IMAGES OF NEWFOUNDLAND IN PROMOTIONAL LITERATURE, 1890-1914

Susar T. Williams

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Department of Geography
McGill University
Montréal, Québec

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ABSTRACT

By the turn of the 20th century, Newfoundland's inland resources were attracting foreign capital, which the colony's commercial elite hoped would develop the interior and provide new profits and employment to counter-balance the stagnating fisheries. However, it resulted mainly in the creation of resource enclaves, benefitting few residents, while development in the fisheries remained blocked by mercantile structures.

The thesis is an historical-geographic study of perceptions of the natural and social environment in literature promoting Newfoundland from 1890 to 1914. The literature is examined for recurring themes regarding land-based staples, the place of the fisheries in new development visions, the nature of rural communities and the "typical" Newfoundland character, all with reference to potential tourist and industrial development. The examination reveals promotional purposes and general ideological perspectives of an urban upper middle class. Both kinds of themes are explored in relation to the uneven socio-economic development which was occurring.

RESUME

Au début du vingtième siècle, les ressources intérieures de Terre-Neuve attiraient le capital étranger; l'élite commerciale de la colonie espérait alors que ce capital saurait contribuer au développement intérieur de la colonie en fournissant de nouvelles sources de profit et d'emploi qui pourraient contre-balancer un secteur des pêcheries en stagnation. Toutefois, le résultat fut principalement la création de zones spécifiques de développement qui n'ont profité qu'à peu d'habitants, alors que la croissance du secteur des pêcheries était entravé par la structure marchande.

Cette thèse se veut une étude historico-géographique des perceptions de l'environement naturel et la réalité social à partir de la littérature produite sur Terre-Neuve de 1890 à 1914. Cette documentation est analysée au niveau des thèmes qui reviennent périodiquement, touchant principalement les produits commerciaux de base de l'intérieure, le rôle des pêcheries dans les nouvelles conceptions de développement, ainsi que sur la nature des sociétés rurales et le caractère typique du Terre-Neuvien, en rapport avec le développement touristique et industriel. L'analyse ne s'attache pas seulement aux intentions originales de promotion mais plus généralement aux perspectives idéologiques de la classe moyenne urbaine. Ces deux aspects sont d'autre part examinés en relation avec l'inégalité du développement socio-économique qui y prend place.

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INTRODUCTION

General Questions

This thesis is concerned with images of Newfoundland in literature aimed at attracting foreign investors and tourists at the turn of the 20th century. In this period, a drive toward national development based on new, land-based staples was articulated in promotional and other writings in a way typical of settler colonies at the time. The Newfoundland literature advocated a path to economic development in which the society and natural environment were defined in terms of their utility in resource extraction and tourism. The literature also portrayed the region and its people from a social class perspective, that of the upper middle class vanguard of this new development campaign.

This thesis examines such literature not simply as fanciful exaggeration but also as historical-geographic evidence of certain perspectives on the region which were current at the time. These perspectives are revealed in examination of images and themes regarding wilderness, natural resources, economy and society. The objective is not merely to counterpose these against a reality, but also to treat them as an expression of that reality, and as one of the potential agents in its transformation.

Several questions have inspired, and formed the basis of, this study. Firstly, Newfoundland was promoted in much the same way as were the other 19th century "new lands" in this period--as a rich field for

investment in land-based resources. This was in a colony whose reason for being had long been its fisheries. This raises the question as to what induced, and what constituted, the inland vision portrayed, and how it was related to images of the fisheries and the society as a whole.

Secondly, promotional literature is often dismissed as simply distorted, exaggerated information provided for specific purposes. However, such information also contains evidence of perceptions current in the social milieu from which it springs. Promotion and advertising make use of, and amplify, dominant images and ideas, and the boundary separating the specifically promotional from other kinds of information is in fact nonexistent (Berger, *et al.*, 1972: 129-154). This is true of the turn-of-the-century boosterism, which was not simply a calculated exaggeration for profit, but also an aspect of the new predominance of a "business" ideology expressed in scientific and cultural realms as well as in the economic. On the one hand, boosterism was a specific strategy of colonial commercial elites for attracting industrial capital from the metropole. On the other, it pervaded the literary expression of this elite as part of the expanding culture of capitalism. Equally important were the romantic and conservative reactions to this capitalist culture, their literary expression and their incorporation into promotional strategies involving wilderness and traditional communities.

Thus, the second general question concerns how the images and themes in promotional literature were part of more widespread ideologies concerning nature, resources, economic development and society in the Newfoundland context. Ideology, as used in this thesis, refers to "systems of ideas" or "structures of perception", supporting, in this case,

class-based economic and political power (Eagleton, 1976: 5; Williams, 1977). It is the "language of purpose" of one or several social classes as distinct from that of others. This language expresses, consciously or unconsciously, assumptions and points of view based on the social experience of a class, experience which it organizes into explanations of reality and prescripts for action (N. Harris, 1968: 1-26; Williams, 1977).

The third question concerns the production of this literature by people from the small, urban upper middle class based largely in mercantile activity. Although writers purported to be speaking the "truth" about the colony on behalf of all its citizens, the majority of the people--rural small producers in the fishery--had little access to political power, let alone to the flow of information abroad. It is therefore necessary to examine to what extent this promotional information actually represented the narrow perspective of a dominant class, and the significance of this in terms of the portrayals and prescripts for action contained in the literature.

In order to demonstrate why these interlinked questions are worthy of study, it will be necessary in this introduction to situate the problem in the context of, firstly, 19th century Newfoundland, secondly, historical-perceptual geography and, thirdly, studies of images and promotion of North America's "new lands".

Newfoundland Context

The Newfoundland economy in the 19th century was dominated by the small independent producers of the inshore fishery, scattered around the coast in outports (fishing villages), linked to the market through local merchants who advanced credit (in the form of imported goods) for a share of the fisherman's catch. These merchants were linked to larger ones in

St. John's concentrated in the wholesale import-export trade. Although many of these wholesale merchants were involved in other marine and land-based enterprises, the bulk of their profits came from the inshore fishery. This inshore sector was also the most important in terms of employment, export value and government revenue from the tariff on imports.

The class of fishing families was numerically dominant but virtually without political and economic power, suffering as well a low standard of living and a dearth of social benefits such as education and medical care. Small wage labouring and middle classes were concentrated in St. John's, dependent on the commercial elite. The latter, with their professional retinue, constituted a small "upper middle class". This class had a strong political hold which was loosened somewhat by the growth of a more democratic political structure by mid-century. They were divorced, economically and culturally, from the life of outport fishing families.

Merchants avoided productive investment in the labour-intensive inshore fishery, as they considered it to be the source of a valuable trading commodity rather than a potential food industry. Their control over trade with fishermen, and the widespread indebtedness of this group, hindered capital investment in improvements. As a result, this sector stagnated and experienced crises in the late 19th century, signalling that it was reaching the limits to labour-intensive growth. The resulting problem of unemployment and declining mercantile profit induced many of the upper middle class to campaign for inland development as the potential outlet for future enterprise and employment. This was to be effected by the construction of a transinsular railway from public funds. Although the emphasis was initially on a domestically-directed development, the failure of this, combined with an interest from foreign capital, shifted the strategy in

the late 1890's to one of foreign direct investment as the lynch-pin of development. Foreign capital held out the prospect of safe investment-- opportunities in trade, construction and other pursuits, and it promised an easy solution to unemployment. It thus appealed to all classes, largely due to the efforts of politicians and other public figures, who promised the fisherman, labourer and small entrepreneur a secure and prosperous future. An ideology of promotion began to dominate the educated elite's perception of Newfoundland's natural and human resources. In this ideology, the emerging concept of Newfoundland and Labrador as a nation, with a developing agricultural and resource hinterland, and with burgeoning trade and manufacturing enterprises, was tied with that of its potential value as a field for foreign industrial capital.

Promotion took place on many levels, one of which was government and private publication of books, pamphlets and magazine articles with promotional intent. These were directed primarily to an external audience of potential investors and tourists, but they also promulgated the "national dream" to an internal audience.

Foreign investors were offered generous concessions and resource giveaways. The ultimate effect of their investment was relatively minor: although profitable for some of the local elite, the resource enclaves which resulted did not provide the basis for a lasting and widespread development. Moreover, the priorities of the local elite were, in practice, to enhance their own fortunes through trade and speculation rather than to ensure the redirection of the social surplus into a more integrated domestic development. The myths of a new frontier with prosperity for all correspond to a reality in which the actual benefits were far more uneven.

General Conceptual Context

The context of the present work lies partly in the renewed geographic interest in perception of landscape and region, a result of developments in behavioural and environmental psychology and the influence of humanism and phenomenology in general. The study of perception has been particularly important in behavioural, social, cultural and historical geography.[1] The work in historical geography provides the general conceptual framework in which this thesis is situated. Historical geographers have studied perceptions of landscape, region and national territory, examining their origins, dissemination and change over time, their effect on social and geographic change and their integration with regional or national consciousness.[2] Researchers have gathered evidence from sources such as government land surveys, newspaper and magazine articles, fiction, poetry, private letters, diaries, topographic sketches and visual art. Conceptual frameworks have been drawn from the influences mentioned above, as well as from an older "history of ideas" tradition revived by the recent conservation movement (Huth, 1957; Nash, 1973; Smith, 1950).

One problem with studies of perception and sense of place in general has been the tendency to abstract collective images and myths from the context of social experience and conflict in which they emerge and take effect (Birch, 1977: 529; Cosgrove, 1978: 70; Gregory, 1978: 172-173). As a result, collective perceptions are often taken as part of community, regional or national consciousness, when in fact they bear the mark of a dominant class with the greatest power to influence this consciousness. Some studies acknowledge the elite character of a collective idea without questioning whether it actually represents the essence of that society.

This tendency often leads to analysis of social and geographic change primarily in terms of changing images and myths. The extreme position is the argument for idealist determination, but usually the tendency is more implicit.[3]

Part of this abstraction is related to the aforementioned "history of ideas" tradition and similar trains of thought in the social sciences (Guelke, 1964; Koroscil, 1970: 480-484; Lowther, 1959: 31-36). It also appears in the rhetorical emphasis on perception in arguments against logical positivism and its rejection of the legitimacy of studying subjective views. There is also the practical difficulty of tracing the origins and effects of collective ideas in social behaviour, particularly when one is dealing with social groups which are not well represented in historical records. This has often led to an uncritical acceptance of perceptions and ideologies which are predominant by virtue of a dominant class with control over public information flows and permanent records.

However, there is some interest in looking beneath the surface of collective images and myths, particularly to their selective portrayal of what are usually more complex and contradictory social relations. Some scholars have examined the origins and dissemination of collective ideas as they relate to the social behaviour of ethnic groups, classes and political or commercial interest groups. Some of these studies are reviewed in the next two sections. It is hoped that more attention will be directed in future to certain environmental and social perceptions as part of the dominance of a particular social group.

Historical-Perceptual Studies of "New Lands"

Much attention has been directed, by geographers and others, to the perception of regions opened up for settlement in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Some have looked at the assessments of climate, soil, economic potential and aesthetic quality of frontier lands which were made by explorers, government agents, politicians, entrepreneurs, journalists, settlers and general travellers. These contemporary assessments have been examined as to the observers' individual purposes and social backgrounds, and to the effects of perceptions on such things as settlement success, migration patterns, territorial expansion and regional or national development. This includes the frequent disparity between initial images and subsequent experience (Davis, 1975; Emmons, 1971, 1975; Hudson, 1973, 1976; Rasporich, 1977; Rees, 1976; Rice, 1977; Spry, 1975). Some researchers have questioned many of the official surveys and reports on frontier lands pointing out the influence of non-scientific motives in their production (Bowden, 1975, 1976; Emmons, 1971: 61-77; Lewis, 1962; Tyman, 1975).

Themes which emerge frequently in this work are those of optimism, the spirit of progress and the "garden myth" of the West. It is said, for instance, that settlers and urban dwellers alike had high expectations for the American West: it came to symbolize a new garden, the climax of national development. With unlimited resources, and abundant land for the yeoman farmer, it promised a new opportunity to establish the (Anglo-Saxon) American way of life (Emmons, 1971: 1-7, 1975: 125-129; Runte, 1976; Watson, 1976: 22-26). Similar themes emerge from work on perceptions of the Canadian West as a place of unlimited progress, enterprise and development, an empty land waiting for immigrants to exploit its resources and create

prosperity (Rasporich, 1977: 37-39; Rees, 1976: 260-268; Riis, 1973; Stich, 1976: 19).

Many researchers have looked at these collective perceptions as factors in settlement expansion in Canada and the U.S.A., either as widespread myths or as part of the expectations of particular immigrant groups. Attention has been focussed on the way such perceptions were created or amplified by politicians, commercial promoters and enthusiastic journalists (Bliss, 1977; Davis, 1975; Emmons, 1971, 1975; Riis, 1973).

Studies of "New Lands" Promotion

Studies of promotional material in North America at the turn of the century are useful to the present thesis for several reasons. Firstly, they indicate the vagueness of the boundary between promotional and non-promotional writing. Secondly, they treat the literature as historical evidence of the transmission of ideologies. Thirdly, the general and specific themes elicited from the promotional literature suggested fruitful avenues of investigation in the Newfoundland literature. Fourthly, they examine, in varying degrees, the origins, dissemination and effects of promotional material and the ideas expressed in it.

A literary study by Klaus Peter Stich (1976) of immigration propaganda for Canada at the turn of the century describes a prevalent optimism regarding the potential of the West and the benefits of its development. He points to a widespread ideology of pastoral capitalism as being the major influence on the content of promotional pamphlets, fitting with the more specific goal of attracting immigrants. He argues that such pamphlets should not be dismissed as mere "distortions and lies" but rather examined as "forms of realistic-cum-romantic interpretations of a new country" (p. 19).

Stich examines pamphlets produced by national and provincial governments, the Canadian Pacific Railway and the land companies. He demonstrates that through selectivity and exaggeration, the use of pastoral or authoritative government prose styles, the literature helped create a "preconceived West of new wealth and old values" (p. 29).

