipg villages was indebted to Edwin Duder, who has failed. He had a fleet of 189 sail, nearly all fishing vessels, each partly owned by fishermen in some harbor around the coast. The banks' creditors will come down upon these fishermen and sweep away the savings of a life-time.

The new Government was sworn in to-day at noon. It consists of D. Joseph Greene, Premier and Attorney-General; Patrick J. Scott, Receiver General; Jabez P. Thompson, Surveyor General; William H. Horwood, Colonial Secretary; and Augustus W. Harvey, without portifolio.—*New York World, Dec. 11.*

4.23 Excerpt from *The Evening Telegram*, Dec. 13, 1894
Following the bank crash, many people in Newfoundland and Labrador still needed outside help to get through the winter. In St. John's, various churches and members of the city's elite began relief committees to distribute food, clothes, money, and other goods to people across the country. Donations also arrived from England, Nova Scotia, and Boston.

As historian James K. Hiller has noted:

The existence of the French Treaty Shore had a significant impact on Newfoundland's history. The settlement and development of the Shore was delayed as a result of the French presence, and its inhabitants received virtually nothing in the way of government services until the 1880s, when they were finally allowed representation in the legislature, and magistrates were appointed. Land and mining rights remained insecure until 1904. The route of the Newfoundland Railway was influenced by the Shore's existence, as was the decision to build the first newsprint mill at Grand Falls, and not on the west coast. In addition, the disputes over French fishing rights became a major focus for the Newfoundland nationalism that emerged from the mid-nineteenth century.

4.24 Population of the Petit Nord* and West Coast 1857-1935

Year	Petit Nord	West Coast	Total
1857	1086	2248	3334
1869	1389	3998	5387
1874	2269	6385	8654
1884	3829	8144	11 973
1891	3688	9574	13 262
1901	4472	12 762	17 234
1911	5752	16 590	22 342
1921	6517	19 215	25 732
1935	8812	31 485	40 297

*Petit Nord is here defined as the communities from La Scie to Cape Norman

AN HISTORIC OCCASION.

THE PREMIER PRESENTS

The New Anglo-French Treaty

In an Eloquent And Convincing Speech.

… subjects of the Crown of Great Britain living upon the land which gave them birth … could not ply their avocation in the waters that rolled in at their feet, teeming with treasure that meant food, comfort and independence, unless by the permission of the subjects of France …

… if they went fishing and were fortunate enough to locate a shoal of fish, and the French discovered their success, they were almost certain to be driven from their moorings by the British Naval Officer at the request of the fishermen of France; and if they protested, their nets and other implements of trade were confiscated and oft times destroyed …

… this Convention … heralds the time when even the memory of their presence will fade like a fevered dream before the brightness of a new day.

It is for us now to encourage by every legitimate means the development and settlement of what has hitherto been known as the Treaty Shore, and thus effectively to blot out of remembrance that which has been a curse to this country and a strain upon British rule.

4.25 Excerpts from Sir Robert Bond's introduction of the "entente cordiale" in a speech to the House of Assembly April 21, 1904.

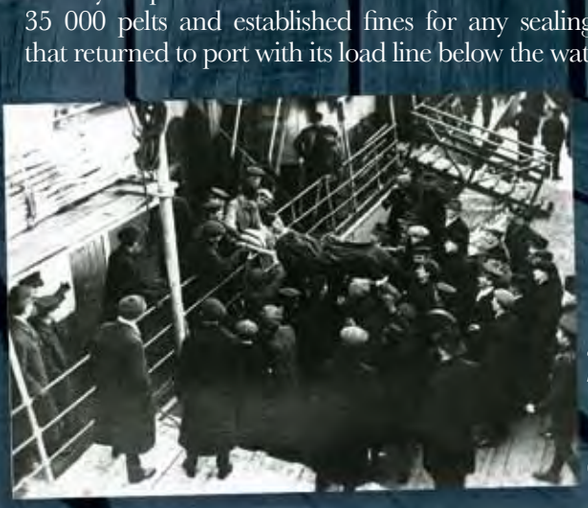
4.26 British cartoon
Celebrating the entente cordiale, *Punch*, April 22, 1914

Sealing Disasters, 1914

On March 31, 1914, the sealing vessel SS *Southern Cross* failed to arrive in St. John's from the Gulf of St. Lawrence as scheduled. Two days later, an already anxious public learned that sealers with the SS *Newfoundland* had spent 53 hours stranded on the North Atlantic ice floes in blizzard conditions. The following day, telegraph offices were crowded with people waiting for word of the sealers and *The Evening Telegram* reported that "business was practically stagnated. Everybody seemed unable to work." On April 4, hundreds of anxious spectators lined the St. John's waterfront as the sealing vessel *Bellaventure* steamed through the Narrows carrying the bodies and the survivors of the *Newfoundland* disaster. Of the 77 men who died on the ice, rescuers found only 69 bodies. Another sealer from the disaster died in St. John's while receiving medical care.

Compounding the disaster's impact on the public was the loss of the *Southern Cross*. It soon became apparent that it had sunk, possibly off Trepassey Bay, taking with it a crew of 174. With 252 sealers now dead, the impact on Newfoundland and Labrador society was immense. Hundreds of families had lost their loved ones and their breadwinners. Small communities where the sealers lived and spent money also suffered in the short term from a damaged economy and declining morale.

The double tragedy caused widespread mourning and ultimately changed attitudes and legislation surrounding the Newfoundland and Labrador sealing industry. In 1914-1915, the government held a commission of enquiry to examine the *Newfoundland* and *Southern Cross* sealing disasters. Although no criminal charges were laid, the Commission's findings made it clear that sealers faced unnecessarily dangerous working conditions on the ice. In response to the Commission's recommendations, and with much prompting from the Fishermen's Protective Union, the Newfoundland government passed 26 articles into law in 1916 to protect future seal hunts. The new legislation made radios and flares mandatory on all sealing vessels, prohibited sealers from being on the ice after dark, and required ship owners to pay out compensation for dead or injured sealers. Doctors or pharmacists also became mandatory on many ships, as did navigating officers. In addition, based on theories that the *Southern Cross* sank because of overloading, the government made it illegal for any ship to return from the hunt with more than 35 000 pelts and established fines for any sealing ship that returned to port with its load line below the water.



4.27 Injured sealer, April 4, 1914
Medical personnel carry Ralph Mouland, a survivor of the 1914 Newfoundland sealing disaster, off the SS *Bellaventure*.

HOPE VANISHING FOR MISSING SEALER

Unless Southern Cross Is Reported To-day She Will Be Posted as Lost.

1,000 DEPENDENTS BEREFT

Whole Colony of Women and Children Robbed of Support by Disasters—Many Men Crippled for Life.

ST. JOHNS, N. F., April 5.—Anxiety deepened to-night for the 173 men on the sealing steamer Southern Cross, which has been missing since Tuesday's blizzard. She was not reported either by incoming vessels of the sealing fleet or by the steamer Kyle sent out by the Government to search for her. If she is not heard from by sunset to-morrow she will be officially posted as lost with all on board.

Disaster to her, following so closely upon the loss of seventy-seven men of the sealer Newfoundland, would bring upon the colony the greatest tragedy in its history, depriving whole settlements of their bread winners and throwing 1,000 women and children upon charity.

As the public learned to-day from the Newfoundland's survivors who were landed yesterday, the details of the two days' blizzard and the condition in which it caught the Southern Cross, the first hope, based on the stoutness of the ship, faded. Capt. Daniel Martin of the sealer Erik and Capt. William Bartlett of the Terranova, which arrived with full catches, were dubious regarding the safety of the missing ship. Neither had seen her within a week.

Capt. Martin said he parted company from her a week ago Thursday when the Southern Cross turned homeward with 17,000 seals. She was so deeply laden that all her provisions and part of her bunker coal were stored on deck, so that every available space below could be filled with her catch.

Saw Her in Tuesday's Gale.

Capt. Bartlett of the Terranova said the last he saw of the Southern Cross was a week ago Friday, when she was wallowing slowly down the coast. Other ships of the fleet sighted the steamer driving before the gale last Tuesday morning. She has not been reported since. The skippers of the fleet, who came through that gale and the storm of equal severity later in the week, say every vessel was strained so deep in the water as the Southern Cross.

The disaster which overtook the Newfoundland's men was the theme of a sermon in every church to-day. Messages of sympathy from the King and from the Canadian Premier were read and were gratefully received.

By noon all except five of the sixty-nine bodies of the Newfoundland's hunters, brought in yesterday by the Bellaventure, had been identified. These were sent by special train to-night to Bonavista, where most of the victims lived.

Attendants at the Grenfell Institute, which was turned into a morgue, said that the scenes accompanying the identification of the bodies was almost beyond endurance.

One woman found two bodies clasped so tightly in death that they could not be separated. They were her husband and son. The lad was wrapped in his father's arms as if the man had been trying to shield him from the pitiless cold.

The hand of another dead man was missing. One of the survivors who had seen the man die said that his comrade, unable to stand the agony of frost bite, had cut off the hand.

A gray-haired mother, supported by her two daughters, passed down the long rows looking for her sons. Attention was suddenly drawn to them and the women fell to the floor in a faint. They had found not only the four sons and brothers but two cousins among the dead.

Many Crippled for Life.

Of the thirty survivors in the hospital none is expected to die, but the majority will never be fit for active service again. Three lost both hands and both feet. Five lost both feet. Eight others lost a foot and eleven will lose a hand or fingers. The others will bear scars for life.

Some of the survivors said they sought shelter from the arctic gale behind the bodies of dead shipmates, but in all the delirium of the two days and nights of exposure none of the clothing was taken from the bodies of the dead. Each man of the 150 endured his lot with grim patience, and each one, the dead as well as the living, was found with his full equipment of clothes, boots, and sealing gear intact.

Special memorial services will be held on Tuesday. By that time also relief measures will be under way. If the Southern Cross fails to reach port the families of her 173 men must be provided for, as well as those of the Newfoundland's dead and crippled.

Rare Gameness of Survivors.

The horror of his experience on the ice failed to depress the spirits of Mike Sheehan, one of the survivors. His was considered a bad case by the Bellaventure's physician. His face, hands, and feet were frostbitten and the condition was aggravated by the man's restless activity.

When the rescue ship arrived here, Sheehan eluded his caretakers, slipped over the side, and met a few friends, with whom he roamed about the city for two hours, while the police and hospital orderlies searched for him. When he was found he was promptly sent to the hospital. He refused to go in an ambulance, and a cheering crowd followed him as he marched up the street, limping badly. Sheehan said he owed his life in part to a bit of hardtack which he found lying beside a dead man. He described the way in which one of his comrades, Daniel Downey, met death. Realizing that he could no longer keep moving, Downey took off his belt, scratched his name on it, buckled it about him again, and knelt down and prayed. Then he stretched himself out and waited for death.

One survivor, Michael Tobin of Ferryeuse, was out for sixty hours. He was blown away from the rest by the whistle of the steamer Stephano, and, becoming bewildered, went astray and was not picked up until several hours after the others had been found. He will lose one ear and probably both his feet. The edges of all his teeth were broken off from chewing chunks of ice to quench his thirst. He knew that he must continue walking and keep his feet dry, and despite the deadening fatigue and the blinding snow he was able to avoid the many holes in the floes until the afternoon of the third day, when he made out the Stephano. Within a mile of her he sank into a pile of ice slush which chilled him through. Arousing himself, he stumbled onward, half blinded, only to walk into a pool of water knee deep. He was unable to extricate himself, but he was seen by four men from the Stephano, who pulled him out. Upon reaching the ship's deck he collapsed and was unconscious twenty-four hours.

It was necessary to cut his clothing from his body, and both his feet were frozen. He subsisted all the time on ice and on three biscuits. One of the Stephano's men asked him how he felt when he thought he was dying.

"Dying?" said Tobin. "I never thought of it."

Several men were drowned when one of their number mistook for a sail the bulk of an iceberg looming through the snow. His cry of "A sail! A sail!" impelled a group toward the spot, where all plunged into the water. Others were so chilled they survived only a short time. Some of those who came through were forced to strip themselves and wring out their clothes, which they put on again, half dry.

Groped in Blinding Snow.

According to Thomas Dawson, a large number of men reached the Stephano, the nearest ship, at noon on the day the blizzard broke. After resting they decided to try to reach the Newfoundland, five hours' walk distant, and this was the cause of the appalling death list.

An hour after leaving the Stephano, he said, the snow blotted out all observation. They wandered aimlessly about, and came upon 200 seals they had killed during the morning. Had they remained there, said Dawson, many lives might have been saved, for the seals would have furnished fuel for forty-eight hours.

Seventeen of the men, including Jere Conway, drifted away from the main floe on a large sheet of ice on Wednesday night. By Thursday morning only Conway and two others remained alive.

Fully 10,000 persons lined the streets to-night when the dead were borne to the special train by relatives from the Bonavista district. Some of the bodies must be carried by dog sledges fifty miles over rough trails after leaving the railway.

The throngs hovering about the newspaper and Government offices awaiting word from the Southern Cross were notified at midnight that the steamer Kyle, after an all-day search, reported no signs of the missing steamer. The Kyle was then ferry miles southeast of Cape Pine, and was starting for Virgin Rocks, fifty miles east. She was in communication with the American revenue cutter Seneca on the Grand Banks ice patrol. The cutter promised to assist in the search. The two vessels will keep in constant touch with each other throughout to-morrow.

HOPE EXAMINATIONS

4.28 From the *New York Times*, April 6, 1914

4.29 Burying victims of the Spanish flu at North River, Labrador (12 kilometres from Cartwright), 1918

4.30 Ethel Gertrude Dickinson was a nurse who died attending to victims of the Spanish flu. A monument to her sacrifice was erected in St. John's in 1920.

Spanish Flu Outbreak, 1918-19

The Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918-19 killed between 20 and 40 million people worldwide, making it one of the largest and most destructive outbreaks of infectious disease in recorded history. In Newfoundland and Labrador it killed more than 600 people in five months. The pandemic arrived on the island of Newfoundland on September 30, 1918 when a steamer carrying three infected crewmen docked at St. John's harbour. Three more infected sailors arrived at Burin on October 4, and they travelled by rail to St. John's for treatment. A doctor diagnosed the city's first two local cases of influenza the following day and sent both people to a hospital. Within two weeks, newspapers reported that several hundred people were infected in St. John's.

By mid-October, the Medical Officer of Health had closed the city's schools, theatres, concert halls, and other public buildings to help prevent the virus from spreading. By early December, 62 people had died from Spanish influenza in St. John's, but no new cases were appearing. The situation was considerably worse in the outports, where fewer medical facilities and practitioners existed to combat the disease. Before it disappeared, the disease killed 170 people in outport Newfoundland.

The Spanish influenza was even more destructive in Labrador, which experienced a disproportionately high mortality rate; the same virus that killed less than one per cent of Newfoundland's population killed 10 per cent of Labrador's. As on the island, the virus was spread by visiting boats with infected crew members. The virus first appeared at Cartwright after the mail boat SS *Sagona* docked there on October 20, 1918. By early 1919, the influenza had killed 69 of the area's 300 residents.

On the northern coast, another ship, the SS *Harmony*, brought the infection to Hebron on October 27, 1918. The virus quickly spread throughout the village, killing entire families and leaving dozens of children orphaned. By November 19, 86 of Hebron's 100 residents were dead and a further 74 people had died in surrounding communities.

The SS *Harmony* also brought the virus to Okak. Within hours of the ship's departure on November 8, many people in the village began showing signs of illness. By the end of December, the virus had decimated Okak, killing 204 of its 263 residents and had also spread to nearby hunting camps. As the virus disappeared from Labrador in late December and early January, survivors were faced with burying their dead. In Okak, survivors then dismantled the community entirely, burning all houses and furniture before moving to Nain, Hopedale, or Hebron. In total, the Spanish influenza killed more than 30 per cent of the Inuit population and infected many others. Many of those who did not die from the disease experienced heart and respiratory troubles for the rest of their lives.

"The flu … That's why everybody here is related the way they are. When my grandmother died from it, my grandfather had to marry [name deleted] because her husband died of it. They needed to remarry right away with winter coming on and all because your family wouldn't make it otherwise. Back then life was hard, not like it is today. "

– A reminiscence of the Spanish flu from a Bonne Bay resident (July 2006) from "Boats, trains, and immunity: the spread of the Spanish flu on the island of Newfoundland" in *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies,* Sept. 2007

*It measured 7.2 on the Richter scale and was recorded in locations as far west as New York and Montreal and as far east as Portugal.

The Burin Tsunami, 1929

On November 18, 1929 a tsunami struck the Burin Peninsula, triggered by an underwater earthquake* that occurred on the southern edge of the Grand Banks. Giant waves hit the coast at 40 km/hr, flooding dozens of communities and washing entire homes out to sea. The disaster killed 28 people and left hundreds more homeless or destitute. It was the most destructive earthquake-related event in Newfoundland and Labrador's history and occurred at the beginning of a worldwide depression.

In addition to the loss of human life, the tsunami lifted houses off their foundations, swept schooners and other vessels out to sea, destroyed stages and flakes, and damaged wharves, fish stores, and other structures along the coastline. Approximately 127 000 kilograms of salt cod were also washed away by the tsunami, which affected more than 40 communities on the Burin Peninsula. Government assessment later placed property damage on the Burin Peninsula at $1 million.

It took only 30 minutes for the tsunami's three main waves to hit the Burin Peninsula and about two hours for water levels to return to normal. After that, thousands of confused and devastated survivors began to search for the dead or injured and to salvage what they could from rubble lining the coast. To make matters worse, the Burin Peninsula had no way of communicating with the rest of the island because a weekend storm had damaged its main telegraph wire and the tsunami had destroyed all land lines linking the peninsula's coastal communities. It wasn't until the morning of November 21 that a ship making a scheduled stop in Burin was able to send a wireless message to St. John's describing the situation.

The tsunami left the people of the affected communities on the Burin Peninsula in desperate need of help. When news of the disaster finally did reach St. John's, both the government and public were quick to respond. A relief ship arrived the following day with medical equipment, food, clothes, and other supplies. Public donations poured in from across the colony, and within weeks amounted to $250 000. Canada, the United States, and Britain also gave aid. Despite these efforts, the start of the **Great Depression** in 1929 and the collapse of the cod fishery in the early 1930s further damaged the Burin Peninsula's weakened economy. It was not until the 1940s that many communities were able to fully recover, while others could not recover at all.

4.31 House nearly submerged after 1929 Burin Tidal Wave
This house was found offshore after it was swept out to sea by the 1929 tsunami. It was later towed to shore by two men in a small "make and break" boat. This photograph was taken by FatherJames Anthony Miller, Roman Catholic priest at Burin, one of three delegates who travelled to St. John's via the *Daisy* to meet with the Executive Council about the emergency.

4.32 A cable informing London about the tidal wave, Nov. 23, 1929

COMMERCIAL CABLES

IN CONNECTION WITH POSTAL TELEGRAPH

November 23rd, 1929.

CABLEGRAM

"VIA COMMERCIAL"

RURALITY,

LONDON.

Earthquake shock occurred Monday afternoon eighteenth at 5.00 felt over whole Island stop Tidal wave followed two and half hours after with disastrous results to life and property in section Burin Peninsula from Lamaline to Burin stop At Port au Bras seven lives lost at Kelly's Cove two lives Lord's Cove four lives Taylor's Bay four lives Point au Gaul eight lives and at Lamaline one life stop At these places and other Harbours in that section enormous destruction dwelling houses fishery premises boats and gear coal and provisions stop Water first

Questions:

1. For each of the events identified, determine the degree to which it is significant. Use a graphic organizer to help make your assessment. Once you have completed your assessment, identify which event was most significant.

2. How might your assessment of these events change based on:
   a. time? (e.g., if you lived in the 1890s/1920s)
   b. location? (e.g., if you lived in St. John's/ Bonavista/Okak/Montreal)
   c. position? (e.g., if you were a merchant/ parent/ Member of the House of Assembly)

3. Identify three recent events that have affected Newfoundland and Labrador. Determine the degree to which each is significant. Once you have completed your assessment, identify which event is the most significant.

4. How does personal perspective influence which events from the past we remember? Why is it important to remember these events?

4.33 ***Fox Marsh Siding*** **by Christopher Pratt, print, 1991**

Experiencing The Arts

To see more of Christopher Pratt's works, turn to page 634.

TOPIC 4.2

The Railway

Apart from travel, what advantages could the railway bring to Newfoundland?

What were the risks, if any, to establishing a railway in Newfoundland?

Introduction

Newfoundland was not alone in its quest to build a railway. With major improvements to the steam engine during the early nineteenth century, transportation became faster, more reliable, and less expensive. Rail brought raw materials, factories, labour, and consumers together. For countries such as the United Kingdom – a pioneer in rail construction – railroads were key to rapid industrialization.

Railroads were also unifiers and nation builders. The first transcontinental railroad was completed in the United States in 1869 and in Canada in 1885. Given this backdrop and the need to access resources in the interior, the Newfoundland government decided in 1878 to build a 550-kilometre narrow-gauge railway from St. John's to Halls Bay.

In April 1881, the Newfoundland government awarded a contract to the Newfoundland Railway Company to build a line from St. John's to Halls Bay. There was not unanimous support for the project. Some citizens in Conception Bay, for instance, feared that their land might be confiscated to make way for the railway. Others feared the cost, predicting that the railway would place a strain on the colony's finances. And there were those who thought that the government should be concentrating on the problems of the fishery, rather than opening up the interior.

The Newfoundland government originally wanted to build a railway across the island from St. John's to St. George's Bay. But the British government refused to allow this location since it was on the French Treaty Shore. Thus Halls Bay was chosen as the terminus as it was not on the Treaty Shore, would provide access to the mining district of western Notre Dame Bay, and would link the northeast coast to the Avalon Peninsula.

"The railway was not only a force for unifying Newfoundland and a symbol of national pride, it was also a link to Canada and a source of North American attitudes and ideals."

– Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Web Site

In August 1881, construction began on the line in St. John's. However, the Newfoundland Railway Company went into receivership just as it was completing the line to Harbour Grace Junction (present-day Whitbourne). The government built a branch line to Placentia and then contracted Robert Reid* and George Middleton to continue construction of the line to Halls Bay.

*In 1865 Reid left his home in Scotland to look for his fortune in the gold mining industry in Australia. (He met his wife to be, Harriet Duff, along the way.) Reid returned to Scotland in 1869, but relocated to Canada in 1871. There he became involved in the construction of railway bridges.

