TOPIC 6.3

Smallwood's Social Policies

What services do governments provide today?

Are there other areas where government should be more involved?

6.48 The first provincial cabinet, April 1, 1949
Smallwood's government was tasked with fulfilling the promise that Confederation would bring a better standard of living to Newfoundlanders and Labradorians.

6.49 Hoop method of carrying water, Exploits, c. 1943
At the time of Confederation, many outport communities lacked basic amenities such as water and sewer systems.

A Time of Social Change

The Newfoundland which entered Confederation in 1949 was not a modern society by North American standards. While the Commission of Government had made considerable improvements to health care and education, many outport families involved in the fishery still operated under the old truck system, and basic amenities such as electricity, water and sewer, roads, and telecommunications were non-existent in many rural communities. The Second World War and the establishment of several American and Canadian military bases in Newfoundland and Labrador had brought a measure of prosperity to some areas as thousands of local men and women were hired to construct and run them. But when the construction boom ended, many of these residents returned to the fishery, which was still the mainstay of the country's economy.

Confederation promised a better standard of living for the people of Newfoundland and Labrador. However, when Smallwood's newly elected Liberal government came to power in 1949, it realized that, even with help from the federal government, providing essential services across the province was going to be a major challenge. Improving health care and education, providing basic services like water and sewer, and building new roads and other **infrastructure** carried a hefty price tag, especially given that the outport or rural population was scattered along thousands of kilometres of coastline.

6.50 Constructing a sewer pipe

6.51 Filing clerks at work, Family Allowance Office, St. John's, 1949
Confederation brought Canadian social welfare programs to the province.

Smallwood tried to move the province in a new direction, away from the uncertainty and poverty then associated by some with pre-Confederation times. Fifteen years after Confederation, Smallwood wrote:

If you are a Newfoundlander of forty or more you know the miracle of Confederation in Newfoundland; you know it, and you marvel. You need to have lively recollections of what Newfoundland was like before if you are to understand. If you were fifteen or twenty when Confederation came you do not know, and never will … What is the greatest feature of this miracle? … The miracle is in our people; their new standard of living, their new confidence in themselves and in the future of their Island, their new pride in their own history, and above all in the astonishing achievements of their forefathers wrought in conditions of poverty and oppression.

To help fund these improvements, the Smallwood government developed an aggressive economic diversification plan. This economic growth brought about many social changes – some Newfoundlanders and Labradorians left the fisheries to get jobs in new industries, more women began to work outside the home, and more workers were paid in cash instead of credit.

Confederation also meant that Newfoundlanders and Labradorians had access to Canadian social welfare programs and benefits. Residents were eligible to receive family allowances, war veterans' allowances, unemployment insurance, and old age pensions. For many, it was the first time they had supplementary income. These new payments, combined with wage employment in the frozen fish industry, helped families in smaller communities shift to a cash economy. Gone was the complete reliance on credit from merchants, as residents became independent, cash-earning consumers.

Additional social change occurred with the Smallwood government's policy of resettlement. The resettlement program encouraged and, in some instances, compelled families to move or relocate from comparatively isolated communities into designated "growth centres" where it was perceived there were better opportunities for education and regular employment, and access to basic social services. The resettlement program created major shifts in settlement patterns and the demographics of rural Newfoundland and Labrador, and had lasting impacts on the lifestyles of thousands of people.

This consisted of 932 telephone subscribers, scattered throughout remote areas of the province.

An Improved Infrastructure

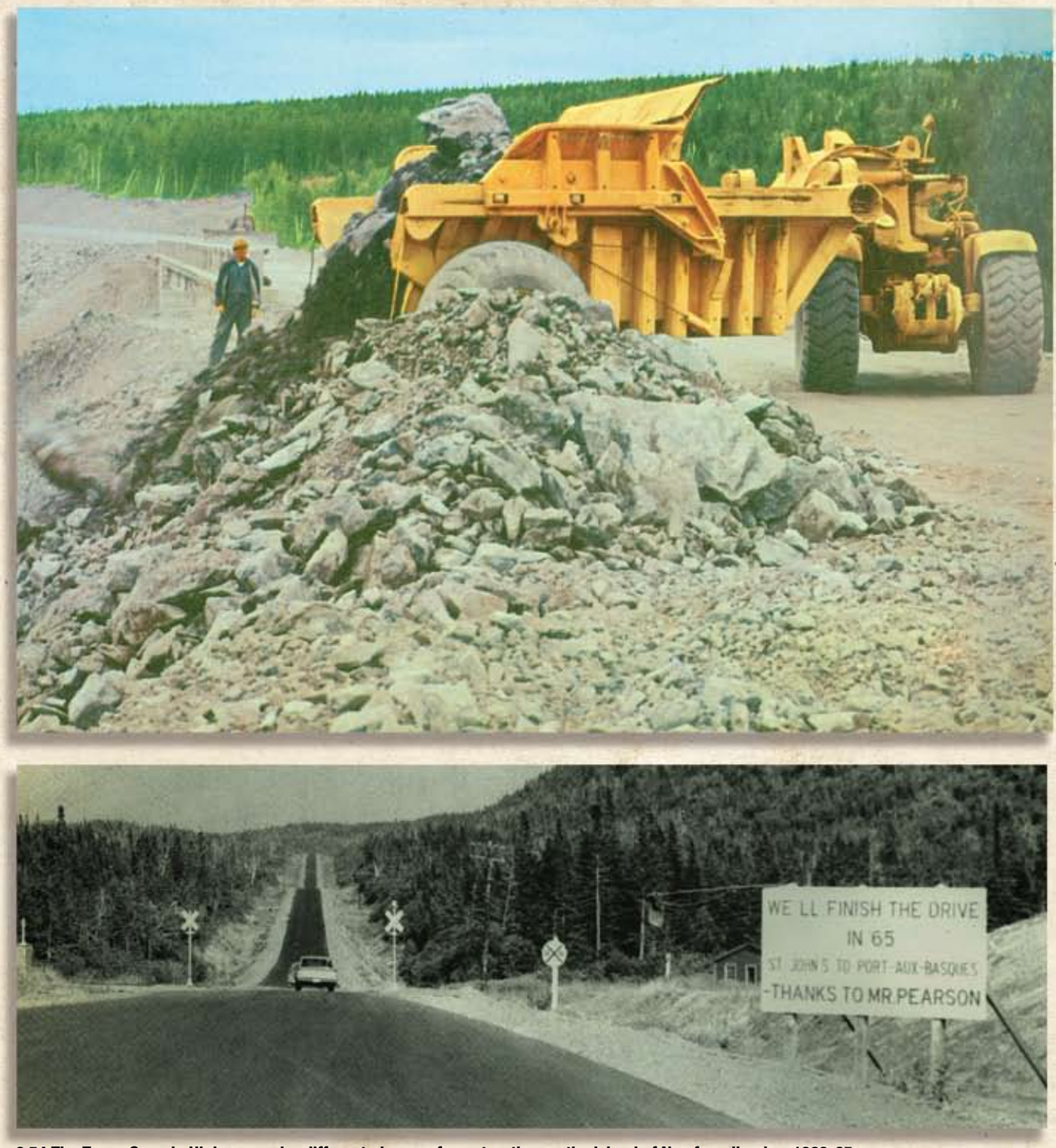
Under Smallwood's government, major improvements were made in communications, electrical power, and transportation infrastructure. Although telephone communications were established in some communities before 1949, the Canadian National Telegraphs system (part of the Canadian National Railways), which took over government telegraph and phone operations after Confederation, and the privately owned Avalon Telephone Company greatly expanded their telephone systems in the 1950s and 1960s. While prior to Confederation there had been less than 20 000 phone service subscribers, by 1966 there were 82 000.

The availability of electricity to Newfoundlanders and Labradorians also increased dramatically after Confederation. While only half of the country's population was using electricity in 1949, by the time Smallwood left office in 1972, electrical service was available to most residents. Some of this was achieved through the work of the Newfoundland Power Commission, which was established by the provincial government in 1954 to explore electricity generating options with a view to rural electrification. This included the development of Newfoundland and Labrador's first major publicly owned hydroelectric project in the mid-1960s at Bay d'Espoir. By 1970, the total generating power of Bay d'Espoir was 450 megawatts (one megawatt equals one million watts).

Improvements in air, water, and land transportation infrastructure also occurred after 1949. Newfoundland and Labrador's significance in air travel had been fully realized during the Second World War when existing airports were expanded and new ones built. After Confederation, the Newfoundland government subsidized local airlines to improve air service within

6.52 Bay d'Espoir powerhouse

6.53 The MV *Leif Eiriksson* was purchased by CN in 1966.

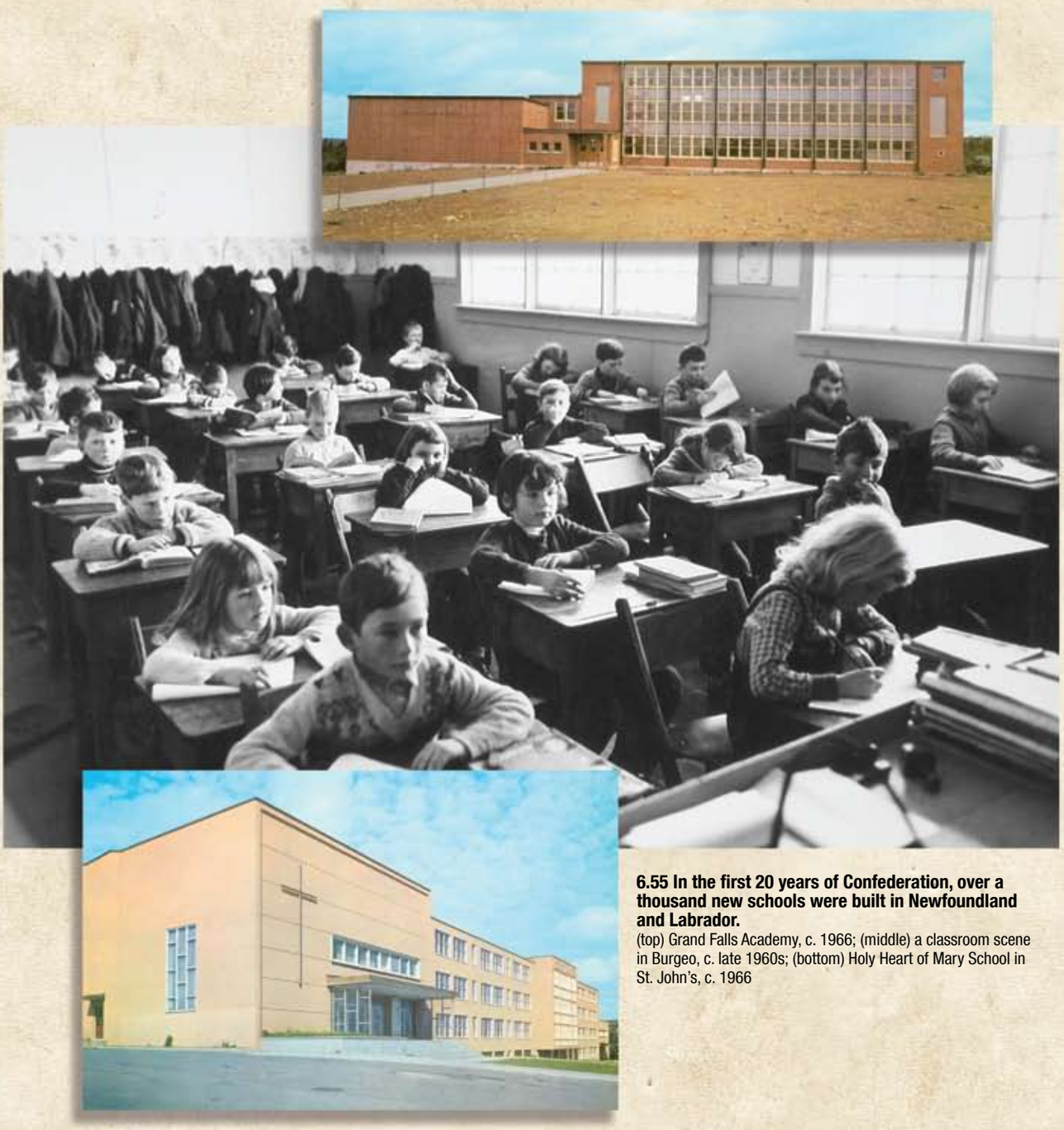


6.54 The Trans-Canada Highway under different phases of construction on the island of Newfoundland, c. 1963-65

the province. Prominent among these was Eastern Provincial Airways, which offered regular flights between Labrador and the island. The province also benefited from improved ferry service when, under the Terms of Union, Canadian National Railways (CN) assumed control of the province's coastal boats and Gulf ferry service between Port aux Basques and North Sydney, Nova Scotia.

Perhaps the biggest improvement in transportation infrastructure that occurred post-Confederation was the construction of the Trans-Canada Highway. Before Confederation there were only 195 kilometres (121 miles) of paved road. By 1965, the Trans-Canada Highway stretched across the island. It linked to a network of peninsular and regional highways that tied together most of the island's older settled communities.