According to Stich, most of the pamphlets were directed at the working man (who must, however, possess some capital), as opposed to the idle upper class gentleman. Their dominant theme was the reward of comfort and profit coming to those willing to work hard. They offered the European immigrant an opportunity for independence and wealth, as well as preservation of old values of hard work, and sober, traditional community life. The pamphlets also contained statistics, photographs, maps and personal testimonials demonstrating the progress made on individual farms in the space of several years. Frequent reference was made to the superiority of the Canadian West over anything the U.S.A. had to offer, with statistics showing higher productivity in Canadian provinces compared with American states. Ostensibly scientific information was given with respect to climate and soil fertility, including manipulation of figures for mean temperatures. Images of the prairie suggested protective, even cozy land, and a bracing climate. Not surprisingly, they understated the severity of winter, the vast spaces and the difficulties of pioneering. Aesthetic description often made use of stale romantic metaphors, and Stich described it as a "banal pastoral" style depicting "a romantic bourgeois wilderness" (p. 24). Other pamphlets were devoid of such flowery language, attempting to convey an impression of disinterested objectivity.

An article by Ronald Rees (1976), although dealing with landscape painting, is useful for its discussion of the optimism which influenced many of the traveller-illustrators in the late 19th century Canadian West. Romantic and picturesque conventions influenced them to paint "an unforbidding, even cheerful image of the West" (p. 261). The prairie was often transformed into English or French rural landscapes, partly from the difficulty in painting the new landscape, and partly in anticipation that settlement would replicate the attractive European countryside. Included in this early optimistic view are the works of artist-journalists whose objectives were to promote metropolitan interest and immigration. According to Rees, the first generation of resident painters echoed this optimism in "colonial heroic" (p. 263) paintings of a "subdued and bountiful land." He then describes how these Victorian-romantic images gave way, in the early 20th century, to a more realistic focus on the prairie itself and its meaning for the inhabitants.

A.W. Rasporich (1977: 46-49) examines promotional literature for the fruit lands in British Columbia at the turn of the century, in connection with one of the types of utopian community described in his article. This literature was produced by the Canadian Pacific Railway, land companies, and the British Columbia government, and was designed to attract not the immigrant of modest means, as elsewhere, but rather members of the British upper class. This class had already shown some interest in creating ideal feudal communities in the New World which could function as outlets for their wayward sons. The literature advertised this region as "the orchard of the Empire" (p. 48), promising good sport (hunting and fishing) and lucrative fruit-farming. Rasporich identifies three themes in the presentation of

the region as a utopia. Firstly, there was the image of the garden inhabited by Rousseau's natural man recapturing pastoral innocence. Secondly, it was a potential outpost of the "superior" Anglo-Saxon race and empire. Thirdly, it was an opportunity to practise so-called upper class virtues of social and economic cooperation--merging the organic feudal community with a new pastoral capitalism. Readers were urged to consult the reputable land companies for purchase and for scientific advice on farming and marketing techniques.

N.A. Riis (1973) also describes the literature used to promote these communities in a case study of Walhachin, a community which failed in south-central British Columbia. According to Riis, Walhachin's failure must be seen in light of the more general context of settlement promotion in western Canada at the time. Like immigrants elsewhere, the potential English settler in the British Columbia fruit belt had little access to accurate information, being dependent on promotional literature which advertised beauty, bounty and profits; excellent transportation networks, and suitablility of the region for the "better class" of Englishman.

Both Riis and Rasporich explain the failure of Walhachin in terms of bad location for fruit farming, hasty and cumbersome irrigation investments provided by a land company whose main interest was short-term profit, and the objectives of the upper class participants who were misinformed by promoters and unprepared for the task of frontier dry-land farming.

Donald Pugh (1975) discusses a campaign to attract settlers to Ontario's Clay Belt north of the Great Lakes, in the early 20th century. The campaign originated mainly with Ontario government offices, a railway commission and merchants of Toronto and North Bay. They were inspired by

recent favourable surveyor's reports, and they were motivated by the desire to see this area settled and to reverse the trend of outmigration to the western prairies. Promotion included press releases, newspaper and magazine articles, brochures, maps, photographs, touring exhibits, lectures and government recruiting offices abroad.

Pugh asserts that most of the thousands of people attracted to the area "were unfortunate victims of a deception which portrayed the region as a promised land" (p. 19). He asserts, however, that the deception was not a conscious plot but rather a reflection of "the spirit of the times" (p. 24). The desire for settlement encouraged exaggeration. Even some surveyors "waxed lyrical, predicting luxurious fields of waving golden corn . . . flourishing towns, and great factories and creameries" (p. 21).

According to Pugh, reports of fertility were amplified in booster literature. It was said that the land produced giant bumper crops and that the farmer would have easy access to markets. Moreover, potential obstacles were either understated or turned into benefits. The severe climate was described as invigorating. Snow was said to be useful for winter work, while it also protected the soil and broke it up for spring plowing. Cold, dry winters were conducive to health and the raising of strong children. Summer frost was blamed on the trees, which could easily be felled as they were of moderate size. However, trees were also praised for their healing aromas and beauty, in contrast with the desolate western prairie. The water was also said to have medicinal qualities. The northern environment as a whole was advertised as inimical to disease. It was an important element for writers promoting the mystique of a new northern race, "more energized progressive humans, a race of hardy, self-reliant pioneers" (p. 22). This

was combined with the "poor man made good" theme, with before-and-after testimonials illustrated in photographs of bounteous harvests.

Pugh describes the reality as "tragically different" (p. 24), due in part to the rapid and badly planned settlement, but mainly to the predominance of badly drained soil, the short growing season and the lack of access to markets. A small proportion of settlers did well, but for the majority it was an experience of hardship, bankruptcy and outmigration.

For the American Great Plains, David M. Emmons (1971, 1975) has analyzed a variety of motivations influencing promotion in the late 19th century. Emmons considers promoters in the wider context of a national crusade, spearheaded by political parties, governments and corporate interests, to open up the Great Plains in order to consolidate the country and provide economic safety-valves for the urban working class. This general crusade coincided with the interests of railway and land companies, and the boosterism of local politicians and merchants. Journalists and other writers were either paid by promoters or inspired by the national crusade to write articles, gazetteers, immigration pamphlets and government reports on the region's agricultural and resource potential. Emmons argues that the promotional activities carried on by politicians, visionaries, railway and land companies and various government agencies were instrumental in creating an image of the plains as a fertile garden. It was an ideological quest to refashion the plains in a highly favourable image, in response to political and economic pressures.

This literature, often masquerading as impartial government or scientific information, contained many falsities and exaggerations as to the potential of the land and the experience of pioneer farming. Immigrants

who relied on such literature would find themselves unprepared for the hardships involved.

According to Emmons, the literature was full of optimism, expansiveness and exploitative energy, with visions of fertile soil, unlimited resources and potential wealth for the hard-working immigrant. Climate was, once again, healthy and invigorating. The need for irrigation in many areas was often undeclared, lest the immigrant be frightened away. In response to growing criticism, writers became less rosy and more "true-to-life" in their portrayals, protesting to their critics that they were indeed describing the hardships of pioneering in a realistic manner. Emmons, however, argues that many of the descriptions of hardship were veiled challenges, designed to appeal to the work ethic of the European labourer, artisan and peasant. They implied that this was the land of hard work, perseverance and the simple life, but also of free and independent labour with guaranteed monetary reward.

Comparison of these studies reveals obvious similarities in promotional motivation from one case to another. It is also apparent that promoters must be rather widely defined, and that there was, in fact, an ideology of promotion permeating much of the public information about the frontier. Many people were involved in general political-economic crusades--for political consolidation, expansion, labour safety valves and the like. These coincided with the profit motives of railway, land and resource companies, local merchants--and the supporters of all these in governments who used official reports to entice potential immigrants. However, the exaggerations found in the literature were often the result of naïve faith in the potential of the frontier, as much as the direct intention to deceive.

Many kinds of material contained promotional messages--government reports, magazine articles, gazetteers and the ubiquitous pamphlet. Promotional styles ranged from the flowery romantic to the objective and authoritative. Evidence included statistics, photographs, scientific reports and personal testimonials. Promoters elaborated on romantic, utopian and expansionist visions of the frontier. They stressed agricultural and resource wealth and the prospect of bounty, profits and material comfort. They embroidered on the image of the hardy, industrious, independent pioneer whose labour would be rewarded by prosperity and a full community life. They also, in some cases, appealed to upper class visions of a New World feudal order. Environmental difficulties were understated, soil fertility exaggerated. Healthful aspects of climate and hard work were stressed. Researchers point out that many pioneers were unprepared for the experience, and that the information spread by promoters played a large part in their delusions. At the same time, it enhanced the interests of companies involved in land, resources and trade on the frontier.

Relevance of "New Lands" Promotion to Newfoundland

This literature on images of the Canadian and American Wests (and the Ontario North) has been reviewed here because it was roughly coterminous with that produced in Newfoundland and raises several themes which also appear in the latter. The Newfoundland interior, like the West, was also being opened up for settlement and exploitation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Proponents of inland development in Newfoundland were inspired by the Western example--particularly by the role of the railway, mining and land companies in paving the way for agricultural and industrial development.

Promotional writers asserted that these developments could be replicated in Newfoundland, and their writings followed much of the promotion "formula" used for western North America.

In Newfoundland, the promotional emphasis was on mineral and timber wealth, with a secondary, though important, emphasis on agricultural lands. Although many writers obviously hoped for an agricultural hinterland in the near future, they were well aware that the mineral and timber resources had more drawing power for foreign capital. There was an additional emphasis on tourist attractions, particularly on hunting and fishing, but also on natural scenery, wilderness as a health resort, the coastal cruise and the "cultural" tour of fishing villages. Studies of other kinds of promotional and descriptive literature were thus consulted for similarity of themes, and some of these studies are cited in the text of this thesis.

The foregoing studies of promotion of "new lands" were thought to warrant a separate review here, because the ideologies accompanying western settlement were so similar to those embraced by proponents of inland development in Newfoundland. They provide an important context for understanding the development rhetoric which prevailed in Newfoundland for many decades.

However, the more obvious themes of commercial promotion are not the only ones which will be examined in Newfoundland promotional literature. There are also more subtle ones, regarding the relations between human society and nature, between town and country and among different social classes. These themes will be examined in relation to the writers' upper middle class position and outlook, as well as to their specific promotional objectives.

Moreover, because the writers were from this privileged class, their visions of economic development and prosperity for all will be viewed against the reality of conflicting class interests and the unequal access to resources and social surplus characteristic of a class society. The more subtle themes are examined to ascertain the writers' ideological perspective in a society with great disparities of economic power and opportunity. This should elucidate not only the assumptions underlying their visions, but also the nature of their self-proclaimed role as advocates of the interests of all Newfoundlanders. This thesis will explore these promotional and ideological factors through examination of their social context and of the images and themes found in the literature itself.

Conceptual Approaches and Methodology

The thesis will examine the general questions and themes discussed so far by analyzing the content of Newfoundland promotional literature in the period 1890-1914. The subject matter and themes therein are placed in historical-geographic context through information obtained from other sources on the exploitation of marine and land-based resources and the evolution of the economy and society.

Many important elements of land use, political economy and social conditions for the study period can only be understood historically, and with reference to factors in the international economy. Acquaintance with the theory and practice of mercantilism is necessary, as well as with that of industrial capitalism, the search for raw materials abroad and the creation of a world market by the turn of the 20th century. However, space does not permit lengthy theoretical or empirical discussion of Newfoundland's role in the international economy: rather, attention in this thesis is focussed

on the domestic situation.

A range of works by historians, geographers, anthropologists and others is investigated in order to provide this domestic context. This includes works by scholars of the time, a few of whom doubled as promotional writers, and whose work was used with care to its substantiation. Some use was also made of such documents as the *Journals* of the Newfoundland House of Assembly.

It must be stressed that the historical-geographic context provided for the promotional literature does not pretend to be the historian's history or the geographer's geography. Those scholars acquainted with Newfoundland will undoubtedly find gaps and inaccuracies. Some of the sources used represent particular positions in ongoing scholarly debates, and they have been used with this in mind and an attempt not to rely too heavily on any one source. The material presented here is the result of an initial and necessarily sketchy exploration into the historical development of Newfoundland, in order to provide background for a study of social and environmental images in literature. Hopefully, it will be taken as such.

In the literature analysis, various methods of selecting and recording data from verbal or visual evidence were examined and adjusted for the present purposes.[5] Before proceeding with detailed recording of data, the content was divided into categories of relevant subject-matter, each category consisting of a number of sub-categories. These subject categories delineated aspects of the colony's natural resources, economy and social conditions, which were further broken into sub-categories such as minerals and timber, fisheries, classes and community life. A list was also made of the widest possible range of themes, or points of view, which could be expected to

appear concerning these subjects. This expectation was based on a first or second reading of the material and an acquaintance with the social milieu in which the literature was produced.

Themes have been defined as conceptual entities, thought processes or simple assertions, which state a distinct point of view on a particular subject (Carney, 1972: 159-163). In a text, a theme may be stated directly, but more often, it emerges indirectly through a combination of statements or images, or through the context in which an object is viewed, such as natural and social settings, stories, character sketches and the like, forming arrangements or juxtapositions of information.

For the present purposes, the ambiguity of the concept of image is accepted. On one level, an image arises from a word or series of words evoking a definite picture, scene etc., as opposed to other words and phrases less visual and more explanatory, logical and conceptual. However, on a higher level of generalization, image also denotes a representation of phenomena which emerges from a series of both visual and non-visual information. On this level of abstraction, image refers to a view of the whole, being in this sense roughly synonymous with words such as perception or conception which have a similar ambiguity.

Themes appear on two levels of generality in this study. On one level, there are wider ones such as social Darwinism and romanticism, which often constitute major components of an ideology, and which are anticipated to appear significantly on the basis of first readings of the material and acquaintance with the wider social context. On another level, themes are more specific points of view expressed on each subject. These are usually related ultimately to the larger themes.

The content analysis employed here is basically a "non-frequency" or "qualitative" one: the primary objective is to establish what subjects and themes are present or absent. A quantitative analysis, with extensive generalization and numerical comparison of subject matter in the texts, was not considered necessary or desirable here. The amount of material was not so large as to require it, and each text could be examined with less sacrifice to detail.