CARBONEAR, April 15, 1882.

Railway Matters.

ST. JOHN'S, NFLD.,
April 19th, 1882.

Editor Evening Telegram.

DEAR SIR,—

I wonder if any of your readers have any adequate conception of how much is

5,000 Acres of Land!

the modest little "farm" that Mr. BLACKMAN asks us to give him for each and *every*

One Mile of His Railway!

Multiply that 5,000 acres of land by the 250 miles of proposed Railway across the country, as follows:—

250 miles (of Railway)
5,000 acres (of land.)

1,250,000 acres.

say, ONE MILLION, TWO HUNDRED and FIFTY THOUSAND Acres of Land! Add to this the TWO MILLIONS of acres which MR. BLACKMAN already holds under his *existing* Railway Contract, as follows:—

2,000,000 Acres (old Contract)
1,250,000 Acres (now asked for)

3,250,000 Acres of land.

say THREE MILLION and a QUARTER of Acres! Why, Sir, there is not land enough in the Island to satisfy this cormorant.

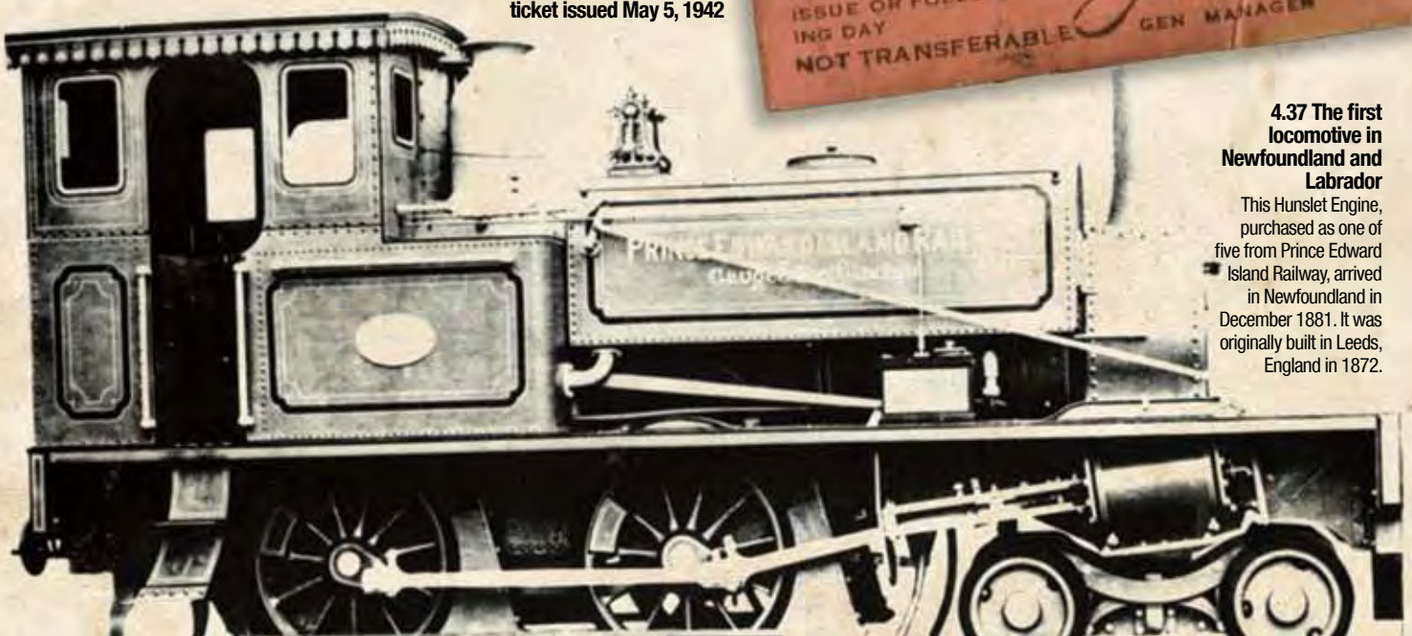
Yours, &c.,
TERRA NOVA.

THE CHORAL SOCIETY'S CON-

4.34 At any cost?
A letter to the editor of *The Evening Telegram*, April 18, 1882, expressing concern over railway costs

4.35 Workmen repairing the railroad line, c. 1900

4.36 Second-class Newfoundland Railway ticket issued May 5, 1942



4.37 The first locomotive in Newfoundland and Labrador
This Hunslet Engine, purchased as one of five from Prince Edward Island Railway, arrived in Newfoundland in December 1881. It was originally built in Leeds, England in 1872.

Building the Railway

At its peak, approximately 2200 workers were employed building the line and supporting structures – such as a roundhouse and machine shops at Whitbourne, as well as trestles and station houses across the island. In 1892, the Newfoundland government decided to re-route the line away from Halls Bay to take a more direct westerly route over the **Gaff Topsails** to Grand Lake and the west coast. The government awarded a contract to Reid* in 1893 for this second phase – the construction of a 460-kilometre (285-mile) line from the Exploits River to Port aux Basques, which had been selected as the western terminus because it was not on the French Treaty Shore. In 1897, the line reached Port aux Basques. The first passenger train to complete the trans-island trip left St. John's at 7:20 p.m. on June 29, 1898 and arrived in Port aux Basques the next day at 10:45 p.m.

The operation and construction of the railway proved to be a costly venture. By 1898, the government had spent $10.7 million on the construction of the railway, which accounted for approximately 60 per cent of the public debt. In an effort to rid itself of further expense associated with this project, the Newfoundland government entered into an agreement with Reid to operate, and eventually own, the railway.

This area of high, open land posed many challenges during the winter.

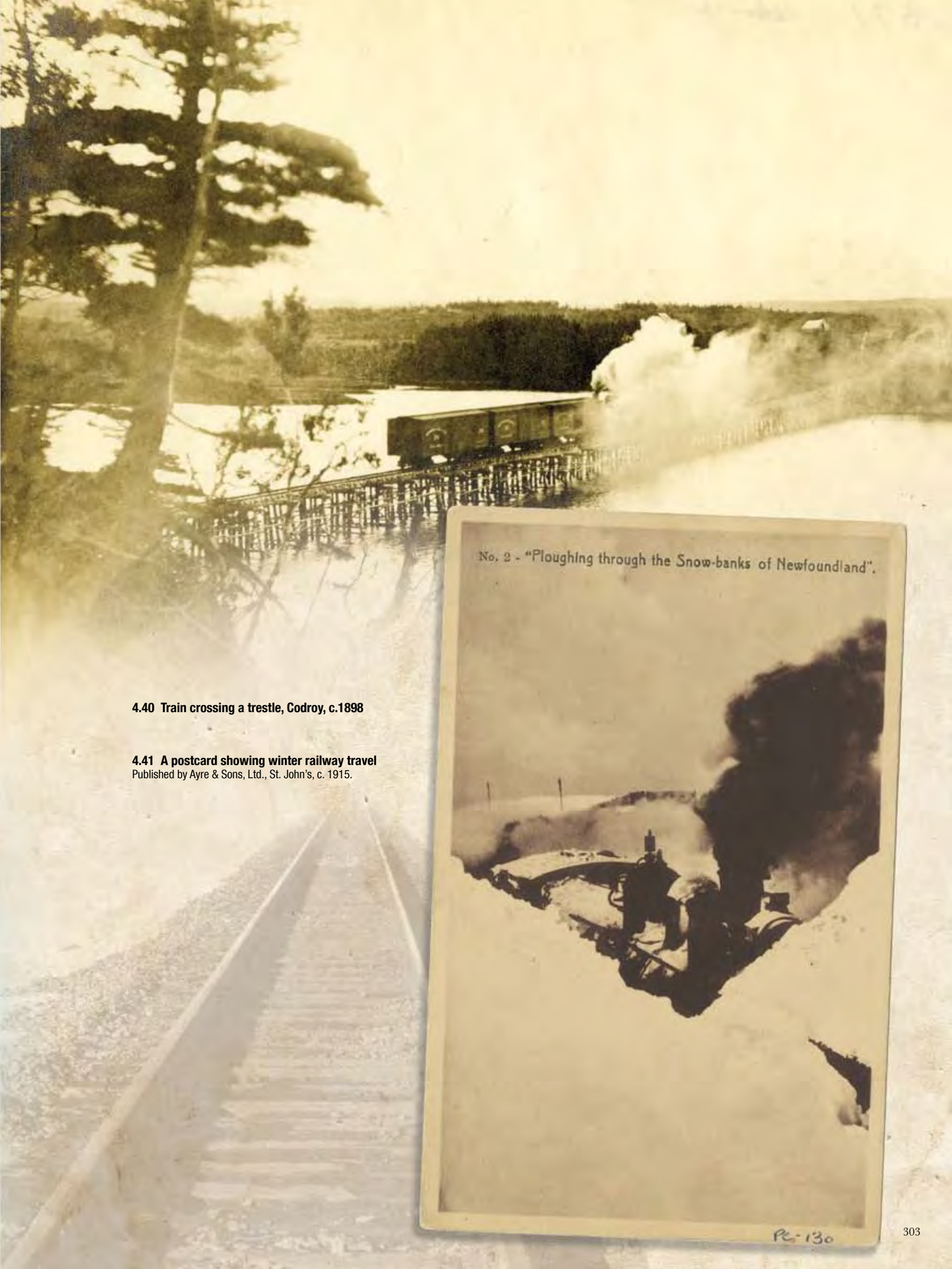
**Middleton left the partnership with Reid in 1892.*

THE FIRST THROUGH TRA[illegible]

The very first through train to Port aux Basque left St. John's at 7.20 o'clock last evening, taking a large excursion party for Sydney. If the initial trip is any augury of the popularity of the new route, future trains to Port aux Basque will be well patronized. It was a bustling scene that was witnessed at the station, which was inadequate to accommodate the number of people assembled. The train was made up of two palace sleeping cars, one dining, two ordinary first class and a mail and baggage car, drawn by two engines. The engineers were Messrs E. Pickering and John Byrne. This train will arrive at Port aux Basque at 11 o'clock to-night, where the s.s. Bruce will be in waiting. She left for that place immediately on landing her passengers at Placentia last evening. Besides the excursion party there are a number of others for various points along the route.

4.38 Growth of main and branch lines in Newfoundland

4.39 The joys of working with primary documents
This excerpt from *The Daily News*, June 30, 1898 is blurry because it was copied from microfiche. Sometimes when researching primary documents, historians have to put up with less than perfect copies if access to the original document is not possible.



4.40 Train crossing a trestle, Codroy, c.1898

4.41 A postcard showing winter railway travel
Published by Ayre & Sons, Ltd., St. John's, c. 1915.

Was it a sell out?

When a decision is being made, the parties involved must carefully weigh the information they have available and then make a judgment. As time passes, people have an opportunity to look back at the consequences of the decision and make an assessment.

The 1898 contract between the Newfoundland government and Robert G. Reid raised a fundamental issue: at what point do the concessions thought necessary to attract developers and economic investment become a sell out?

Reid agreed to operate the railway for 50 years (after which time it would become the property of his successors); operate a coastal steamship service and the ferry to Nova Scotia (both subsidized by the government); take over the telegraph system and the St. John's dry dock; and build a streetcar system in St. John's. For this he would receive land grants which, when added to grants received under the 1893 operating contract, would amount to a total of 4 124 200 acres (approximately 16 690 square kilometres, or 15 per cent of the island's total land area). In return, Reid would at once pay the government just under $1.5 million (roughly equivalent to one year's revenue). He also wanted to transfer all his Newfoundland holdings to a limited company.

Those who supported the deal argued that the immediate cash payments were badly needed, and that the government was prudently unloading unprofitable operations onto a private contractor. Moreover, Reid would have to develop his land holdings in order to maximize income and create railway traffic. The deal would therefore provide immediate financial relief and long-term economic development.

The deal's opponents thought differently. In their view, the government was giving away many of the colony's important assets, some of which had cost a great deal of money. Reid was being allowed to become a monopolist. There was no guarantee that his property would be developed for the good of the colony or that the railway would be efficiently operated. Reid would possibly control all potentially valuable resources (outside the fishery), a situation which would discourage the entry of other entrepreneurs and take the colony's future out of the hands of its people. Newfoundland could become a "company colony."

The result was a compromise, settled in 1901. Reid gave up ownership of the telegraphs and future ownership of the railway (with compensation), and agreed to reduce his land entitlement. In return, the Reid Newfoundland Company came into existence to manage Reid's assets.

The argument over the 1898 contract was to be more or less repeated during debates over the agreements which brought the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company to Grand Falls in 1905 and Newfoundland Power and Paper Company to Corner Brook in 1925. After Confederation, there was controversy over the concessions granted to the "new industries" (many of which failed) during Joey Smallwood's term as Premier (1949-1972). Likewise, lively debate still continues over the Churchill Falls hydro development, which sometimes is seen as the greatest sell out and missed opportunity in the economic history of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The Reid Purchase

Reid was to be paid $15 000 for each mile completed and 5000 acres of land per mile operated. The terms of the agreement to acquire the railway also allowed Reid to:

- **purchase the St. John's dry dock**
- **operate eight coastal steamers at an annual subsidy**
- **operate the government telegraph for 50 years**
- **develop the first hydroelectric power in the country (at Petty Harbour)**
- **establish a streetcar system in St. John's**

4.42 Sod turning for the Southern Shore Railway, May 9, 1911

At what point do the concessions thought necessary to attract developers and economic investment become a sell out?

Questions:

1. What were the perceived benefits to the Government of Newfoundland in the deal with Reid? Which was the most compelling?
2. What were the perceived losses to the Government of Newfoundland in the deal with Reid? Which was the greatest loss?
3. Considering both sides of the argument, was the 1898 contract signed with Reid a sell out?

4.44 Streetcar ticket strip
This ticket dates from 1901-1920 when the Reid Newfoundland Company owned the streetcar system in St. John's.

4.43 Teamwork
The Reid Newfoundland Company began operating streetcars in St. John's in 1901. The streetcars were sold to another company in 1920 and remained in use until 1948. In this photograph, supervisors and operators pose in front of St. John's streetcars, c. 1901.

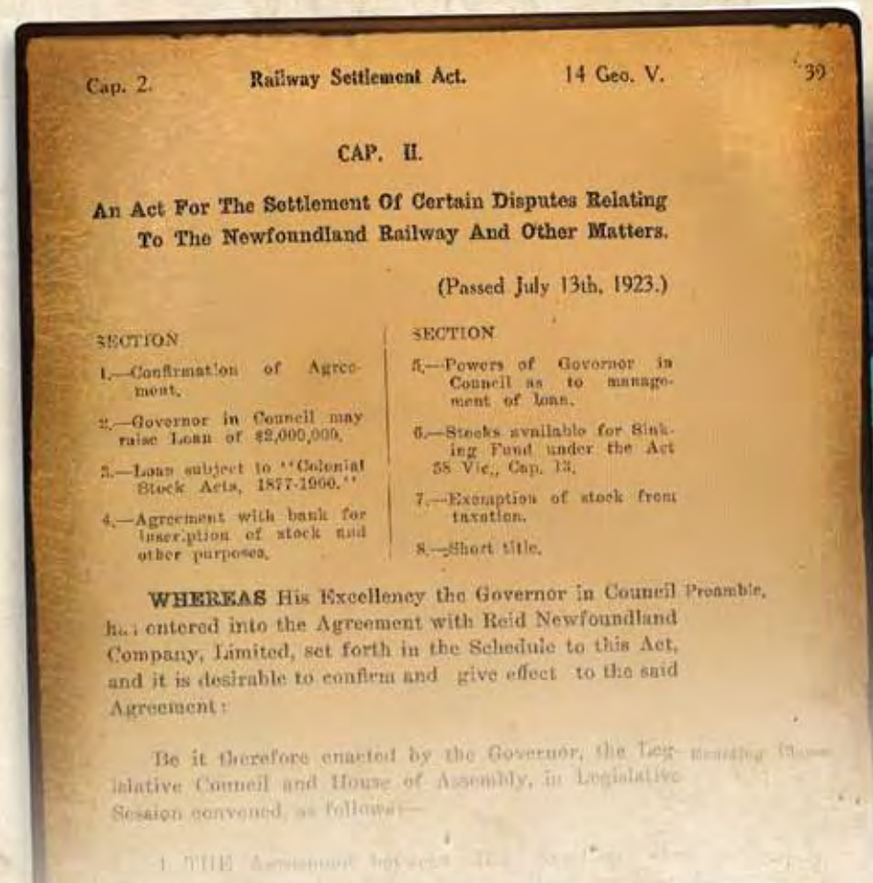
The Railway and its Consequences

The record of the Reid era is one of continuous losses despite efforts to operate at a profit. After the company completely shut down the railway for a week in May 1922, the government agreed to provide operating funds to July 1923, when it took over the railway through the *Railway Settlement Act*. Under this act, the government acquired the railway, coastal boats, and dry dock from the Reid Newfoundland Company for $2 million. Operation of the railway continued to be costly. By 1933, the Newfoundland Railway had cost the government $42 million and is estimated to have accounted for 35 per cent of the public debt at that time.

Despite the economic challenges associated with the railway, it did have positive results. Its construction and operation created much employment, providing cash wages* to workers. It tied together regions with a transportation link and made it possible for some workers to travel for seasonal employment; in other cases it served as a pull factor where individuals, and sometimes entire families, relocated for permanent jobs. As well, it can be argued that the building of the railway was an essential step in Newfoundland's strategy to diversify the economy. The opening of the island's interior created new industries related to forestry, minerals, and, to a lesser extent, agriculture. As a result, new communities were established where Newfoundlanders and Labradorians could now work – outside of the fishery.

*Why would cash wages be significant?

Such as Whitbourne, Grand Falls, and Bishop's Falls



Cap. 2. Railway Settlement Act. 14 Geo. V. 39

CAP. II.

An Act For The Settlement Of Certain Disputes Relating To The Newfoundland Railway And Other Matters.

(Passed July 13th, 1923.)

SECTION

1.—Confirmation of Agreement.

2.—Governor in Council may raise Loan of $2,000,000.

3.—Loan subject to "Colonial Stock Acts, 1877-1900."

4.—Agreement with bank for insurption of stock and other purposes.

SECTION

5.—Powers of Governor in Council as to management of Loan.

6.—Stocks available for Sinking Fund under the Act 58 Vic., Cap. 13.

7.—Exemption of stock from taxation.

8.—Short title.

WHEREAS His Excellency the Governor in Council Preamble. has entered into the Agreement with Reid Newfoundland Company, Limited, set forth in the Schedule to this Act, and it is desirable to confirm and give effect to the said Agreement:

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor, the Legislative Council and House of Assembly, in Legislative Session convened, as follows:—

4.45 The railway today
Newfoundland's cross-island train system ceased operations in 1988. Since then, the Newfoundland T'Railway Council has been converting the former railway line into a multi-use, all-season recreational trail which is also part of the 22 000 km Trans Canada Trail connecting Canada from sea to sea. The Fischells River rail bridge on the island's west coast now accommodates trail enthusiasts from many countries.

4.46 The Railway Settlement Act, 1823
This legislation returned the railway to government control.

"The saga of the line's construction … figures in our history much as the building of the great trans-continental lines does in the history of Canada and the United States: as both a milestone in the march of progress and an exercise in nation-building."

– Robert Cuff, historian

Questions:

1. Did the railway influence your community or region? If so, how?
2. The building of the railway was claimed to be an "essential step" in the Government of Newfoundland's strategy to diversify the economy. Explain.
3. The railway contributed to the creation of new communities and tied regions of the island together with a transportation link. Speculate how this would affect the culture/character of Newfoundland and Labrador. (For example, after two generations of working inland, how would descendants relate to the notion of the "fishery"?)
4. In 1895 D. W. Prowse noted that "A railway policy is always a progressive policy ..." Explain.
5. Today the railway lines on the island have been dismantled, and the path it created serves as a source for recreational activities. What impact does this have on the culture of the province?

4.47 Millertown with the Mary March River in the background, c. 1901
The most notable sawmill town was Millertown, established in 1900 by Lewis Miller with the immigration of 60 Swedish timber harvesters and their families. Miller built a rail line to link the operation to the main line, over which lumber was transported to Lewisporte for export to international markets.

TOPIC 4.3

Forestry

What impact would the forestry industry have on society in Newfoundland?

What were the risks, if any, to establishing a forestry industry in Newfoundland?

Introduction

The island of Newfoundland contains approximately 3.6 million hectares of productive forest concentrated mainly in the western and central areas. Labrador has approximately 5.2 million hectares of productive forest. With the construction of the railway, some forest resources on the island became more accessible for commercial exploitation. As the interior of the island opened, the establishment of sawmills was the first large-scale **commercial activity**.

Early Forestry

Although intensive harvesting of trees was not undertaken until the nineteenth century, our forests have played a significant role in the lifestyles of indigenous people of Newfoundland and Labrador for millennia. Adaptations to our environment such as toboggans, snowshoes, kayaks, weapons, and shelters depended, to a large extent, on forest products. Many medicines were also derived from trees. For instance, roots, leaves, and bark were sometimes used to make anti-inflammatories and antiseptics.