Road developments in the province were a joint venture between the provincial and federal governments. In 1966, a Government of Newfoundland publication stated that more than 3200 kilometres (2000 miles) of brand new roads have been built since 1949 and another 3200 kilometres (2000 miles) of old roads have been brought up to a good standard. It noted that "between 600 and 700 settlements that were, until the coming of Confederation, almost as isolated and remote as they had been a century before, have been linked up to the road system … It is not too much to say that this great network of new roads is changing the whole social outlook of our people." A society once largely reliant on marine transportation had a car for every five people by 1970.



6.55 In the first 20 years of Confederation, over a thousand new schools were built in Newfoundland and Labrador.
(top) Grand Falls Academy, c. 1966; (middle) a classroom scene in Burgeo, c. late 1960s; (bottom) Holy Heart of Mary School in St. John's, c. 1966

Changes in Education and Health Care

Educational opportunities improved greatly after Confederation. The province built and equipped central and regional high schools and provided bus transportation for students in surrounding communities who formerly attended small all-grade schools. Financial incentives from the federal government also helped to increase school attendance. However, one thing remained constant from pre-Confederation days – the denominational school system, which was entrenched in the Terms of Union under which Newfoundland joined Canada.

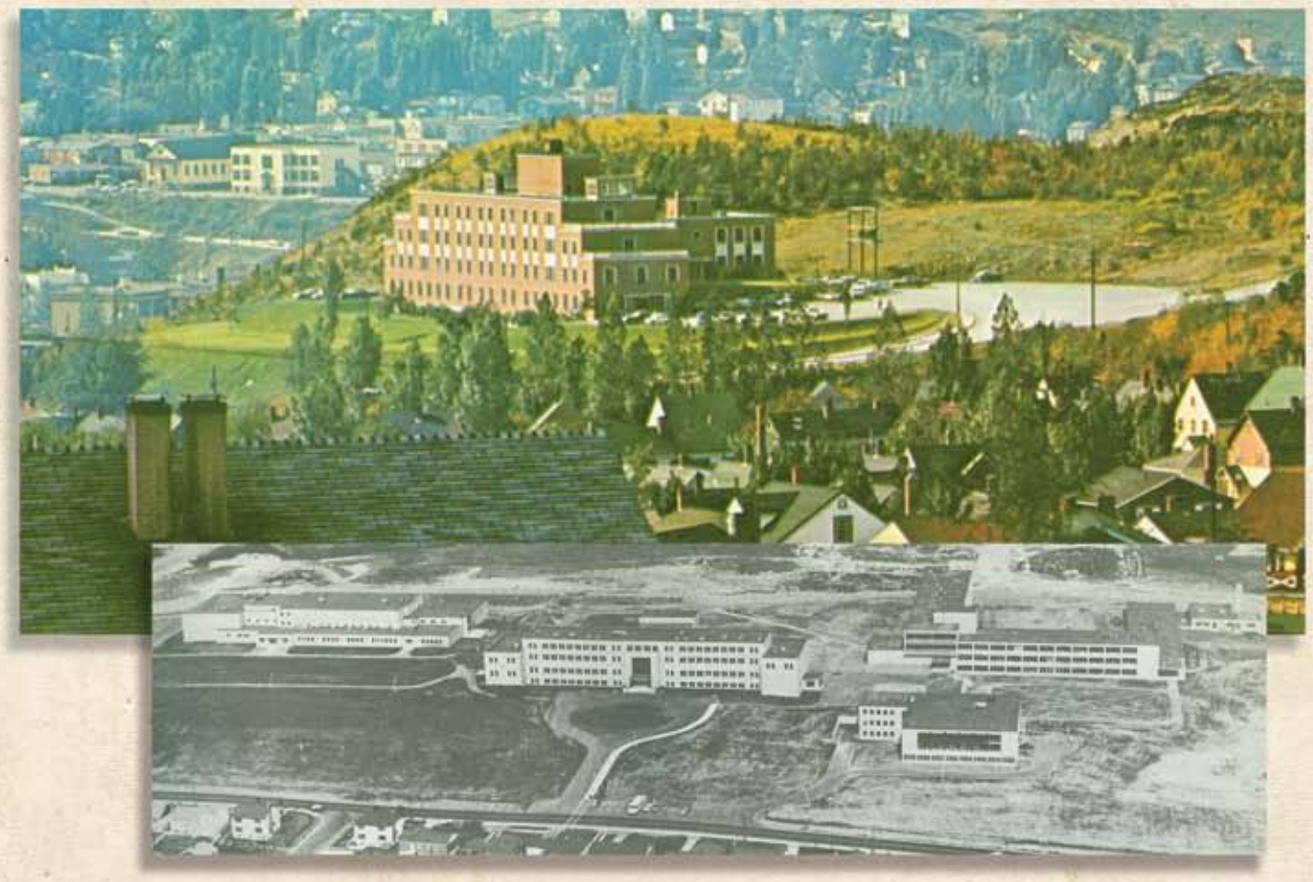
Adult education was also improved. As one of his first acts, Smallwood elevated Memorial University College to the status of a degree-granting university, which soon led to larger enrolments, especially in education. Memorial University's Faculty of Education produced large numbers of qualified teachers to staff the increasing number of schools, and faculty members in general were encouraged to promote the study of all aspects of the province's past, present, and future. In addition to establishing the university, a network of vocational schools was established, as well as the College of Fisheries, Navigation, Marine Engineering and Electronics in St. John's.

Confederation also brought advancements in health care to Newfoundland and Labrador. Many new hospitals were built across the province, including Western Memorial Hospital in Corner Brook, James Paton Memorial Hospital in Gander, and the Dr. Charles A. Janeway Children's Hospital in St. John's. To make health care more accessible to all, Smallwood's government introduced a progressive medical plan in

"We believe that this fine new University will do more than almost anything else to shape the future of Britain's Oldest Colony, now Canada's Newest Province."

–Joey Smallwood, in *The Official Opening of the New Campus of Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1961*

6.56 Western Memorial Hospital in Corner Brook, c. 1966



6.57 The campus of the newly opened Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, 1961.
One of the earliest acts of the government after Confederation was to pass legislation raising the status of Memorial College (opened in 1925) to that of a university. Smallwood turned the sod at the site of the new university campus in May 1951 and helped officially open it in October 1961.

1957, which provided free hospital and medical coverage to all children under the age of 16. This was followed by the Hospital Insurance Act in 1958, which made hospital fees, nursing services, and various diagnostic procedures more affordable. In 1968, another improvement occurred when the province joined the federal Medical Care Plan (MCP), allowing residents to receive a variety of free health care and hospital services.

Questions:

1. How did Confederation help some families in smaller communities shift to a cash economy?

2. Confederation promised a better standard of living for the people of this province. How successful were the Smallwood government's initiatives to improve the standard of living?

3. What was the most significant improvement the Smallwood government made in each of the following areas? Explain.
   a. communication, electricity, transportation
   b. education
   c. health care

TOPIC 6.4

Resettlement

Are there circumstances where forced resettlement is necessary?

Why is there still resettlement today?

6.58 Angela Baker *Ghost Town Reflections – Parsons Harbour*
Angela noted: Big collector boats used to come into this harbour to collect fish. There used to be a large wharf off to the far right, outside of this painting. The building on the left in the painting was the fish merchant's. Stages used to be all along the harbour edge, and roads up to the houses. Today all is overgrown.

Introduction

When Newfoundland and Labrador became a province of Canada, its population was distributed among approximately 1200 communities spread like beads on a string along nearly 30 000 kilometres of coastline. A large proportion of these settled places were small inshore fishing communities of fewer than 250 people. Many were on islands, in locations without access to roads, or where future construction would be too expensive.

Reasons to Move

Confederation eventually brought social welfare benefits such as family allowance, old age pensions, and unemployment insurance, which helped families survive. However, not even those benefits could alter the fact that the provincial government was hard pressed financially to maintain and improve education, health, and other public services to these very small, scattered, and remote communities. Many people in such places found it difficult to secure a livelihood from the fishery and desired to move to larger, better-connected settlements, where they could find other employment and have access to modern amenities. Some, who wished to escape the fishery, find job security, and have access to better services, chose to move permanently to larger centres on the island and, in some cases, to mainland Canada. Resettlement of communities had been occurring naturally in many parts of the province for decades, but it was formalized as a social and economic plan during Smallwood's tenure as Newfoundland's first provincial premier.

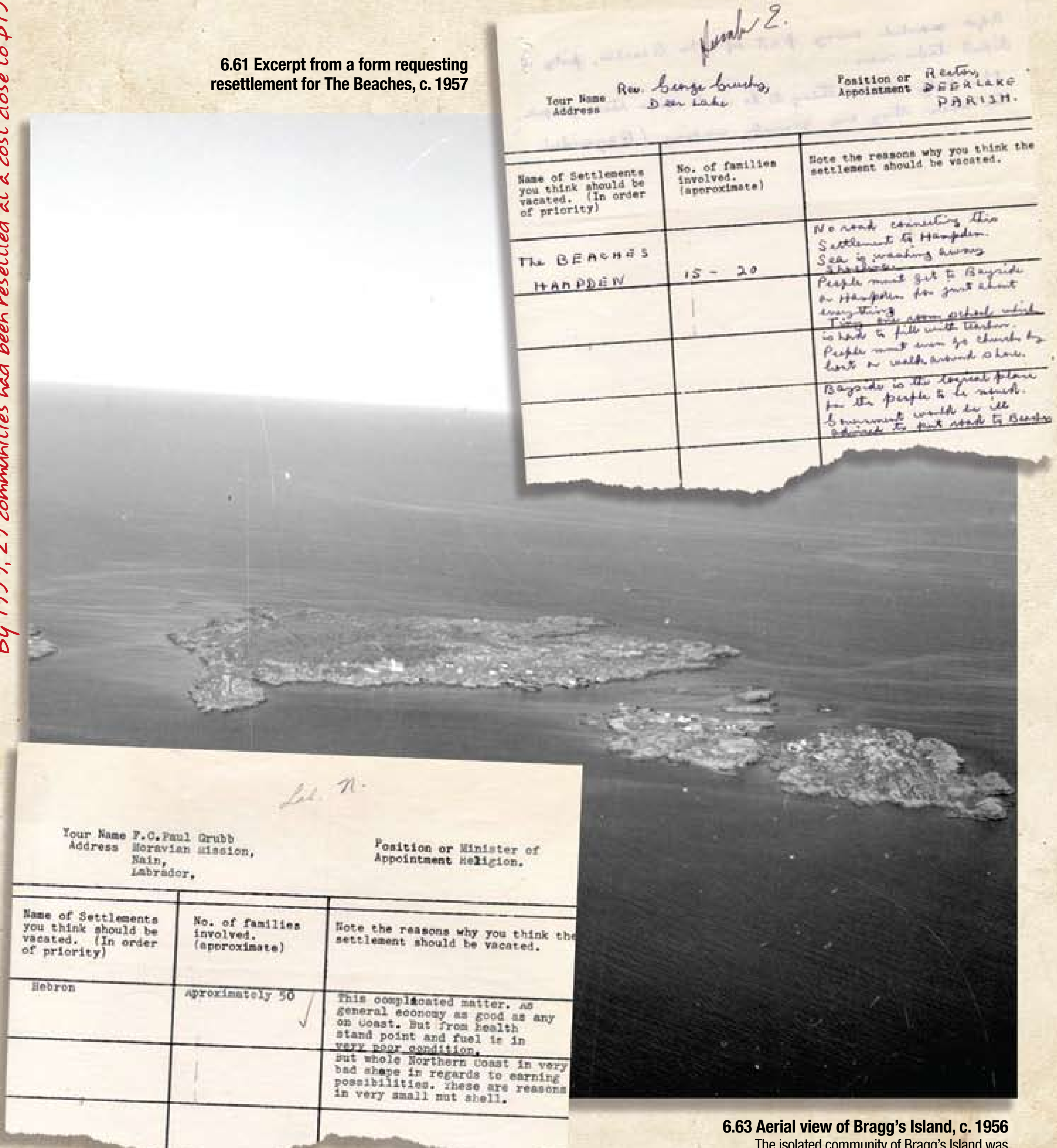
6.59 *Mission of Mercy* by Ed Roche
Lack of medical services in isolated communities was one of the push factors for people to resettle. Artist Ed Roche explains the story behind the scene depicted in this painting: "In 1970, only three families still inhabited Ireland's Eye. One night a young baby got seriously ill. While his mother holds him close for warmth and reassurance, the men row feverishly to get the infant to the closest hospital, which is in Trinity. They got him there safely and saved his life but on the way home, the men got lost in the stormy waters and all drowned."

6.60 Leaving Fox Harbour
A house is moored to the shore awaiting high tide during the course of a resettlement from Fox Harbour to Flat Island in 1961.

First Official Resettlement Program

The first post-confederation government-sponsored resettlement began in the early 1950s. The residents of three islands in Bonavista Bay asked the government for assistance to move closer to their winter workplace in the logging industry. Whether this request was the catalyst or not, the provincial government introduced the **Centralization Program** in 1954, which offered voluntary resettlers between $300 and $600 per household to relocate. To receive these grants, 100 per cent of the residents had to agree to the relocation of an entire community.* Short-haul moves were common in the early years of resettlement; some families even floated their houses to the new destination. The receiving communities were not isolated and offered better services; resettlers often chose communities based on family ties or religious affiliations. The provincial government helped a few thousand people move into larger service centres under centralization, but there was not enough employment to support those who relocated.