Several passes were made through each text, and on the second or third pass, index cards were used to record basic information, subject categories and themes. Basic information included title, author, date, kind of text (book, article, etc.) as well as miscellaneous information about the writer or text. Major subject categories and sub-categories were indicated by letters and numbers, and themes were indicated by key words and phrases. In addition, a rough assessment was made of the importance of a particular subject or theme in terms of the amount of space it occupied in the text, such as the number of paragraphs or pages.

In a frequency or quantitative content analysis, any recording unit (word, phrase or passage) must be counted only once, as representing only one subject category or theme. This often presents difficulties, in that often even one word may clearly express two themes in two separate categories. In a non-frequency content analysis, this procedure is not necessary, and in fact the overlap and juxtaposition of subjects and themes are often as important as their discrete meanings (Lloyd, 1976: 283).

Some of the expected themes were found not to occur very frequently, while others appeared repeatedly. New themes also emerged from the detailed survey. After each text was recorded on cards, this information was

re-examined according to subject and theme, summarized in detail and then condensed for presentation.

Chapter Outline

Chapter Two provides a historical background to the period under study. It discusses the nature and evolution of the marine resource economy, the society which developed and the state of inland development by the 1890's.

Chapter Three analyzes the shift in the 1890's toward inducing foreign capital for inland development, and the promotional mentality which accompanied it. Promotional writers are also discussed in terms of their social milieu and varying objectives.

Chapters Four and Five present the content of the literature, combined with information from other sources, the attempt being to situate this literature in its wider social and ideological context. Chapter Four deals with marine and land-based natural resources, as well as with the role of the government in infrastructure and inducements. The chapter also includes promotional writers' general visions of development and prosperity based on the interior, and it ends with an assessment of the staples economy as a whole. Chapter Five is concerned with the social factors of class, community and the Newfoundland "national character", and it investigates how people were portrayed in general and promoted for commercial purposes.

Chapter Six is the conclusion, in which the various themes are linked together, and their significance explored in terms of economic development and social conditions in the colony. Some final words are included on the situation of this thesis relative to work on the same topic which needs to be done by future researchers.

Notes

[1]Articles reviewing the field of perception include: Downs (1970); Golledge, *et al.* (1972); Moore (1979); Tuan (1976). Books and collected essays on perception include: Moore and Golledge (1976); Tuan (1974, 1977); Watson and O'Riordan (1976).

[2]Review articles of historical-perceptual geography include: Baker (1977, 1978); Billinge (1977); Clark (1972); Prince (1971). Books, articles and collected essays in this area include Birch (1974); Blouet and Lawson (1975); Jakle (1977); Lowenthal and Bowden (1976).

[3]Varying degrees of these tendencies appear in the following: Lowenthal and Prince (1965); McManus (1976: 35); Relph (1976); Runte (1976: 47-48); Stich (1976: 19); Tuan (1977: 149-178); Vance (1972); Watson (1969).

[4]For example, Bowden (1975, 1976) found that the supposedly widespread 19th century "desert myth" of the Great Plains was largely confined to the minds of an eastern educated elite. As such, it influenced the interpretations of later scholars who assumed it to be a major retarding influence on early settlement, when in reality the factors in frontier expansion were far more complex.

[5]The following works on the methodology of content analysis were consulted: Budd, *et al.* (1967); Carney (1972); Holsti (1969). A number of case studies were also examined, including: C.C.C.S. and authors (1974); Elliott and Golding (1974); Hayward (1973); Marshment (1978).

CHAPTER TWO

FISHERIES AND INLAND DEVELOPMENT TO THE 1890's

Introduction

By the turn of the 20th century, Newfoundland--for so long an almost exclusive producer of seal-oil and codfish--was exporting a variety of mineral and timber products, had a railway through the island's interior and could boast of a small secondary sector. A recent influx of foreign capital in resource extraction seemed to many colonial residents to promise an era of industrialization in which the interior, rather than the fisheries, would play the major role. However, this heyday of foreign capital had been preceded by several decades of investment in land-based resources spearheaded by the colony's commercial elite, with far less foreign involvement. The situation in which a group of "fish merchants" had demonstrated an interest in the interior resulted from the prospect of crisis in the fisheries, a threat which loomed as early as the 1860's. This involved productivity declines, rising unemployment and fluctuating mercantile profits. This prospect had prompted many commercial men to seek new investment opportunities in mining, lumbering and manufacturing, to encourage commercial agriculture and to begin promoting the colony to foreign investors.

As the fisheries crisis deepened in the 1880's, this new landward direction was followed with greater zeal. The problems of the fisheries were thought by many to have no solution and the industry was judged incapable of expansion. As the crisis continued through the 1890's, efforts

intensified--not only to develop the interior, but also to attract foreign capital as a major agent in this development. A section of the colonial elite anticipated lucrative roles as landowners, traders and contractors in this prospective flow of foreign capital. They mobilized considerable support from subordinate classes--for many of whom the fisheries held out little chance of livelihood--with visions of a new era of industrialization based on foreign capital and the wealth of the interior.

Even after the fisheries recovered in the late 1890's, reforms were resisted in this major sector of the economy, and the way was thus paved for later crises which were scarcely mitigated by the existence of a few resource enclaves in the interior.

Interest in the interior was initially conditioned by stagnation in the fisheries. However, even when the fisheries were prospering, economic development was sought through the sale of inland staples to foreign capital, rather than through transformation of the marine economy.

This chapter provides a context for understanding this neglect of the fisheries, by examining, in historical perspective, the mercantile structure of the economy, as well as the colonial society which evolved.

Migratory to Resident Fishery

Newfoundland was for centuries the site of an international migratory fishery eventually dominated by the British, for whom cod was an important commodity in international trade--a means of obtaining gold for trade with the Orient. Merchants from England's West Country hired crews for their large fishing vessels which operated every summer off the eastern coast of the island, curing on shore and returning to England in the fall (Cell, 1969: 39, 47-48; Head, 1976: 142; Innis, 1954: 50-52). The semi-sedentary nature

of this fishery led to British control over large areas and predominance in the island's settlement (Cell, 1969: 4-5; Mannion, 1977: 5). The number of permanent residents was small until the 17th century, when a resident fishery was encouraged by Crown colonization projects (which failed) and by a new organization of labour in the fishery. The latter was directed by merchants from London and Bristol, whose first priority was not fishing but international trade, and who were not interested in direct involvement in production. They preferred to finance "byeboatmen" to go out as passengers on their trading vessels, procure boats, hire wage servants sent on the same vessels and conduct shore-based fishing and curing. Byeboatmen sold the catch to the same merchants in the fall. Although it was mainly a seasonal migration, this activity encouraged a resident fishery as many more fishermen deserted the large crews to work on their own, dealing independently with merchants. More settlements grew on the east coast, the largest of which serviced the still dominant migratory fishery (Lounsbury, 1969: 112; Mannion, 1977: 5-6; Story, 1969: 15).

Historians have traditionally emphasized that West Country merchants, opposed to the competition from a resident fishery, hindered permanent residence and fostered a British government anti-settlement policy (Cell, 1969: 6-10, 95-125; Easterbrook and Aitken, 1956: 53-58; Lounsbury, 1969: 92-181; Newton, 1929: 119-145). However, the conflict was apparently minimal by the late 18th century, as West Country merchants were by then imitating their London and Bristol counterparts, trading in supplies and fish and leaving the actual fishing operations to small producers (Innis, 1954: 108-109; Matthews, 1978: 21-30). The remaining migratory operations moved to less-settled areas and to the Banks (Head, 1976: 72-77; Matthews, 1978: 27). By

this time, the resident fishery was dominant, conducted by "planters" (resident byeboatmen) supplied by merchants, hiring crews as before for fishing and curing. There was also a growing number of independent households fishing on a smaller scale, with the same relation to merchants (Fay, 1956: 138-139; Head, 1976: 82; Mannion, 1977: 11).[1] The large merchant firms, some of which still directed migratory operations, were trading with residents increasingly through the intermediary of smaller merchants who supplied planters and households in exchange for a share of the catch (Head, 1976: 100-132, 141-143). Producers usually became deeply in debt to the "supply" merchants in this credit and barter arrangement later known as the truck system (Fay, 1956: 25-139; Rogers, 1911: 116; Story, 1969: 21-22).[2] The big merchants concentrated more on wholesale import-export trade, operating in a few towns along the eastern coast (Head, 1976: 152-153).

However, even with a flourishing resident fishery, attracting many British and Irish immigrants (Fay, 1956: 157-158; Head, 1976: 82-94), the island's development as a full-fledged settler colony was slow. The climate and soil on the east coast were not conducive to agriculture. British Colonial policy remained a hindrance to economic and political development, despite frequent evasion of many anti-settlement laws (Matthews, 1978: 26; Tocque, 1878: 432-433). Colonial status was not granted until the early 19th century, and institutions such as schools and churches were slow in developing (Rogers, 1911: 113-115; Story, 1969: 19). The administrative void was often filled by a St. John's merchant oligarchy (Fay, 1956: 148-161).

The retarded development was also related to this mercantile elite. The large resident merchants remained part of a network of British firms for which Newfoundland was merely an outpost and a source of profit through

trade. Migratory firms and resident merchants benefitted from trade in cod and imports and were not, for the most part, interested in the growth of a colonial society or diversified economy (Fay, 1956: 15-37; Head, 1976: 100-132; Matthews, 1978: 28). The production of one staple and the dependence on imports marked the colony's position in North Atlantic trading triangles, in which it was heavily dependent on Southern European markets and on imports from Britain and the American colonies (Head, 1976: 100-132; Matthews, 1978: 26). This dependence was in the interests of resident and non-resident merchants who profited from the Atlantic import-export trade.

However, some diversification occurred, fostered by year-round habitation and the spread of settlement around the coast.[3] This included commercial salmon fishing, trapping and hunting, woodcutting and agriculture. The latter was mostly in the form of household plots, but some commercial agriculture developed around the towns, undertaken by wealthy residents and the military with special Crown land grants. There was also sealing, first a small land-based hunt in the northeast and later a large operation involving both merchants and planters with large vessels and schooners hiring crews on a share basis. This stimulated shipbuilding, other trades and more commercial activity in St. John's and a few outports (Head, 1976: 74-77; Prowse, 1971: 298, 451-452; Rogers, 1911: 121-122, 141-143).

Sealing also fostered a new migratory shipfishery involving vessels and crews sent from major Newfoundland ports to the northeast of the island and to Labrador. It also was conducted by merchants and planters who deployed their vessels north after the seal hunt and found this northern fishery more compatible with sealing than were the Banks. The latter were thus neglected by most of the Newfoundland-based firms (Head, 1976: 221-223; Rogers, 1911:

198-204). They were also eventually abandoned by the British migratory firms, leaving American and French operations dominant there (Head, 1976: 232-237; Mannion, 1977: 6).

The precarious nature of the single-staple economy was apparent during the international wars between 1775 and 1815, in which Newfoundland, so dependent on exports and imports, went through periods of hardships due to trade embargoes or declines in fish prices and yields. Even relatively prosperous periods were marred by steeply rising import prices. St. John's was regularly beseiged by impoverished fishermen from the outports seeking work or public relief alongside the wage servants and artisans permanently residing there (Fay, 1956: 132; Head, 1976: 198-199, 220, 232-237). Although landward resource exploitation increased under these conditions, the colony still imported most of its food when embargoes did not intervene (Head, 1976: 207-209).

The worst period occurred at the end of war in 1815, when fish prices fell as other countries resumed their Banks fishing operations, reducing the high demand for Newfoundland's inshore product. Poor inshore yields, rising import prices and a large influx of impoverished immigrants exacerbated the problem, with many merchant bankruptcies, and poverty and hardship among fishermen and labourers (Fay, 1956: 153; Head, 1976: 237; Rogers, 1911: 155).

Growth of the "Traditional" Inshore Fishery

These conditions accelerated a major structural change in the inshore fishery--the decline of planters and the eventual predominance of small household units. This so-called "traditional economy", tied to markets through the truck system, was an important factor in the crisis at the end

of the century.

Planters, squeezed by wage costs, rising import prices and lower fish returns, were losing their ability to recruit labour as wage servants opted in greater numbers to become independent fishermen. Their situation worsened when merchants began refusing to guarantee wages paid by planters. This they had always done before as a part of common law, but they now found it too risky, especially since servants whose wages they guaranteed were not required to buy goods from them (E. Antler, 1977: 8; S. Antler, 1973: 90; Fay, 1956: 159-160; Lounsbury, 1969: 89-90, 248-249). Planters, lacking the resources to guarantee wages themselves, began to scale down their operations, and most became indistinguishable from the household units with their small, kin-based fishing and shore crews. The planter system remained important only in sealing and the northern and Banks fisheries (E. Antler, 1977: 8-9; Head, 1976: 218-220).

This shift to smaller-scale production represented a gain of independence for many fishermen in their work, although they were now responsible for providing and maintaining the necessary wharves, boats and gear (S. Antler, 1973: 78-87; Mannion, 1977: 12). It was the merchants' final step in withdrawing from production in Newfoundland's major fishing enterprise, in contrast to the situation in sealing and the other shipfisheries where they were major investors and employers.

In the inshore fishery, the merchants' goal of profit through trade was now more easily achieved, as they had greater market control over each producer. Merchants provided the necessary goods, markets and protection for fishermen: they advanced supplies for a share of the catch and extended credit in bad years. The greater market control was achieved because

producers were compelled to barter all of their catch with the merchant who had advanced them supplies at the start of the season, lest they lose that protection in the future. Moreover, each fisherman traded his share of the catch with the merchant in an isolated and private relationship, allowing the latter some discretion over price, and depriving producers of collective bargaining power. The merchants' market control, combined with the predominance of barter, enabled them to "buy" fish cheap and "sell" goods dear. In this way, they obtained their profits and insured their operations against bad years (E. Antler, 1977: 10; Faris, 1972: 8; Fay, 1956: 139, 152-160; Hatton and Harvey, 1883: 72-73; Noel, 1971: 8-9, 80-81).