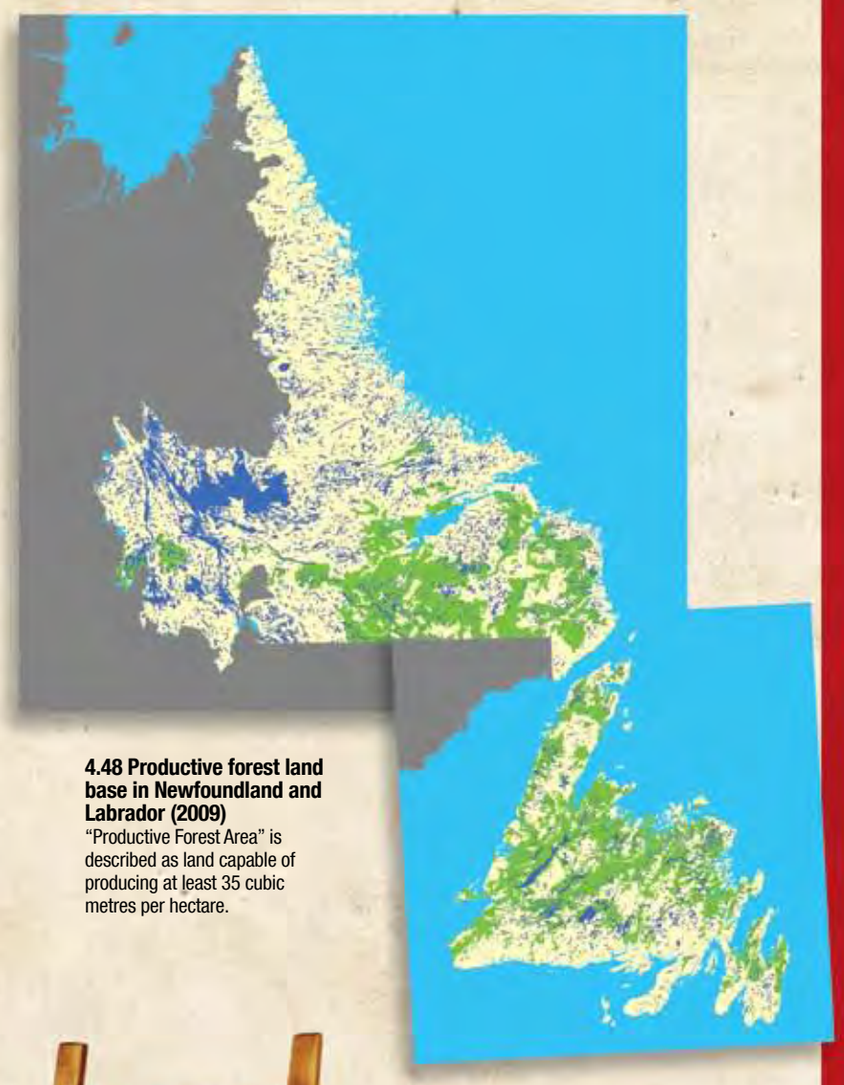
Early European settlers and migratory fishers used forest resources primarily for fuel and for the construction of stages, flakes, wharves, boats, and houses. In addition, dried fir bark was sometimes used to cover fish during the curing process. It became a tradition for fishers to regard the coastal forest zone as their reserve to which they had free access. This tradition became incorporated into law in the *Crown Lands Act* of 1930, which specified a three-mile (4.8-kilometre) coastal limit for the use of fishers.

Changing Economic Patterns

The use of forest resources began to shift from primarily subsistence to commercial activities in the late 1800s. In 1875, the Government of Newfoundland passed a *Crown Lands and Timber Act*, which intended to promote the sawmilling industry in the colony. Most subsequent sawmills were small enterprises that produced lumber for local use. But there were also a few large-scale operations that produced lumber, mostly white pine, for export. The first large-scale sawmill was built at Botwoodville

Although true on the island, a commercial forestry in Labrador didn't really take off until the 1970s. The potential of Labrador's forests was recognized in the early 1900s, but development was stalled by the boundary dispute with Quebec, plus the difficulties of getting forest products to market.

(Botwood) in 1890. Other mills followed in the communities of Terra Nova, Soulis Brook, Gambo, Gander Crossing, Glenwood, Millertown, and Badger. By 1901, there were nearly 200 sawmills in operation that employed 2400 workers and produced $480 000 worth of lumber annually. However, lumber exports declined considerably in the 1920s, due to a depletion of pine resources and competition for timber with paper mills.



4.48 Productive forest land base in Newfoundland and Labrador (2009)
"Productive Forest Area" is described as land capable of producing at least 35 cubic metres per hectare.

4.49 Wood has been an important resource for us from the earliest times
Birch and pine chair (c. early 1800s); Wooden "grub box" (lunch box) used by inshore fishers (c. 1900); Innu snowshoes, likely made of spruce or balsam fir (c. 1970)

EARLY DEFORESTATION

Prior to the late 1800s, locally produced lumber could not keep up with the demands of a growing population and was in short supply. It has been calculated that a settlement of 40 families could clear an area of five square kilometres in less than two generations to meet the need for fuel alone. This is evidenced in reports prior to 1700, noting that the coastal forests around popular harbours were retreating. By 1892, lumber had to be imported from Halifax for the reconstruction of St. John's after the Great Fire.

... the New-found-land yeeldeth such great blessings from God ... yet many of our English Nation ... as it were, tread them under their feete ... upon their arrivall yeerely to that Countrey, doe cut downe many of the best trees they can finde, to build their stages and roomes withall, for their then necessary ... and destroying many others ... in few yeeres, I feere, that most of the good timber trees neere the Sea-side, where men use to fish, will bee either felled, spoiled or burned ...

– from *A Discourse and Discovery of Newfoundland (1620)*

4.50 Man sawing wood with bucksaw,
Newman Sound, Bonavista Bay, 1939

4.51 Pulp beaters in pulp and paper mill, Grand Falls, c. 1913-17

4.52 Loading pulp at Botwood, post-1915
The forest industry benefited communities economically in a variety of ways. For example, Botwood became the shipping port for imports to and exports from the mill in Grand Falls.

Economic Results

After 1910, pulp and paper production began to dominate the forest industry. To stimulate growth in this industry, the government offered **land tenure** agreements to companies. In these agreements, the companies assumed the primary responsibility of managing lands in return for the right to benefit from their resources – although the tenured lands still technically belonged to the government. There were three forms of agreements:

1. **Freehold Agreement** – a recipient was entitled to exclusive possession of the land.*
2. **Leasehold Agreement** – a recipient had the right to use the land, forests, minerals, and water in exchange for a low annual rent to be paid to government.
3. **Timber Licence** – a recipient could claim property rights on the forest resource only.

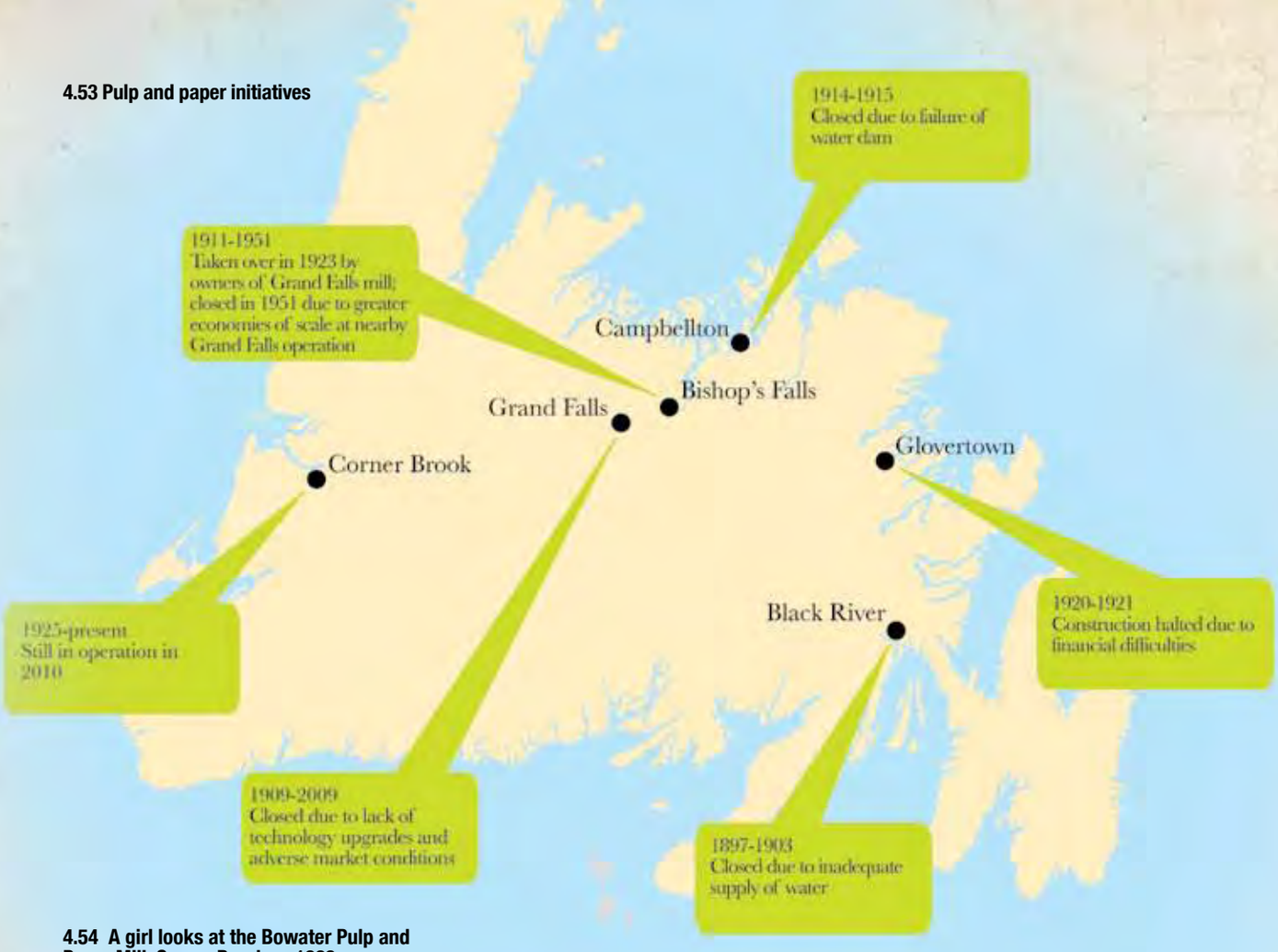
At the beginning of the twentieth century, the potential of Newfoundland's forest resources began to attract international attention. In 1903, brothers Alfred and Harold Harmsworth expressed interest in the island's forests and investigated the possibility of establishing a pulp and paper company at Grand Falls. The Harmsworths were moguls in the newsprint publishing industry in Britain, and the Newfoundland venture could provide them with a secure source of newsprint. In 1905 they formed the Anglo-Newfoundland Development (A.N.D.) Company. Two years later they began construction of a mill, a powerhouse, and a **company town** at Grand Falls. The mill began production in 1909.

Another large mill was established at Corner Brook in 1925 by the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company, but was quickly sold off to the International Power and Paper Company.** In the early years of operation, the Grand Falls and Corner Brook mills employed more than 1000 workers each. Unlike the fishery, which experienced variance in fish availability and was based on a system of credit, pulp and paper mills (and related wood-harvesting operations) brought steady work and wage-based jobs. In 1935, approximately five per cent of the total workforce was employed in the forest industry.

*Why would governments negotiate freehold agreements? Although these arrangements brought little direct revenue to government, the economic impact of employment in pulp and paper mills was significant.

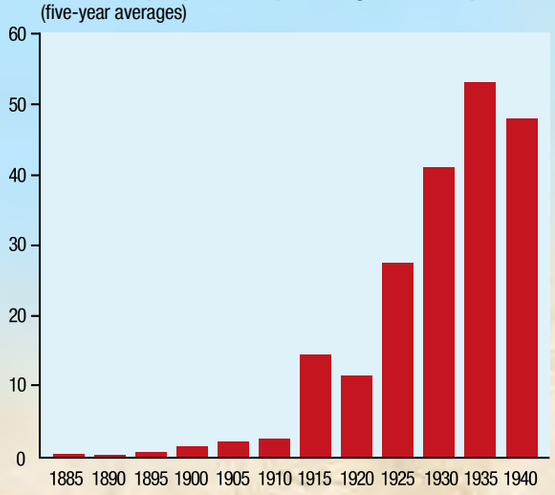
**At one time, this was the largest mill in the world. It was taken over in 1938 by Bowater-Lloyd. Today it is run by Kruger International.

4.53 Pulp and paper initiatives



4.54 A girl looks at the Bowater Pulp and Paper Mill, Corner Brook, c. 1939

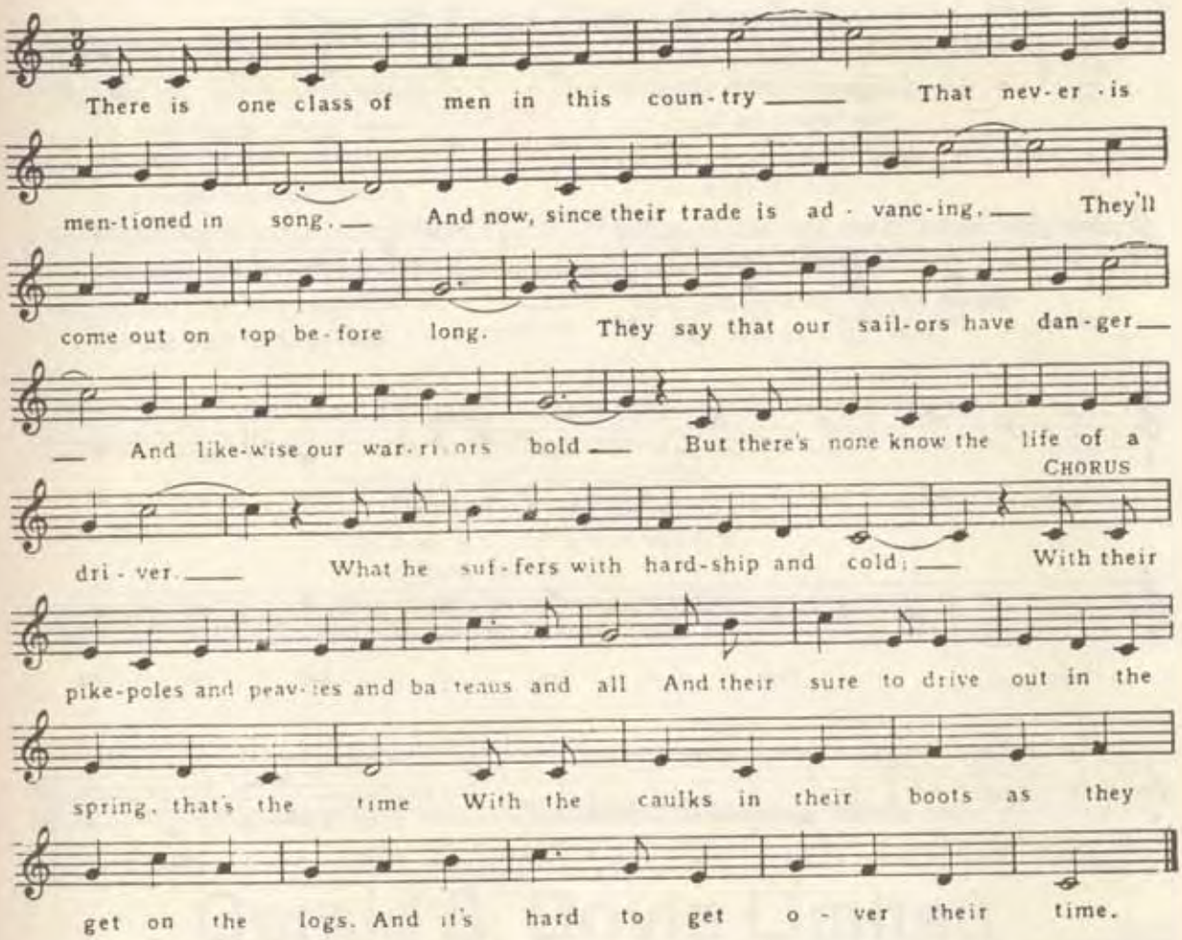
4.55 Forestry exports as a percentage of total exports
(five-year averages)



Experiencing The Arts

Now that you have created your title, you need to turn your attention to researching your area of interest, creating the outline for your story, and brainstorming to establish a lyrical palette of words and phrases that might be used in your composition. Be sure to continue recording your ideas in your notebook.

The Badger Drive



Billey Dorothey he is the manager, and he's a good man at the trade;
And when he's around seeking drivers, he's like a train going down grade,
But still he is a man that's kindhearted, on his word you can always depend,
And there's never a man that works with him but likes to go with him again.

I tell you today home in London, *The Times* it is read by each man,
But little they think of the fellows that drove the wood on Mary Ann
For paper is made out of pulpwood and many things more you may know,
And long may our men live to drive it upon Paymeoch and Tomjoe.

The drive it is just below Badger, and everything is working grand,
With a jolly good crew of picked drivers and Ronald Kelly in command.
For Ronald is boss on the river, and I tell you he's a man that's alive,
He drove the wood off Victoria, now he's out on the main river drive.

So now to conclude and to finish, I hope that ye all will agree
In wishing success to all Badger and the A.N.D. Company.
And long may they live for to flourish, and continue to chop, drive and roll,
And long may the business be managed by Mr. Dorothey and Mr. Cole.

John V. Devine.

4.56 "The Badger Drive"
is a Newfoundland folk song which describes the lumber drive near Badger. The lyrics of this ballad speak of the experiences of individuals who worked in this sector of the forest industry.

*Many of the loggers were fishers who worked as loggers for extra cash.

Impact on Lifestyle and Culture

Those who worked as loggers* harvesting timber for pulp and paper mills endured tough working conditions. These loggers worked for contractors, who in turn worked for paper companies. Each season, the companies paid the contractor a fixed sum of money to harvest a specified amount of wood on company land. From this, the contractor had to pay himself, run the camps, feed the loggers, and provide them with shelter. Often, the company did not pay the contractor enough money to both earn a profit and adequately provide for all of the loggers' needs. As a result, many contractors tried to increase their own earnings by spending as little as possible on the loggers' food and housing.

For six to nine months of the year, many loggers lived in dirty, leaky, drafty, and over-crowded bunkhouses in the woods. Food was poor and no pay was given for time off work due to work-related injuries. Many workers from outport communities engaged in logging from the fall to early spring, returning to the fishery in the summer. Working conditions for those in the mills were much better than conditions endured by loggers and, with the development of company towns, workers were able to return to their own homes after a day's work.

4.57 Loggers' camp, central Newfoundland, date unknown
The structures behind the loggers would have been their living quarters while at camp.

4.58 Loggers working on a log jam, central Newfoundland, c. 1913-17

Questions:

1. It can be argued that the development of the forest industry was the opening of a frontier.
   a. What might have been the three greatest challenges faced by workers?
   b. What were possibly the greatest benefits for workers?

2. The text states that by 1920, lumber exports had declined considerably. However, the data on page 311 indicates that exports for the forest industry continued to increase. How do you account for this?

3. The Government of Newfoundland rented land to pulp and paper companies as opposed to obtaining revenue from **royalties**. As a consequence, this industry brought little direct revenue to government. What were the advantages and disadvantages of taking this approach for government? For business?

4. What were the three most significant ways in which the culture/lifestyle of a company town differed from that of an outport?

DIMENSIONS OF THINKING

SIGNIFICANCE

What can be learned from this experience?

4.59 Grand Falls, c. 1917

4.60 The interior of A.N.D. Pulp and Paper Mill, Grand Falls, c. 1909-1929

In the social sciences we sometimes consider specific examples to be significant because they are revealing – they shed light on a type of experience. The story of Grand Falls is such an experience, as it highlights the strengths and weaknesses of company towns.

Most Newfoundland and Labrador fishery-based communities grew in an "unplanned" way. However, as the colony's economy diversified in the early twentieth century, a number of new communities were built by companies to serve their production needs. Some towns, such as Gambo and Millertown, were built around sawmills; others, such as Tilt Cove in Notre Dame Bay, were built around mines. Clarenville was built as a railway centre and a few small settlements grew around other railway stations. Some natural-resource industries were established in or near existing settlements. Others were established in unpopulated areas of the interior, most notably Buchans and Grand Falls.

The site for the Grand Falls pulp and paper mill was chosen because of the availability of a large supply of lumber, the potential to develop inexpensive hydroelectricity, and its close proximity to the deep-water port of Botwood. The Anglo-Newfoundland Development (A.N.D.) Company opened the mill in Grand Falls in 1909. It also planned, built, and managed the town of Grand Falls as private property. Only company workers and their families*, along with the owners and operators of a small number of private businesses, were allowed to live there. The A.N.D. Company built a school, hospital, and churches, and paved streets. It also built houses for its workers and provided water, sewer, electricity, and telephone services at a time when such services were not readily available throughout the colony. Living in a company town also offered other benefits; the A.N.D. Company wanted to address the social needs of its workers and

*This was true of some other company towns, as well. For example, the father of one of this text's authors died while he was an employee living in a company town. When this happened, his family was ordered to leave.

*Through a series of mergers, Price Brothers and Company became AbitibiPaper Company Ltd. in 1974 and AbitibiBowater in 2007.

thus supported several sports, music, and drama clubs. An uninhabited wilderness at the turn of the twentieth century, by 1911 Grand Falls had a population of 1634.

The growth of Grand Falls also resulted in other settlement in the region. Unregulated settlement arose in the area outside of the company town, in what later became known as the community of Windsor. Without the A.N.D. Company's financial support, housing and community services (such as sanitation) in this area were inferior to those in Grand Falls.

Grand Falls remained a company town until 1961, when new owners (Price Brothers and Company*) relinquished its control of the community, and Grand Falls became an incorporated municipality. The mill continued to be the main employer for the area. In 1991, the towns of Grand Falls and Windsor amalgamated to form Grand Falls-Windsor.

In December 2008, AbitibiBowater released a statement concerning the imminent closure of the pulp and paper mill in Grand Falls-Windsor, citing high operating costs. In response, legislation was introduced in the same month in the House of Assembly to return the water rights originally granted to the A.N.D Company to the province. The mill produced its last roll of newsprint on February 12, 2009, putting 750 men and women out of work.

The Evening Telegram.

W. J. HERDER, Proprietor. ... W. F. LLOYD, Editor.

St. John's, Newfoundland, October 11, 1909.

AT GRAND FALLS!

SATURDAY'S FESTIVITIES.

Three Mighty Paper Machines Set in Motion by Lady Northcliffe, Lady Williams and Mrs. Beeton — The Bishop of Newfoundland Blesses the Enterprise--Heroism Rewarded—A Pathetic Incident.

KING'S WEATHER.

THE ATHLETIC SPORTS.

BOXER TO EMPLOYEES.

4.61 An article from *The Evening Telegram*, Oct. 11, 1909

The Telegram

Harbour Grace shows its spirit

Go on ... laugh at winter

Mill reaches end of the line

Last paper rolls out of Grand Falls-Windsor facility

Union has no regrets

Restructuring rejection accelerated the inevitable, Hedley says

The last log

AbitibiBowater workers share their thoughts on the end of a century of papermaking

4.62 An article from *The Telegram*, Feb. 13, 2009

Questions:

1. How did the development of the community of Grand Falls benefit the colony of Newfoundland? Which benefit was the most significant? Why?
2. Given the closure of the mill, what challenges does this create for the community that has existed for over a century? Which challenge is the most significant? Why?
3. What can be learned from this experience?