*By 1959, 29 communities had been resettled at a cost close to $150 000.



Kenneth Z.

Your Name Rev. George [illegible],
Address Deer Lake

Position or Appointment Rector, DEER LAKE PARISH.

Name of Settlements you think should be vacated. (In order of priority)	No. of families involved. (aproximate)	Note the reasons why you think the settlement should be vacated.
The BEACHES HAMPDEN	15 - 20	No road connecting this Settlement to Hampden. Sea is washing away shoreline. People must get to Bayside or Hampden for just about everything. Tiny one room school which is hard to fill with teacher. People must even go church by boat or walk around shore. Bayside is the logical place for the people to be moved. Government would be ill advised to put road to Beaches

6.61 Excerpt from a form requesting resettlement for The Beaches, c. 1957

6.63 Aerial view of Bragg's Island, c. 1956
The isolated community of Bragg's Island was resettled between 1952-1955

Lab. N.

Your Name F.C.Paul Grubb
Address Moravian mission,
Nain,
Labrador,

Position or Appointment Minister of Religion.

Name of Settlements you think should be vacated. (In order of priority)	No. of families involved. (aporoximate)	Note the reasons why you think the settlement should be vacated.
Hebron	aproximately 50	This complicated matter. As general economy as good as any on Coast. But from health stand point and fuel is in very poor condition. But whole Northern Coast in very bad shape in regards to earning possibilities. These are reasons in very small nut shell.

6.62 Excerpt from a form requesting resettlement for Hebron, c. 1957

The Second Phase of Resettlement

The province now sought federal government participation and in 1965 the second phase of resettlement, the Fisheries Household Resettlement Program, was established. Under this program, families were encouraged to settle in designated "growth centres." These were larger settlements, which usually had a fish plant, roads, and infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, and water and sewer. Under this agreement, an outport could qualify for resettlement assistance if at least half of the householders in a public meeting passed a resolution in support of resettlement. An elected three-person committee then negotiated the terms of the move with the government. There had to be a petition signed by at least 90 per cent (80 per cent by 1967) of the community's householders. The petition also included the name of the growth centre where the community intended to relocate.

After the request for relocation was approved, householders had to apply for government assistance. Each household received $1000 and an additional $200 for each family member. Moving expenses, up to $3000, were paid to cover the cost of moving homes, furniture, buildings, boats, and fishing gear. Receipts for the expenditures were submitted to government and monies were reimbursed to resettlers after the completion of the move.* In the early years of resettlement, some people who could not find suitable employment in their new communities returned to their former homes in the summer to fish and thus maintained two dwellings. The provincial government attempted to discourage this, in some cases, by destroying buildings or seizing property left behind. Under the 1965 program, about 24 communities were resettled, although an additional 262 households were helped to relocate from various communities that had not been completely resettled.

After a review of the 1965 program, the second Newfoundland Resettlement Program was launched on July 17, 1970, again as a provincial/federal partnership. Many of the features of this program resembled those of the 1965 initiative, but the plan was more tightly tied to economic development. In order to qualify, resettlers had to reside in government-designated outports where 80 per cent of householders had agreed to move, and the relocation grant was increased to $1200.

6.64 Launching Alex and Annie Stacey's house on Sound Island, Placentia Bay

6.65 Pulling Mike and Hilda Symmonds' house across the road in Conche

*Between 1965 and 1970, 3242 households, totalling 16 114 people from 119 communities were resettled. The cost to the Federal Government was $5 011 582; the cost to the Government of Newfoundland, $2 428 198.

DIMENSIONS OF THINKING EVIDENCE

The Forgotten Coast

Information becomes evidence when used for a particular purpose, such as interpreting the past.

6.66 ***Alf Doyle in Parsons Harbour Cemetery*** **by Angela Baker**
Angela noted: "My good friend Alf examining gravestones in Parsons Harbour graveyard. The settings of both Parsons Harbour and Rencontre West** are incredibly beautiful. On the right is the old school outhouse tipped over. Nothing else remained of the school when we visited. What must it have felt like for people to leave their loved ones and ancestors in these graveyards, destined to the loneliness of winds and encroaching Nature?"

Artist statement: Resettlement was once described as the largest forced mass migration in Canadian history. Some regard Joey Smallwood, who promoted resettlement in the 1960s, as a saviour for bringing the family allowance; others as a devil for uprooting them. Some dismantled and moved their houses. Some towed them by sea to new places. First inspired by the rugged beauty of the coast between Grey River and Francois, I was moved later by the sadness of lonely graveyards, decaying houses, churches, and overgrown ruins. Curiosity led me to research this area's social history, gathering stories and photographs from "**livyer**s" around the province. Their nostalgia about their roots resonated with my experience of leaving Jamaica to resettle in Newfoundland in 1976.

6.67

"I hope my paintings show the beauty and poignancy of these lost communities, and provoke questions that may help preserve the heritage of Newfoundland's unique sou'west coast, known as 'The Forgotten Coast'."*

– Angela Baker

*This is the evidence artist Angela Baker used to tell the story of the south west corner of the island of Newfoundland.

**Rencontre West was a large community in Rencontre Bay on the south coast, east of Francois. Parsons Harbour was another smaller community near the entrance to Rencontre Bay. In the 1960s some families began to move to Burgeo, Burnt Islands, and Port aux Basques. Rencontre West was closed in 1968.

6.68 ***Collapsing house in Rencontre West*** **by Angela Baker**
"Rencontre West was once a thriving fishing community on the southwest coast of Newfoundland. People in Francois have kept a few houses as cabins, but the church and most of the houses have collapsed. When I first visited there this kitchen was the only part still standing of one such home."

6.69 ***Collapsing house in Rencontre West – through the window*** **by Angela Baker**
"I looked through the rotting kitchen window at an old stove, an old mattress, bits of wood and wondered how folks felt when they had to leave such a beautiful place. A year later I revisited Rencontre West and the kitchen had collapsed. Imagine how it must have felt to abandon your home."

6.70 ***Collapsed house Rencontre West*** **by Angela Baker**
"When the foundation rotted, the kitchen collapsed exposing the brick chimney. One year later everything had fallen flat to the ground."

6.71 Communities "Livyers" have left

Petites, North Bay

Bear & Deer Islands

Fox Island

Dog's Cove (Bay de Vieux)

Cul de Sac West

Cape La Hune

Deadman's Cove

Parsons' Harbour

Rencontre West

Bob Locke's Cove

Cul de Sac East

Richard's Harbour

Muddy Hole

Mosquito

Pushthrough

Great Jervois (Jervais or Jarvis)

Goblin

Grole

Stanley Cove

Stone Valley

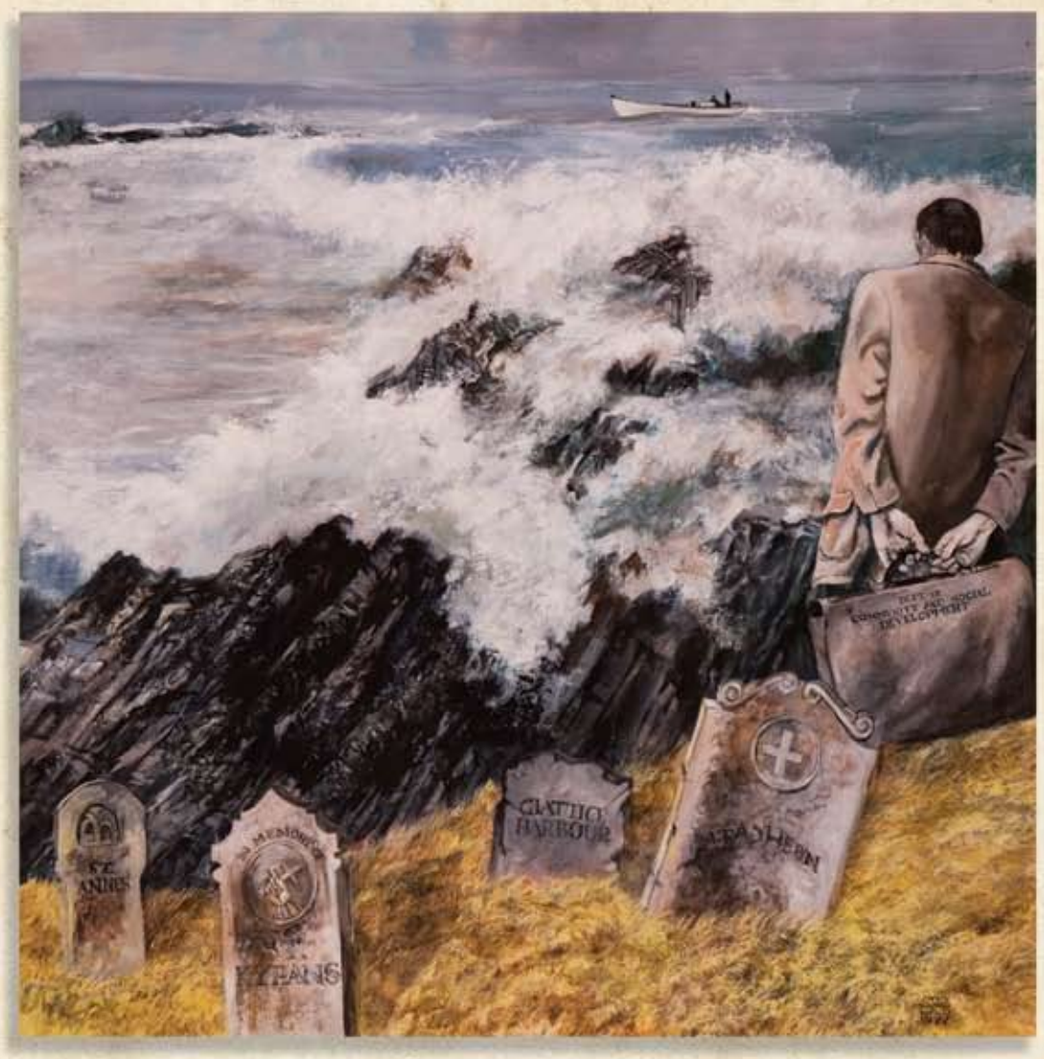
Grand Bruit (2010)

6.72 ***Pushthrough Church and School Ruins*** **by Angela Baker**
"Pushthrough lies between McCallum and Hermitage on the south coast. It was once a large, thriving fishing community with local businesses. Now ruins are all that remain ashore. The old government wharf is still there in poor condition. On the left are foundations of the church, and on the hill on the right are the foundations of the school. These had to be very strong to withstand fierce winds. Families from Pushthrough returned for a big reunion in 1991. It has been a privilege for me to be taken to all these communities by generous Newfoundlanders who love their ancestral homes."

Of more than 30 communities between Rose Blanche and Hermitage, only seven remain: La Poile, Burgeo, Ramea, Grey River, Francois, McCallum, and Gaultois.

Questions:

1. What signs of resettlement can you see in the images?
2. Looking at the surroundings, what kind of lifestyle do you think the community residents lived?
3. Many people were distraught at having to leave their communities. What evidence is there in the images that leads you to realize how the people might have felt?
4. How is the art in this Dimension of Thinking evidence?



6.73 *Resettlement* by Gerald Squires, 2004

Issues with Resettlement

Although the resettlement programs did not become a serious political challenge for the Smallwood government, academics found that many resettlers felt they were manipulated into leaving their communities. The required approval of 80 per cent of householders often created animosity among outport residents, pitting those who wanted to move against those who wished to stay. Further, some growth centres did not have enough jobs to employ all the resettlers.* Fishers who had little formal education or training could not find work or did not feel capable of being retrained for work, and fishing grounds around the growth centres were usually reserved for long-time local fishers. For those who could not afford new homes, government assistance was inadequate. As a result, housing was a real challenge for large families, widows and single mothers, the ill and physically challenged, and the elderly. As resettled families poured into communities with better services, overcrowding became an issue. One community responded to the challenge by sending children to school in shifts.

Some academics argued that resettlement destroyed the identity of a whole group of outport dwellers whose way of life had roots in the early resident fishery. Others saw resettlement as an organized response to a migration that was bound to happen as the salt fishery declined and the fresh-frozen sector, with processing in larger centres, emerged. Ultimately, it was too expensive for the provincial government to provide the level of services that all Newfoundlanders and Labradorians deserved. Only in larger communities, the government argued, could residents have access to adequate schools, medical services, road connections, telecommunications, and frequent postal services.

The post-confederation government-sponsored resettlement was a phenomenon that cannot be completely rationalized in terms of dollars and cents. It was an emotional issue that sometimes divided families and friends. Resettlement fostered a sense of loss that not only affected the immediate generation who lived through it, but also played a large role in the mindset of the generations that followed. Some saw it as a catalyst of the cultural nationalism which took root in songs such as "The Government Game," written by Pat Byrne and Al Pittman in 1983. This song describes a sense of shame felt by resettlers associated with accepting government's money to relocate. There was a feeling that resettlers 'sold out' and robbed their children of the chance to know their outport heritage. Similarly, the song "Outport People," written by Bud Davidge in 1986, discusses the sense of displacement and the memories of a better, less complicated way of life. The play *West Moon*, written by Al

*The cost of relocation for the average householder was estimated to be far greater than the assistance provided by government. It would take the average household 20 years to replace what was lost in the move. The estimate included replacement of property and gear, cost of the move, and loss of employment income.