Mercantile control extended beyond commerce to a general monetary and financial role:

> He acted as bank, mint, and clearing-house . . . money-lender, export-agent, and import-agent. He combined six or more functions of capital, and represented the integration of capital.
> (Rogers, 1911: 206)

The household producers were not capitalist entrepreneurs. Production units were smaller and in many ways less efficient than previously. The average size of boats in the inshore fishery declined, and greater mercantile control over individuals reduced the possibility of innovation, expansion, production of better cures and diversification of products. Producers had little capital, and the rewards of such improvements were too easily absorbed by merchants through their ability to manipulate prices. Increased labour inputs were substituted for technological innovation (E. Antler, 1977: 10; S. Antler, 1973: 78-87; Faris, 1972: 15-17, 114-120; Mannion, 1977: 11-12).

Outport fishing households have often been associated with images of frontier self-sufficiency. However, much of the labour time was taken up

in producing a commodity in exchange for necessities not available locally. The image of self-sufficiency comes from the fact that households also produced many goods for their own use: they hunted and trapped, planted gardens and worked at many crafts. When times were bad, merchants could only maintain their profits by taking more through exchange. They pressed down on the producers' standard of living, requiring of the latter more labour in fishing and in these supplementary tasks to get by. Public relief was also regularly needed to support this "self-sufficiency". It was a controversial issue throughout the 19th century, since the large numbers periodically in need made the expenditure appear excessive to prominent citizens. Governments tried to stimulate outport gardening and occasionally cut back relief payments, ostensibly to encourage small producers to work harder on their own behalf (E. Antler, 1977: 7, 10; Prowse, 1971: 486-487, 495; *R.C.*, 1934: 12-13; Sager, 1978: 18).

19th Century Society

As the households took over in many crafts, including boatbuilding and barrelmaking, and as there were few planters and merchants directly involved in the inshore fishery, there was less need for specialized artisans in many of the outports in which they were previously important. Many necessities were either imported by supply merchants or made in the household, and many trades became concentrated in the largest towns. More of the big mercantile firms left the outports for St. John's taking professionals, artisans and other personnel dependent on them, and leaving the outports to one or a few supply merchants. This hierarchical mercantile structure thus corresponded to spatial centralization of economic power in St. John's. The urban upper and middle classes were increasingly cut off from the vast majority of outport dwellers.

This exodus left many outports more ruralized than before, and tighter networks of merchant control over each outport's trade reduced the range of contacts experienced previously. For many of them, isolation was greater than it had been in the late 18th century (E. Antler, 1977: 7; S. Antler, 1973: 88-93; Mannion, 1977: 11-12).

The society retained great inequalities of wealth in the 19th century (Noel, 1971: 21). Although education and medical care reached more of the population through government grants and church activity, the vast majority was under-provided. Illiteracy and under-education were widespread, except among upper middle class children who were taught in St. John's academies and often sent abroad (Hatton and Harvey 1883: 365; Tocque, 1878: 414-420).

The commercial elite and various supporting professionals, were almost exclusively English and Protestant, with close economic and cultural relations with Britain. Family and friendship ties maintained the mercantile interest in political and professional life (Bonnycastle, 1842: 120-121; Fay, 1956: 15-20, 31-37).

Most of the outport supply merchants were much smaller. Although they had a higher standard of living and greater manoeuverability than most small producers, they still lived with the threat of bankruptcy in hard times and were only intermediaries in a chain of credit extending from fishermen to the large wholesale merchants. The latter, although avoiding the risks of advancing credit directly to producers, were still vulnerable to breaks in this chain and to international price fluctuations.

The commercial sector also provided employment for artisans, shop-keepers, and the like, and the growth of political and social institutions provided more employment for lesser professionals. Thus, the urban middle

class, albeit small, was growing. The class of wage labourers--consisting mainly of clerks and manual labourers in commercial and fishing firms, began to increase in the latter half of the century as employment opened up in manufacturing, public works and inland resource industries.

Differences in class combined with marked ethnic and religious divisions. The most important European settler groups were West Country English Protestants and Irish Catholics. By the latter part of the 19th century, the English formed a slight majority, while the Irish dominated numerically in St. John's where many had settled as labourers, artisans and traders. However, the Irish also formed a large part of the fishing population. Outports, and whole regions, were often dominated by one group or the other.

The commercial elite formed an English Protestant oligarchy, although their power was sometimes challenged by British colonial officials (Hatton and Harvey, 1883: 76). The granting of representative government in 1832 was the first important step in reducing this power, however slightly. A Conservative Party, dominated by the commercial elite, ruled mainly through patronage, influence, control of the Executive and Legislative Councils and Protestant loyalty. The opposition Liberal Party, although also led by substantial commercial interests, was more the voice of urban middle and lower classes and the rural and urban Irish of all classes. It dominated the less powerful Assembly and was a channel of agitation for political and economic reform (Noel, 1971: 9-10).

The political structure was highly centralized throughout the century. The appointed Councils had extensive powers over the elected Assembly. Political power was also concentrated in St. John's: public works and services for the Districts came from central government revenue provided by

the import tariff.[5] St. John's became the symbol of power and prestige, and decisions were often made by "townies" ignorant of the needs of outports. An extensive patronage system developed, focussed on the central government and the party in power. The District Members of the House of Assembly became the main links to the central source of public funds and employment, also acting as regional governors, lawyers, employment agents and social workers (Noel, 1971: 17-20). Ethnicity and religion also played an important part in the political structure, in part because local churchmen, like Assembly Members, performed a variety of roles and were also links to centres of power. These narrow political channels kept the most subordinate classes politically weak. Movements for economic or political reform were often deflected by ethnic and rural-urban animosities, as politicians frequently pitted Catholic against Protestant, fisherman against urban wage worker (Chadwick, 1967: 20, 59-60; Noel, 1971: 20-22).

In the late 19th century, sectarianism became less relevant to the distinction between Liberal and Conservative: although the Liberal Party still had Irish and urban popular support, the leadership of both parties gradually merged in ethnicity and class. The old distinction between Conservative fishocracy and Liberal reformers gave way to more nebulous and shifting factions (Harris, 1929: 429; Noel, 1971: 24-25). However, leaders of old and new parties adopted, at various times, the rhetoric of sectarianism, as well as of nationalism, populism and reform, in order to gain office.

Problems in the Fisheries

Throughout the 19th century, the inshore fishery was the basis of the economy and accounted for the largest proportion of export value, domestic product and employment for the economy as a whole. In the first half of

the century, the fishing economy grew steadily in response to expanding markets and rising prices. Growth in the inshore sector occurred largely through increased labour inputs and, to a lesser extent, territorial expansion. Operations remained small-scale and labour-intensive, and capital investment declined, since the burden of investment rested with small producers. This growth was accompanied by a steady decline in labour productivity (S. Antler, 1973: 78-87; Mannion, 1977: 12).

Merchants invested their profits from trade into the shipfisheries, sealing, fish oil processing and the carrying trade. While sealing and the shipfisheries sometimes yielded large profits, they formed a much smaller share of export and domestic value than did the inshore fishery (Fay, 1956: 24-25, 139; Hatton and Harvey, 1883: 372; Prowse, 1971: 495; Sager, 1978: 5).

The trend of the fisheries in the second half of the century was not as good: although there was an overall increase in catch, price paid to fisherman and export value, this disguises the fact that there were great periodic fluctuations, especially in price and export value (Alexander, 1976: 58-61). Output fluctuations were due largely to variations in resource availability and environmental conditions, affected also by the kind of technology and organization employed. Price fluctuations resulted partly from general fluctuations in international trade, in which the single-staple economy was highly vulnerable. However, the cod industry was also slow in responding (through innovations in production and marketing) to competition and changes in demand for cod products.

This problem was particularly acute in the inshore fishery. Deprived of capital, it continued to grow through additions of labour and small boats. The male fishing labour force (consisting mainly of inshore fishermen)

increased from 38,000 in 1857 to 60,000 in 1884, but at the same time there were steep *per capita* declines in catch and export value (Alexander, 1976: 58-61; S. Antler, 1973: 78, 84-85; Hatton and Harvey, 1883: 371).[6] The declining labour productivity signified particularly that the inshore fishery was reaching its limits to labour-intensive growth. This was critical, because this sector remained the major source of employment and mercantile profit in the colony (Alexander, 1976: 58; Sager, 1978: 19).

Capital was still directed to the seal hunt, the northern fishery (mostly Labrador) and, to a much lesser extent, the Banks. It was also invested in the carrying trade and seal and cod oil processing. However, by the 1850's, the previously high returns to capital in sealing and the shipfisheries began to taper off. All but the few largest merchant-shipowners began to cut back their investments, and the gap between larger and smaller firms widened (Sager, 1978: 8-9).

A major factor in this retrenchment was a declining seal catch, as investments had been heavy in sealing. The introduction of steamers in the 1860's permitted a temporary recovery, because they were larger and twice as productive as the large sailing vessels. However, a high and risky investment was required, and this further concentrated shipowning capital in the hands of large St. John's and Conception Bay merchants (S. Antler, 1973: 85; Sager, 1978: 14-15). Steamers were also introduced in the coastal carrying trade, driving out many schooners owned by smaller merchants and planters, and cutting demand to shipbuilding in some of the outports. The result was a further concentration of wholesale trade in the hands of St. John's merchants (Harvey, 1885: 161; Harris, 1929: 431; Innis, 1954: 459-460).

Despite steamers, the general trend of capital retrenchment continued because of low codfish prices in the 1860's. Merchants replaced large sailing vessels with the smaller schooners for the shipfisheries, and they greatly curtailed investment in the foreign carrying trade, preferring to charter rather than own vessels (S. Antler, 1973: 84; Sager, 1978: 23). Recovery of prices in the 1870's did not reverse the trend toward schooners, and in fact it was encouraged by government bounties for the flagging shipbuilding industry. More of these schooners were now going to the Banks, where they remained overshadowed by large-scale foreign operations.

The prosperity of the 1870's was short-lived. A more serious and widespread crisis began in the 1880's, with phases of declining productivity, price and/or output in sealing and the various codfisheries. In sealing, declines in output and price caused productivity of steamers and labour to fall drastically (Sager, 1978: 25). Productivity of capital declined in the shipfisheries, and labour productivity continued to decline in the inshore fishery.

The problems in the cod fisheries were made worse by sharp declines in output and export value, and industry gross earnings suffered. These conditions persisted until the late 1890's, balanced only slightly by declining import prices (Alexander, 1976: 62-64).[7] The gravity of the crisis for inshore fishing families is indicated by the fact that the male fishing labour force dropped from its high of 60,000 in 1884 to 37,000 in 1891--less than the 1857 figure (Alexander, 1976: 63). Emigration, which had averaged 1000 per year from 1869 to 1884, averaged 1500 to 2500 per year from 1884 to 1901 (Alexander, 1976: 63).[8]

Government efforts to stimulate the fisheries and avert crises were

minimal in the 19th century. Mercantile interests limited the amount of intervention in production, and the government's role in trade was largely a protectionist one. This included attempts to impose sanctions on foreign offshore fleets, using Newfoundland baitfish as leverage. Efforts to exert more control in relations with Atlantic fishing countries were often stymied by the British Colonial Office, but even when successful, they did not rectify the major source of foreign competitive advantage--that of more effective production methods (Hiller, 1971: 51-64; 1974: 16; Prowse, 1971: 517).

In the 1860's and 1970's, the mercantile strategy in the face of productivity declines had been to withdraw investment from the foreign carrying trade, move to schooners in the shipfisheries and add steamers to sealing and the coastal carrying trade. By the mid-1880's, it was apparent that these strategies had only temporarily delayed the problems: sealing output continued to drop, the cod fisheries were not adequately restructured and diversified and cod prices were dropping as international competition intensified.

Because of falling export prices, it is perhaps not surprising that the merchant-shipowners would not wish to invest further in the marine economy in the 1880's. They may not have seen the industry's decline as anything but temporary. However, there is little evidence that they saw its potential as a food industry (Sager, 1978: 27-29). The fact that Newfoundland remained the world's largest exporter of salted cod may have been grounds for the conservative tendency to wait out the crisis. However, the fall of incomes and profits, and the rise in unemployment and emigration, were not solid prospects for national development.

Land: Early 19th Century

Although settlers ventured inland for game and wood, the interior of the island remained virtually untravelled by Europeans in the first half of the 19th century. Intensive land use was coastal and confined to the fisheries, apart from some agriculture, mining and timber operations near the coast (Story, 1969: 21). The prime foreshore areas used in the fisheries, originally public domain, were gradually monopolized by merchants, who profited by leasing them out for fishery, commercial and residential use in towns and outports (Fay, 1956: 132-144). In the 1840's, the colonial government gained control of Crown Lands and confirmed these merchant occupiers in their titles, legitimating their monopoly ownership (Fay, 1956: 144; Harris, 1929: 426-427; Prowse, 1971: 398-399).

Agriculture, long discouraged by merchants and colonial officials, received more attention in the early 19th century. Road construction, agricultural societies and land grants to prominent citizens stimulated commercial agriculture near the largest towns. Outport households were granted plots of land and encouraged in subsistence farming. However, commercial agriculture still faced the problems of a short growing season, the scarcity of good land near population centres and the need for capital, infrastructure and marketing facilities. Moreover, a potentially large demand from the fishing population would be difficult to realize because of the truck system (Bonnycastle, 1842: 42; Fay, 1956: 140-141; Tocque, 1878: 424-439).

Land: Middle to Late 19th Century

Introduction: Different Approaches

By the 1860's, the prospect of crises in the fish trade induced

more Newfoundlanders to turn their attention landward, to the island's agricultural, forest, mineral and manufacturing potential. Many felt that the colony should reduce its dependence on imports and find new export staples to complement the fisheries. Economic diversification would hopefully avert crises, by creating new opportunities for profit, revenue and employment through a more balanced internal economy and a multi-staple export sector. Interest in diversification was fed by yearly Geological Surveys, which reported fertile river valleys in the west and northeast, copper in the northeast and coal in the west, and large timber lands in both regions. The creation of an agricultural frontier now seemed more feasible, promising employment and domestic sources of food and industrial raw materials. Mineral and timber exploitation could diversify the export base and provide raw materials for domestic manufacturing. All could be tied together by improvements in transportation, communications and internal marketing structure (Alexander, 1976: 65-67; Hiller, 1974: 1-3; Overton, 1978: 108-109). Support for these objectives came from different factions, but it varied in degree as well as in conceptions of the means of achievement.