4.63 Sorters at work, Tilt Cove mine, c. 1912
Men sort the ore outside the Tilt Cove mine. Tilt Cove mine operated until 1917, when international markets and complications from the war, as well as problems of ore grade and accessibility, caused the mine to shut down.

TOPIC 4.4

Mining

What items could be made/manufactured from the minerals found in Newfoundland and Labrador?

What were the risks, if any, to exploiting the minerals in Newfoundland and Labrador?

Introduction

Newfoundland and Labrador has some of the oldest rocks in the world and unusual **rock sequences** that bear witness to a vast range of **tectonic forces**. As a result, a wide variety of mineral resources are found throughout the province. Although knowledge of these mineral resources grew in the 1800s through surveys and exploration, most of these could not be developed until the opening of the interior by the railway and an increased world demand for metal made it economically viable.

Early Mining

Mining in Newfoundland and Labrador has its roots in prehistory. Various indigenous groups collected rocks that could be chipped into cutting implements and other tools. Archaeological evidence also suggests that there was organized mining in the Ramah Bay area thousands of years ago. Chert from this area was worked into various tools that have been found as far south as Maine – suggesting there was an extensive trade system among prehistoric peoples. Likewise, soapstone quarries near Fleur de Lys on the Baie Verte Peninsula indicate the Dorset and possibly other groups mined soapstone in blocks to be made into lamps and other tools.

Other than the smelting of bog iron by the Norse at the tip of the Northern Peninsula a millennium ago, the first recorded European interest in mining is of Sir Humphrey Gilbert mistaking pyrite (or "fool's gold") for gold at Catalina. Other anecdotal evidence suggests that some early fishers mined galena for the production of lead weights and jiggers from small veins at La Manche, Lawn, Lead Cove (Port au Port), and Red Rocks Point (near Cape Ray).

4.64 No. 2 Tunnel of Bell Island mine, c.1902
Miners prepare to descend for a 6 a.m. shift. Note the candles on their hats, which were used to light their way underground.

Changing Economic Patterns

While some mining activity was conducted here in the 1700s, before the railway it was confined to coastal areas where ore could be shipped by sea. Newfoundland's first major mining operation was in Tilt Cove. From 1864 to 1917, this mine was rated as one of the largest producers of copper in the world. The success of the Tilt Cove mine resulted in an intense period of exploration and mining activity. However, with the exceptions of the Bell Island iron ore mines, the Buchans mines, and the St. Lawrence fluorspar mines, most mines were smaller scale operations that operated for relatively short periods of time.

Mining on Bell Island began with surface mining in 1895. By 1900, this site was one of the most productive iron ore operations in the world. Underground mining began at Bell Island in 1902, and by 1910 mining tunnels extended out for several kilometres under the ocean. Just before the First World War, the Bell Island mine employed about 1300 workers. Work at the Bell Island mine continued until 1966, making it the longest continually operated mine in Canada.

The Bell Island mine supplied Germany with iron ore prior to both world wars, so the outbreak of hostilities meant the loss of a major customer.

4.65 Examples of mineral use from prehistoric to modern times
A Dorset soapstone pot; a killick (anchor), c. 1920; a piece of cable purchased for use in the laying of the first transatlantic cable from Europe (Ireland) to North America (Heart's Content) in 1858

UNIQUE GEOLOGY

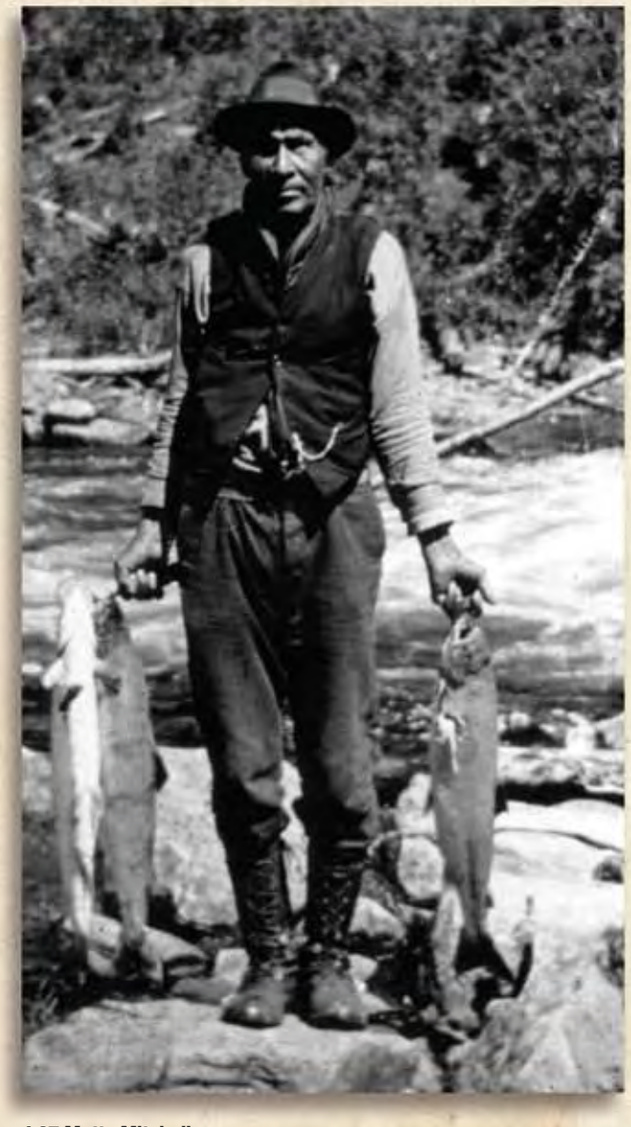
Tectonic plate movement, mountain-building, volcanic activity, and erosion produced an unusual geology in the province. Labrador, the eastern part of the Canadian Shield, has some of the oldest rocks on earth. Newfoundland is a northeastern extension of the much younger Appalachian Mountains, which were formed when tectonic plates collided about 400 million years ago. The resulting rock structures contain a wide variety of minerals near the Earth's surface.

- **Magma from volcanoes formed igneous rocks, producing iron, copper, nickel, and feldspar.**
- **Sedimentary rocks (compacted by the weight of water and other sediments above them) yield limestone, sandstone, and oil and gas.**
- **Metamorphic rocks (formed when severe heat and pressure were applied to igneous and sedimentary rocks) produced marble and slate.**

4.66 Buchans mine, 1928
Looking east, with the mill and other structures in view.

In the Buchans River area, 1905 **assays** confirmed that significant quantities of ore existed. However, a mine did not become economically viable until a process was discovered in 1925 to separate the minerals. Zinc was the first mineral to be extracted. Over time, as technology improved, lead, copper, gold, and silver were also extracted. With a viable process to extract the minerals, in 1927 the A.N.D. Company (owners of the Grand Falls pulp and paper mill) and the American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO) began to build a mine and the company town of Buchans for the mine's workforce. ASARCO leased the land for the mine and town from the A.N.D. Company and agreed to pay the company 50 per cent of the profits. The mine at Buchans continued for nearly half a century. Operations were significantly reduced by the mid-1970s and the mine eventually closed in 1984.

Another mine to open during the second quarter of the twentieth century was the fluorspar mine in St. Lawrence. The extraction and shipment of fluorspar ore began in 1933. Fluorspar is used in the manufacture of such items as aluminum, glass, and enamels. The St. Lawrence operation closed in 1978 due to labour unrest, safety issues,* and competition from mines in Central and South America.



4.67 Matty Mitchell
Matty Mitchell was a Mi'kmaw trapper, guide, and prospector. He is credited with discovering the mineral find on the bank of the Buchans River in 1905 that ultimately led to the opening of the Buchans mine.

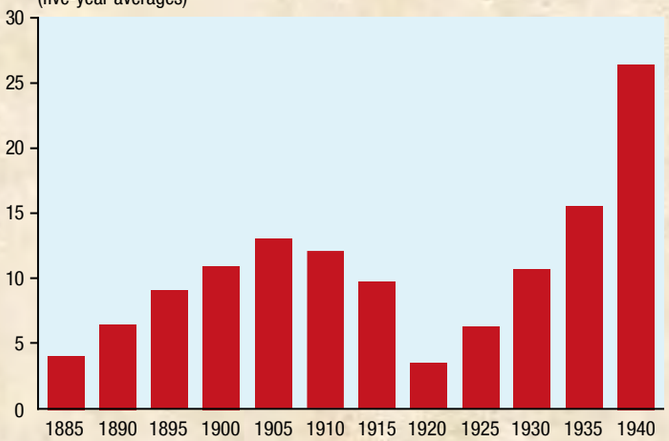
*Many of those who worked the fluorspar mine became sick from exposure to dust and radon gas released during the mining process. At first miners were unaware of the danger, but in the 1940s a large incidence of lung cancer among St. Lawrence miners was noticed.

Economic Effects

With the opening of the Tilt Cove and Bell Island mines, and later those in Buchans and St. Lawrence, mining began to increase its contribution to the Newfoundland economy. Eventually, mining increased in importance until the value of its exports matched that of the fishery. Nonetheless, the number of miners employed was far less than the number of workers engaged in the fishery and any other sector of the economy. For example, in 1935 only two per cent of the total workforce was employed in the mining industry.

Although prior to 1860 and after 1930 some royalties were paid to the government based on the gross product of mines, most of the real mining profits went to investors from outside Newfoundland and Labrador. For the most part, this was because there were few Newfoundlanders and Labradorians with access to the large amounts of capital needed to start up a mining operation.

4.68 Mining exports as a percentage of total exports
(five-year averages)



WHY FEW FISHERS WENT PROSPECTING

In order for a company to begin mining on a piece of government land, it had to first obtain a mining licence and a lease for the location. The land would then be granted to the company, once it had invested* a certain amount of money to develop the property. As historian Wendy Mills notes, "Newfoundland's mercantile system of giving credit rather than cash for fish made it next to impossible for fishermen to develop even unlicensed territories. Credit did not buy gunpowder and pickaxes; nor did it pay the government surveyors' obligatory and exorbitant fees."

"...Credit did not buy gunpowder and pickaxes..."

*For example, in 1884, a company needed to invest $6000 in a site's development in the first five years of its occupancy in order to obtain a land grant. This was a significant amount for the time.

4.69 A horse pulling a loaded ore cart, Bell Island mine, c. 1940
As can be seen here, mine shafts had low ceilings. Often dripping water made working conditions cold and wet.

4.70 Mines and quarries 1700s-present

No.	Location	Commodity	Years of Operation
1	Ten Mile Bay	Anorthosite	1993-present
2	Igiak Bay	Anorthosite	2001-2002; 2004-2005
3	Voisey's Bay	Nickel, Copper, Cobalt	2005-present
4	Knob Lake	Iron Ore	1954-1983
5	Labrador City	Dolomite	1986- present
6	Labrador City	Iron Ore	1962- present
7	Labrador City	Silica	1999- present
8	Wabush	Iron Ore	1965- present
9	Goose Cove	Copper	1907?
10	Canada Harbour	Marble	mid-1860s; 1912-1915
11	Daniel's Harbour	Zinc	1975-1990
12	Parsons Pond	Oil	1895-1907?; 1919-1926
13	Sop's Arm	Gold	1903
14	Clay Cove-Purbeck Cove	Marble	1912?
15	Fleur-de-Lys	Molybdenite	unknown
16	Baie Verte	Asbestos	1963-1994
17	Terra Nova	Copper	1860-1864; 1901-1915
18	Pine Cove	Gold	2008-present
19	Baie Verte	Copper, Gold, Silver	1964-1982; 1995-1997
20	Goldenville	Gold	1904-1906
21	Barry & Cunningham	Gold	unknown
22	Tilt Cove	Copper, Nickel, Gold	1864-1917; 1957-1967
23	Nugget Pond	Gold, Silver	1997-2001
24	Bett's Cove	Copper	1875-1886
25	Burton's Pond	Copper	1869-1872
26	Muir's Pond	unknown	unknown
27	Bear Cove	Lead	1908
28	Swatridge	Copper	1876-1877
29	Old English	Copper	1879-1882?
30	Colchester	Copper	1878-1884; 1898-1901
31	McNeilly	Copper	1892-1898
32	Rendell-Jackman	Copper	1909-1913
33	Hammerdown	Gold, Silver	2001-2004
34	Springdale	Copper	1965-1971; 1974
35	Little Bay	Copper, Gold	1878-1904; 1961-1969
36	Delaney	Copper?	1883?
37	Lady Pond	Copper	1880s, 1890s
38	Sterling	Copper	1880-1882
39	Crescent Lake	Copper	1879-1881
40	Sunday Cove Island	Copper	1898-1899
41	Pilley's Island	Pyrite	1887-1908
42	Thimble Tickle	Copper	1880
43	Tea Arm	Copper	1880-1897?
44	Saunders Cove	Copper	1990?
45	Fortune Harbour	Copper, Iron	1880? 1897
46	Moreton's Harbour	Antimony	early 1880s-1916
47	Sleepy Cove	Copper	1908-1917?
48	Trump Island	Copper	1860s
49	Cobb's Arm	Limestone	1870-1966
50	Cormack	Limestone	1987-2007
51	Howley	Coal, Marble	1898-1899 1930s
52	Gaff Topsails area	Granite	1898-1901; 1993
53	Gull Pond	Copper	1967-1971

No.	Location	Commodity	Years of Operation
54	Goose Arm	Lead, Zinc	1897
55	Summerside	Slate	1902-1909
56	York Harbour	Copper	1897-1913
57	Curling	Slate	1907-1908
58	Corner Brook	Marble	1881?; 1950s
59	Corner Brook	Shale, Limestone	1952-2000
60	Buchans	Copper, Lead, Zinc, Gold, Silver	1928-1984
61	Buchans	Barite	1981-1984; 2006-present
62	Victoria	Iron, Copper	unknown
63	Duck Pond	Copper, Zinc	2007-present
64	Bishop's Falls	Peat	1984-present
65	Jumpers Brook area	Gabbro	1993-2005; 2008-present
66	Beaver Brook	Antimony	1997-1998; 2008-present
67	Benton	Granite	1898-1901
68	Bluff Head	Asbestos, Chromite	1891?-1900
69	Lewis Hills-Chrome Point	Chromite	1902
70	Lower Cove	Limestone, Dolomite	1990-present
71	Shoal Point	Oil	1898-1900?
72	Aguathuna	Limestone	1913-1965; 1969
73	Lead Cove	Lead	1874-1877
74	Indian Head	Iron	1941-1944
75	Flat Bay	Gypsum	1952-1999
76	Coal Brook	Gypsum	1999-present
77	St. George's	Magnetite	1995-1998
78	Fischells Brook	Gypsum	1996-2001
79	Rose Blanche	Gold, Granite	1900?-1902 1870s
80	Grand Bruit	Gold	1902
81	Hope Brook	Gold	1987-1997
82	Rencontre East	Molybdenum	1900
83	Mine Cove	Lead, Silver	1860
84	St. Lawrence	Fluorspar	1933-1978; 1987-1990
85	Milton	Brick from clay/ shale	1886-1999
86	Elliot's Cove	Brick clay	1890-1903
87	Nut Cove	Slate	1986-1998; 2000-2002; 2004-present
88	La Manche	Lead	1858-1894
89	Collier Point	Barite	1980; 1983-1985; 1998
90	Silver Cliff	Lead	1883-1887
91	Villa Marie	Silica	1968-1988
92	Stoney House Cove	Copper	1860
93	Workington	Iron	1898-1899
94	Turk's Gut	Copper	1856-1860?
95	Brigus	Manganese	1914?-1919?
96	Collier Point	Barite	1902-1905; 1980; 1983-1985; 1998
97	Bell Island	Iron ore	1895-1966
98	Manuels	Pyrophyllite	1904-1906; 1909-1910; 1938-1947; 1956-1995; 2004-present
99	St. John's	Sandstone	1700s, 1800s
100	Shoal Bay	Copper	1776-1778

Disclaimer: This information has been drawn from data in *Once Upon a Mine: Story of Pre-Confederation Mines on the Island of Newfoundland* by Wendy Martin, with additional support from the Department of Natural Resources. The Department of Natural Resources does not guarantee the accuracy of the information provided. The table is based upon historical documents which sometimes provide conflicting information. The presence on this list does not imply approval or recommendation by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

DIMENSIONS OF THINKING
JUDGMENT

How did "this place" change?

Throughout this chapter you have examined how Newfoundland and Labrador's economy became increasingly diversified. Also, it has been noted the various ways in which these changes affected the country.

In this essay the author notes a number of positive and negative effects of the mining industry. As you read the essay, ask yourself how these effects shaped "this place."

In the vast majority of cases, mining enterprises are owned and controlled by distant, usually anonymous powers. In a certain sense this is inevitable. Mining is a highly speculative enterprise, requiring large outlays of capital. Generally, only major international firms are able and willing to undertake such enterprises. Unfortunately, the companies often have little interest in long-term, sustainable development of the areas in which they operate.

This is especially true of the mining industry in a place like Newfoundland and Labrador. Without a strong manufacturing or industrial sector, this area is viewed and utilized (as are other peripheral places, such as the Canadian North) primarily as a source of raw materials, which are extracted and exported for use by industries elsewhere.

A mine is, of course, by its very nature a temporary enterprise. Every day a mine is worked, it is a day closer to shutdown. Add to this the fact that prices and markets are often shaped by forces beyond the control or even the knowledge of the local population, and what emerges is a picture of a local industrial operation which is highly unreliable, much given to a boom-and-bust cycle, and doomed to termination when the resource is exhausted.

On the more positive side, mining has in some cases provided many people with relatively stable, paid employment, and in many instances helped free them from dependence on an unpredictable fishery and on the local merchant.

In places where a major mining industry was established and grew, many traditional practices and values were altered or eradicated: how people lived and worked on the land or the sea; how they organized their time throughout the day or across the seasons; how families related and operated in the context of home and work. All these things and many others were deeply and permanently affected by the incursion of these new industries.

– Excerpt from "Mining" by Rick Rennie, from the Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage Web Site

4.71

Questions:

1. Use the essay provided to create a concept web which identifies the direct, indirect, and unanticipated consequences of the mining industry.
2. Determine if each consequence you identified in No. 1 was positive or negative.
3. Based on your assessment of the data provided, what can you conclude were the most important positive and negative effects of the mining industry? Explain.

Impact on Lifestyle and Culture

Since some mines started in times when the Newfoundland and Labrador economy was depressed, the opportunity to work in them was welcomed. For many, it meant giving up the fisheries and relocating to a mining town. Like forestry-related jobs, the mines provided a source of wage-based and fairly steady work.

Miners worked long hours. For instance, in Buchans the average working day was about 14 hours, with no overtime pay. On Bell Island, miners generally worked 11-hour shifts, six days a week. Before 1923, boys as young as 10 years also worked in the Bell Island mine site doing work such as separating rocks from the ore as it moved along a conveyor, feeding and grooming horses, and getting water for the workers. These boys would have quit school by grade three or four to earn approximately 10 cents an hour for their families. Safety was also an issue for miners. In addition to health hazards caused from breathing rock dust (and radon gas in the case of the St. Lawrence mine), rock falls and explosions were constant risks.

GOODBYE TO ST. LAWRENCE

By Sam Richards

Goodbye to St. Lawrence, farewell, Newf'n'land,
I'm bound for the mainland tomorrow;
There's nothing for me in the place I was born,
Nothing but hardship and sorrow.
Nothing but hardship and sorrow.

My old man was strong, he was like a bulldog,
Was raised up as tough as old leather;
From the day he could walk he'd be out every day,
Fishing in all kinds of weather.
Fishing in all kinds of weather.

Winter and summer in the boats he'd be gone,
Working hard, scraping a living;
Somehow found time to marry my mother,
And settled down, tried to start saving.
And settled down, tried to start saving.

I've heard old folk tell of the year '29,
When the tidal waves set the place reeling;
Stirred up the breeding grounds, scattered the fish,
Leaving our people half starving.
Leaving our people half starving.

They lived on relief for three years and more,
Trying to keep themselves living;
Till the company came with their drills and their gear,
Said there was money in mining.
Said there was money in mining.

The people 'round this place, they dug those damn mines,
With hearts and with hands that were willing;
Then ten hours a day they would sweat in that hole,
Mucking and tramming and drilling.
Mucking and tramming and drilling.

My old man went down with his picks like the rest,
Down in the dust and the danger;
Drilling and blasting, he choked in the smoke,
Down in that lousy gas chamber.
Down in that lousy gas chamber.

I've watched them go, seen them die of the dust,
Every miner 'round here, his lungs failed him;
Only one feller died harder than that,
And high on a hillside they nailed him.
And high on a hillside they nailed him.

When my old feller had breathed his last breath,
Like the others who suffered 'longside him;
The company flooded the mines and pulled out,
Too few dollars in St. Lawrence mining.
Too few dollars in St. Lawrence mining.

For forty-five years a fortune was made,
From a hellhole so murky and dusty;
But what's left behind, now they've closed the mines down,
A company town with no company.
A company town with no company.

(REPEAT FIRST VERSE)

4.72 Often hardships inspire artists to create a work of art that captures this experience. Do you think songwriter Sam Richards has successfully done this in the song above? Can you think of any other songs that express the hardships associated with a way of making a living?

Questions:

1. What might account for the overall increase in the value of mineral exports from 1885 to 1940? (See fig. 4.68.) Identify three factors.

2. Fishers who sought employment in the mining industry experienced many changes in lifestyle. What were the benefits? What might have been some of the challenges?

3. It can be argued that the diversification of the Newfoundland and Labrador economy with the development of new industries was desirable. However, it does not appear to be as "celebrated" as frequently in music played on radio stations compared to the fishery. What might account for this? How does this influence peoples' view/understanding of the heritage of "this place"?

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.