*Just outside the community of St. Mary's, a model community depicting Olderin (a community in Placentia Bay resettled in 1966) has been constructed next to a house.

Pittman and first performed in 1980, is set in a resettled outport, where the ghosts of the dead lament the abandonment of their homes while exploring some of the same themes.* Resettlement is an issue that continues to be remembered and debated. It has also proved to be a source of inspiration for many Newfoundland and Labrador visual artists and songwriters, as shown in this lesson.

6.74 Newfoundland and Labrador: trends in resettlement

Period	Number of Resettled Families	Resettlement Grants
1953-1959	697	$300-$600 per family
1960-64	864	$1000 and $200 for each family member, moving expenses up to $3000
1965-71	3664	$1200 and $200 for each family member, moving expenses up to $3000

6.75 Songwriter Bud Davidge's thoughts on his song "Outport People":

My parents resettled from their home in Bay Du Nord in 1968. The song was written in 1985 so it was a retrospective. The song is from my father's perspective looking back at all they had left behind and the memories were fresh and the hurt still lingered. Resettlement in many cases was bittersweet. They loved where they went, but "the thoughts of home are long long thoughts."

Outport People

Bud Davidge

They're outport people with outport ways
But there's no where to use them and now it's too late
And they curse on the one who uttered the phrase
Resettlement now while resettlement pays
He sits on the dock and he looks cross the bay
And watches his memories as they pass on the waves
And he wonders what cards fate might have dealt
If he told those officials to go straight to hell
Cause you can't take a man from the soil where he grew
Lest you know how to solace his mind when you do
And for God sake don't say how much greener's the grass
Cause those uprooted people start to wither too fast
You can launch a house easy and tow it away
But the home doesn't move it continues to stay
And the dollars you make sure they'll keep you alive
But they won't soothe the heart and they can't ease the mind
He sits on the plank and the memories roll
The spring sun is shining there's a lop in the cove
And the shoreline is dotted with lobster pot buoys
But his boat's full of weeds and there's tears in his eyes
Don't take a man from the life that he knows
And tear up his roots and expect him to grow
Cause if he's unwillingly forced to decide
He'll move without leaving and never arrive
Don't take a man from the life that he knows
And tear up his roots and expect him to grow
And for God's sake don't say how much greener's the grass
Cause those uprooted people start to wither too fast

A LETTER ON RESETTLEMENT

Dear Mrs. Stoodley:

I have read with very great interest your important letter to me on the subject of centralization of population. There is scarcely a word in your letter with which I disagree. That is to say, I agree with practically every word of it. … You do seem, however, to be under one very grave misunderstanding. You seem to think that the Government has some plan or intention to force people to move. That is the last thing on this earth that we will do, or even think of doing. Whether we like it or not some people will move. They always did move, and they always will.

The Government would be willing to help people to move, provided certain conditions were met … In the first place, we will help people to move only if their move is absolutely voluntary. In the second place, … where the whole population of a place, after meeting and discussing the matter, agree practically unanimously that they want to move. Third, … where the Government itself approves the place to which they will move. We certainly do not intend to spend public money to help people to jump from the frying pan into the fire …

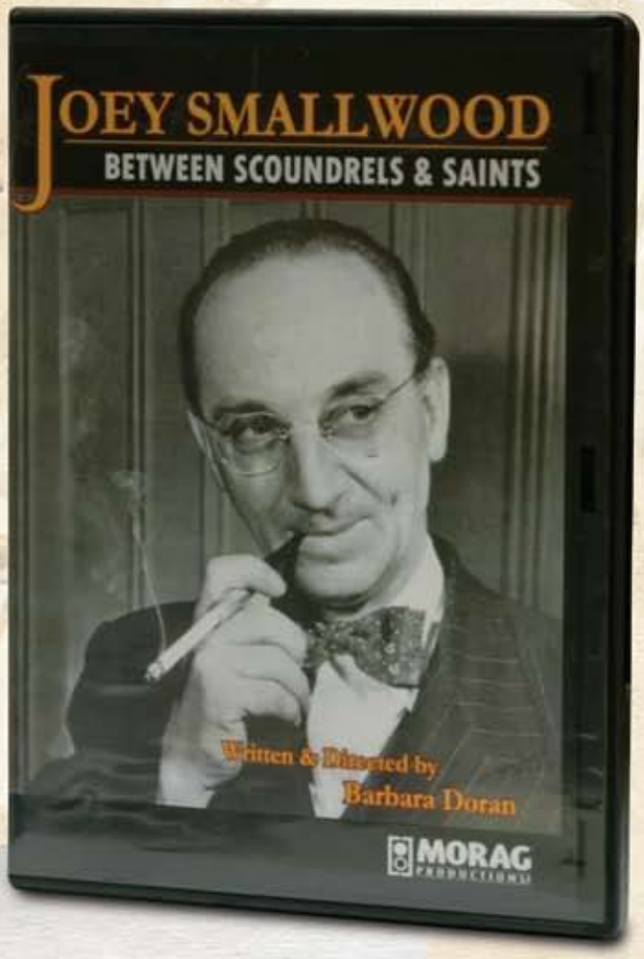
Letters such as yours, written by intelligent and thoughtful and patriotic people, will be of very, very great importance to us in shaping our ideas.

Very sincerely yours,
J. R. SMALLWOOD, Premier.

6.76 From a letter to Mrs. Walter Stoodley, Manfield's Point, G. B. Province of Newfoundland, Office of the Premier, St. John's, Jan. 9, 1958

Exerpt from *Joey Smallwood: Between Scoundrels And Saints*, a documentary by Barbara Doran

Resettlement is one of the many issues explored in this film biography of Joey Smallwood. This is done through the use of interviews, photos, and historic film footage.



6.78 DVD cover of the documentary *Joey Smallwood: Between Scoundrels and Saints*

6.77

EXT. OCEAN. DAY

FILM FOOTAGE OF FISHING SCHOONER ON THE WATER IN ROUGH SEAS.

FISHERMEN PULLING UP THEIR NETS

HAROLD HORWOOD (O.S)
Joey always thought that people went to sea because they had to. He always thought fishermen fished because they had nothing better to do or that they couldn't do anything else.

FISHERMAN TYING DOWN LINES FROM THE BOAT.

(CONTINUED)

CONTINUED: 2.

HAROLD HORWOOD
He grew up as a farm boy and he had the farm boy's attitude towards the sea, that it was sort of evil. Ah, it was too bad that Newfoundlanders had to go out in fishing boats, ya know. Ah, (Laughs) it was a very strange attitude from any Newfoundland Premier.

CUT TO:

Experiencing The Arts

To learn more about filmmaker Barbara Doran and her other work, turn to page 606.

3.

RICHARD GWYN INTERVIEW

RICHARD GWYN
One of his responses to that was to do nothing about the fishery. He never paid any attention to the fishery while he was Premier except minimally every now and then. And the other one was resettlement. Moving people out of the outports into larger settlements, group settlements as they were called. Of course, they weren't group settlements they were just settlements for the unemployed.

VARIOUS FILM FOOTAGE SHOTS OF A GROUP OF MEN HOISTING A HOUSE DOWN A ROAD IN A SMALL VILLAGE USING A ROPE. GUIDING THE HOUSE DOWN TO THE WHARF.

RICHARD GWYN (O.S.)
What was brutal about that, I mean, well part of it was naturally inevitable as many settlements simply couldn't exist. They were too small or couldn't be reached by roads so they couldn't get teachers or they couldn't get nurses and so on.

THE HOUSE FROM THE PREVIOUS PICTURES IS NOW ON THE WATER READY TO BE MOVED BY BOAT. FISHERMEN SECURE ROPES AROUND THE WOODEN FLOATING HOUSE.

A GROUP OF BOYS WATCH AS THE HOUSE IS TAKEN OUT TO SEA.

FILM FOOTAGE OF FISHERMEN PULLING A HOUSE ALONG THE WATER IN THEIR PUNTS.

(CONTINUED)

4.

CONTINUED:

RICHARD GWYN (O.S.)
He wrenched them out, he pulled them out and he tore apart a piece of Newfoundland society away from its own roots and I think it was one of his worse mistakes.

FADE TO BLACK:

6.79 A glimpse of resettlement: Pulling a house across the ice at Cook's Harbour, Northern Peninsula, 1953

Experiencing The Arts

Now it's time to complete the last stage of the production process and for the craft and creativity of the editor to shine through. Make effective use of the screenplay and storyboards, as well as the log that was recorded during the shooting of the film.

It is often a good idea to do a first round of edits to your film and then leave it for a couple of days before proceeding with the final edits. It might also help to have someone who is unfamiliar with the screenplay view your film to make sure that no essential storyline details are missing. Once you have a final cut, show your work to others and be proud of your art. Congratulations!

6.80 Songwriter Pat Byrne's thoughts on his song "The Government Game":

The late Al Pittman and I were both teaching in Montreal in the mid-1960s at a time when resettlement centralization was in full swing here in Newfoundland. The information we were receiving in letters from family and friends, and the odd clipping from local newspapers, provided the impetus for the song. We co-wrote it on scraps of paper and matchbook covers sitting in a tavern (the name of which escapes me). I put it to an old Irish air, that Dominic Behan also used for his song "The Patriot Game." So there was a lot of borrowing and inspiration from various sources that went into the song.

The Government Game

Pat Byrne & Al Pittman

Come all ye young fellows and list' while I tell
On the terrible misfortune that upon me befell
Centralization they say was the name
But me I just calls it the government game

My name it don't matter, I'm not young anymore
But in all of my days I'd never been poor
I'd lived the right good life and not felt no shame
'Til they made me take part in the government game

My home was St. Kyran's, a heavenly place
It thrived on the fishin' of a good hearty race
But now it will never again be the same
Since they made it a pawn in the government game

Sure, the government paid us for movin' away
And leaving our birth place for a better day's pay
They said that our poor lives would ne'er be the same
Once we took part in the government game

It's not many years now since they all moved away
To places more prosperous way down the bay
There's not one soul left now, not one who remains
They've all become part of the government game

Now St. Kyran's lies there all empty as Hell
Except for the graveyard where our dead parents dwell
The lives of their children are buried in shame
They lost out while playing the government game

To a place called Placentia, well, some of them went
And in finding a new home their allowances spent
So for jobs they went lookin' but they looked all in vain
For the roof had caved in on the government game

It's surely a sad sight, their movin' around
A wishin they still lived by the cod-fishin' ground
But there's no goin' back, now, there's nothing to gain
Now that they've played in the government game

They tell me our young ones the benefits will see
But I don't believe it – oh, how can it be?
They'll never know nothing but sorrow and shame
For their fathers were part of the government game

And when my soul leaves me for the heavens above
Take me back to St. Kyran's, the place that I love
And there on my gravestone right next to my name
Just say I died playing the government game

Personal Experiences

Jack Holwell, Spotted Island, Labrador

"Well, they wouldn't give us a teacher, they wouldn't give us any medical, they wouldn't give us any mail service. So what other choice did people have but to move? I mean education is supposed to be the main thing today. Now the funniest thing about it, they're educatin' 'em and they still got neither job. They're no better off than a man who never went to school in his life. Most, be God, is worse now because there was never so much destruction goin' on as what there is now with the young ones and that. They can't find nothin' for 'em to do."

Source: Jackson, Lawrence, *Bounty of a Barren Coast: Resource Harvest and Settlement in Southern Labrador: Phase One.* (Happy Valley-Goose Bay: Labrador Institute of Northern Studies, Memorial University) 1982, p. 129.

6.81

Questions:

1) What were three main arguments for resettlement?

2) What were three main arguments against resettlement?

3) Should people be forced to resettle? If you lived in an isolated community, would you resettle? Support your answer.

4) What were three significant issues created by resettlement?

Marion Broders Foley, Fogo Island about her mother, Christina Butt Broders

"My mother had four daughters with her first husband, one of which died as a young infant. She often talked about the little girl she lost. Sometimes she would get upset when talking about this. It was very difficult for her. The baby got pneumonia. It was in the winter and there was no doctor available. She used to say how hard it was to hold her helpless child in her arms knowing that there was no help and that she was dying. The baby died in her arms. She often said that such a thing would never happen today. She was probably right."

Source: Foley, Sonya M. *The Women of Fogo Island: Hear Them Speak.* (Gander: Economy Printing Ltd.) 2001, p. 183.

6.83

6.82

Deborah Jackman remembers leaving Grole ...

"I remember the big men coming in with their suits on. And Dad talking to them. And they pulled out these papers I guess they were blueprints. And showing my father the land, how much land we were going to get and where we were going to be living, and that kind of thing. And my father saying, 'Oh yes, oh yes...'"