The St. John's commercial elite began to seek new avenues for more profitable investment, in light of fluctuating profits from the fish trade. However, most of them preferred a piecemeal and conservative approach to diversification. Their investments outside the fisheries remained a sideline of their main concern in wholesale trade and their commercial ties to England. Their support for diversification was motivated by the perception of individual investment opportunities in mining, timber, manufacturing and trade (Hiller, 1971: 40-41, 71).

However, many people from the middle classes, and some of the commercial-professional elite, were more concerned with the development of the Newfoundland economy in its own right. Their interest was in provision of more avenues for small and medium scale enterprise. Support for diversification also came from some of the fishermen and wage-labourers in the urban and rural areas of the Avalon peninsula, where displacement from the fisheries, and lack of other employment, were forcing many to emigrate. Among many of these proponents of diversification, there was a growing sentiment that the fisheries were an outmoded activity.

Different approaches to diversification led to different views on the role of government in their implementation. The big merchants were willing to use legislation as an instrument to encourage domestic capital investment in new pursuits, in the form of subsidies and cushions against risk. However, this willingness did not include support for a strong government role in inducing and directing new enterprise. The risk of state-financed development programs appeared too great, and government interference with private capital raised the danger that the balance of economic and political power would be shifted away from their control (Hiller, 1971: 40-41).

Many supporters of diversification wanted a more comprehensive scheme in which government would play an active role. They were more willing to use the state as an instrument for economic development, as this was also a means of wresting economic power from a conservative, "fish-bound", mercantile elite.

In the second half of the 19th century, proponents of inland development grew stronger, forcing the "fishocracy" to concede the necessity for infrastructure programs and inducements to agriculture, lumbering, mining

and manufacturing. Political conflicts between cautious and more radical approaches were thus increasingly set within a general recognition of the need for some degree of planning for diversification.

However, the vision of a more balanced domestic economy was formulated much more clearly in its proponents' rhetoric than was ever manifested in legislation. The role of the government proved to be an indirect one, and suited largely to the interests of merchant investors. It provided tariff breaks, bounties, subsidies and other concessions. It succeeded in removing some of the barriers to capital in the areas chosen for investment--particularly through support of mining and manufacturing. Other areas less immediately profitable, such as agriculture, a railway and some forms of manufacturing, were in need of more direct state intervention to divert capital for their success. They were either delayed by controversies or neglected altogether.

The big wholesale merchants led the way in diversification, channelling their profits from the fisheries into mining, lumbering, import substitution manufacturing and public works projects. Although they were not the only group involved in these ventures, their participation was significant.

Mining and Lumbering

The big merchants' enthusiasm for economic diversification was fed by developments in mining, rather than in lumbering. Large-scale timber exploitation remained a remote prospect until the late 19th century, although a small number of sawmills produced timber for domestic and export markets (Thoms, 1967: 417-429; Tocque, 1878: 443).

A small lead mine at the head of Placentia Bay was one of the first to attract significant interest, although the investment was mainly foreign.

Through government land grants, it became the property of the American-financed New York, Newfoundland and London Company, which was constructing telegraph lines from New York City to London via Newfoundland. Mining operations began in 1857, and the mine was taken over in 1889 by the London-based Newfoundland Colonisation Company (Rogers, 1911: 180; Tocque, 1878: 464).

The more important mining at this time was for copper, which attracted a great deal of merchant interest. It was discovered in 1857, by a prospecting geologist, in Notre Dame Bay on the northeast coast. Several copper and iron mines were worked in the area from the 1860's and 1870's, to the early decades of the 20th century. Much of the capital was initially provided by the big merchants, among whom were C.F. Bennett (later a Prime Minister) and Bowring's. Some of the merchants had controlling interests in several mining firms and holdings in others. The first mine, at Tilt Cove, began in 1864 with a work force of nearly 200 and a boom town of 500 people. It was followed by other "instant" mining towns in the 1870's, sometimes superimposed on fishing villages. Some companies never went into production but were formed largely for the purpose of speculation (*J.H.A.*, Appendix, 1874: 1008-1012; A. Murray, 1880: 46; Prowse, 1971: 494-496; Rogers, 1911: 180-181; Sager, 1978: 26; Tocque, 1978: 468-469).

Government Role in Resource Extraction

The government's role in mineral exploration, speculation and production was indirect, but important. It introduced limited liability legislation to encourage the formation of protected corporations. Leasing regulations were generous: the holdings were large and the government was lax in carrying out forfeitures on unworked land. Part of its motivation

in this was to encourage enterprises slow in starting, but it also needed to accommodate influential speculators holding copper lands in anticipation of greater demand in the future. The lowering of long-term minimum investment requirements--perhaps designed to encourage mining on any scale--merely made speculation easier. Mineral royalties were also apparently not imposed on producers until the early 20th century (Fane, 1893: 489; Joy, 1977: 11).

The government undertook more surveys, assessing land for mineral, timber and agricultural use, and extending the township system. Surveying, leasing, exploration and speculation all increased in the 1880's, especially with the prospect of railway development in the near future. In 1883, the Surveyor-General expressed concern that Crown Land laws were encouraging "the monopoly of land by speculators", and some attempts were made in the following year to discourage speculation in favour of development (*J.H.A.*, Appendix, 1884: 450-454).

Agriculture

More attention was directed to agriculture in these decades. The burden of relief expenditures in the 1860's prompted more encouragement of subsistence farming, and there was hope for an expansion of commercial farming to provide more food and raw materials for the towns while employing fishermen and peasant immigrants.

A series of Acts, beginning in 1860, were designed to reduce pauperism and promote commercial agriculture with modest bounties and land grants (Newfoundland, 1873: 74; Rogers, 1911: 182; Tocque, 1878: 443). Many of the new land surveys of the 1880's were carried out specifically to promote agricultural colonization. The Surveyor-General at the time was a vocal proponent of this, emphasizing certain areas of good potential "where large

populations should build up for themselves homes, and provide all the necessaries of life by fostering a distinct industry depending solely on the soil" (*J.H.A.*, Appendix, 1884: 453-454). The legislation was designed to appeal to colonization companies (such as those in British Columbia) as well as to small farmers with capital. It led to the formation of at least one large land company--the Newfoundland Colonisation Company--and the government itself became directly involved in some modest projects to settle farm families (Alexander, 1976: 65-66; Joy, 1977: 11; Rogers, 1911: 182).

Despite the more favourable attitude of commercial men, and various government inducements, agricultural development was slow. The necessarily high investment, and the prospect of modest, delayed or nonexistent profits, made it a low priority for big investors in the colony.[9]

Manufacturing

Domestic manufacturing gained in importance in the last quarter of the century, as a focus of increased mercantile interest and government aid. Until the 1870's, the secondary sector was dominated by small-scale artisan production, in terms of unit size, organization and mechanization (Joy, 1977: 1; Tocque, 1878: 443-444).

In the 1870's, it underwent several important changes. Although small shops continued to dominate numerically, larger and more mechanized shops grew rapidly to predominance in terms of the total number of people employed. Consolidation into larger units and fewer firms occurred in almost every industry (Joy, 1977: 1, 5-7). These larger shops were mainly owned by the big merchants, and most were located in St. John's. Shareholders were often potential customers, but the companies were controlled by a small group of merchants who spread their risks by investing relatively small

amounts over several companies (Joy, 1977: 175-176; Sager, 1978: 26). From 1873, these merchant factories were assisted by government measures to stimulate home industry, including limited liability legislation, financial aids to new plants, bounties on shipbuilding and domestic production of raw materials, tariff exemptions on raw materials imports and a protective tariff on local manufacturers (Joy, 1977: 13-18).

In addition to the change from small shops to factories, there was a shift in production, from producer goods to consumer goods. The latter faced fewer barriers in obtaining cheap raw materials and markets, although the difficulties were still considerable. Producer goods industries, especially those linked to the fishery, began to decline as investment shifted first to consumer durables, such as footwear, and later to perishables, such as tobacco and baked goods. Concentration of ownership and increase of unit size occurred most rapidly in these consumer goods industries (Joy, 1977: 1, 6-7, 185).

The results of this industrial investment were modest. Although the secondary sector expanded greatly in output and employment in the last quarter of the century, most of this was due to the growth of transportation and construction rather than of manufacturing (Alexander, 1976: 67-69; Joy, 1977: 3-8). Further growth in manufacturing was hindered by the small domestic market and the difficulty of obtaining raw materials in the colony. The shift to consumer goods created another, more long-term, problem: after the initial expansion, the market was limited, and the decline of producer goods industries further weakened inter-industry linkages. Thus, most of the factories constituted an industrial "enclave" (Joy, 1977: iii, 19, 176).

Some researchers have suggested that the colony's merchant-manufacturers would have fared better in the long run by investing more in marine-allied industries destined for export as well as the domestic market. This would have made more use of domestic skills and capital, contributing more to national development and eventually yielding more profits. The initiative in this would have had to come from merchants, as the only ones with sufficient capital for enterprises which might not, initially, have attracted foreign capital. The merchants' failure to do this has been explained as a reluctance to take on the risk, due to the difficulties in raw material supply, marketing and the fact that so much mercantile capital was tied up in the credit chain. The merchants are also said to have preferred the short-term profits from consumer goods industries, with their heavy state subsidies reducing risk and guaranteeing domestic markets (Alexander, 1974: 18-19; Joy, 1977: iii-iv, 186-187; Sager, 1978: 26).

Public Works

Government public works projects provided another investment opportunity, particularly in the relative prosperity of the 1870's, when expanded revenues could be applied to transportation and communications development. This included telegraph lines, city water works, steamer services and the railway, which will be discussed in a later section. Much of the work was contracted to private companies, with subsidies and concessions. Local and foreign firms were involved (Harvey, 1885: 160; Prowse, 1971: 486, 492-497).

Government subsidization of transatlantic cables in the 1850's had set a pattern of concessions to local and foreign firms later followed in infrastructure development and inland resource extraction. The first trans-atlantic cable company (N.Y., Nfld. & London Co.) was granted 100 square

miles of Crown mineral lands of its choice--hence, the lead mine--and an exclusive 50-year monopoly on the landing of cable on the island. *Blackwood's Magazine* reported, 20 years later, that the monopoly had prevented the colony from taking advantage of offers by other cable firms needing access to the island. The article concluded that,

> . . . the novelty of the enterprise dazzled the colony, as it did the world at large, and they accorded terms to the Company which would only be justified on the score of ignorance of the possible results.
>
> (Newfoundland, 1873: 61-62)

The Railway and Visions of Inland Development

Introduction: Two Factions

In the last decades of the 19th century, the appropriate means for economic diversification became a major controversy. Issues within this controversy were defined for the general public in the political arena and in the newspapers, both dominated by elements of the upper and middle classes. The conflict between cautious and more radical approaches became more polarized, particularly in connection with railway development.

Two opposing ideologies emerged, with politicians, lawyers and journalists playing the major role in their formulation and dissemination. The development ideology was populist and future-oriented. It presented a vision of Newfoundland in the future as a prosperous settler colony with an integrated, land-based economy and a wider export base. It also championed the "working people", who were in need of new outlets for their energy and skills. The "fishocracy" was said to have long exploited the people and deprived them of a decent living, and to be denying all classes a modern industrial future by blocking the movement for development and reform (Kerr, 1973: 352-357, 410-433).

The mercantile opposition to this model was a conservative one which stressed tradition, financial caution and reliance on the past. The big merchants were presented as patrons and defenders of the traditional way of life as being the most reliable one in the long run (Kerr, 1973: 352-357, 410-433). The more conservative ones remained committed to the fisheries as the colony's dominant economic base, however reluctant they were to transform them. They approached the idea of inland development with scepticism and relied on support from outport supply merchants and fishermen, most of whom remained committed to the fisheries, perceiving few benefits from a land-based economy.

The Railway Vision

By the mid-1870's, the more radical of the development proponents had become critical of piecemeal government measures for their failure to create healthy agriculture and industry. Progress in opening up the wilderness had faced many obstacles, including mercantile opposition in the upper echelons of government, the environmental difficulties requiring substantial capital to establish yeomen farmers, the small size of local markets for produce and manufactures, as well as the lack of adequate land transportation.

The development faction began to concentrate on infrastructure as the major barrier, expressing the primary need for a trans-insular railway as the basis for inland development. In the relative prosperity of the 1870's, such a project appeared feasible, and its proponents were further inspired by the example of Canada (Hiller, 1974: 3). A railway could run through the fertile and resource-rich lands of the interior and be the major catalyst of settlement and exploitation. It would allow for the

growth of a large agrarian region on the West Coast,[10] with smaller ones in the northeast river valleys, and mineral and timber regions in the west and northeast. The hinterlands could support the growth of an industrial and commercial metropole in St. John's. A railway built to link all of these regions would hopefully stimulate domestic investment and allow foreign capital to flow to the colony (Hiller, 1974: 3-4).

The First Railway and Political Controversy

In the last quarter of the century, the issue of diversification was tied to that of railway development. General positions emerged out of more specific debates over the form the railway should take, the extent of government involvement and expenditure and the benefits to be derived. Ironically, the government which first entertained the idea of a railway was a Conservative one.

A prominent Canadian Pacific Railway engineer, Sandford Fleming, had come to Newfoundland to promote a transinsular railway to link with steamers from England and to the mainland of Canada, creating a transatlantic and overland "short-line" route. He was vocally supported by the Geological Surveyor, Alexander Murray, and by the journalist and Reverend, Moses Harvey. The idea of Newfoundland providing a link in international transportation began to take hold (Hiller, 1974: 2).

In 1875, the Conservative government persuaded the Legislature to carry out a survey and to investigate the prospects for inducing foreign capitalists to undertake railway development. Fleming was given the task of surveying, and his survey route predictably made more sense as a trunk line than as a development road, as it passed through isolated and barren regions. However, it was supported by development proponents, perhaps in the hope of

appealing successfully to Britain for financial aid to improve inter-colonial transportation (Hatton and Harvey, 1883: 381-382; Hiller, 1974: 2-3; Prowse, 1971: 499).