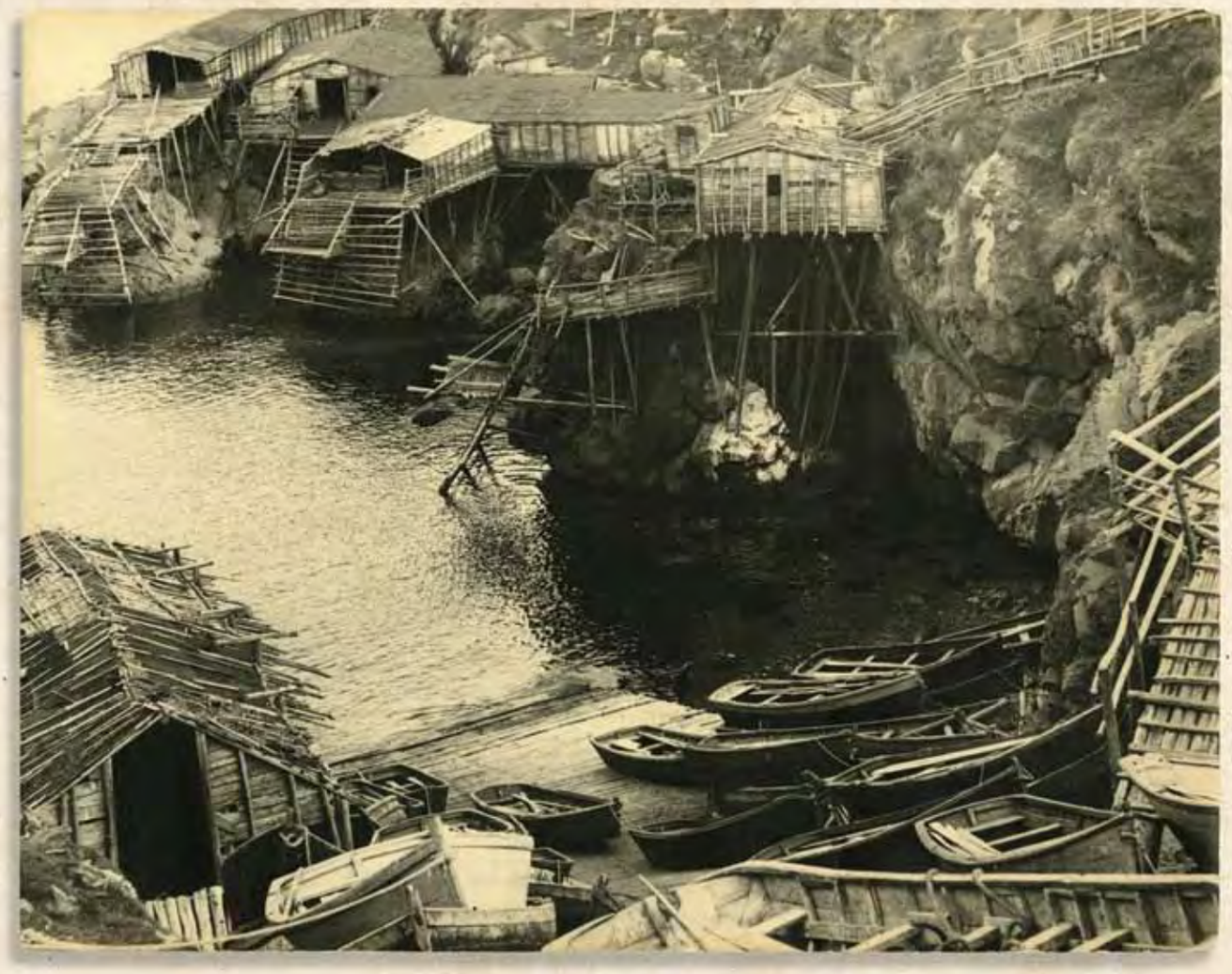
*Some of this population decrease also may be attributed to out-migration.

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**

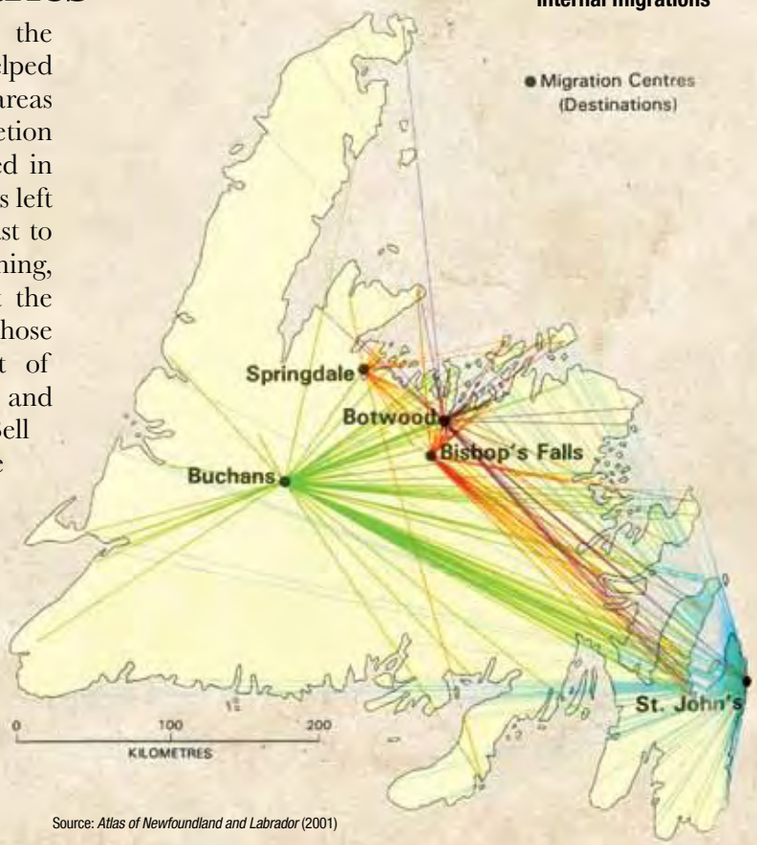


4.75 Making the most out of little space, Pouch Cove, c. 1934-38
Population growth in communities dependent on ocean resources sometimes led to a shortage of available land along the waterfront and overcrowding.

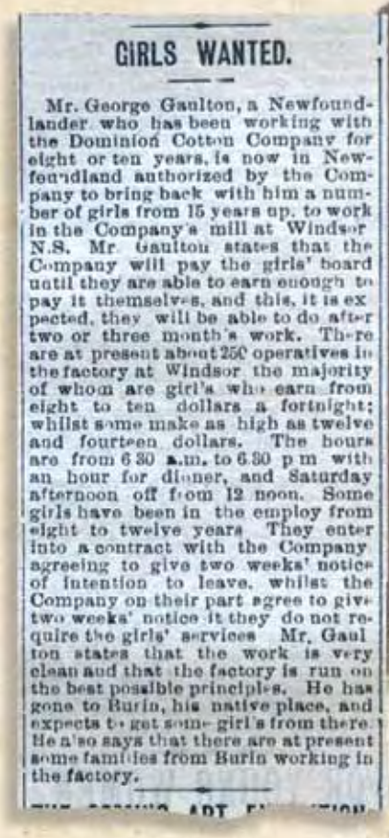
Relocating for New Industries

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

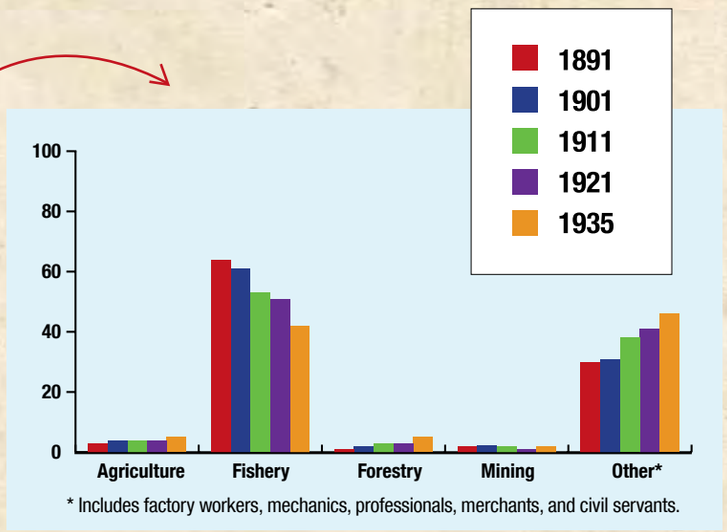
Interpreting Data
Take a look at the table above. Although at first glance, it appears that the number of Newfoundlanders going to Canada and the United States is increasing throughout the years illustrated, the reality might be very different. Census data records residents of a country for a given year. 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?

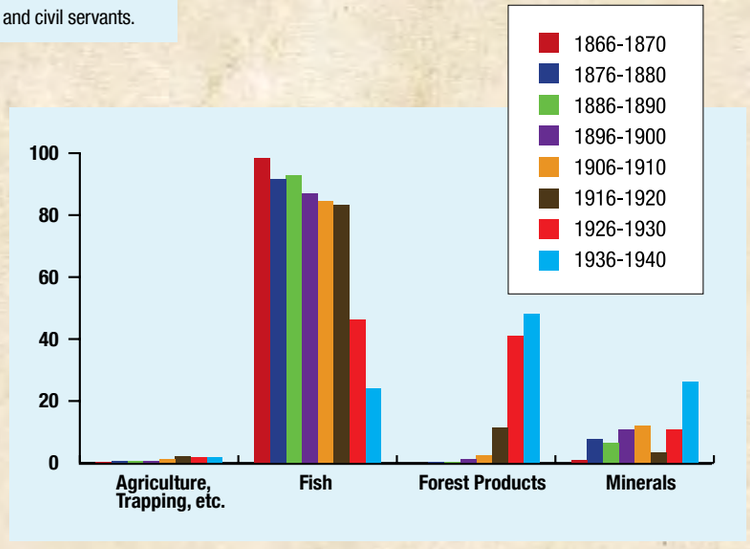
Dominance of fisheries employment – Note how this data compares to the information in fig. 4.11 on page 289 in lesson 4.1. What changes do you note?



* 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

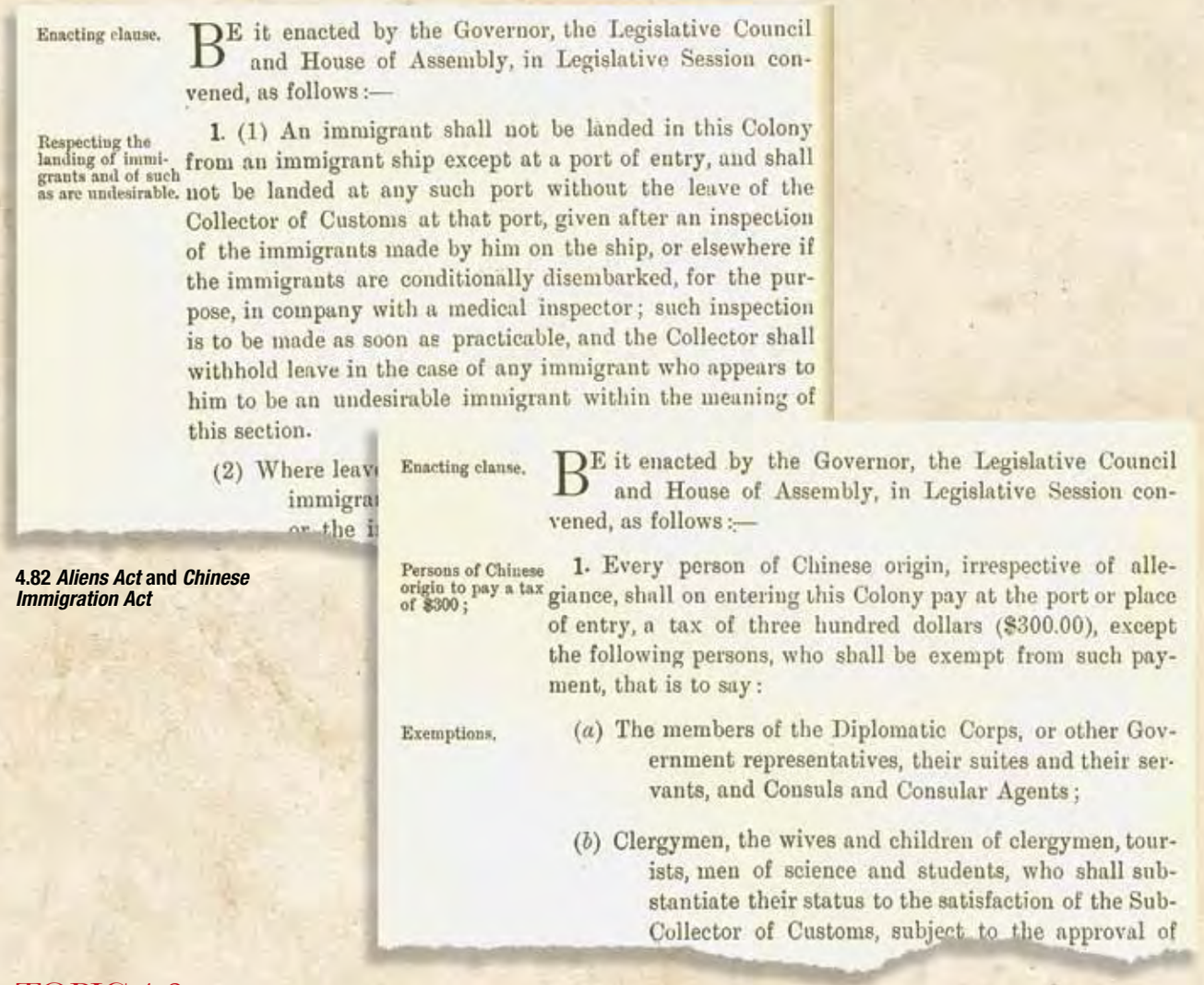


Questions:

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

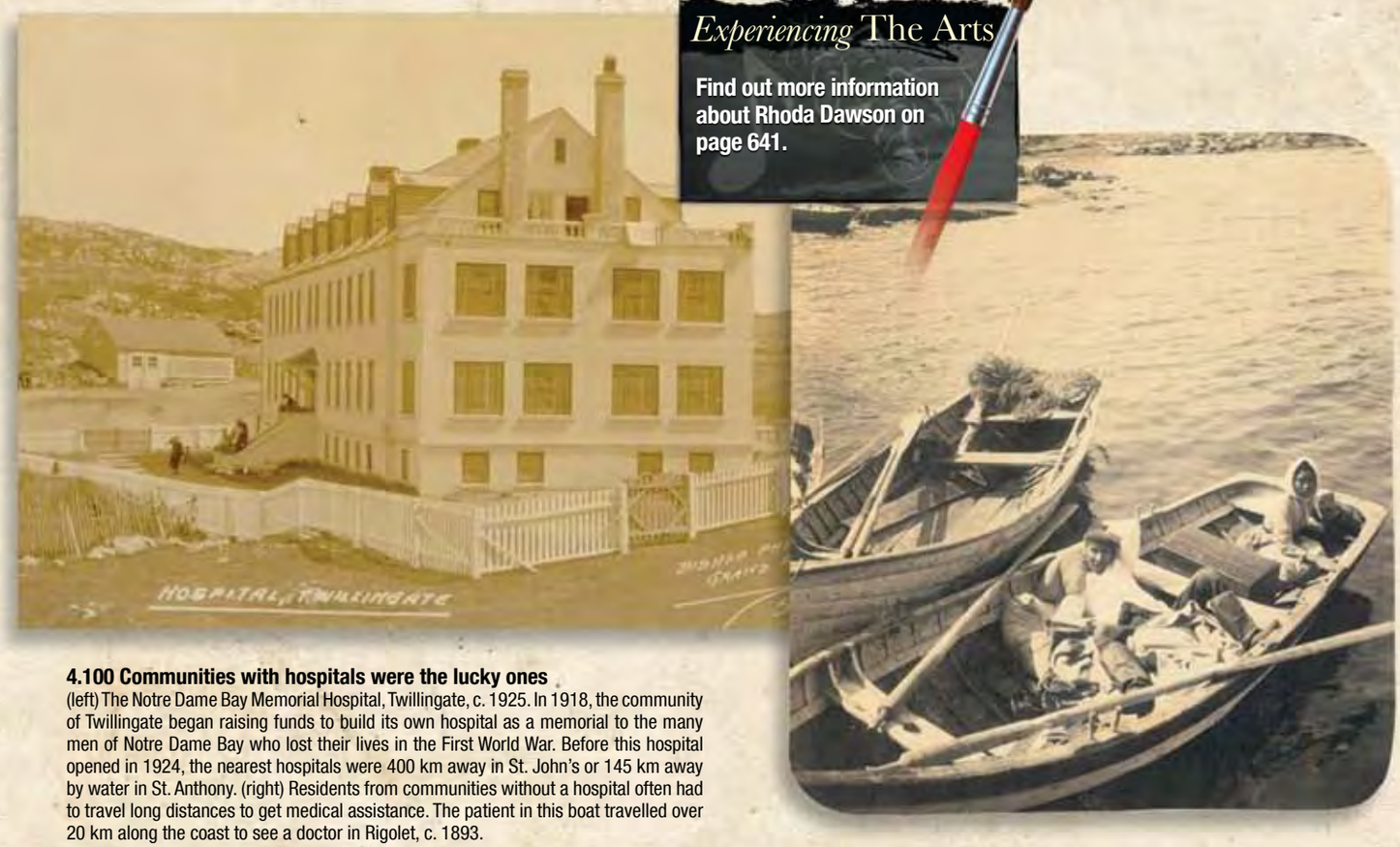
SCHOOL MEMORIES FROM THE 1920s AND 30s

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.

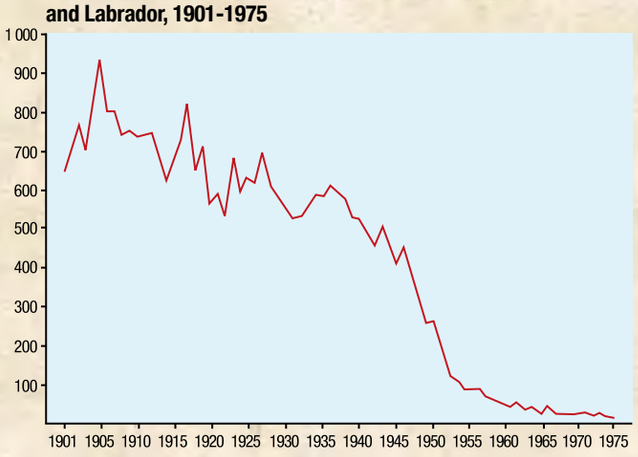
Be sure that you have decided on a single idea and emotion as your focus … and that you relax and have fun!

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.

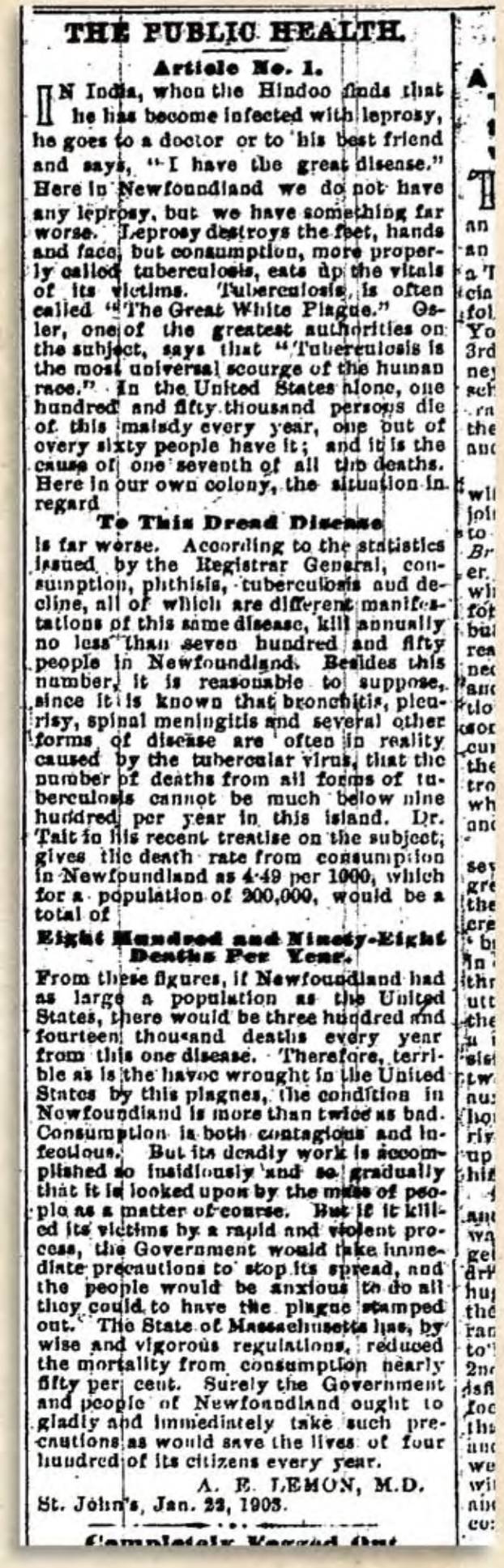
Epidemics of other infectious diseases were also a problem, especially for St. John's as a port city. An outbreak of diphtheria in St. John's caused over 700 deaths between

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

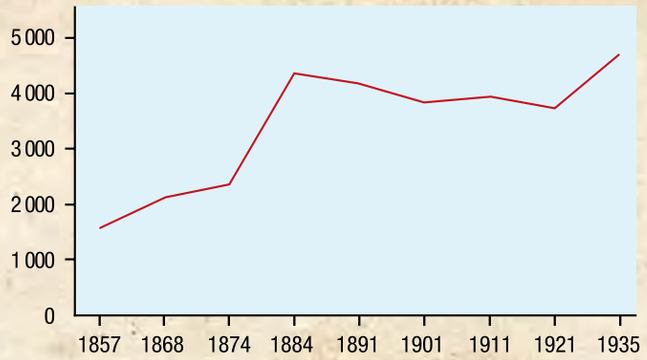
Until early in the twentieth century, Labrador's population was small and mostly confined to the coast, with Innu and Inuit practising a migratory lifestyle between the coast and the interior. Where there was permanent settlement, it was sparse. For instance, the 1874 Census enumerated 1275 people in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

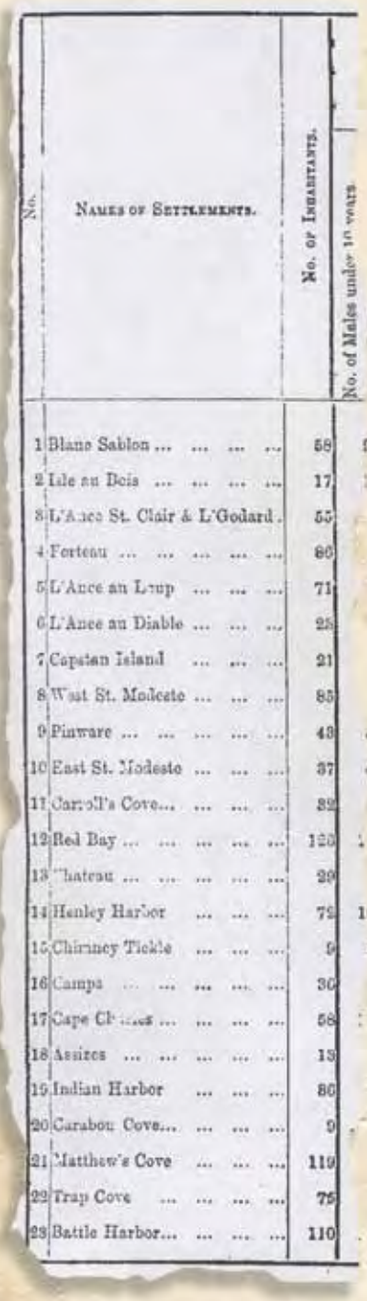
Although the Labrador fishery was the main economic activity of Labrador for much of the 1800s, few residents

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.