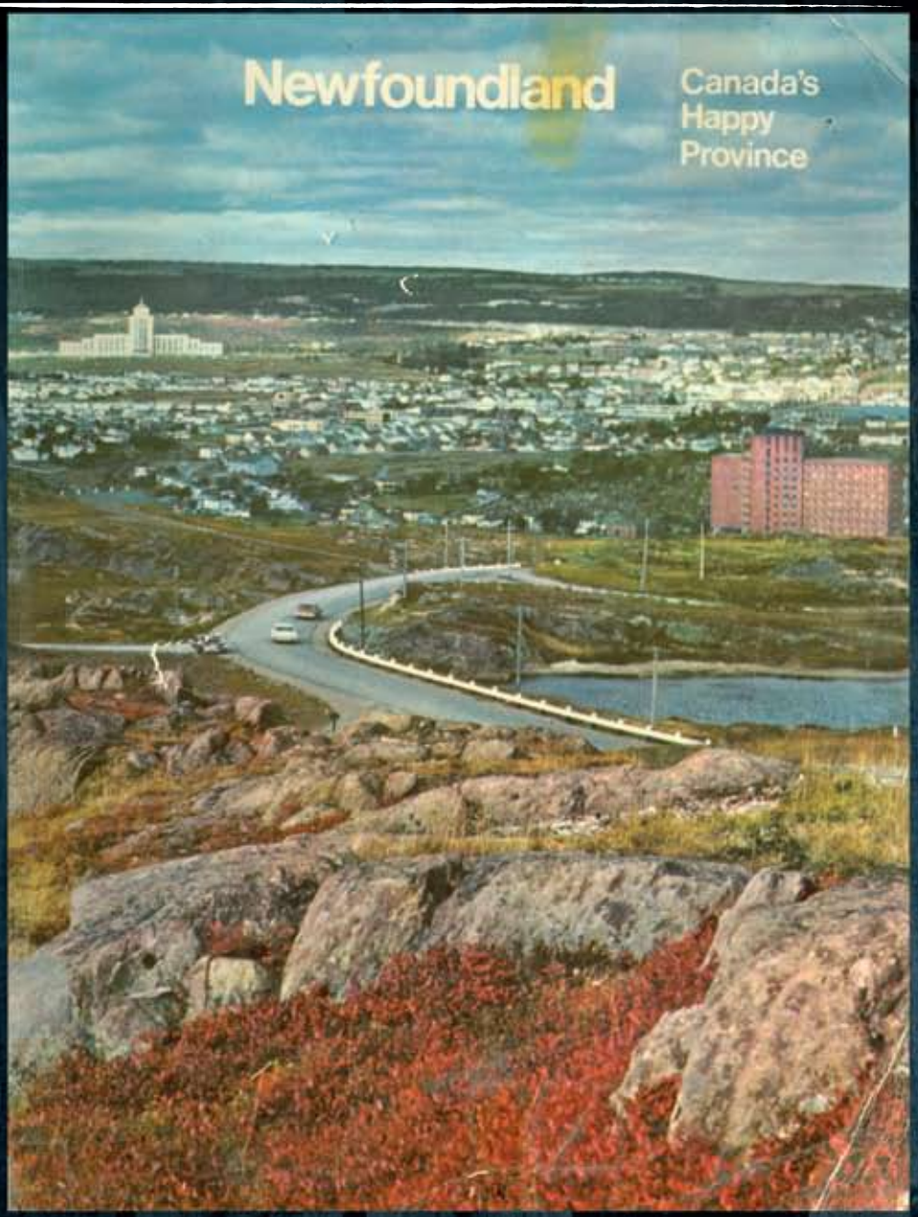
"We were getting ready to leave. The time was coming near, and Mom had us packing up stuff. And we had one of those old stoves, you know the kind you burn wood in. And, of course, all of the pans were black with soot ... I mean black: you'd never get it off. But Mom had us all out on the flake scrubbing those pots. And I was thinking, where are we going? To some friggin holy land or something? Because everything had to be perfect."

"When we lived in Grole ... we lived off the land. And when we moved to Harbour Breton, slowly Mom stopped all that. Stopped the vegetable garden. She had little ones, after a while she'd grow radishes and potatoes. But it was nothing like it was in Grole. In Grole, she had rhubarb, cabbage, carrots, turnips, potatoes, greens. She got more into flowers in Harbour Breton."

Source: *Book 7: Surviving in Rural Newfoundland.* St. John's: Writers' Alliance of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1996, pp. 29-31.

CASE STUDY

Considering Effects



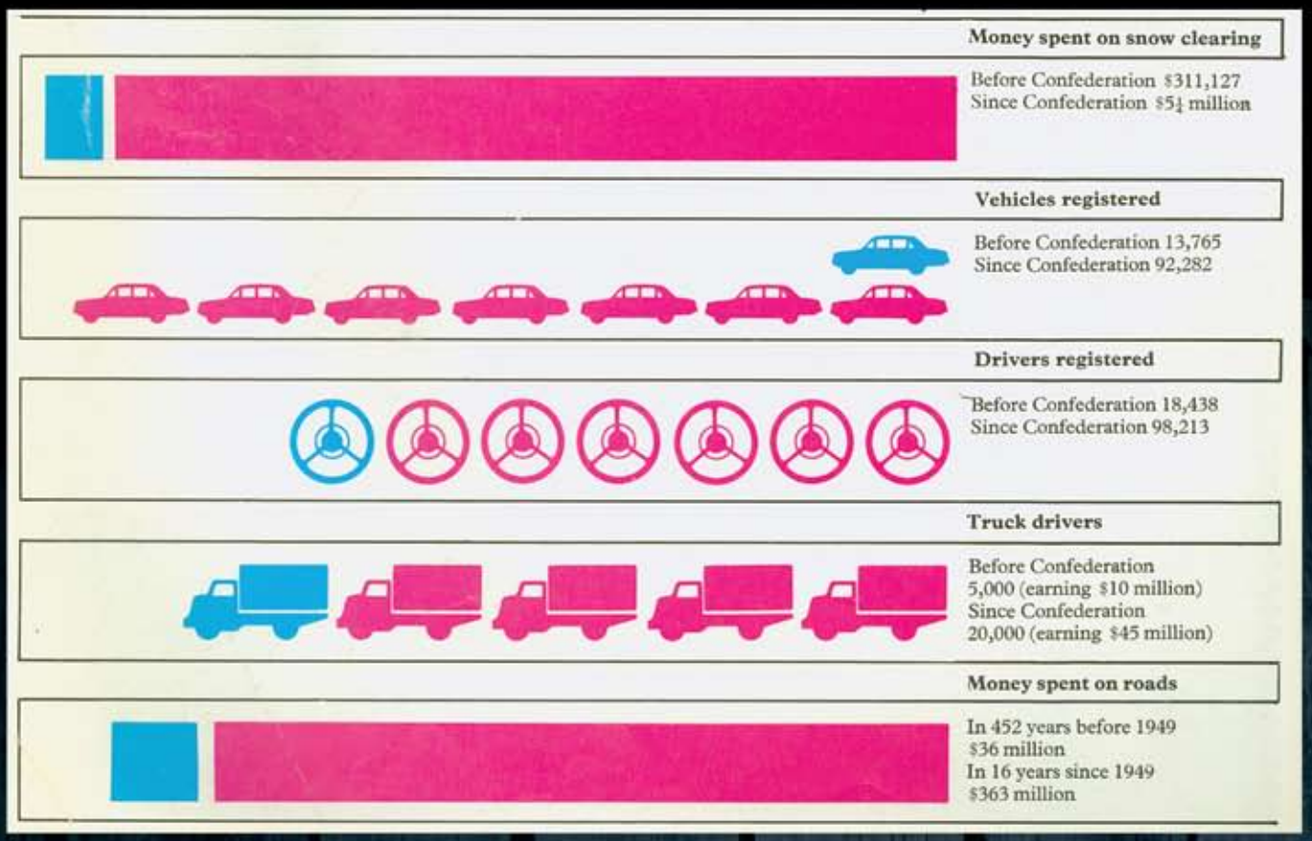
6.84 ***Newfoundland: Canada's Happy Province*** **was published by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador in 1966.**

Since Confederation in 1949, some Newfoundlanders and Labradorians have questioned if Confederation was the right choice.

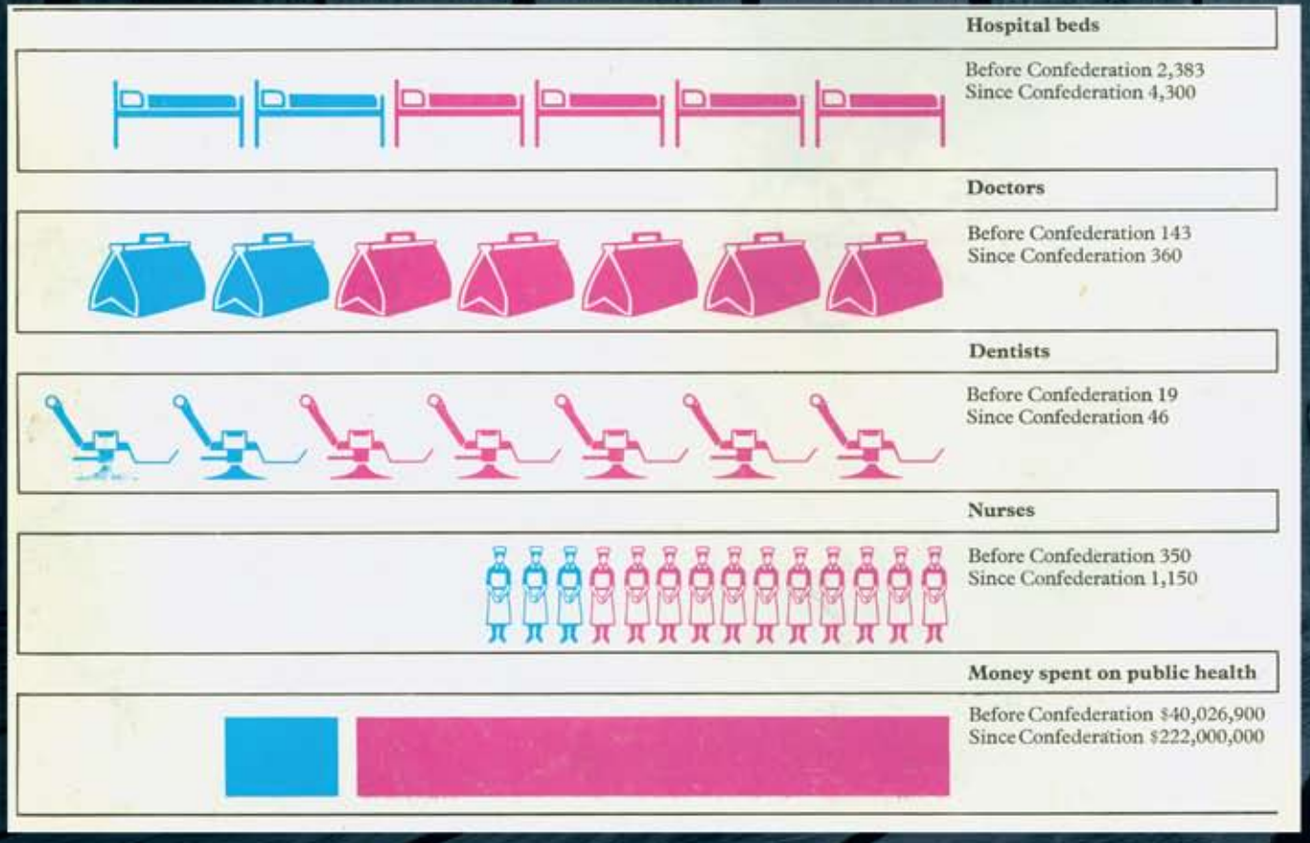
6.85 A symbol of growth
The book's introduction shows Premier Smallwood "with baby Bernard Joseph William Hynes, the 500 000th Newfoundlander, born July 30th, 1965."

FIFTEEN YEARS AFTER CONFEDERATION, THE SMALLWOOD government produced a book called *Newfoundland: Canada's Happy Province,* which promoted the benefits of the union. What can we learn by reviewing some of this evidence?