The conservative merchants remained unenthusiastic, and eventually they began to voice their opposition, warning that inland resources had been over-estimated and that railway costs would force Newfoundland into the feared option of Confederation with Canada. A deeper reason was their fear of losing economic control if diversification occurred too quickly and extensively. Their potential for generating anti-railway sentiment in the outports, combined with the initially cold British reaction to a West Coast (French Shore) terminus, were sufficient to slow the Conservative leadership's move in this direction (Hiller, 1971: 73-74, 1974: 4).

However, the opposition proved to be only a temporary hindrance. A railway development platform carried the Liberals to office in 1878, and the Liberal Premier, Whiteway, persuaded the Legislature to pass resolutions providing subsidies and land grants to any company willing to construct and operate a transinsular railway. He then appealed to the Colonial Office for financial aid and permission to advertise, but all was denied, on the basis that a French Shore terminus would jeopardize negotiations with France (Hatton and Harvey, 1883: 382; Hiller, 1971: 69, 75-78, 1974: 5).

The only option was to change the route, rely on local financing and scale down the enterprise. The Premier asked the Legislature to consider a government-constructed narrow gauge railway, with a more local orientation, to run from St. John's to the reputedly mineral-rich northeast--the first potential hinterland. Existing copper mining would be linked to the capital and new minerals could be exploited. The northeastern forests

could spawn a timber industry along major rivers making use of the railway, and agriculture could develop in river valleys and at the heads of the bays (Hatton and Harvey, 1883: 382; Hiller, 1971: 79, 1974: 6-7).

The Legislature created a Joint Select Committee of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly to consider the proposals. This modest railway plan, coming at a time of prosperity and appearing to be within the colony's means, was supported by many more of the big merchants. Some prominent mercantile family names appeared on the list of Committee members.

The 1880 Report of this Committee expressed a view of the fisheries as a stagnant industry:

> The fisheries being our main resource, and to a large extent the only dependence of the people, those periodic partial failures which are incident to such pursuits continue to be attended with recurring visitations of pauperism, and there seems no remedy to be found for this condition of things but that which may lie in varied and extensive pursuits.
>
> (cited in Prowse, 1971: 505)

It stressed that the island's growing population would not be absorbed by the fisheries, and that while it might be possible to expand output. the limits on market demand for salted, dried cod would drive down prices. It was the mercantilist view that "no material increase of means" could be sought from the fisheries, combined with the conviction that "other sources" must be found "to meet the growing requirements of the country" (cited in Prowse, 1971: 505).

The Report glowingly assessed the condition and future prospects of mining, agriculture, the potential of St. John's as a market and manufacturing centre and the possibility of exporting livestock to England. It declared that the government had a responsibility to link resource potential to the

unexploited energies of the working people to give them a more secure future--a theme which recurred frequently in the ensuing debates. It was also unequivocal about the importance of a railway in national development:

> . . . no agency would be so effective for the promotion of the objects in view as that of a railway; and when they consider that there is no Colony of equal importance under the Crown without a railroad, and the advantages thereby conferred elsewhere in the enhancement of the value of property and labour, it is felt that in our circumstances no effort within the means of the Colony should be wanting to supply this great *desideratum*.
>
> (cited in Prowse, 1971: 505)

An Act was eventually passed by the Legislature, authorizing a government-built railway and a request for loans from Britain. Railway Commissioners hired engineers to survey a northeast route, and the Legislature was tentatively committed to a government railway.

However, in the following year, offers to take over railway construction came from American and Canadian firms, sparking the debate again, firstly on the consequences of government ownership, and secondly on whether or not the railway should be built at all. The merchant opposition re-emerged with rumours of the formation of a new anti-railway party, their strength in the outports. The opposition characterized railways and development schemes as dangerous financial ventures (Hiller, 1974: 8-9). One Legislative Council Member called them,

> . . . visionary pictures of unbounded prosperity . . . all clap-trap and nonsense, calculated to lead the people astray, make them discontented with its lot, unsettle their minds, and make them worse off than before.
>
> (cited in Hiller, 1971: 82)

Premier Whiteway countered with a populist attack on the traditional

mercantile structure which allowed merchants to prosper while fishermen went hungry. He declared his intention to free the labouring masses from mismanagement by their traditional patrons, promising to raise them to their proper place in the body politic as a modern working class (Hiller, 1974: 10).

The opposition to government ownership proved successful, resulting in a contract with an American firm, the Newfoundland Railway Company. It was a generous, CPR-style contract, providing annual subsidies, and grants of 5000 acres per mile of good land in alternate blocks along the route. Construction began in 1881 and was due to finish in five years. The company also received generous subsidies to build a dry dock in St. John's (Prowse, 1971: 507).

In 1882, the Company resurrected the old trunk line scheme proposing a route designed to link with the development railway under construction. It appealed, once again, to those attracted by Newfoundland's potential as a link between Europe and North America (Hatton and Harvey, 1883: 386). The Legislature made land and right-of-way grants for the venture, but it refused to guarantee a new $3 million loan to the company. This lack of support may have prompted the Company to lose interest in Newfoundland altogether: the route to the northeast went very slowly, and in 1884, the company went bankrupt after reaching Harbour Grace, a mere 84 miles from St. John's over largely barren lands. As a passenger line, it eventually showed a profit, but it served no development purpose (Hiller, 1974: 11-13).

Reacting to this disaster, the merchant opposition took the initiative, forming another party countering those Conservatives and Liberals who were allied with the Liberal Premier. With solid support from many outport merchants, it used a sectarian strategy and an anti-railway platform to gain

office in 1885. It promised sober Protestant government and a conservative approach to development, including a moderate proposal for road-building intended to boost commercial agriculture on the Avalon Peninsula. This "Reform Party" also emphasized the necessity of developing the fisheries before embarking on inland schemes (Hiller, 1971: 129-130; Prowse, 1971: 511).

However, comprehensive plans for transforming the fisheries never materialized, and the sober approach to inland development proved difficult to maintain. Even with an anti-railway faction predominating in government, political pressure forced more expenditure on extending the main line and constructing a branch line to Placentia. Both railways were government-owned, and their cost, combined with public relief payments in the 1880's depression, resulted in a large public debt for the first time (Hiller, 1974: 15-16; Prowse, 1971: 511-512).

Thus, while voicing opposition to railways and other expenditures on inland development, the Reform Party, once in office, committed the colony further along this road. It was the last party to preach caution over railways and inland development. Thereafter, campaigns were fought on the basis of who had the best program for inland industrial development and railway expansion:

> It was no longer a question of whether or not railways should be built, but a question of who should control them.
> (Hiller, 1974: 16, 18)

The Transinsular Railway

In 1889, the Liberals were back in power with the intention of continuing the railway to the northeast terminus. After the failed CPR-style contract, and the costly and unpopular attempt at government ownership,

a third option was found. In 1890, the government hired a CPR contractor, Robert Reid of Montreal, to build and operate railways for a fixed price which included land grants. The contract with Reid was initially for extension of the northeast line and operation of existing lines. In 1893, however, it was decided to extend the line across the island to a West Coast terminus just south of the French Shore boundary, a plan reluctantly allowed by the British government. The new route traversed good timber, mineral and agricultural land, not only in the northeast but also in the more promising west. Reid obtained land grants on alternate sides of the track--a total of 2.5 million acres--with the government retaining an equal amount. The company was also contracted to operate the telegraphs (Hiller, 1974: 18-20; *R.C.*, 1934: 30-32).

Summary

This chapter has provided an historical context for understanding the images of Newfoundland projected by writers at the turn of the century. The evolving structure of the marine economy, and its crisis in the 1880's, are seen as major factors in the initial neglect and later selective exploitation of the island's interior. The political structure and social conditions must also be seen in relation to this economic structure.

The island's early role as the site of a migratory fishery directed from Britain was a major hindrance to early settlement. With the rise of a resident fishery, barriers to economic and social development, and colonial status, remained. Newfoundland was still viewed by the British government, and by the large absentee and resident merchant firms, as an outpost and source of a profitable commodity for trade. This hindered the growth of a more diversified economy and of political and social institutions, as

merchants were mainly interested in trade protected by a merchant oligopoly. Their priority was to maintain the colony's position in North Atlantic trading triangles as a fish exporter and heavy importer of food and supplies, since their profits were obtained from both of these functions. For the colony, this single-staple economy and heavy import dependence perpetuated a condition of vulnerability to the international market, which spelled economic and social instability for the majority of colonial residents.

In the inshore fishery, the structure of production evolved from a system of wage crews directed by merchants and planters to one of independent family enterprises. Trade and production were separated: fishermen, while more independent in production, were subsumed by the merchants in a credit and barter system. The small production units and the constraints of the "truck" system stymied innovation. Producers had little access to capital and marketing information, and little incentive in a situation in which merchants absorbed profits through buying cheap and selling dear. Merchants obtained their commodity cheaply and had a controlled market for imported goods--as long as traditional demand for salt fish was high and output was maintained. Although relieved of the responsibility of production, they had less control over the quality and quantity of products. The inshore fishery predominated in the economy in terms of export value, profits and employment. It grew mainly through increased labour inputs until the late 19th century.

The largest merchants directed their productive investments to sealing and shipfisheries. These sectors were minor in relation to total marine export value, but they were often lucrative for individual firms. Capital and commercial power were increasingly concentrated in the hands of the St. John's wholesale merchant-shipowners. They were at the top of a

complex chain of credit connecting urban traders and outport fish dealers of various sizes. In the outports, the predominance of small commodity production and the tighter local merchant control resulted in a contraction of the division of labour and a greater economic isolation for many of them, as trades and professions became concentrated in or near St. John's.

As to be expected, social and political development was marked by these major features in the economy. The main effects were the slow growth of institutions for social welfare and education, and a centralized political system which deprived the majority of political power. Inequalities of wealth remained great. They were scarcely offset by a rising middle class of traders, artisans and professionals, but this class was often in the vanguard of movements for economic, social and political reforms.

The colony was ruled for a long time by merchant oligarchy and rudimentary administration from Britain. Even after the introduction of a more democratic structure, political power remained concentrated in the appointed councils which were controlled by various factions of the commercial/political elite. This corresponded with a spatial centralization of power and administrative functions in St. John's, and the Districts were weak and dependent as a consequence. The majority of people had few channels for political expression, and reform movements were often deflected by sectarian and regional issues--the rallying cries of politicians.

In the second half of the century, the inshore fishery underwent a drastic decline in labour productivity (*per capita* declines in catch and value)--a sign that it was reaching the limits to labour-intensive growth. The more capital-intensive fisheries experienced varying fortunes relating to production and output fluctuations. In many cases, the problem here was also

one of failure to innovate sufficiently in the light of increased competition. The prospect of crisis induced, rather, a retrenchment of capital in some sectors, resulting in a further concentration of capital in the largest mercantile firms.

The real crisis came in the 1880's, when catch and price declines coincided, affecting all the major fisheries. The labour force in fishing (predominantly inshore) declined drastically, causing high rates of unemployment and emigration. The mercantile response to crisis was continued retrenchment of capital in the fisheries. Little was done by them or by the government to improve production and marketing in the still-dominant inshore fishery.

In the second half of the century, the retarded development of the interior was no longer a matter of indifference to the commercial-political elite. The land became a potential source of new export staples to supplement the problematic fisheries. The big merchants turned their attention not only to minerals and timber, but also to the prospect of subsidized manufacturing and construction ventures.

By the late 1870's, interest in the interior had gone beyond these isolated ventures to a wide-ranging political campaign to open up the wilderness for enterprise and the unemployed masses, by means of a railway. Proponents of the railway hoped it would be a catalyst for frontier development in Newfoundland as it had apparently been in other settler colonies. The campaign was supported by some of the commercial-political elite, and spread by journalists, scientists and politicians and other professionals. Support came from many middle and working class people denied a livelihood in the fisheries. However, many merchants opposed a comprehensive development scheme

as a danger to the fishing economy and their traditional power structure. Controversies raged over the means by which the interior should be opened up--particularly, over the degree of state involvement and the nature of concessions to be offered to private capital. The priorities of "private enterprise" usually won the day, but this simply meant that private companies were contracted to build infrastructure with generous public subsidies, concessions and resource giveaways. These inducements were also offered to firms interested in mineral and timber exploitation. Land speculation was also facilitated. However, the selective nature of this inland investment lies in the fact that few opportunities were provided for those with little capital. This was particularly true of commercial agriculture, where soil and climate difficulties required high investment with low initial returns. It was not attractive to the merchant investor interested in low-risk, high-profit ventures, and it was scarcely able to act as an outlet for unemployed fishermen.

The next chapter will assess the slow progress of this domestically-controlled attempt to develop the interior, and the changes in strategy which resulted, in the context of a changing international economy.

Notes

[1]Actually, these usually consisted of several households working together, linked mainly by kinship ties, sharing the investment, the catching and curing and the proceeds. They often took on extra fishermen (sharemen) for a lesser share of the catch.

[2]In both the migratory and resident fisheries, payment of wages or shares was usually in kind rather than in cash.

[3]Territorial expansion was accomplished partly through driving out the French from the Southern Shore of the Avalon Peninsula, but they retained shore rights on the northern peninsula and the West Coast (Chadwick, 1967: 11-14; MacKay, 1946: 256-257). It also resulted in decimation of the

Beothuks, an Algonquin tribe, by the early 19th century. However, Micmacs involved in the fur trade, who had for a long time migrated seasonally from Cape Breton to the island, began to settle permanently in the 19th century (Mannion, 1977: 237, 245; Rogers, 1911: 30, 140-143, 162-169).

[4]First published, 1895. Third edition (1971) is compiled by James R. Thoms and F. Burnham Gill.

[5]Taxation for all government revenue remained in the regressive form of customs duties on imports. It rose steeply in the last quarter of the century as the government's role in the economy and society increase, particularly with railway development (Chadwick, 1967: 124; MacKay, 1946: 25).

[6]Annual average volume of production *per capita* declined from 74 quintals in 1836 to 23 quintals in the late 1880's, recovering only slightly thereafter. The *per capita* value of exports declined from $49.69 in 1870 to $37.33 in 1880 (Alexander, 1976: 61; S. Antler, 1973: 78; Hatton and Harvey, 1883: 371).