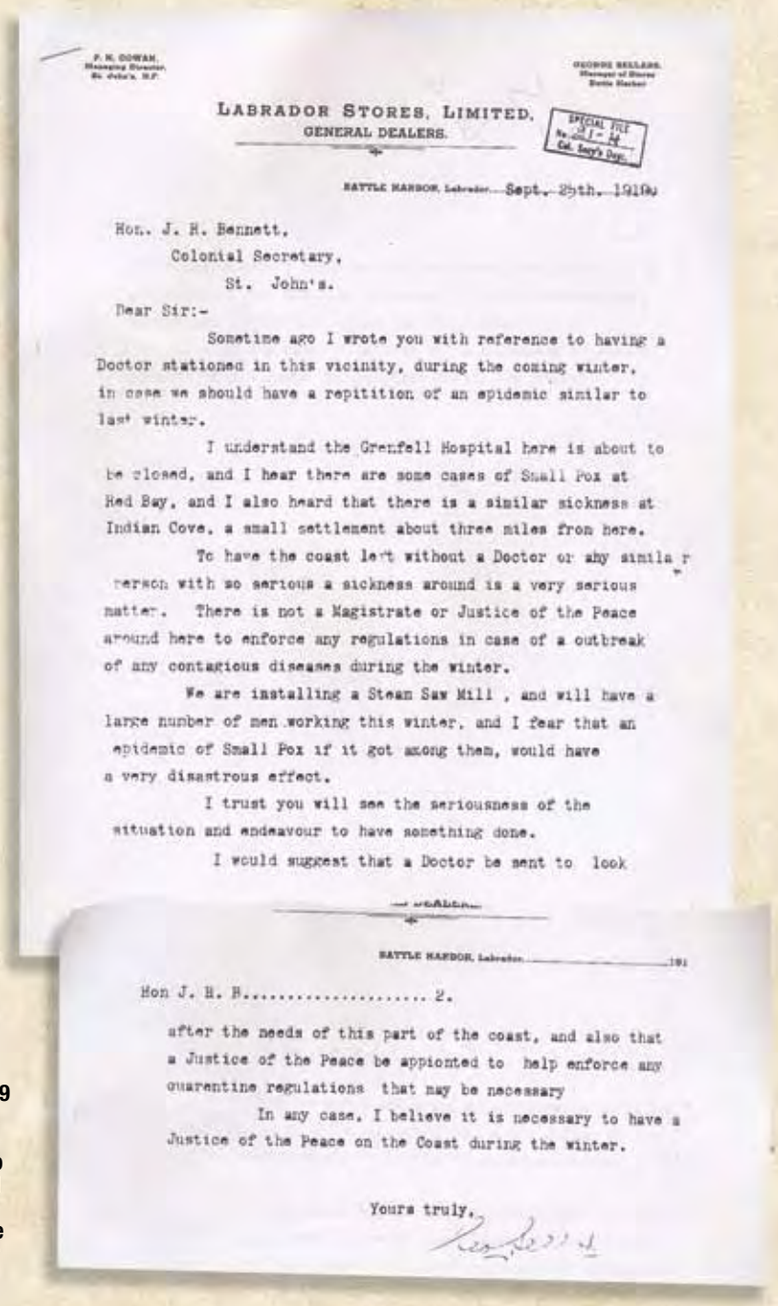
4.112 Labrador's population (1857-1935)





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 ...*

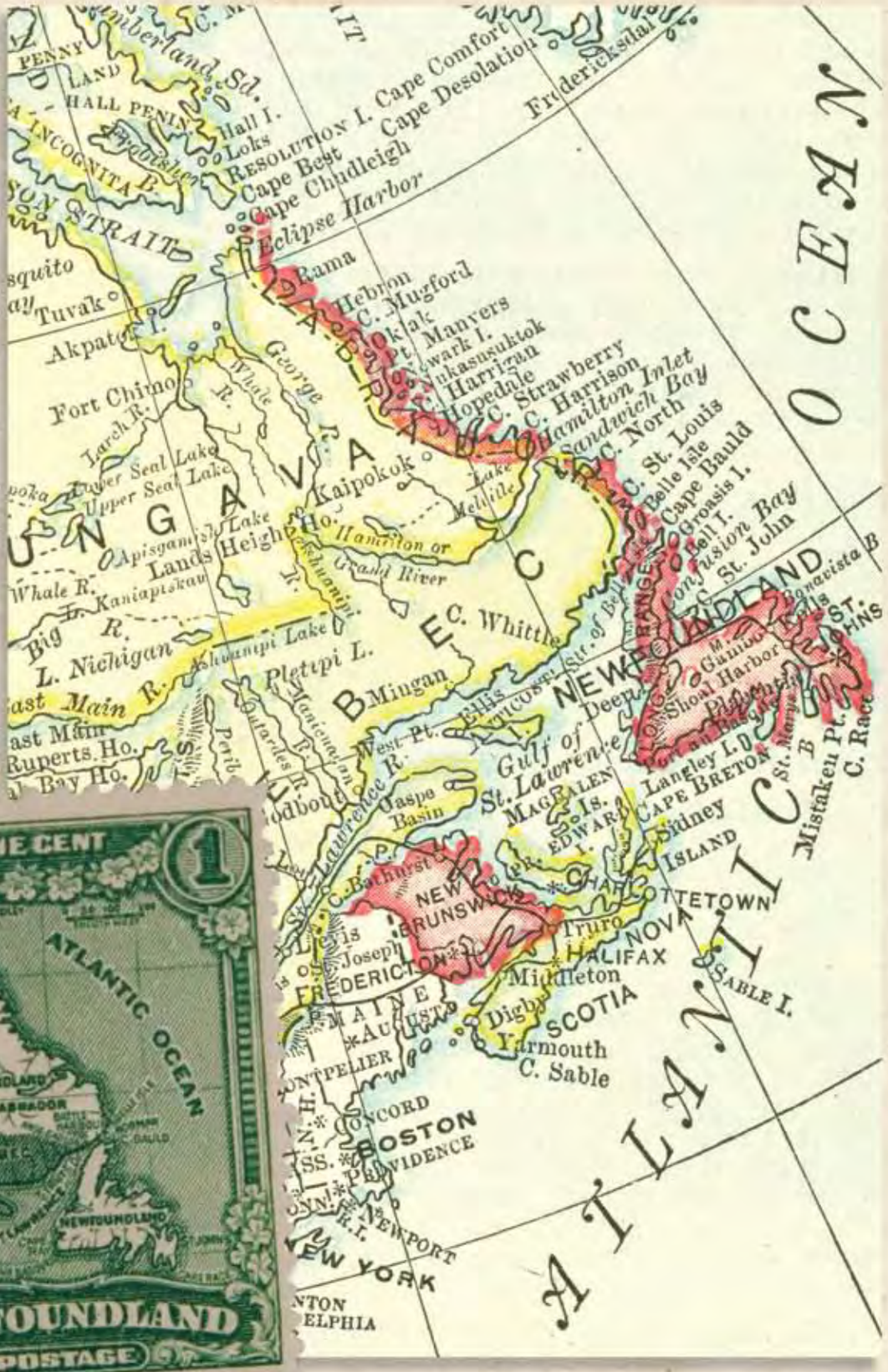
4.128 An excerpt from a letter to the editor by Archbishop M.F. Howley from *The Daily News*, Dec. 13, 1905

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

VOL. CLVI. No. 52

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:

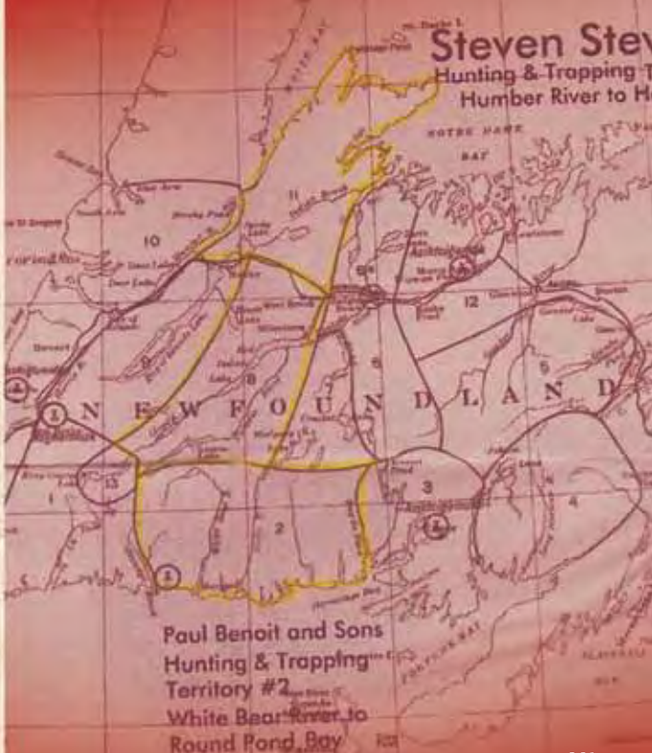
1. How did the way of life of the various Aboriginal peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador change during this time period? Which changes had the most significant consequences? Use a chart to help organize your answer.

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



4.158 The Union of Municipal Workers in the St. John's Labour Day Parade, September 1930
The first Labour Day Parade in St. John's was held in 1897. Events like this helped create a sense of collective identity among workers.

TOPIC 4.10

The Labour Movement

If you owned a business, would you prefer if your employees were part of a union?

Why are strikes sometimes necessary?

Introduction

The industrial revolution had positive and negative effects. While mass production meant that manufactured goods became more readily available, the rise of factories meant that many employees worked for low wages in unsafe conditions. Over time, workers began to question these conditions and create formal and informal groups to improve their situation. This **labour movement** unfolded differently in Newfoundland and Labrador than it did in many other places in North America.

As many Newfoundlanders and Labradorians were involved in the fishery rather than industrialized pursuits, the pace of the labour movement was slower here than in many of the larger North American cities. There are several reasons why the fishery did not encourage **unionization** in the same way that construction and manufacturing industries did. First, most fishers were not wage earners – their labour was exchanged for goods provided by merchants on credit as opposed to cash payment. Second, due to the pattern of settlement around the coast, most fishers worked in relative isolation and there was little opportunity to come together in large numbers to discuss and explore common concerns.

Despite these challenges, there are some examples of fishers gathering to protest when they felt they were being treated unfairly – such as the sealers' strikes in the 1830s and 1840s. Over time, formal societies and unions began to be established to represent their members' interests. This process occurred first among craftspeople (skilled workers), then among industrial workers, and finally among fishers.

Early Organizations

The earliest formal workers' organizations in Newfoundland and Labrador were created by skilled workers, or craftsmen. The Mechanics' Society was established in 1827 as a "protective association" and was based on similar organizations in Britain. The Society was concerned with its members' welfare. It established a sickness insurance plan and program of death benefits. Initially it included coopers, shoemakers, tailors, bookkeepers, and bakers. However, by the 1850s many of these groups had formed their own societies.

Neither the Mechanics' Society nor other craft societies had the authority to negotiate wages on behalf of their members. Instead, these organizations tried to limit the availability of members' services. They did this by restricting the number of apprentices, people who could learn and practise their crafts. This happened first among the highly skilled tradesmen associated with the fishery – **shipwrights**, **caulkers**, **joiners**, **riggers**, **blockmakers**, **mastmakers**, **sailmakers**, and **coopers**. The consequence was an increased demand for their work, and thus higher wages.

4.159 The evolution of the labour movement was different in Newfoundland and Labrador than in many other parts of North America.
In larger cities, many workers were thrown together in unsafe working conditions and child labour was not uncommon. This encouraged many workers to take action for improvements. However, in Newfoundland and Labrador, the isolated work of fishers did not lend itself to the same kind of worker organization. (left) Child labourers at a glass and bottle factory in New York, 1908. This photo was taken by Lewis W. Hine, an American photographer who worked to end child labour by documenting it. (below) Jack Manning and R. Dicks stack their fish in Harbour Buffett, c. 1930s. Although often at the mercy of the merchants who bought their fish, most fishers were technically self-employed. This made it more difficult for them to organize themselves to fight for better working and market conditions.

4.160 A tinsmith at work
Tinsmiths such as the one shown here c. 1900, were one of the groups of skilled tradesmen that formed their own union.

4.161 Those involved in the shipbuilding trade were some of the first tradesmen to organize in Newfoundland and Labrador.
Shown here is the *General Byng* under construction at Stapleton's Point, c. 1918-20.

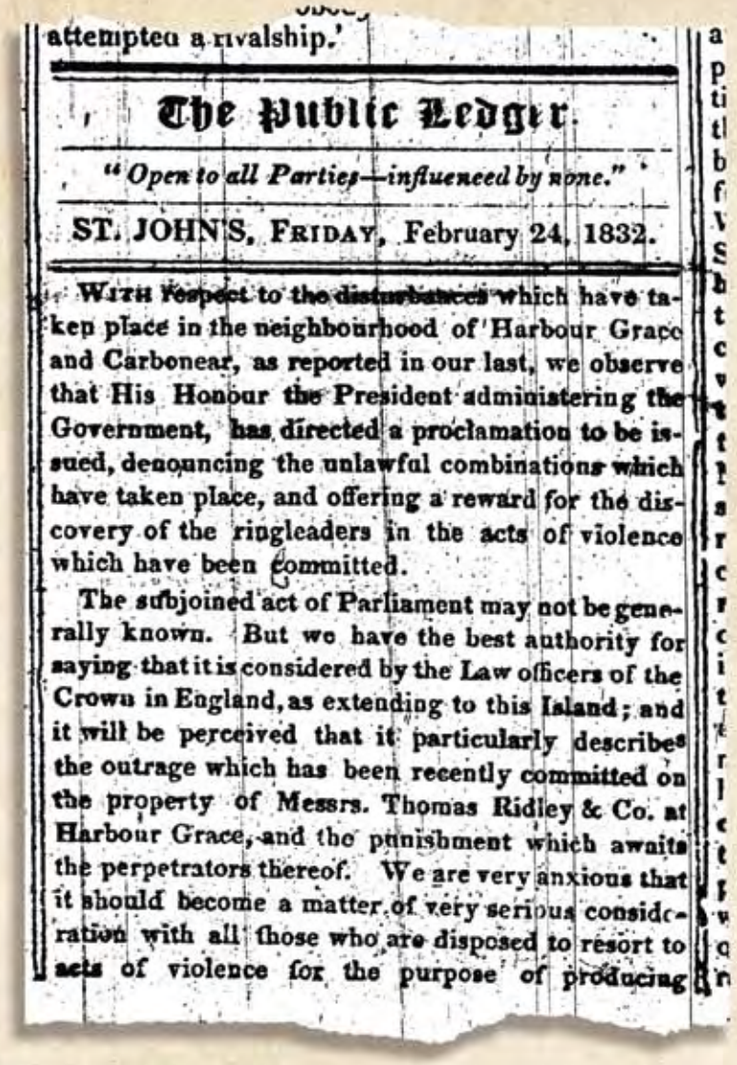
SEALERS' STRIKES & OTHER LABOUR PROTESTS

On February 18, 1832, a group of over 100 men protested an attempt by some local merchants to pay sealers with credit notes rather than with cash by destroying the *Perseverance*, a sealing schooner that was tied up at a wharf in Harbour Grace. As participation in the seal fishery was the only way that many east coast Newfoundlanders could earn cash back then, the merchants' efforts were seen as a serious threat to a valuable source of income.

An investigation ensued regarding the destruction of the schooner, but the men involved were never identified. Finally, the merchants agreed to the fishers' demands, and the method of cash payment in the seal fishery was secured. The 1832 strike was a lasting success.

Other sealers' protests occurred throughout the 1840s – especially with regards to the high cost of acquiring berths on sealing ships. Some of these protests were in the form of a "manus" – a refusal to work. According to historian Shannon Ryan, this "seems to have been unique to Newfoundland. It … differed from a mutiny in that there was no attempt to commandeer the vessel. The men often piled their gaffs and tow ropes on deck and refused to pursue seals, although they would allow others to do so and would agree to work the sails to take a vessel back to port."

The last formal sealers' strike occurred in St. John's in 1902, when it was announced that the price of seal fat would be reduced. Approximately 3000 men refused to sail north and marched to Government House in protest. There were negotiations between the sealers and ship owners, and after three days the strike ended. Merchants were made aware that sealers were willing to protect their interests, even though a formal sealers' union never emerged.



attempted a rivalship.'

The Public Ledger.

"Open to all Parties—influenced by none."

ST. JOHN'S, FRIDAY, February 24, 1832.

WITH respect to the disturbances which have taken place in the neighbourhood of Harbour Grace and Carbonear, as reported in our last, we observe that His Honour the President administering the Government, has directed a proclamation to be issued, denouncing the unlawful combinations which have taken place, and offering a reward for the discovery of the ringleaders in the acts of violence which have been committed.

The subjoined act of Parliament may not be generally known. But we have the best authority for saying that it is considered by the Law officers of the Crown in England, as extending to this Island; and it will be perceived that it particularly describes the outrage which has been recently committed on the property of Messrs. Thomas Ridley & Co. at Harbour Grace, and the punishment which awaits the perpetrators thereof. We are very anxious that it should become a matter of very serious consideration with all those who are disposed to resort to acts of violence for the purpose of producing

4.162 News of the sealers damaging the sealing schooner in Harbour Grace
from *The Public Ledger*, Feb. 24, 1832

Unionization

The first skilled craftsmen to organize into a union were shipwrights in 1851. Between 1886 and 1898, 18 new trade unions were established. They lobbied for higher wages, opposed wage reductions, and sought better (and often safer) working conditions for their members. These unions contributed to a growing working-class consciousness.

The labour movement in Newfoundland expanded with the construction of the railway and the development of land-based industries. These new industries were operated by large international corporations, some of which introduced local branches of international unions, such as the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Local 88 in Grand Falls (1910) and Local 242 in Corner Brook (1925). Unlike craft societies, these unions had the authority to negotiate on behalf of members for changes in wages and other benefits. Unions gained these legal rights under the *Trade Union Act* passed in 1910. Unions were now an established part of Newfoundland and Labrador society.

In addition to the establishment of international unions, "home grown" unions also developed. By the end of the nineteenth century many St. John's merchants began expanding their own factories, warehouses, and fish processing centres – all of which

required greater numbers of employees. Many workers organized themselves and established unions to represent their interests. These included the Wabana Workmen's and Labourers' Union in 1900, the Longshoremen's Protective Union in 1903, and the Newfoundland Industrial Workers' Association in 1917. These unions fought for increased wages, better working conditions, and recognition.

4.163 The *Trade Union Act* of 1910 gave trade unions legal rights.

20 Cap. 5. *Intoxicating Liquors Act.* 17 Ed. vii.

first paid the full price therefor in cash, under a penalty not exceeding fifty dollars for the first offence, not exceeding one hundred dollars for the second offence, and for a third offence forfeiture of license.

C. O. D. sale in local option districts.

4. When any intoxicating liquor is shipped or sent C.O.D to any place by or through the agency of any Express Company or other means of conveyance, to be paid for on delivery, such shipping or sending shall be deemed to be a sale of intoxicating liquor at the place where such intoxicating liquor is delivered, and the shipper or sender thereof shall be liable to all the penalties which, under any Act of the Legislature, may attach to the sale of intoxicating liquor in such place.

CAP. VI.

An Act Respecting Trade Unions and Trade Disputes.

[PASSED MARCH 22ND, 1910.]

SECTIONS

1. Short title.
2. Interpretation.
3. Purposes of Trade Union not unlawful.
4. Purposes not to render agreements void.
5. Respecting the recovery of damages for breach of certain agreements.
6. Companies' Acts not to apply to Trade Unions.
7. Registration of Trade Unions.
8. Vesting of real and personal estate.
9. Description of property in actions.
10. Actions may be in name of authorized officer.
11. Penalties for certain offences by officers of Trade Unions.
12. The Registrar.
13. Respecting registration.
14. Respecting the rules of Trade Unions.
15. Registered office.
16. Change of name.
17. Amalgamation.
18. Registration of notices.
19. Dissolution of Trade Unions.
20. Application of Imperial Acts.

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

1910. *Trade Union Act.* Cap. 6. 21

Short title. 1. The short title of this Act shall be "The Trade Union Act, 1910."

Interpretation. 2. The term Trade Union means any combination, whether temporary or permanent, for regulating the relations between workmen and masters, or between workmen and workmen, or between masters and masters, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, whether such combination would or would not, if this Act had not been passed, have been deemed to have been an unlawful combination by reason of some one or more of its purposes being in restraint of trade.

Provided that this Act shall not affect—

(1) Any agreement between partners as to their own business;

(2) Any agreement between an employer and those employed by him as to such employment;

(3) Any agreement in consideration of the sale of the goodwill of a business, or of instruction in any profession, trade or handicraft.

The term "Secretary" shall include any officer of a trade union acting in the capacity of secretary, or any other person so acting, whether an officer of the union or not.

Purposes of Trade Unions not unlawful. 3. The purposes of any trade union shall not, by reason merely that they are in restraint of trade, be deemed to be unlawful so as to render any member of such trade union liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy or otherwise.

Purposes not to render agreements void. 4. The purposes of any trade union shall not, by reason merely that they are in restraint of trade, be unlawful so as to render void or voidable any agreement or trust.