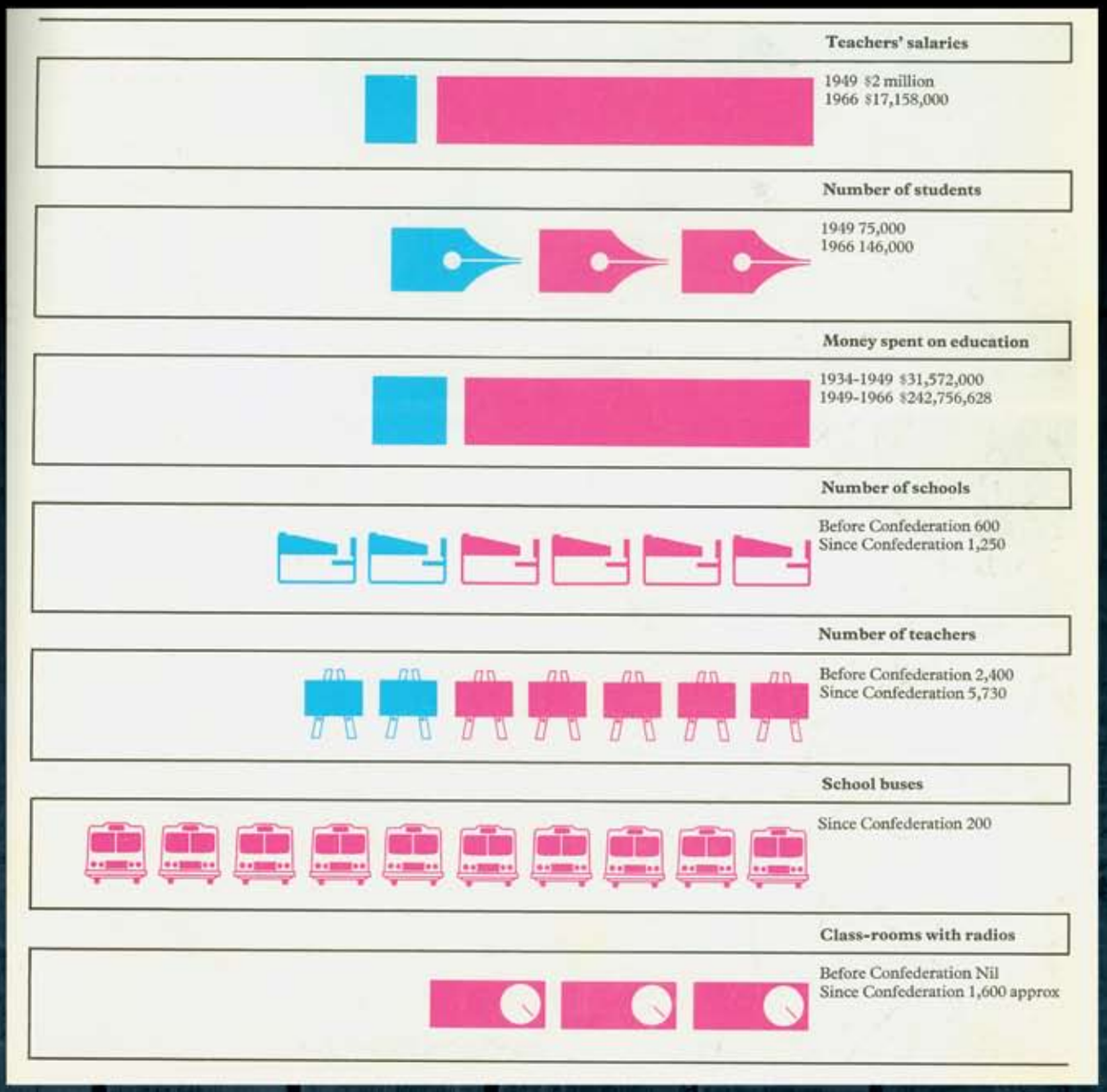
By 1966, dramatic economic and social changes had occurred in Newfoundland and Labrador under the Smallwood government. While Smallwood was quick to point this out, he acknowledged that "… with all our pride in the miracles that have happened since Confederation, we know that so very much remains to be done!" The following material was printed in 1966 to highlight the government's achievements since Confederation.



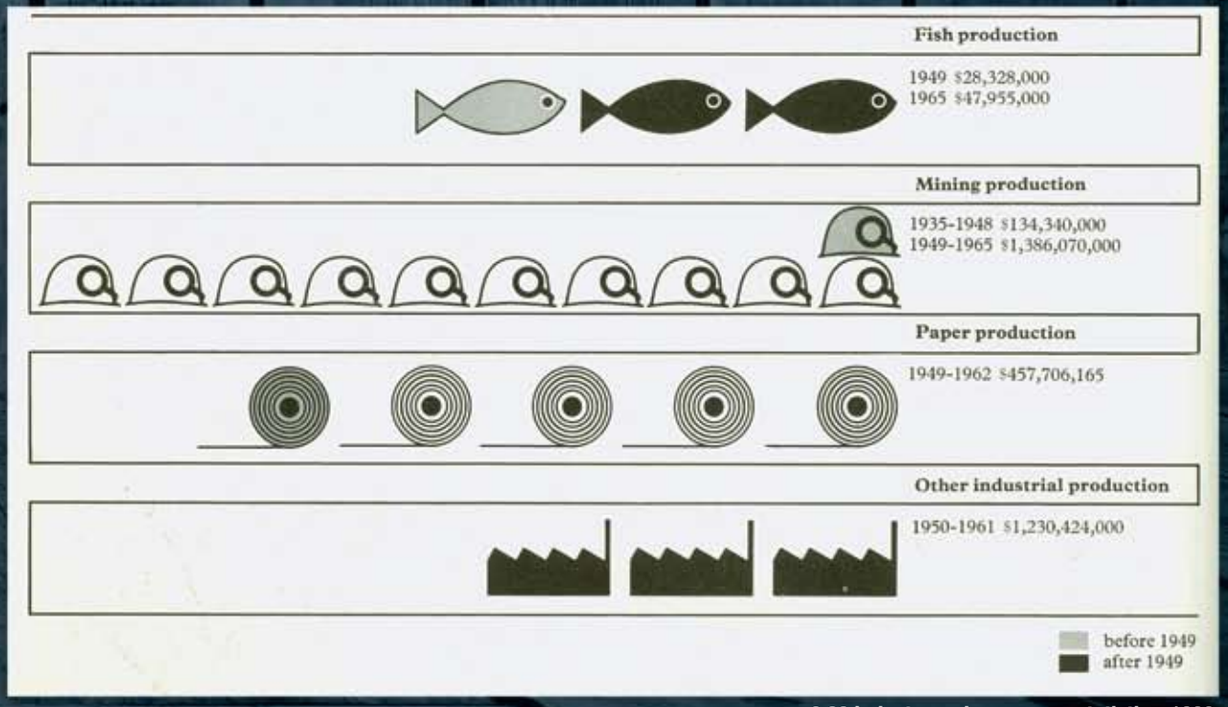
6.86 Highway statistics, 1966



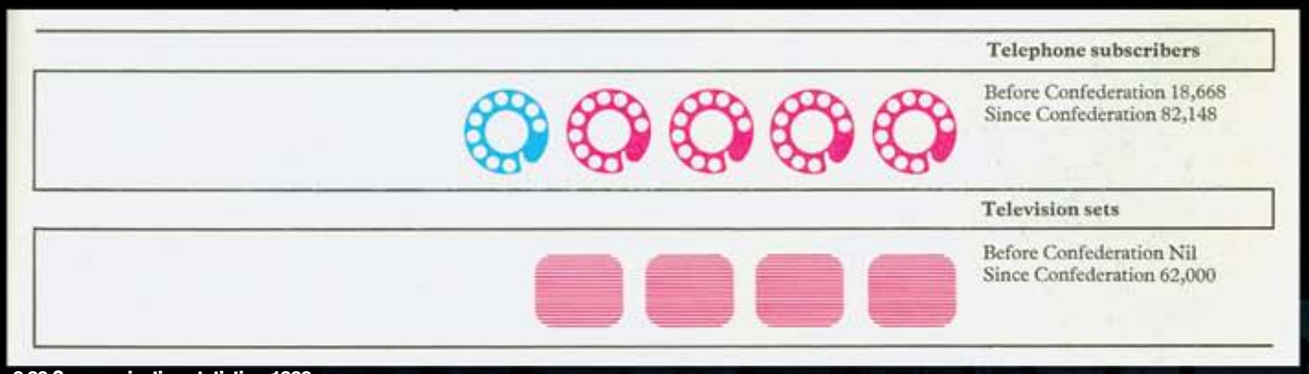
6.87 Public health statistics, 1966



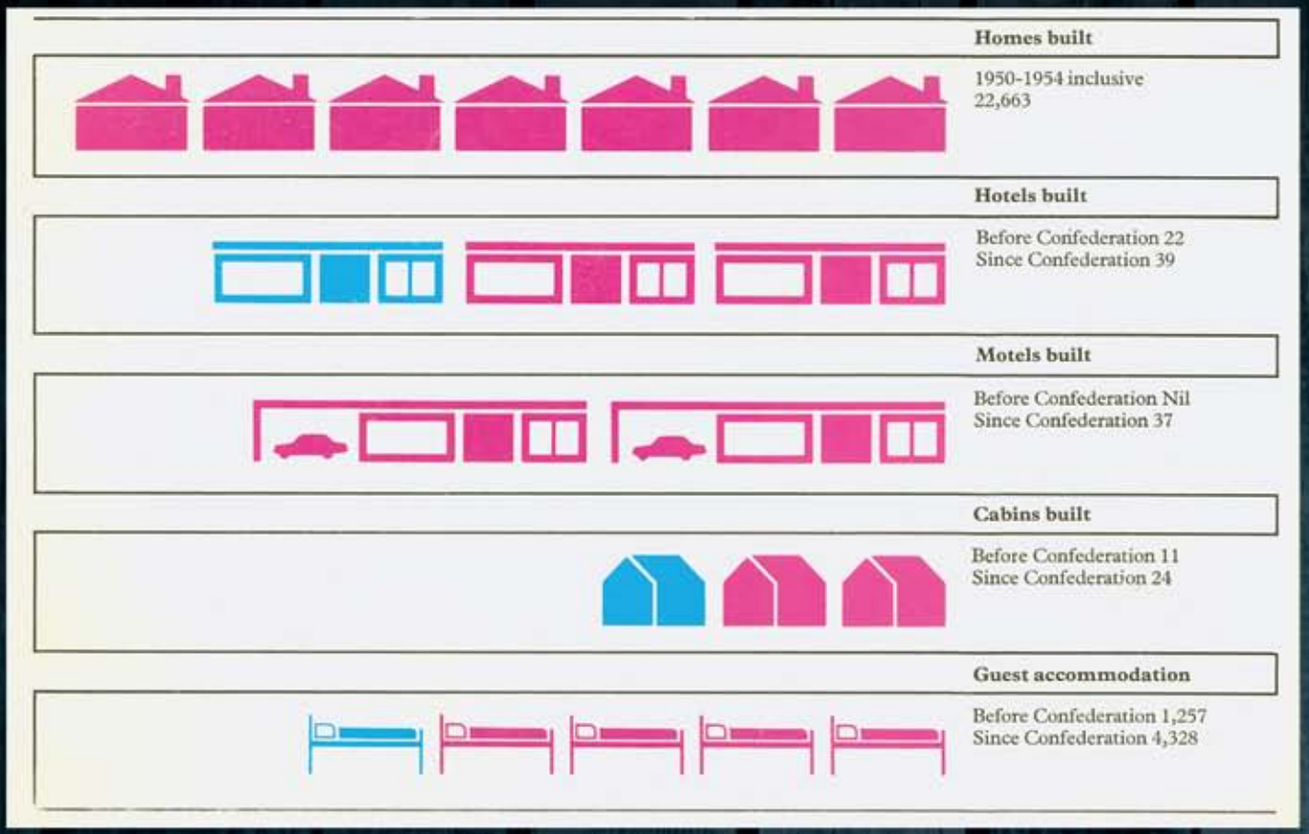
6.88 Education statistics, 1966



6.89 Industry and commerce statistics, 1966

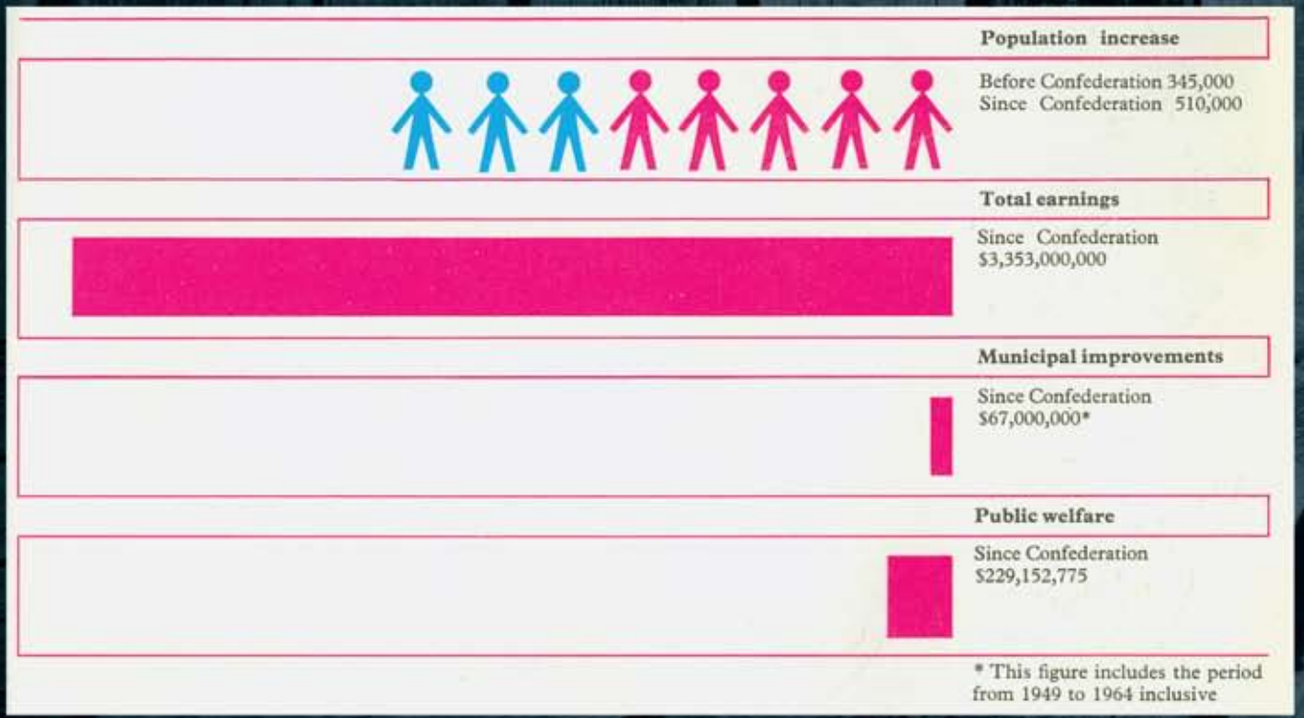


6.90 Communication statistics, 1966



6.91 Housing and accommodation statistics, 1966

6.92 Provincial and municipal works statistics, 1966



6.93 Smallwood's message, 1966

The goose that lays the golden egg

It has cost us a vast sum of money to give our people the facilities they need for better education, health, roads, and a hundred other public services and conveniences. It is going to cost vastly more in the future, because our people demand vastly more of these services and conveniences. It is abundantly clear that we need far more money than will ever be forthcoming from the national Capital or the national Treasury. The Federal system in Canada is very good in that respect, for it does contrive to redistribute much of the national wealth. Our remarkable progress in the post-Confederation years would have been out of the question but for the help we have received from Ottawa. But the one thing we do not and will not tolerate is that we should become a sort of ward of Ottawa, still less a dependent. We are determined to be self-supporting. More even than that, we are determined to be one of the "have" Provinces.