[7]Average export price fell from $3.88 per quintal in the late 1870's to $2.89 in the late 1890's. Production volume fell by 20 per cent, and industry gross earnings by 36 per cent, from the early 1880's to the late 1890's (Alexander, 1976: 62).

[8]The total population grew from 146,536 in 1869 to 220,249 in 1901 (Mannion, 1977: 12-13. See Appendix, Table I, this thesis).

[9]Land under cultivation or pasture rose from 45 square miles in 1845, to 65 in 1881, and 66 in 1891 (Rogers, 1911: 183).

[10]The West Coast was part of the French Shore and legally barred to settlement. Despite this, there were, by the 1870's, about 12,000 "squatters" settled along the coast. They were involved in fishing, lumbering and farming, selling bait and other supplies to French Banks fleets and trading with the North American mainland. However, the French opposed the increase of settlers' illegal sawmills, lobster factories and the like, and the uncertain tenure was a hindrance to local economic growth. It was also irksome to the St. John's political and commercial elite, who needed control of the shore in order to develop the whole region and bring it under metropolitan economic control (Newfoundland, 1873: 58-60, 74; Hiller, 1971: 41-51; 1974: 3; Mannion, 1977: 234-275; Prowse, 1971: 500-508).

CHAPTER THREE

THE CAMPAIGN FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT

The 1890's: A New Emphasis

Until the 1890's, the emphasis in politics and legislation concerning diversification was on the primacy of local enterprise. Foreign capital was present, but on a small scale, in mining and lumbering. There was but a dim prospect of massive foreign investment, and its role was viewed as secondary to the mobilization of local capital and skill in mining, lumbering, agriculture and manufacturing.

However, by the early 1890's, it was apparent that inland development was proceeding too slowly. Efforts to create a national economy, by linking the St. John's metropole with the West Coast, were hindered by the colony's inability to appropriate the French Shore.[1] Modest growth in mining, lumbering and agriculture was not meeting the expectations created by decades of euphoric Geological Survey Reports. Manufacturing, despite tariffs and bounties, was limited by the small domestic market and the increasing power of foreign competitors.[2]

The railway, not yet serving as a development catalyst, was a heavy financial burden in the depression of the 1880's and early 1890's. Attempts to finance the debt through loans and special trade agreements failed.[3] The only domestic source of financing was the tariff which, given the fish trade depression and already large public debt, was not likely to yield the necessary amount. This situation was worsened by a financial crisis in 1894,

caused by over-extension of mercantile credit, bankruptcy of several key trading firms, a bank crash and excessive public debt (*R.C.*, 1934: 23-29). The economy was shored up with emergency loans, some from the newly-arrived Canadian banks, but real recovery did not come until fish prices improved in 1897 (Hiller, 1974: 19-21).

The remaining prospect for servicing the public debt (now increased by emergency relief expenditures) was foreign resource investment. By the end of the century, the emphasis in development had shifted from a domestic orientation to one of export-led growth in which foreign capital became the principal, rather than the secondary, focus (Alexander, 1976: 69; Hiller, 1974: 18, 26).

Reasons for this shift stem firstly from changes in the international situation. Throughout the second half of the 19th century, metropolitan industry experienced a growing need for cheap inputs of food and raw materials from more distant areas, as closer supplies dwindled. Inputs from the peripheries became necessary for continued industrial progress at home (Ashworth, 1975: 53-57; Barratt Brown, 1974: 142).

The metropolitan export of capital for this purpose took two forms. One was portfolio (indirect) investment in the form of loans, primarily from financial institutions, to colonial governments undertaking the largely unprofitable task of infrastructure development. Portfolio funds were especially popular with the British investor seeking a safe outlet for savings. The other form of metropolitan investment was direct participation by capitalist firms in large scale resource extraction (Barratt Brown, 1974: 199-200).

These massive direct investments were largely out of the reach of colonial governments and commercial elites. They were increasingly complex

industrial enterprises, requiring high levels of capital, technology and skilled labour for success (Alexander, 1976: 70; Ashworth, 1975: 54; Hobsbawm, 1975: 201-203). They also provided an outlet for these factors from the metropole--in the form of profitable investment and of markets for capital goods, engineering services and the like. This direct investment also enabled firms to control resource extraction as part of their total production processes (Barratt Brown, 1974: 199-200; Hobsbawm, 1975: 34).

The role of colonial governments was that of underwriting investment risks and providing attractive climates for investment. This involved not only state owned or financed infrastructure projects, but also state concessions to infrastructure and resource firms alike, in the form of land grants, tax holidays and operating subsidies (Barratt Brown, 1974: 140).

The depression of the late 19th century was a period of consolidation, after which fewer, and larger, firms emerged with more control over all stages of production and circulation. These vertically and horizontally integrated firms in Europe and North America further threatened the viability of import substitution manufacturing in the colonies, as well as reducing the chances that locally-controlled resource extraction in the periphery would be successful. These constraints, and the rising demand for raw materials, accelerated the existing trend toward an international division of labour.

In this context, the domestic factors in Newfoundland's shift to foreign investment in land-based staples becomes clearer. The international demand for industrial raw materials was matched by a greater domestic need for state revenue and new sources of mercantile profit. This situation resulted from the decisions to extend infrastructure in the late 1880's and

early 1890's, increasing the public debt at a time when the fish trade depression had reduced government revenue and mercantile profits (Hiller, 1974: 22).

This shift was the most rational and beneficial course for the commercial elite. The bank crash of 1894 had hit hardest at those who had failed to diversify outside the fisheries in previous decades. Those remaining, or emerging, in the aftermath were more convinced that the colony must diversify. They sought to escape the dilemma of producing only one staple consumption good--under archaic conditions--for export to other staple economies in the New World and stagnating economies in southern Europe (Innis, 1954: 481). It was felt that the colony should broaden its staples base in order to avoid the devastating effect of price and output fluctuations (Joy, 1977: 10).

In the late 1890's, prosperity returned to the fisheries, and prospects for inland resource development became more favourable. Newfoundland iron ore attracted two Canadian iron and steel companies. Lumbering was undertaken on a large scale by domestic and foreign firms. Others began to acquire mineral and timber lands in anticipation of future development, especially in pulp and paper. The colony was finally granted complete control over the French Shore in 1904, increasing the prospects for development in the West.[4] While still overwhelmingly dependent on its inshore fishery, Newfoundland was also becoming a raw materials hinterland for industry abroad (Overton, 1978: 107).

The commercial and political elite stood to profit from this as traders, intermediaries and facilitators in relation to foreign investment. These prospects were also viewed favourably by small merchants and other

businessmen. An emerging alliance of big and small business to this end included those who had profited from the railway, mining and lumbering, especially the expanding state and commercial activity resulting. Many saw the future in terms of enterprise unrelated to the fisheries (Noel, 1971: 103). Support came also from those wage labourers and fishermen who had obtained, or who hoped for, new sources of livelihood.

The rhetoric supporting this shift to foreign investment envisioned the colony producing several export staples on a large scale with the aid of foreign capital. This would ostensibly result in domestic accumulation of capital, revenue and skills, greater demand for consumption goods by an enlarged wage labour force, an increase in trade and a potential for agriculture and resource-related manufacturing (Alexander, 1976: 70). Although expressions of nationalism were a strong element in this rhetoric, the old emphasis on home industry and a closed economy gave way to that of attracting foreign investment as a first priority. While the colony's prospects as a resource hinterland improved, its possibilities for attaining a balanced economy were further reduced.

Opposition to this new emphasis was expressed periodically, especially over the extent of government concessions to foreign capital. It embraced different social classes at different times. Many who were tied primarily to the fisheries feared inland development of any sort as a financially unsound venture, or as a threat to the existing mercantile dominance. Others, while in favour of inland development, expressed fears that it would become foreign-controlled, with few opportunities for local enterprise. Finally, opposition came in an indirect way from those fishermen, merchants, government officials and others who wanted to modernize the fisheries with

more government assistance. These and other forms of opposition were vocal at times, but they were generally defeated by the political forces in favour of accommodation to foreign firms.

The more "progressive" of the upper and middle classes pushed for legislation and other promotional measures to attract foreign investment. The motivation for this campaign lay in Newfoundland's obscurity, and the stiff competition from other resource hinterlands, which appeared to require extra inducements to enhance the colony's comparative advantage.

Legislation dealing with the economy consequently neglected the objective of directly stimulating domestic enterprise. The emphasis was on inducements to foreign firms, including tax holidays, land grants, subsidies, bond guarantees and government infrastructure projects (Alexander, 1976: 70-72).

Promotional efforts, in which the Reid railway interests played an important role, were undertaken in political and commercial circles in England, Canada and the U.S.A. This informal promotion was accompanied by an increase in the publication of gazetteers, tour guide books, histories and magazine articles dealing wholly or in part with the colony's attractions for the tourist, sportsman and capitalist. The conjunction of tourism and business was common in promotional literature in general for this period. For Newfoundland, it is explained by the fact that a small number of sportsmen had been coming for several decades in search of caribou and salmon, and their numbers increased with the completion of the railway. Since many of these "gentlemen sportsmen" were important in the business world, Newfoundland promoters saw the fishing and hunting holiday as a good way of acquainting foreign capitalists with the resources and investment opportunities in the interior.

Promotional Writers

Most of the promotional writers of the period stressed the need for development of the interior, usually seeing foreign capital as the main agent in this. Most of them, with important exceptions, did not appear to have a direct connection with this capital. They were motivated by a faith in progress and the presumed benefits of foreign capital for trade, employment, revenue and the society as a whole. For the most part, they must have believed their own reports of vast wealth in minerals, timber and agricultural lands: scientific and government authorities were saying the same things.

The other emphasis in promotion, besides inland resources, was on presenting the society and existing economy in a favourable light, in order to counteract negative impressions held abroad. This usually involved the same writers, although there were a few who had only a minor interest in this aspect. It also involved writers for whom this was the exclusive purpose.

However, all promoters were interested in rehabilitating images and in advertising some aspect of the resources and society, mainly for a foreign audience. Some of them were also writing for residents of the colony--either to educate them about their own society or to persuade them of the need for inland development. This was particularly true of articles in the *Newfoundland Quarterly* and a host of holiday Annuals, published in St. John's.

The *Newfoundland Quarterly*, founded in 1901, served a multitude of functions. It was directed mainly to an internal audience as a literary and current affairs magazine, dedicated to fostering a national culture (upper middle class). However, it also had a small readership in England, Canada and the U.S.A., it was accepted by *Review of Reviews* in London and

New York in 1911, and it apparently made the rounds of some gentlemen's clubs abroad. Articles on sport were common fare, as were those promoting the potential of various resources in the interior (Cuff, 1976: 13-15; Just Among Ourselves, 1908: 17; The Review of Reviews, 1911). Many of the prominent writers discussed below were frequent contributors.

These Newfoundland promotional writers included journalists, scientists, lawyers, religious leaders, public officials and politicians. Many pursued interests in history, natural history, sport fishing and hunting and probably some business ventures. P.T. McGrath, a newspaper editor who doubled as a promotional writer of books and articles, was also a correspondent for the *London Times* and several leading American newspapers (Willson, 1897: 30). Another prolific writer was Sir Edward P. Morris, People's Party leader and Premier from 1909 to 1917. He wrote a number of books and pamphlets, possibly some anonymously. Two other well-known writers at the time were the Rev. Moses Harvey and Judge Daniel Prowse.[5] They, along with McGrath, wrote histories, geographies, gazetteers, tour guidebooks and magazine articles. The colony's Geological Surveyor, J.P. Howley, frequently wrote articles in the local magazines on the potential of certain regions for industrial development and agriculture.

Writers from abroad were also involved in promoting the colony. Publicity was gained through articles and books written by visiting sportsmen, amateur explorers, religious and medical missionaries, mining engineers, geologists and journalists. Some of these had commercial, friendship or familial ties in Newfoundland, and some became "friends" of the colony and exponents of its development. Many of these visitors' impressions were influenced by local informants promoting foreign investment. However,

visitors were excluded from the present analysis unless they could be established as having this sort of long friendship, commercial or administrative tie, with a promotional emphasis in their writings.

The foreign writers which were analyzed included a few sportsmen and resource promoters, the presidents of a land colonization company and a pulp manufacturing firm. The Baedeker guidebook for Canada also had an entry for Newfoundland which, in the 1907 edition, was a revision and extension of material "originally supplied" by Moses Harvey (Baedeker, 1907: 102). The sober *Newfoundland Handbook*, issued by the London Emigrants' Information Office, is considered to have been promotional to some extent, since it stated that much of the information had been "compiled officially" in the colony (Paton, 1914: 2). Some of the large foreign enterprises also produced promotional material, including English pulp and land companies and the Reid Newfoundland Railway Company, but these firms probably used local writers as well.

Repetition of content often resulted from the influence writers had on one another. Well-known guidebooks, particularly those by Harvey, served as models for later writers. Harvey's promotional passages were often copied or paraphrased in anonymous articles.[6] The Reid guidebook which is analyzed here, although perhaps written by one person, appeared in places to be a composite of phrases originating in earlier works by several writers.[7] Moreover, writers must have drawn inspiration from gazetters and other promotional literature from abroad, in view of the similarity of images, themes and format with that produced elsewhere.

Much of the literature which is presented in this thesis was not overtly promotional. Rather, promotional messages--varying in tone and

level of exaggeration--appeared in histories, geographies, articles on the fisheries, inland resources and the people, which all purported to be objective and informative. Moreover, these messages were interspersed with more or less empirical and verifiable information. In dealing with these "facts", the task was thus often one of determining themes, or points of view, by what was stressed and what was left out.[8]

Some writers were not consistently promotional on every subject they covered. For example, resource promoters did not always present the people and society in a favourable light, and nor were they always interested in tourism. Some of the tourist literature and articles on fisheries scarcely mentioned inland resources. However, in many cases, sport and inland resources were linked, because of the desire to attract the sportsman-capitalist to view the riches of the interior. This was usually the case with gazetteers and guidebooks.