Respecting the recovery of breach of certain agreements. 5. Nothing in this Act shall enable any Court to entertain any legal proceedings instituted with the object of directly enforcing or recovering damages for the breach of any of the following agreements, namely:

3

4.164 The Retail Clerks' Union Formed in 1868, this was the first union in Newfoundland and Labrador to include women as members. Shown here is a retail clerk* in a Grenfell Mission co-operative store in St. Anthony in 1939.

*It is unlikely that this individual was a member of a union. Why?

4.165 The LSPU logo
from their letterhead.

4.166 Weighing and tallying seals by longshoremen, c. 1920-29
The weighing and tallying of seals was done by longshoremen, members of the St. John's Longshoremen's Protective Union (LSPU).

The Longshoremen's Protective Union (LSPU)

One of the longest operating and most successful unions in Newfoundland was the Longshoremen's Protective Union (LSPU), formed in 1904. The LSPU represented the interests of dockworkers in St. John's, although it was initially created by steamboat labourers – the most skilled workers on the waterfront. The steamboat labourers were responsible for loading and unloading the cargo that passed through the port of St. John's each year. They had the ability to delay the transfer of cargo in order to protest wages or working conditions and held 25 such strikes between 1890 and 1903.

Dockworkers faced poor working conditions. Most were casual employees hired by the hour or by the day. Their work was tied to the arrival and departure of vessels transporting cargo. As a result, employment was sporadic, averaging only about six months per year. Further, wage schedules were not consistent from year to year – or between the various waterfront merchant companies. Dockworkers struck frequently before 1903 in order to gain minimal increases in wages that often were "clawed back."

Were the men always satisfied with the four shillings (80 cents) a day up to now?
"No ... there have been strikes on one or two wharves where cargo was being discharged and on one occasion men got an increase of 10 cents for a while, but the old rates soon resumed."

How do you account for this?
"The men were too poor to stick it out ... and the absence of anything like a combination among the men, accounts for the low wages they have been receiving ..."

4.167 Excerpt from an interview with St. John's dockworkers
in *The Daily Colonist*, Sept. 20, 1890

Participating in a strike could be risky for St. John's dockworkers. Strikers could be replaced by crews of fishing schooners and other transient workers. If a strike was unsuccessful, strikers risked being dismissed by the employer and blacklisted. This made many dockworkers hesitant to strike before the LSPU brought them together in a strong and successful organization. The LSPU was formed in May 1903 to protest the low wages of St. John's steamboat labourers compared to those in Halifax. Although the LSPU only achieved 15 cents an hour (compared to 20 cents in Halifax), they secured a standardized wage schedule from the merchant companies and gained recognition from the merchants as a formal labour organization. Membership in the LSPU increased from 200 in 1903 to 2600 in 1914.

Over time the LSPU monopolized labour along the waterfront in St. John's. It distributed union badges in order to identify strikebreakers and non-unionized workers, excluded transient workers, and imposed uniform hours and wages. It created a Juvenile Branch in 1913, and started a night school program for boy labourers. Strikes became better organized, and were successful in both gaining and protecting benefits gained by workers. The LSPU brought stability to workers on the St. John's waterfront.

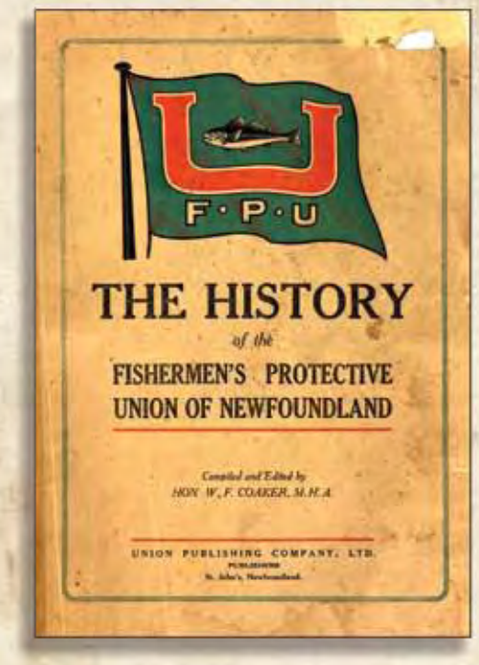
Oh we are the men today,
that struck for higher pay
For we are the bone
and sinew of this land
For our rights we did uphold
and like men we struck out bold,
And determined all to
take a manly stand.

We are the Steam Boat Labor Union,
We got the terms that we did like,
For to help the working man we
were foremost in the van,
The Steam Boat Labor Union strike.

4.168 Excerpt from a Johnny Burke song (title unknown)

The Fishermen's Protective Union (FPU)

Another union that became powerful in the first part of the twentieth century was the Fishermen's Protective Union started in 1908 by William Coaker. The situation for fishers in 1908 was particularly bad as unusually large catches of fish had created a surplus in global markets. This caused merchants to undercut each other's prices, driving the price of fish down. In the midst of this difficult situation, William Coaker saw an opportunity to organize fishers and help get a fairer deal for those living in outport Newfoundland and Labrador.



4.169 ***The History of the Fishermen's Protective Union*** (left) was written by William Coaker in 1920.

4.170 The FPU logo (right) A FPU member stands next to the FPU insignia embossed on the Fishermen's Union Trading Company store blind at Port Union (date unknown).

4.171 Sir William Coaker and Governor Allardyce being welcomed in Elliston by a bugle band in 1923.

In historian Ian MacDonald's words:

> *What was unique about Coaker was … an unusual degree of social and political acumen, which enabled him to perceive two divergent societies – the outports and St. John's – and the commercial and social factors that linked and divided them. In 1908 he took the fishermen's lot on his own shoulders, and walking the length and breadth of Notre Dame Bay he began to organize them. He was able to formulate for the fishermen the resentments and desires for which they themselves could not find words, and the conviction and courage with which he did so bound his followers to him in awe, admiration and respect.*

Coaker felt that fishers needed and deserved some control over their interests in the fishing industry, in which they played such an integral part. He felt the union could "promote the commercial welfare of the fishers by securing the highest price for their fish and the lowest price for their supplies." The organizational framework

4.172 Smallwood was inspired by Coaker and thought of himself as continuing Coaker's legacy.
When describing his hero in *Coaker of Newfoundland* (1927), Smallwood wrote: Coaker was "A man in his early thirties, short, very thick built, strong as an ox, eyes flashing, dressed in the kind of clothes that would be worn by a farmer … Coaker appeared every inch one of the people … He pointed out to them their impotence, their weakness and their powerlessness. They were the prey of merchants, of shark lawyers, of a whole horde of parasites who were living in St. John's."

GOALS OF THE FISHERMEN'S PROTECTIVE UNION

1. Economic: The establishment of union-owned businesses which would purchase supplies at wholesale prices and distribute them among the local councils. Ideally, this would allow fishers to bypass the merchants and eventually break the credit system.

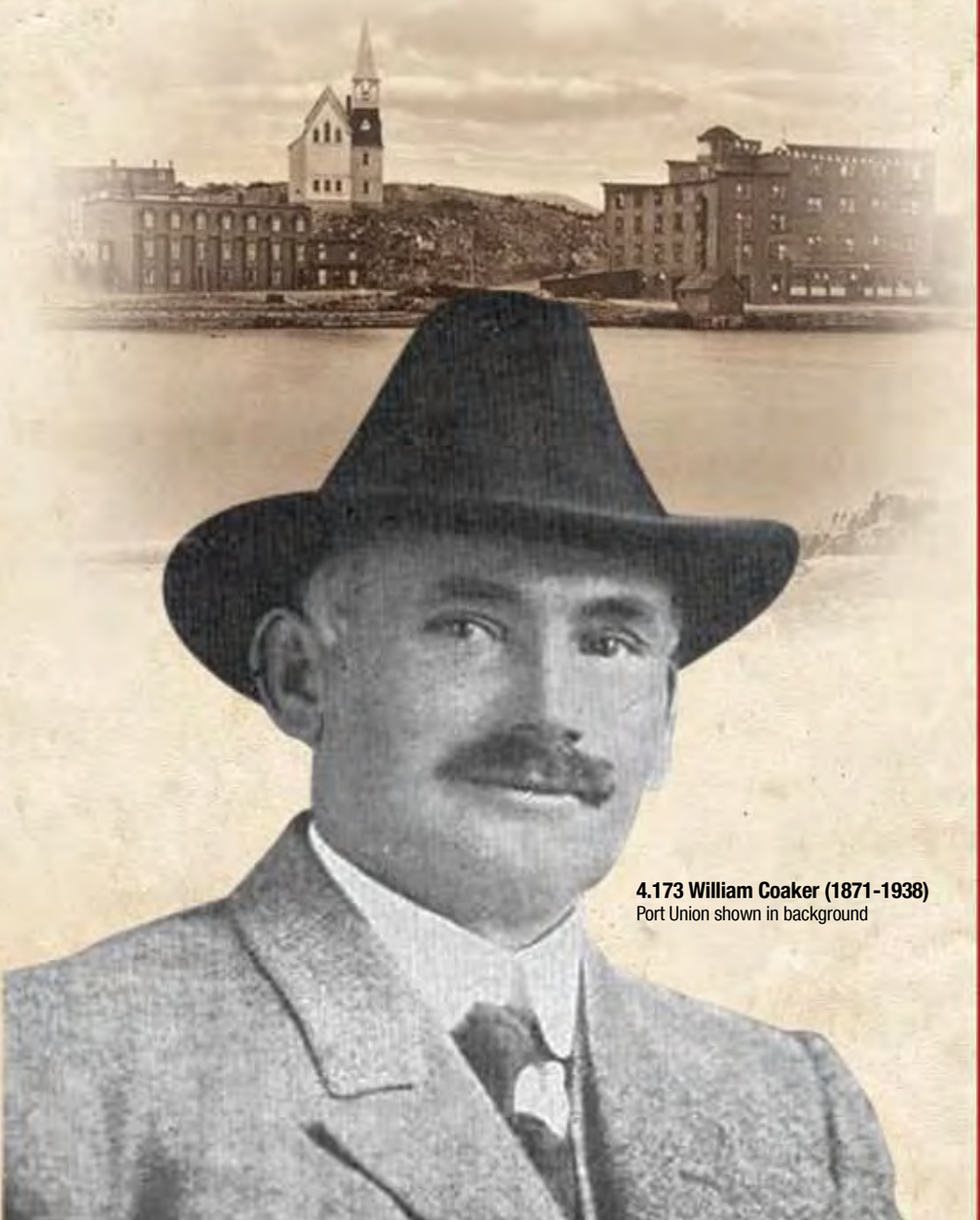
2. Education: The union would provide a forum for fishers to discuss and debate relevant issues and to take collective action. The creation of *The Fishermen's Advocate* in 1910 also helped keep its membership and the general public informed about union activities and developments in the fishing industry.

3. Political: In 1911, the FPU established a political party in an attempt to influence government policy. The party did not intend to form a government, but rather to win enough seats in the House to support the party whose policies were most beneficial to fishers and outport people generally.

of the FPU was based on the **Loyal Orange Association**, but the thinking which guided its practices was a combination of elements from capitalism, socialism, economic cooperation, and trade unionism.

As Coaker spread his message, the union continued to gather support. From the first 19 fishers that signed up as union members in November 1908, the FPU grew to 50 local councils with thousands of members by the fall of 1909, and to approximately 20 000 members from Conception Bay to the northern district* of St. Barbe by 1914. A democratic structure ensured that all members could be represented in the union: local councils elected their own executives, which in turn sent delegates to the governing body, which then elected the FPU's executive officers.

*The FPU was largely confined to the Protestant northeast coast of Newfoundland. Part of the reason for this was that the socially conservative Roman Catholic Church discouraged Catholics from joining unions – and especially the FPU, as it was seen as having links to the Protestant Loyal Orange Association.



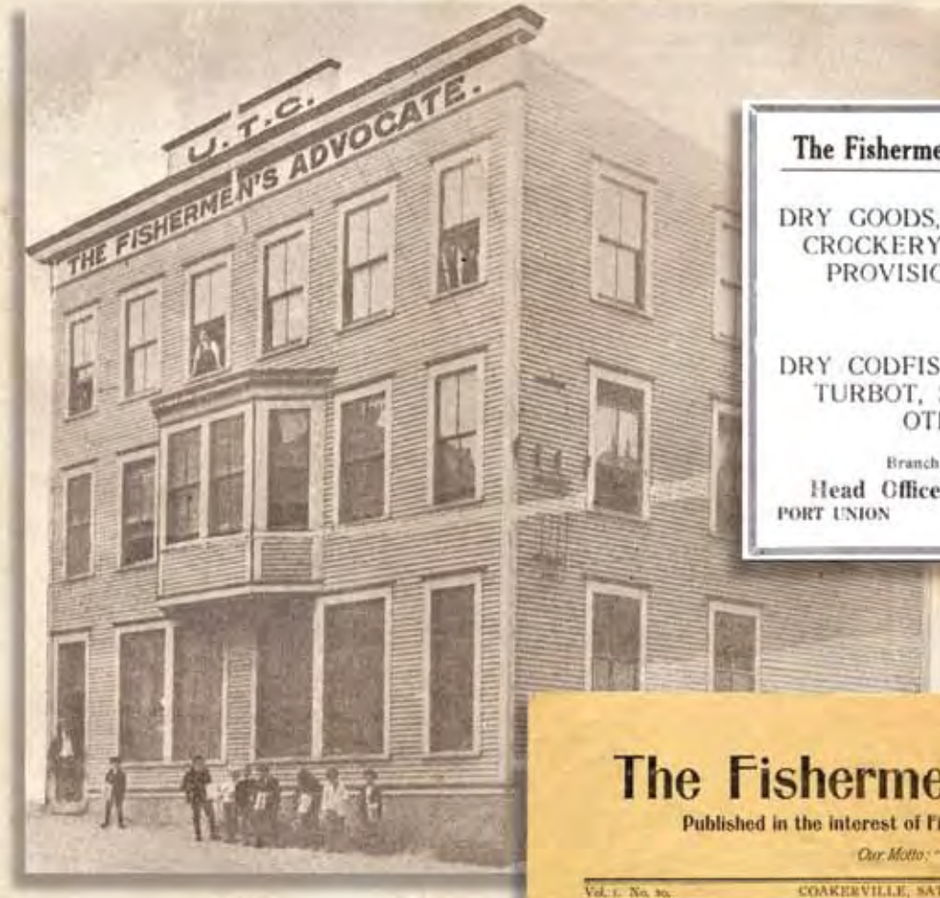
4.173 William Coaker (1871-1938)
Port Union shown in background

THE MAN BEHIND THE FPU: WILLIAM COAKER

William Ford Coaker was born in St. John's in 1871 to a St. John's mother and outport father. He left school at an early age to supplement the family income by becoming a fish handler with Job Brothers in St. John's. There he organized his first strike while just 13: he led a group of young fish handlers protesting that they were paid less than the boys at Bowring Brothers.

At the age of 16, Coaker moved to Pike's Arm, next to Herring Neck, to run a branch of a firm called McDougall and Templeton. He ran the business until 1894, when the business ran into difficulties during the bank crash. He then established a farm on an island near Herring Neck, which he named "Coakerville," and supplemented his income with fishing and lobster canning. In 1901 he married Jessie Cook and later had a daughter with her.

As Coaker became active in the local community, he became increasingly concerned with the lack of control that fishers had in their own industry. To address this, he founded the Fishermen's Protective Union (FPU) in 1908. The union grew quickly and established many commercial ventures to benefit its members. In 1912, Coaker founded the Fisherman's Union Party. Coaker held positions in government from 1913-1924 and from 1928-1932. However after 1924, Coaker focused more on managing the FPU's business activities. Coaker resigned as President of the FPU in 1926, but remained Honourary President until his death in 1938. In later years, he returned to farming and spent time in Jamaica.



4.174 The home of *The Fishermen's Advocate*, St. John's, c. pre-1920
The Fishermen's Advocate was published by the Union Publishing Company, whose headquarters were in St. John's until the company moved to Port Union in 1924.

4.175 Advertisement for the Fishermen's Union Trading Company (date unknown)

The Fishermen's Union Trading Co., Ltd.

Importers of
DRY GOODS, HARDWARE,
CROCKERYWARE, GROCERIES,
PROVISIONS AND ALL OTHER
FISHERY SUPPLIES.

Exporters of
DRY CODFISH, HERRING,
TURBOT, SALMON, COD OIL and
OTHER FISHERY PRODUCE.

Branch Stores in Thirty Harbours.

Head Offices and Distributing Stores
PORT UNION NEWFOUNDLAND

4.176 *The Fishermen's Advocate*, June 11, 1910

Mr. John T. Brown

The Fishermen's Advocate.

Published in the interest of Fishermen's Protective Union.

Our Motto: "Sauve Qui Peut."

Vol. I. No. 10. COAKERVILLE, SATURDAY, JUNE, 11, 1910. PRICE—1 CENT

Fishermen's Advocate.

Editor's Notes.

The FPU entered into several business ventures. These included a trading company, which imported goods and sold them to FPU members at cost through over 40 FPU stores, a light-and-power company, a publishing company, shipbuilding and a shipping company, and a cold storage company. In addition, Coaker began a newspaper, *The Fishermen's Advocate*, in 1910 to keep members informed of union activities, important economic information (such as the price of fish at various centres), and relevant information from government about the fishery, including comments from members of the House of Assembly. In 1914, Coaker built the town of Port Union to serve as union headquarters.

Coaker's next step was to get the Union involved in politics. He founded the Fishermen's Union Party and in 1912 released the Bonavista Platform, a set of political objectives intended to further the interests of fishers. In addition, several candidates were selected to run in the 1913 election, one of which was Coaker.

"It is not by accident that we have come here. A revolution, though a peaceful one, has been fought in Newfoundland. The Fisherman, the common man, the toiler … has made up his mind that he is going to be represented upon the floors of the House to a larger extent than he ever was before; and the day will come Mr. Speaker, when the fishermen of Newfoundland will have the controlling power in this House."

– William Coaker, speaking to the House of Assembly, 1914

THE BONAVISTA PLATFORM

1. **Fishery**
   - standardization of fish
   - government-controlled grading of fish*
   - inspection of fishery products
   - establishment of a commission to oversee these laws
   - appointment of trade agents in the fish markets
   - weekly reports of conditions in those markets

2. **Social Policy**
   - establishment of non-denominational night-schools in the outports in winter
   - schools in every settlement with at least 20 children between ages seven and 14
   - free and compulsory education seven months a year
   - old age pensions for everyone over 70
   - long-distance telephone services to connect settlements
   - elected school boards and municipal (town) councils

3. **Governance**
   - recall of members elected to the House of Assembly who no longer had the support of their constituents
   - increased salaries for members of the House of Assembly to encourage less wealthy individuals to stand for election

*The grading of fish was handled by the merchants' graders or cullers, who often based their judgments on what best suited the merchants' interests rather than the fish's true quality. The lower they graded the fish, the less the merchants would have to pay the fishers for it.

Coaker and seven other FPU candidates were elected as members of the House of Assembly. It was the first time fishers were represented by their own. Coaker continued on in politics, holding the seat for the district of Bonavista from 1913 to 1915, then representing Twillingate for the next four years, and Bonavista again from 1919 until 1924. He was also a member of the coalition cabinet during the war and minister of marine and fisheries from 1919-1924.

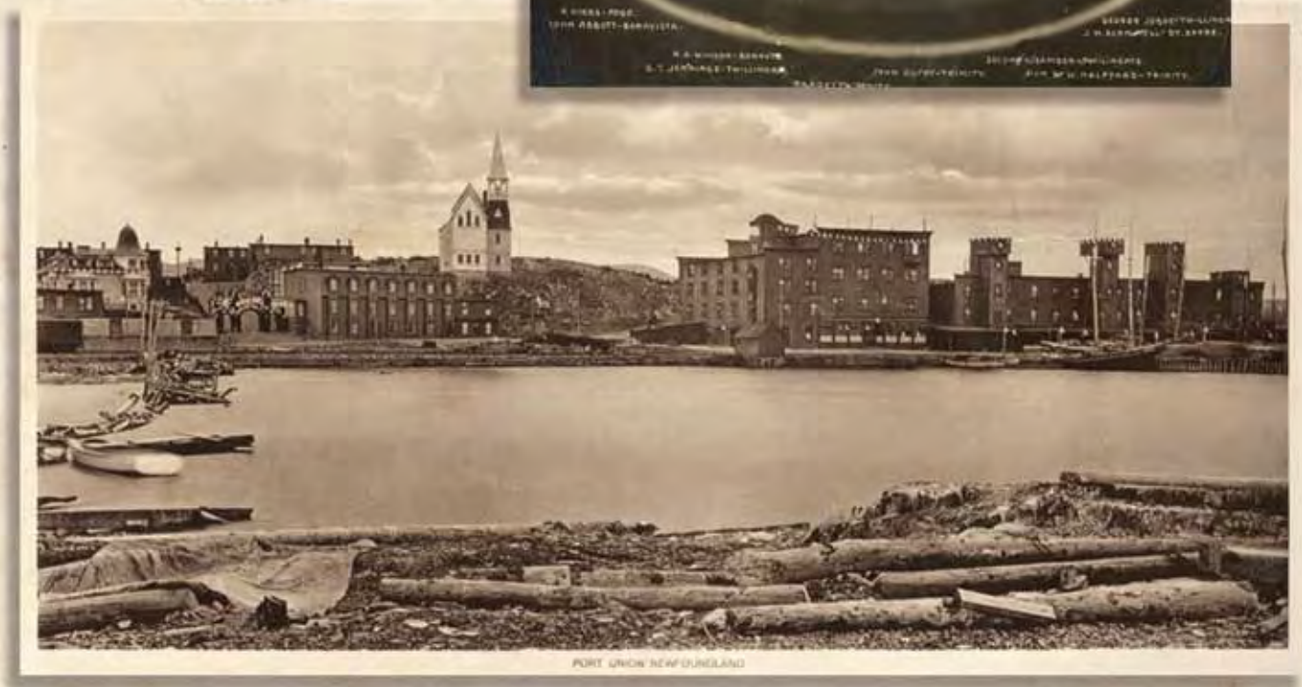
Although the FPU's Bonavista Platform was progressive, many of its "planks" were never realized. Coaker attempted to make many fishery reforms while minister of marine and fisheries, but the Great War, economic depression in the early 1920s, and opposition from many fish exporters prevented most of them from succeeding. Furthermore, Coaker's own position and credibility were called into question when he supported **conscription** in 1918 (which was especially unpopular among Union members) and became allied with the scandal-ridden Squires administrations of the 1920s. Coaker stayed away from politics from 1924 until 1928, when he was elected in Bonavista East. However, his role in the fisheries was not a strong one during this term and Coaker officially retired from politics in 1932.