This means the ever-increasing effort to widen, broaden, deepen and strengthen our own Newfoundland economy. I think of the line that Billy Sunday's singer used to utter: "Brighten the corner where you are." It is a very good motto for any Canadian Province. The strength of Canada is the combined individual strengths of the ten Provinces.

In the pages that follow many of the fine industrial, commercial and financial concerns that are developing our economy are represented, and they share the Government's pride in the developments of the post-Confederation era.

It is a notable roster indeed, for it includes names of firms that are well known throughout the English-speaking world. Newfoundland is proud to have them here, and would be proud to have more like them.

And we will!

Joseph R. Smallwood

Questions:

1. Based on this information, what arguments could you make about the benefits of Confederation?
2. What types of conclusions can be drawn from the information here?
3. What types of conclusions cannot be drawn from the information here? Why?
4. Why might it be important to know the source of the information shown here?

TOPIC 6.5

Aboriginal Lifestyles

When Newfoundland and Labrador joined Confederation in 1949, whose responsibility was it to make provisions for Aboriginals?

Will modern technology help or hinder Aboriginal groups in the preservation of their culture?

6.94 School children in front of the Grenfell Mission plane, Nain, 1966

Introduction

When Newfoundland and Labrador joined Confederation in 1949, the Terms of Union between the two governments made no reference to Aboriginal peoples and no provisions were made to safeguard their land or culture. No bands or reserves existed in the new province and its Aboriginal peoples did not become registered under the federal Indian Act.

Inuit

At the time of Confederation, at least 700 Inuit lived in Labrador. Aside from their widespread conversion to Christianity, many aspects of Inuit culture were intact – many Inuit still spoke Inuktitut, lived on their traditional lands, and maintained a seasonal subsistence economy that consisted largely of hunting and fishing. After Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949, provincial and federal government agencies began to deliver some health, education, and other services to Inuit communities. But unlike the Moravians, who tried to preserve Inuit language and culture, early government programs were not concerned with these matters. Teachers, for example, delivered lessons in English, and most health and other workers could not speak Inuktitut.

Schooling, which was compulsory for children, had a huge influence on Inuit culture. The curriculum taught students nothing about their culture or their language, so both were severely eroded. Many dropped out of school. Furthermore, young Inuit who were in school in their formative years did not have the opportunity to learn the skills to live the traditional lifestyle of their parents and grandparents and became estranged from this way of life. Confederation also brought social programs to all residents of Newfoundland and Labrador – such as child allowances and old age pensions. While this

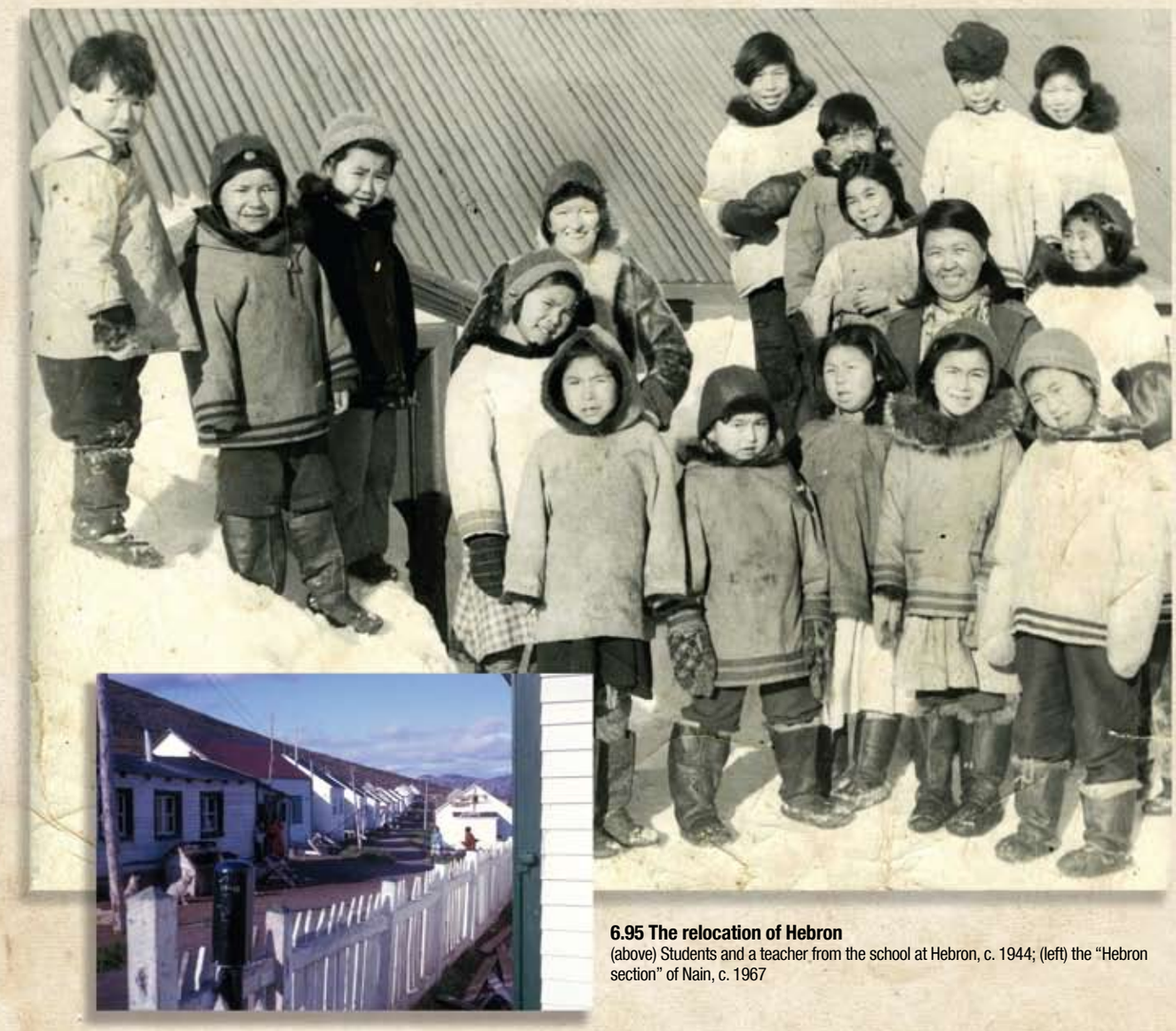
provided a cash flow that was not dependent on the availability of resources, it also created dependence on government programs.

A further disruption of traditional lifestyle occurred when the provincial government, the Grenfell Association, and Moravian officials decided to close the Inuit communities of Nutak and Hebron in the 1950s and relocate residents to Nain, Hopedale, and Makkovik. This was prompted by visits to some northern Labrador communities by International Grenfell Association superintendent, Dr. Charles Curtis, to determine the level of health care required to curtail the spread of tuberculosis. Although he only went as far north as Nain, Curtis recommended the relocation of the most northerly communities because of the high occurrence of tuberculosis there and the high costs of delivering services to such remote areas. However, the closure of Hebron and Nutak created many far-reaching social and economic problems for those involved.

In 1955, Nutak was closed and the people were scattered to a variety of communities. The people of Hebron, meanwhile, requested that they not be moved until they could be assured of good jobs and good housing, but when the Moravians abandoned Hebron in the summer of 1958, the government also closed its store there. Then in the fall of 1959, without consultation, Hebron was closed and all residents were relocated.* Although the majority of Hebron residents were supposed to relocate to Makkovik, housing was not ready for them and many were sent to temporary housing in Hopedale and Nain. This crowding and competition for local resources in these communities created some tension among residents. This was exacerbated by the fact that Hebron Inuit did not speak the same dialect of Inuktitut as Hopedale Inuit. Many also did not speak English, which meant some jobs were closed to them.

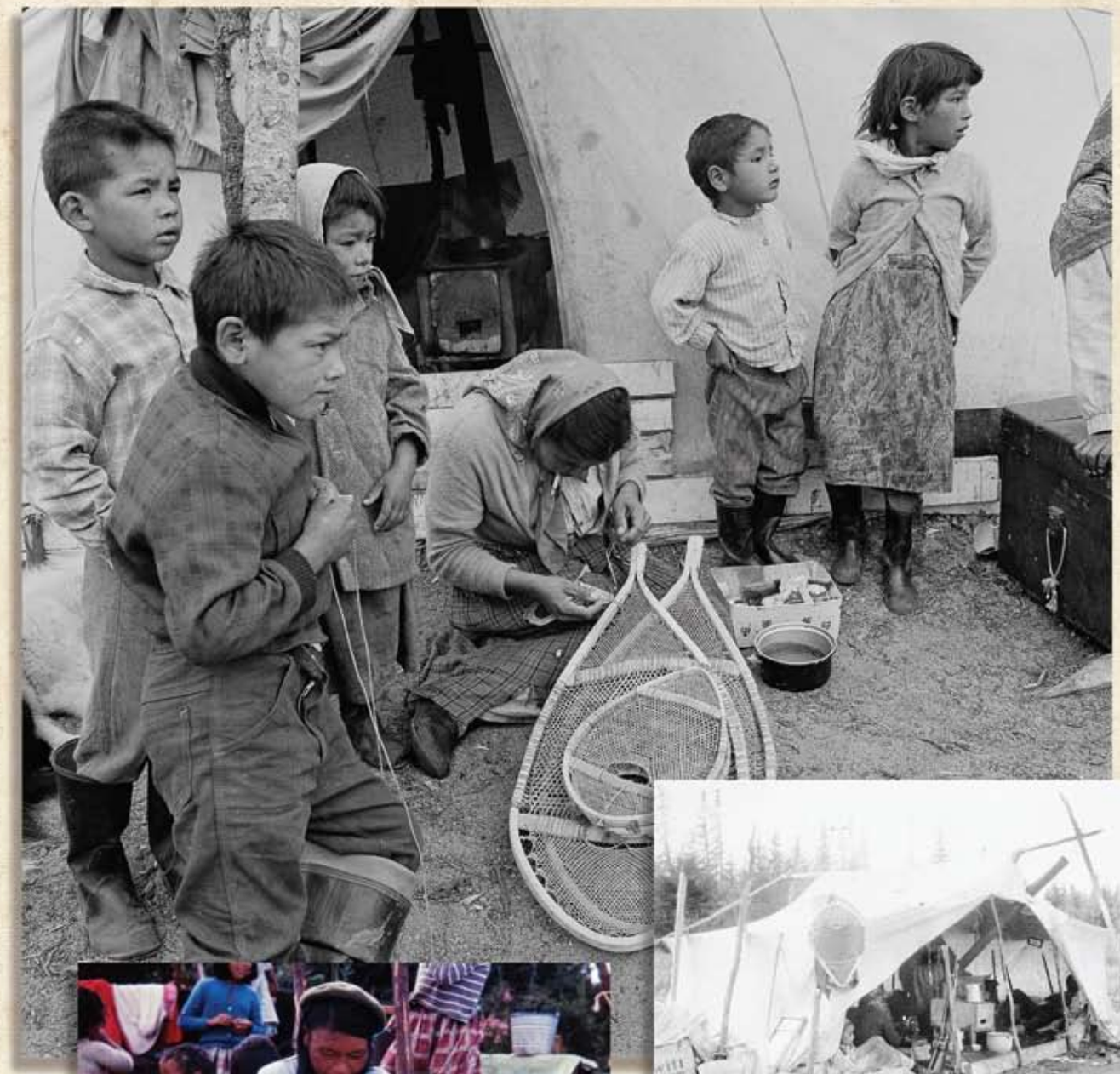
These situations and others led to the creation of the Labrador Inuit Association in Nain in 1973 to protect and promote Inuit concerns and cultural traditions. The efforts of the Association and other activists to achieve self-determination came to fruition with the creation of the Nunatsiavut Government on December 1, 2005.