Disillusioned with responsible government as it functioned in Newfoundland, Coaker recommended the end of responsible government in 1933 and supported a Commission of Government* to run the country's affairs. Coaker also became less and less involved with Union activities after 1926. The FPU continued its activities, but never recovered the momentum of its early days. The union survived into the Smallwood era, but faded away by 1960.

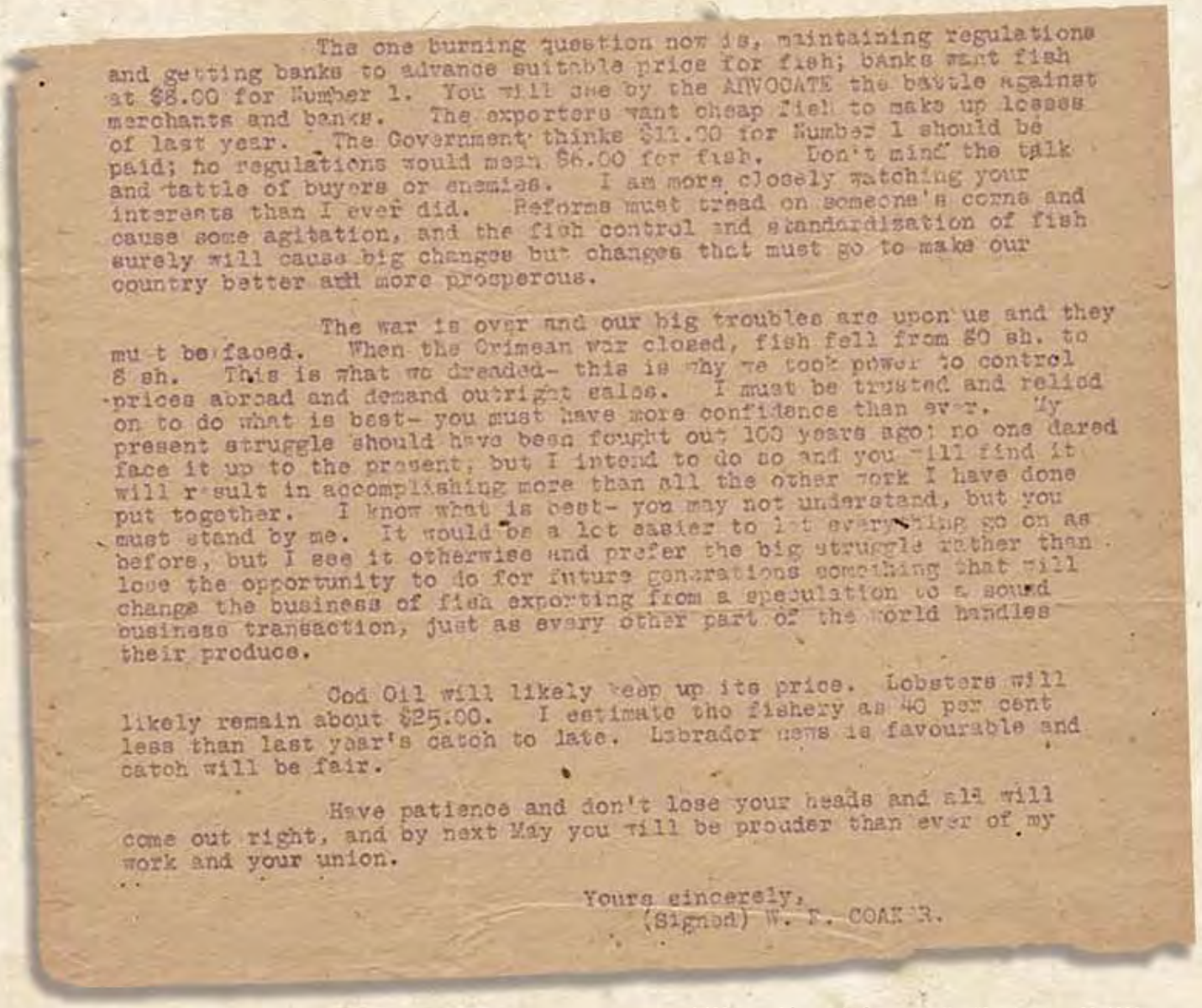
*Although after 1926 Coaker argued for an elected Commission of 10 Newfoundlanders to govern Newfoundland for a period of time, he opposed the form of Commission of Government that was established in 1934 because it was not elected.

4.177 Fishermen's Protective Union flag

4.179 Fishermen's Protective Union (FPU) members of the House of Assembly, 1919
William Coaker is front centre.



4.178 Port Union, 1923
This view of the waterfront shows (left-right): William Coaker's house known as "The Bungalow," arch on Bungalow Hill welcoming Governor and Lady Allardyce to Port Union, Holy Martyr's Church (built 1923 in memory of Coaker's recruits), Port Union Hotel, and the Fishermen's Union Trading Company and fish store.



The one burning question now is, maintaining regulations and getting banks to advance suitable price for fish; banks want fish at $8.00 for Number 1. You will see by the ADVOCATE the battle against merchants and banks. The exporters want cheap fish to make up losses of last year. The Government thinks $11.00 for Number 1 should be paid; no regulations would mean $6.00 for fish. Don't mind the talk and tattle of buyers or enemies. I am more closely watching your interests than I ever did. Reforms must tread on someone's corns and cause some agitation, and the fish control and standardization of fish surely will cause big changes but changes that must go to make our country better and more prosperous.

The war is over and our big troubles are upon us and they must be faced. When the Crimean war closed, fish fell from 60 sh. to 8 sh. This is what we dreaded- this is why we took power to control prices abroad and demand outright sales. I must be trusted and relied on to do what is best- you must have more confidence than ever. My present struggle should have been fought out 100 years ago; no one dared face it up to the present, but I intend to do so and you will find it will result in accomplishing more than all the other work I have done put together. I know what is best- you may not understand, but you must stand by me. It would be a lot easier to let everything go on as before, but I see it otherwise and prefer the big struggle rather than lose the opportunity to do for future generations something that will change the business of fish exporting from a speculation to a sound business transaction, just as every other part of the world handles their produce.

Cod Oil will likely keep up its price. Lobsters will likely remain about $25.00. I estimate the fishery as 40 per cent less than last year's catch to date. Labrador news is favourable and catch will be fair.

Have patience and don't lose your heads and all will come out right, and by next May you will be prouder than ever of my work and your union.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) W. F. COAKER.

4.180 Except from FPU Circular Letter #8 dated Aug. 28, 1920
In this letter Coaker urges Union members not to sell their fish too cheaply and support regulations for minimum fish prices.

Questions:

1. Why did a labour movement emerge in this time period?

2. How would business owners view reforms such as sickness and death benefits?

3. Consider how labour is organized today. What unions are present in your community/ area? Identify some of the types of issues unions address.

4. Over time, working conditions have generally improved. One reason is that government legislation helps protect workers. It could be argued, therefore, that unions are no longer necessary. What arguments could support this view? What would be some counter-arguments?

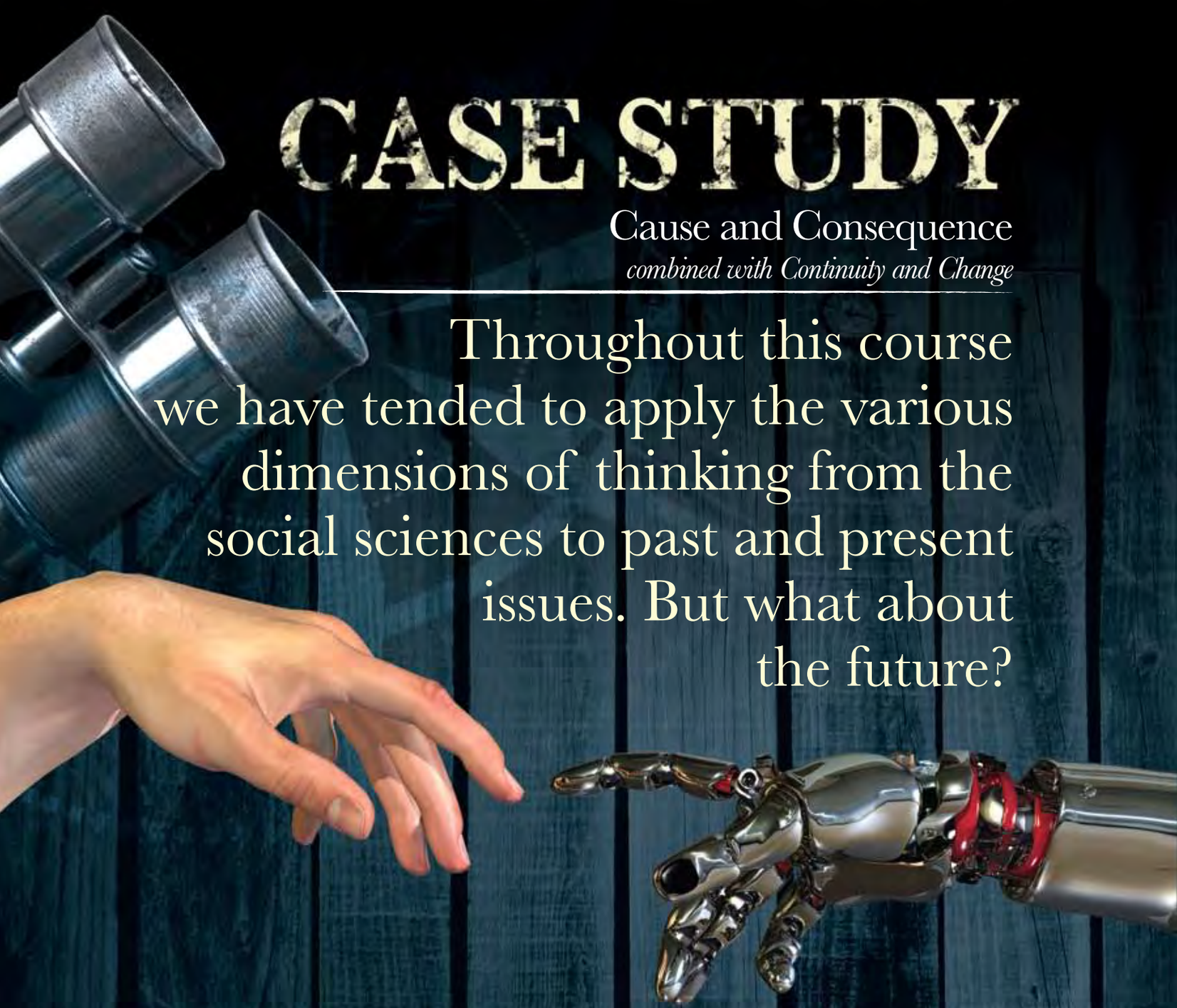
5. In some countries today many workers, including children, work long hours for very low wages. What accounts for the variance in working conditions around the world today? What can you do to help improve this condition?

CASE STUDY

Cause and Consequence

combined with Continuity and Change

Throughout this course we have tended to apply the various dimensions of thinking from the social sciences to past and present issues. But what about the future?



THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE ISSUE OF ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION occupied many of the early administrations under responsible government. Some of these leaders saw railways, steam power, and steel ships as innovations with limitless potential to create a better future for the citizens of the colony. In fact, you might be tempted to argue that premiers such as Whiteway and Bond were visionaries.

While we take them for granted today, developments such as automobiles and air travel were little more than fanciful dreams back then. However, during the first years of the twentieth century, these inventions were becoming embedded in our culture.

Today, governments are much more conscious of the possibility and effect of new innovations rapidly changing our way of life. "A priority … [is] to make sure our young people can seize the opportunities that innovations in science and technology will bring." (Gordon Brown, former UK Prime Minister)

Researchers looked at developments in science and technology that could happen in the next 20 years and predicted 10 jobs we could be doing in the future. Here are the findings:

1. **Body part maker:** Advances in science will make it possible to create living body parts, so we could need living body part makers, body part stores, and body part repair shops.

2. **Nano medic:** Advances in nanotechnology for creating sub-atomic devices and treatments could transform personal health care so we would

need a new breed of nano medicine specialists to administer these treatments.

3. **Farmer of genetically engineered crops and livestock:** New-age farmers will grow crops and keep animals that have been genetically engineered to increase the amount of food they produce and to include proteins that are good for our health. Scientists are already working on a vaccine-carrying tomato and therapeutic milk from cows, sheep, and goats.

4. **Old age wellness manager/consultant:** We will need specialists to help manage the health and personal needs of an aging population. They will be able to use a range of new emerging medical, drug, prosthetic, mental health, natural, and fitness treatments.

5. **Memory augmentation surgeon:** Surgeons could add extra memory to people who want to increase their memory and to help those who have been over-exposed to information and need more memory to store it.

6. **'New science' ethicist:** As scientific advances speed up in areas like cloning, we may need a new breed of ethicist who understands the science and helps society make choices about what developments to allow. It won't be a question of "can we" but "should we"?

7. **Space pilots, tour guides, and architects:** With companies already promising space tourism, we will need space pilots and tour guides, as well as architects to design where they will live and work. Current projects at SICSA (University of Houston) include a greenhouse on Mars, lunar outposts, and space exploration vehicles.

8. **Vertical farmers:** Vertical farms growing in skyscrapers in the middle of our cities could dramatically increase food supply by 2020. Vertical farmers will need skills in a range of scientific disciplines, engineering, and commerce.

9. **Climate change reversal specialist:** As the impact of climate change increases, we will need a new breed of engineer-scientist to help reduce or reverse the effects. The range of science and technologies they use could include filling the oceans with iron filings or putting up giant umbrellas to deflect the sun's rays.

10. **Quarantine enforcer:** If a deadly virus starts spreading rapidly, few countries, and few people, will be prepared. Nurses will be in short supply. As death rates rise, and neighbourhoods are shut down, someone will have to guard the gates.

THE RUNNERS-UP

Weather modification police
Virtual lawyer
Avatar manager/devotees/virtual teachers
Alternative vehicle developers
Narrowcasters
Waste data handler
Virtual clutter organizer
Time broker/Time bank trader
Social 'networking' worker
Personal branders

4.181

Questions:

Perhaps there are some ideas we can glean from this research. Consider the following questions:

1. What trends are shaping the world at the moment? What trends are declining? What trends are increasing?
2. How is Newfoundland and Labrador influenced by these trends? Which of our primary/secondary/tertiary/quaternary industries will benefit from these trends? Which may suffer?
3. What opportunities do I see around me in relation to these changes?

AT ISSUE

Can we build a future around non-renewable resources?

Throughout this chapter, we have examined how Newfoundland and Labrador's economy diversified into new areas during the early twentieth century. Forestry and mining industries steadily grew in importance and joined the fishery as Newfoundland and Labrador's major exporters. The development of these new land-based industries brought about significant and far-reaching changes, both positive and negative, to Newfoundland and Labrador economy, society, and culture.

Families benefited from new jobs, while the colony's economy grew more stable as it diversified into new areas. Wealthy mining and paper companies built entire towns to house workers at such places as Grand Falls and Buchans. The companies also paid for hospitals, schools, roads, and other important social resources. However, many families who moved to industrial towns had to adjust to a new way of life. Workers had to follow the rigid timetable of year-round industrial work instead of the traditional seasonal round associated with the fishery. The new industries also created a sharp divide between home and work that did not exist in fishing outports, where the entire family played a part in the processing of fish, the growing of vegetables, and the tending of any livestock. This helped to marginalize the subsistence household and diminish women's contributions to their family's earnings.

4.182 New industries impacted families' lifestyles in a many ways. For instance, while women had contributed much to the traditional fishery, they played a very minimal role in the economies of the new land-based industries because mining companies, logging operations, and paper mills hired predominantly male employees. (left) men and women work together to dry fish on stages constructed in a field, c. 1912-1915; (right) miners (all male) work on a mass of iron ore at Bell Island, c. 1906

Another key observation that can be made about single-industry communities is that they ultimately tend to fall into decline. This is especially true of towns that depend on non-renewable resources, such as zinc, lead, copper, iron, and other types of ore. As noted in an earlier essay, "Every day a mine is worked it is a day closer to shutdown." In other words, mines are temporary enterprises by their very nature. Towns that build up around them will prosper while the mineral is being extracted, and while prices are high on the international market, but then fall into rapid decline once the resource has been depleted. This is one of the lessons we can take from the history of Wabana, Buchans, St. Lawrence, Baie Verte, and various other mining towns in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Similarly, towns that depend solely on forest industries also face the possibility of future decline. Although forest industries rely on a renewable resource, the economic viability of a forestry operation is still vulnerable to outside forces. A decrease in market demand, fluctuating prices, and the loss of forest resources to fire, disease, or unsustainable practices can all undermine the continued prosperity of any forest industry. Consider the community of Grand Falls-Windsor, which was essentially built around the forestry. In the absence of other large-scale sources of employment, the closure of the pulp and paper facilities in this community dramatically impacted the lives of those who were laid off, as well as businesses based on the operation of the mill.

It is important, therefore, for communities, provinces, and countries to diversity their economies as much as possible. This ensures that, if one industry collapses, others will be able to absorb the unemployed and generate export revenues. In other words, communities with diverse economies are more **economically sustainable** than communities that rely on one or two industries.

Often, economic and **environmental sustainability** go hand in hand. In order to enjoy continued prosperity, communities and industries must develop natural resources in a sustainable manner. For instance, forests are a renewable resource only when harvested in a sustainable manner. If loggers cut down more trees than can be replaced through natural growth or tree-planting efforts, the forest resources will decrease and may even disappear.

Today, our economy is much more diversified than it was a century ago. It could even be argued that we are entering into another golden age. Our oil and gas industry is prospering, as are mining operations at Voisey's Bay and elsewhere. The fishery has also rebounded in recent years, as it has shifted from a groundfishery to a shellfishery, and as aquaculture has rapidly grown in importance. A pulp and paper mill is active at Corner Brook, while manufacturing, agriculture, tourism, and other industries are also contributing to the provincial economy. Further, the proposed development of the Lower Churchill Project has the potential to become a significant future source of jobs and revenue for the province.

4.183 Cruise Ship Entering St. John's Harbour
In 2009, 483 200 visitors to Newfoundland and Labrador spent $374.6 million in our province.

4.184 The Hibernia Platform began producing oil on November 17, 1997.
It has a design capacity of 135 000 to 150 000 barrels of oil per day.

4.185 A modern salmon farm near Belleoram
Aquaculture production in this province was an estimated 11 545 tonnes with a value of $63 million in 2008.

However, two of our major industries – the oil and gas and mining industries – rely on non-renewable resources. Although our offshore oil fields will continue producing for decades, and new finds will likely prolong the industry's activity, Newfoundland and Labrador's oil reserves are finite and will one day disappear. The same can be said of our mineral deposits. What will happen after our non-renewable resources are depleted? In what way might the lessons of economic diversification presented in this chapter help us plan for a sustainable future?

For Discussion:

1. List the different industries and businesses in your community and region. How economically sustainable is your community and region? What can be done to make your region more sustainable?

2. Many people look forward to the development of our hydroelectric resources as a source of increased provincial wealth. Discuss what you believe are the economic, environmental, and social benefits and drawbacks of this sector.

3. Once this province's non-renewable resources are exhausted, is it likely that the fishery will again become the primary source of employment? Explain your answer.

Questions:

1. What are renewable resources? Which of Newfoundland and Labrador's industries use renewable resources?

2. What are non-renewable resources? Which of Newfoundland and Labrador's industries use non-renewable resources?

3. Why is it important to manage resources in a sustainable manner? Choose one of Newfoundland and Labrador's industries and explain what you would do to manage it sustainably.

Chapter Four Review

Summary

In this chapter we studied the government's attempts to diversify the economy of Newfoundland and Labrador in the late 1800s and early 1900s. This was necessitated by the inability of the fishery to remain the primary economic activity in the colony. The development of these interior resources impacted the lifestyle and culture of the colony. We examined how the population of Newfoundland continued to increase through the first half of the twentieth century. We examined life in Labrador, and the changes still faced by Aboriginal peoples as the European population further encroached into their lands. Finally, we studied the beginnings of the labour movement in the colony.

Key Ideas

- By the mid-1800s, several factors limited the ability of the fishery to remain the primary economic activity in the colony.
- The Newfoundland government began to diversify the economy through the development of natural resource industries.
- A railway was built across the island, as the key to opening up the interior and developing these industries, especially forestry and mining.
- The railway was begun in 1881 and completed in 1897. This project had positive results for the colony.
- Geographical distribution of the colony's population changed, as thousands of people left their homes and relocated to regions that offered better economic opportunities.
- Advancements in communication, transportation, education, and health, had major impacts on the lifestyle and culture of the colony.
- Further encroachment of Europeans into territory inhabited by Aboriginal people continued to change their lifestyle.
- During the late 1800s and early 1900s, new immigrants, primarily of Chinese, Lebanese, and Jewish origin, arrived in Newfoundland.
- Life in Labrador during this period differed from life on the island. The Hudson's Bay Company and Grenfell Mission were major influences on life in Labrador.
- The labour movement arrived later in Newfoundland than in other parts of North America. The first unions were formed by skilled workers or craftsmen.
- The Longshoremen's Protective Union and the Fishermen's Protective Union were two of the larger early unions in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Key Terms

Company town
Economic diversification
Emigration
entente cordiale
Fishermen's Protective Union
Golden age
Grenfell Mission
Hudson's Bay Company
Internal migration
Longshoreman's Protective Union
Labour movement
Policy of Progress
Railway
Resource-based industries
Royalties
Sustainability

Questions

1. What were the main problems in the mid-1800s that limited the ability of the fishery to remain the primary economic activity in the colony?

2. Why was the construction of a railway important to the economic diversification of the Newfoundland economy?

3. What were the impacts of economic diversification in the early twentieth century on the lifestyle and culture of the island of Newfoundland? Which change had the greatest impact?

4. What were the most significant factors which influenced people to migrate within Newfoundland and Labrador?

5. How did the lives of First Nations, Inuit, and Metis further change as a result of European encroachment during the late 1800s and early 1900s?

6. What were the main differences between life in Labrador and life on the island in the early twentieth century? What was the most significant difference?

7. Give the main developments in the early history of the labour movement in Newfoundland and Labrador. How did the labour movement influence life in the colony?