*In 2005 Premier Williams apologized to relocated Hebron residents and in 2009 he unveiled a memorial erected for former residents.



6.95 The relocation of Hebron
(above) Students and a teacher from the school at Hebron, c. 1944; (left) the "Hebron section" of Nain, c. 1967

6.96 Woman making snowshoes in front of her tent at Utshimassit (Davis Inlet), early 1960s.



6.98 Innu tent in Sheshatshiu, c. 1945

6.97 Repairing a tent, 1963

Innu

As with other people in Labrador, Confederation made new provincial and federal services and benefits available to Innu. As traditional resources such as the caribou stock dwindled, this led to a growing dependence on government services and social assistance for Innu. This further restricted Innu from maintaining their traditional seasonal round by keeping them close to the areas where these services were offered. As well, restrictive game laws were introduced, which many felt were of more benefit to newly arrived non-Innu sports hunters than to those who hunted for subsistence.

In the 1960s, the provincial and federal governments established the villages of Sheshatshiu and Utshimassit (Davis Inlet) for the Innu. As government opened new schools in these villages and made attendance

compulsory for children, families became further tied to the settlements and less able to make a living by hunting and trapping. In fact, government officials threatened to cut off relief payments to parents who did not send their children to school, which coerced many Innu families to abandon their tents and traditional lifestyles to move into government-built homes. These homes were poorly constructed with few, if any, amenities. School curriculum was also an issue. Many residents in both Sheshatshiu and Davis Inlet felt the school curriculum was not relevant to Innu culture and placed too much emphasis on mainstream North American society. Textbooks written in English made it difficult for many students to understand their lessons and drop-out rates were high. This left many students alienated from their own culture and traditional lifestyles, yet unprepared to enter the workforce.

Some Innu suggested their settlement into villages was part of a concerted attempt to separate them from their land, which at the time was becoming transformed for industrial purposes. The most dramatic example of this occurred in the 1960s, when the Smallwood government decided to develop the hydroelectric power potential of the Grand Falls (later Churchill Falls). The damming of the Churchill River for this project diverted hundreds of waterways and flooded more than 1300 square kilometres (over 500 square miles) of land in central Labrador – much of which Innu had used for generations. Innu cultural sites such as Kanekuanegau and Meshikamau were destroyed along with Innu hunting territory and traplines, fishing gear, and campsites. The flooding also meant that caribou, waterfowl, and other wildlife species lost their habitat, while the water's increased methylmercury levels – produced by the rotting of newly submerged vegetation – affected some fish populations. Accelerated erosion affected the river's banks as well as several Innu burial grounds, leaving some human bones exposed. Innu were neither consulted nor compensated throughout the whole process.

The result of these changes was that formerly independent Innu hunters became partially cut off from the one activity on which their culture placed most value – caribou hunting. With a decreased land base and feeling the erosion of their culture, Labrador Innu formed the Naskapi Montagnais Innu Association (today the Innu Nation) in 1976. As a result of the group's efforts, the Canadian government began registering the Labrador Innu as status Indians in 2002, giving them access to federal services and programs available to First Nations people in Canada.

6.99 An Elder remains close to his culture

Experiencing The Arts

Turn to page 586 to read about Angela Andrew who is helping to keep the tradition and craft of Innu tea dolls alive.

6.100 A classroom in Cartwright, 1960

Metis

Although aware of their Aboriginal heritage, the Inuit descendants of south central Labrador had not formalized a group identity at the time of Confederation. Other people identified them as "settlers" or "livyers," but they referred to themselves as Labradorians, people indigenous to Labrador. This identity created difficulties when people of non-Aboriginal background began to settle in Labrador after confederation.

The provincial government's resettlement policy of the 1960s seriously impacted their lifestyle. Families were pressured to leave their traditional homes, many of which were occupied long before the European "Age of Discovery." They were moved to more centralized administration centres, towns which promised improved medical services and educational facilities. However, this added more economic hardships, as they were moved to areas that offered little employment and were located further away from their traditional fishing berths. This often meant that fishermen from Newfoundland arrived on a coastal boat and occupied Metis traditional fishing berths before they could arrive from the resettled communities. Education also suffered as students lost as many as three months of school during the fishing season.

To make matters worse, resettled residents put greater pressure on the local resources necessary for traditional hunting and gathering. For example, the population of Cartwright tripled. This led to frustrations both for the traditional residents of Cartwright and the new residents from the resettled communities. What looked good on paper proved to be devastating for the cultural and economic well-being of the Inuit descendants of southern Labrador.

Metis families that continued to rely on a seasonal economy of trapping, fishing, and other resource-harvesting activities found their lifestyles dramatically impacted by provincial game laws and rapid industrialization during the late twentieth century. The construction of the Churchill Falls hydroelectric project destroyed some tracts of wildlife habitat traditionally used by the Metis. In addition, some new forestry developments reduced trapping habitat – although these operations also provided an alternative form of employment for people in the area.

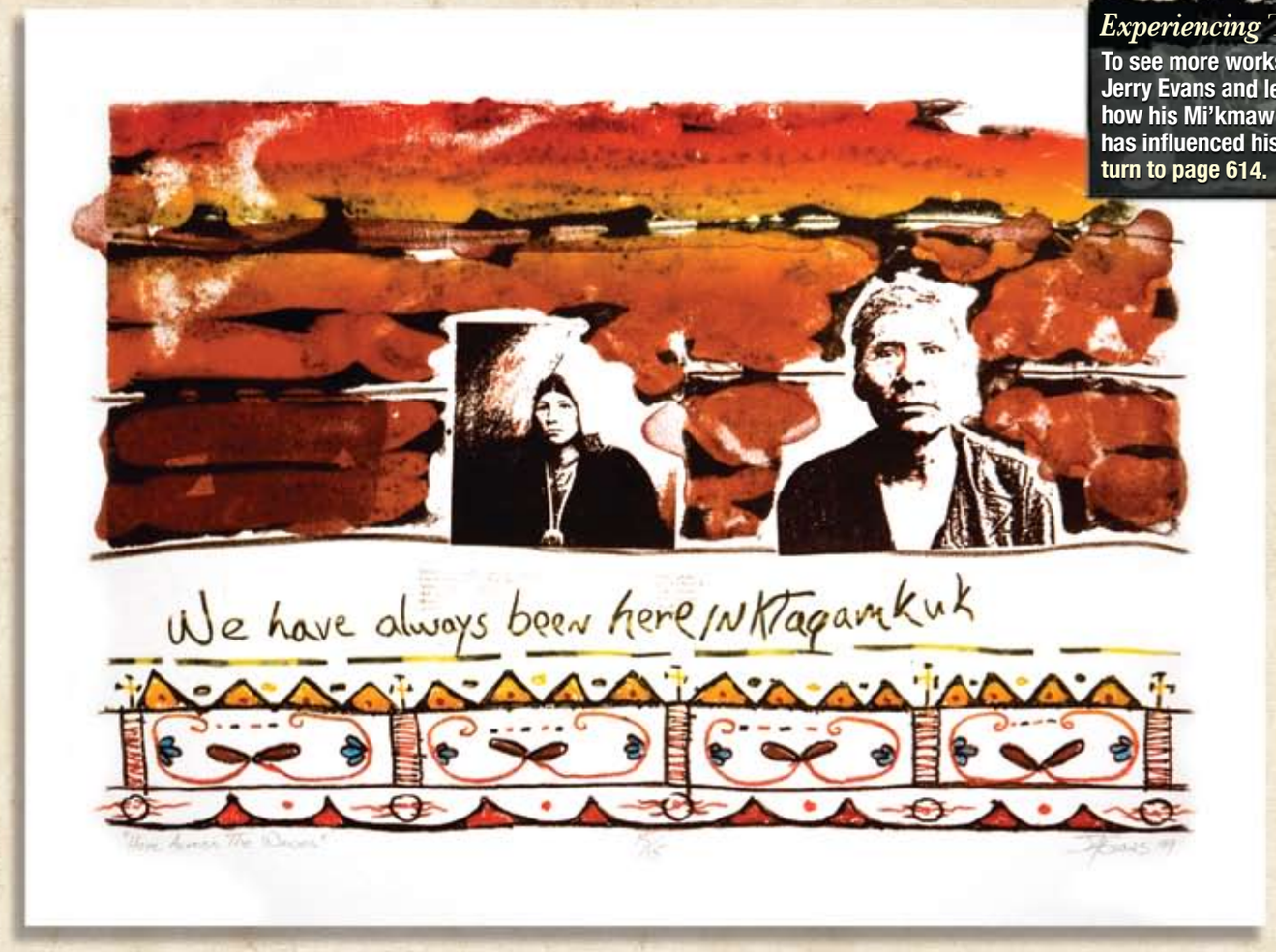
Technological advances, however, did lead to some improvements in lifestyle for those in southern Labrador. The establishment of the air base in Goose Bay, for example, brought better communication, and the port at Goose Bay served as a distribution centre for freight and mail going to the coast. Also a road and cable car linked North West River and Goose Bay. In 1949, the federal Department of Transportation and Communications replaced the Marconi wireless stations with radio-telephone stations. This allowed residents to make phone calls through an operator. In 1966, a ferry service across the Strait of Belle Isle linked the south coast of Labrador with the island of Newfoundland.*

In recent decades, Labrador Metis culture has undergone a revival, in part sparked by the formation of the Labrador Metis Association (later the Labrador Metis Nation) in 1985, which has provided a cohesive voice for social and political issues. In 2010, this organization changed its name to NunatuKavut (noon-ah-too-ha-voot), which means "our ancient land" to better reflect its members' Inuit-Labradorian heritage.

*There was still no road to connect most of Labrador beyond the Straits.

6.102 One of the first houses in Charlottetown, c. 1964

6.101 Shovelling snow in Cartwright, c.1948-49



6.103 *Here Across The Waves*, lithograph by Jerry Evans (1999)
A rekindled sense of pride in Mi'kmaw culture has inspired work by artists such as Jerry Evans.

Experiencing The Arts

To see more works by Jerry Evans and learn about how his Mi'kmaw culture has influenced his work, turn to page 614.

Mi'kmaq

After Confederation, Mi'kmaq continued to lose more of their traditional hunting grounds to industrial developments. One of the biggest examples of this was the Bay d'Espoir hydroelectric project, which began in 1964 as part of the Smallwood administration's plan to electrify rural Newfoundland. As a result, large tracts of caribou habitat and hunting grounds on the west coast were flooded, making it even more difficult for Mi'kmaq to harvest this traditional food source. At the same time, approximately 840 kilometres (520 miles) of high-voltage transmission lines were built connecting St. John's, Bay d'Espoir, Grand Falls, Corner Brook, and Stephenville. These new transmission lines cut through numerous Mi'kmaq trapping lines, travel paths, and hunting grounds.

This and other factors contributed to a lower standard of living in Conne River than that of many of its neighbours in the 1950s and 1960s. For instance, prior to 1960, there were no telephone or electrical services in the area, and there were no roads in Conne River until the early 1970s. While no one actually starved, as one authority noted in 1958, "only 30 per cent [of Conne River's people] were functionally literate." During this period, Newfoundland's Mi'kmaq did not receive any federal benefits because Mi'kmaq were not recognized as "status" Indians.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Newfoundland Mi'kmaq were part of a general movement by Aboriginal peoples throughout North America to protect their rights and heritage and rekindle pride in their culture. As with many other First Nations people in North America, some older Mi'kmaq from the west coast recount experiencing prejudice and how some people hid their Native ancestry for fear of ridicule. To counter this, the Mi'kmaq people helped form the Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador (NANL) in 1972 – an organization which later evolved into the Federation of Newfoundland Indians (FNI). In the same year, three Mi'kmaq from Conne River appeared before the Federal-Provincial Committee on Financial Assistance requesting funds for community development, including funds for a new school. They also asked for better roads, housing, and especially a bridge or causeway to relieve isolation. These acts were the beginning of a new life for Mi'kmaq on the island of Newfoundland.

6.104 Mi'kmaq Bands on the island of Newfoundland, 2010

* The Federation of Newfoundland Indians also recognizes that there are Mi'kmaw communities in Newfoundland that are not affiliated with the Federation of Newfoundland Indians. One of these, the Miawpukek First Nation, was officially designated as Samiajij Miawpukek Indian Reserve (Conne River) under the Indian Act in 1987.

Questions:

1. Use a graphic organizer to list the main changes that occurred in the lifestyle of each of the following Aboriginal groups from Confederation until the early 1970s. Indicate whether each change had a positive or negative effect (or both) on the Aboriginal group.
   a. Inuit
   b. Innu
   c. Metis
   d. Mi'kmaq
2. What main step did Aboriginal groups take in response to these changes in lifestyle? How has this step benefited the Aboriginal groups?