As stated above, many of the books and articles dealt with a variety of topics and contained much "factual" empirical information of a non-promotional tone, at least on the surface. Much of this came from the government, particularly the Geological Survey Reports, the Census and various Department Reports. In the chapters which follow, much of this data was used, in conjunction with other sources, to formulate a picture of the natural resources and social condition of the colony from the 1890's to World War I. Attempts were made to ascertain which information was emphasized and which neglected.

On another level, writers frequently generalized about the progress and future of the fisheries and inland resource development, in subjective appraisals of the present and visions of the future. These were compared,

not only against evidence from other sources, but also against the writers' own more specific evidence. Sometimes, comparison of these two levels--"factual" and "subjective"--revealed contradictions, but other times, it appeared that the facts were selected to fit the appraisals and visions.

The point of the investigation, however, was not simply to expose falsities and distortions--found in any promotional literature--but also to discover the points of view which lay behind them. These were part of a larger social reorientation, that of accommodating the colony to land-based development directed by foreign industrial capital. This reorientation was strongest in the writers' own milieu--the urban upper middle class--where could be found the vanguards of modernization and dependent capitalist development in the colony.

Notes

[1]The French Shore issue is discussed in the following: Chadwick (1967: 31-42, 86-88, 99-111); Hiller (1971: 41-51, 71, 74, 78, 143-144, 190-208, 232-242, 263-264, 1974: 4-6); MacKay (1946: 267, 271-272, 275-332); Mannion (1977: 234-270); Noel (1971: 34). Mannion's essay is a study of the West Coast economy in the 19th century.

[2]In manufacturing, the trend toward concentration in unit size continued, along with the shift to consumer goods production. Factories dominated all consumer goods industries, and most producer goods industries by 1914 (Joy, 1977: 1, 6-7). The threat from imports of greater variety and lower cost worsened. Manufacturing grew slowly and its output per capita was small. It had little impact on occupational structure: although the labour force in the primary sector rose to 27% in 1911, most of this was due to growth in construction, utilities, communication and transportation--even the pulp mills had little impact (Alexander, 1976: 67-74; Joy, 1977: 3-8).

[3]Concern about railway debt prompted the government in 1890 to negotiate limited reciprocity with the U.S.A. to stimulate the fisheries, but it was halted by the British government at Canada's request. The government was also unable to obtain a no-strings loan from Britain for the railway (Hiller, 1974: 19).

[4]See Note 1.

[5]Story (1971) discusses Judge Prowse's background and career, his "progressive" philosophy on the opening of the interior and his literary efforts to publicize the country abroad (pp. 6-9). He also reports that when Prowse obtained a modest government subsidy to republish his *Guide Book* (1905b), Premier Morris attempted to censor certain of the book's features: he objected to several "unattractive" photographs, including one of skinning seals, and he wanted Prowse to delete a reference to ice on the coast (p. 12).

[6]For example, three anonymous articles, entitled "Newfoundland as a Health Resort", "Newfoundland Scenery" and "Quidi Vidi", appeared in a St. John's Annual, *Our Country*, Empire Day Number, May 24, 1907. They were taken from Harvey (1897, 1900). Harvey's writings are also paraphrased in Reid (c. 1910).

[7]Reid Newfoundland Company, *Newfoundland and Labrador*, n.p., c. 1910, cited in this thesis as Reid (c. 1910).

[8]An example of this duality is Prowse. His *Guide Book* (1905) promised information for the tourist and capitalist, and it contained many rosy phrases. However, it also contained more straightforward information on the colony's major industries and resources. His *History* (1971), written in the late 1890's, included an Appendix on inland resources and sport which was a similar blend of fact and fancy (pp. 574-577). He declared that he was "not writing a Government guide-book", and could therefore admit that the climate was not like California, nor the soil like Manitoba. However, the ensuing discussion did not vary greatly from that of his guidebook: while admitting to barren regions and the late spring, he stressed mild winters, delightful summers and the "naturally poor" east coast soil which was "wonderfully productive" for vegetables and grains (p. 574). Prowse also suggested the problem of credibility, in the following:

> The truth about the country lies between the picturesque enthusiasm of our own writers and the fierce depreciation [sic] of some English and American travellers, who, from hasty observation of the most unfavourable portions, have cursed the whole country.
>
> (1971: 574)

CHAPTER FOUR

NATURAL RESOURCES

Introduction

This chapter is concerned mainly with natural resources of the interior--minerals, timber, agricultural land and tourist resources--and with the infrastructure and other government inducements to their exploitation. The chapter deals with their location and extent, their planned or achieved commercial development and their significance, all as portrayed in the literature and compared with other evidence. However, it is necessary to look first at the fisheries, recalling that they dominated the economy. Their development over the period is examined with attention to the way they were characterized in relation to inland development.

Fisheries

Introduction

Many of the writers provided a wealth of specific information about each branch of the fisheries, much of it obtained from government reports and the census. Some of this more or less "factual" material is used in this section, along with other sources, to describe developments in the fisheries during the period. On another level, writers made more general characterizations and evaluations of the industry--its importance, success and problems, prospects for development, the nature of development needed and the condition of fisheries dependence. In these more subjective statements,

combined with the selective use of facts, writers revealed a range of opinions about the fisheries, which sometimes involved the same person in contradictions.

Marine Abundance and Importance

Writers frequently referred to marine wealth. Newfoundland was the home of "the great Cod fishery" (J. Murray, 1896: 462), "the greatest fisheries on the globe" (*Golden Age*, 1910:3) and "the world's greatest fisheries, the apparently inexhaustible wealth of the ocean" (E. Morris, 1910: 3). It was said that all forms of marine life were "abundant on the Banks, and cod and other fish resort to them in immense numbers" (Baedeker, 1907: 113; Harvey, 1900: 121). There was "a great variety of fishes around the coast and in the large bays of the Island, as well as in its rivers, ponds and lakes" (James, 1910: 7). That Newfoundland was "rich in fisheries" was said to be commonly known (James, 1910: 6): The "fame of the island's unrivalled codfishery is world-wide" (McGrath, 1903: 627).

One writer, however, made a plea for greater recognition, using an analogy with agriculture:

> It may not be amiss to point out here that the ocean fields around Newfoundland have been harvested annually for four hundred years, and yet yield all these and other fishes in undiminished quantities, a circumstance which is never given due weight when people boast so loudly nowadays of the wheat yield of the western prairies.
>
> (E. Morris, 1910: 6)

Another declared that the Banks and the numerous bays "for centuries have produced a constantly increasing yearly crop" (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 3). The word "crop" again suggests that writers felt the fisheries should be accorded the same respect as the world's great agricultural regions. The

same analogy appeared in a remark that the fisheries were "as sensitive a trade barometer as is the wheat crop to the western farmer" (McGrath, 1903: 627-628). One writer described the historic role of the fisheries in European economies, declaring that they had "greatly enriched European nations for more than 400 years" (James, 1910: 6-7). Figures on catch and monetary value of the fisheries were provided (Harvey, 1900: 41; James, 1910: 8; J. Murray, 1896: 462-463). In 1910, it was declared that the fisheries in Newfoundland were worth one-third of Canada's fisheries wealth (E. Morris, 1910: 6). McGrath (1911: 128) was able to report that the *average* annual export of cod (mostly salted dried) was twice the Canadian and Norwegian averages. This obscured the fact that, after 1909, the annual export *volume* of Norway salted cod exceeded that of Newfoundland (Alexander, 1974: 14). When reporting the export *value* of salted cod for 1909-1910, McGrath (1911: 131) failed to provide comparable figures for Norway, which at this time was producing better quality for higher prices (Alexander, 1974: 15).[1]

Surveys of Each Species

Writers mentioned the major species exploited, and some provided more detailed accounts of their location, extent, importance and the kind of technology and labour involved in catching and processing (Collins, 1898: 3; Fane, 1892: 2-3, 1893: 479-484; Harvey, 1897: 112-123, 1900: 41-61; James, 1910: 6-8; McGrath, 1903: 627-628, 1911: 127-143; Paton, 1914: 7-8; Prowse, 1905b: 157-163).

The codfisheries, being predominant, were given the most treatment, and some writers provided figures demonstrating the importance of the inshore fishery (Harvey, 1900: 45; Prowse, 1905b: 168). Writers often described seasonal migrations of cod, major areas of exploitation and methods used

inshore--the crews of men and boys catching fish in their small boats and the women curing on shore (Baedeker, 1907: 117-118; Fane, 1893: 479-480; Harvey, 1894: 462-463, 1900: 126; McGrath, 1903: 627-630, 1911: 173-174; J. Murray, 1896: 462-463). Some also described the work of mending boats and gear, woodcutting, gardening and hunting (Fane, 1893: 488; Harvey, 1894: 202; McGrath, 1903: 630-631, 1911: 174). Work in the shipfisheries was only rarely mentioned (Baedeker, 1907: 113; Fane, 1893: 480; Harvey, 1900: 121-122; McGrath, 1911: 130-131).

Sealing was also described at length, due to its importance--second to cod--and international fame (Fane, 1893: 481-482; Harvey, 1897: 173-188, 1900: 50-54; James, 1910: 7; McGrath, 1911: 137-141; Prowse, 1905b: 160-161). Writers also discussed salmon, herring, lobster and whale fishing (Fane, 1893: 480-482; Harvey, 1900: 50-61; J. Howley, 1907: 2-3; James, 1910: 7; McGrath, 1911: 131-143; Prowse, 1905b: 158-163).

Progress and Problems in the Industry

The spectacular recovery of the codfisheries after 1897 heralded a period of relative prosperity which lasted several decades (Innis, 1954: 457). Success in cod bolstered the whole economy and compensated for periodic slumps in other branches of the fisheries. Despite this prosperity, the commercial elite retained their conservative attitude to investment and innovation, indicating the persistence of a mercantile approach and a fear of future crises and depressions. The conservatism is exemplified by the pattern of Newfoundland investments in the Banks. The sudden revival of interest in the late 1880's was rewarded with good returns and high productivity. However, investment declined drastically after 1889 and increased only slightly in the early 20th century, despite a constant rise in

productivity of men and vessels (Sager, 1978: 29-30). Promotional writers rarely called attention to this poor showing on the Banks. Harvey (1897: 116) referred to the decline, offering no reason for it. Later (1900: 46), he merely reported the "comparatively" small number of ships and men engaged, with no mention of a decline.

Renewed prosperity did bring about several government management changes. The Fisheries Commission, founded in 1890, was re-organized in 1898 as the Department of Fisheries and expanded in 1902 as Marine and Fisheries. It operated hatcheries and other propagation programs, and it tried to preserve stocks from overfishing, catching of immature fish, barring of rivers and the use of certain technology of, in Harvey's words, "a deadly and destructive nature" (1900: 46). In 1898, the use of the cod-trap was greatly curtailed, due to concern that it was depleting inshore stocks. (The device was also capable of increasing inshore catch far beyond existing processing capacity.) Limitations on offshore trawler catch went into effect at the same time. However, the concern about maintaining inshore stocks may also have been influenced by the mercantile fear of an eventual flood of cod on the market, which might drive down prices (Innis, 1954: 456-457). This sentiment was well expressed by former Premier Whiteway in the following:

> 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, as no increase of markets can be found to give remunerative returns for an augmented supply.
> (Whiteway, 1897: xiv)

The Department also found it necessary to intervene with other species threatened with serious declines, including salmon, lobster, seals and

whales (McGrath, 1911: 140-141; Prowse, 1905b: 161).

As time went on, the Department took a position somewhat different from the short-term mercantile interest, over the issue of Newfoundland's missed opportunities in the industry and its falling status relative to production and marketing methods abroad. It exhorted merchants to diversify catch, upgrade curing methods, improve fish oil processing and move into fresh and frozen markets (Alexander, 1974: 13-14). Its practice, however, was limited to maintaining the status quo, in terms of ensuring the continuation of species. It had minimal power to initiate or compel improvements in catching and processing.

One writer remarked that colonial legislation had "for centuries" dealt with the fisheries, and that a proposal to develop the fisheries was always "an effective vote-getter" (McGrath, 1903: 629). However, many political promises were never kept. Proposals to improve the fisheries also came from the producers, as part of the demands of the Fisherman's Protective Union in the first decades of the 20th century. Beset by difficulties in organizing fishermen and by bitter merchant opposition, the F.P.U. pressured the government for reforms with very few results during this period. It also formed producers' co-operatives, with moderate success in one region (Innis, 1954: 463-464; Noel, 1971: 77-115). However, the mercantile elite remained reluctant to invest and rationalize or to allow such initiatives on the part of producers (Alexander, 1974: 18; Sager, 1978: 29-31).

Promotional writers frequently reported on recent advancements in the fisheries, applauding government efforts in scientific management (Harvey, 1900: 46, 57-58; McGrath, 1911: 128-129). They reported on experiments in cold storage for herring and salmon and new technology in sealing and whaling

(McGrath, 1911: 135-143; E. Morris, 1910: 5-6; Prowse, 1905b: 162). McGrath (1911: 125) stated that improvements in transportation were having a good effect on the fish business, enabling outport merchants to undertake new ventures.

Writers emphasized the need for better processing and diversification of products. Some mentioned the high demand for modern fish foods, and a few hinted that the colony was not taking advantage of this. Harvey (1900: 49) declared that Newfoundland's best policy would be "to cherish and develop her cod fishery", a conviction no doubt bolstered by that sector's recent recovery. Prowse was more specific about the kind of development needed:

> Anyone can see that the time has arrived when the ancient methods of carrying on the fishery must give way to more modern and scientific forms of putting up fish for food. (Prowse, 1905b: 156)

Many made suggestions for future development, such as new packing and curing methods and an American-style frozen food industry (Fane, 1893: 479-484; Harvey, 1900: 49; McGrath, 1911: 135-136; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 16). An agricultural promoter suggested efficient use of fish wastes in a fertilizer industry producing for home and export markets (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 4). The *Golden Age* pamphlet (1910) announced that the recent "bounteous" fisheries and high prices had led to a new government policy which would include the opening up of new markets for cod and other fish, and the adoption of new methods for preserving fish "in more attractive and appetizing forms" (pp. 10, 14). New markets would be sought in North and South America, with the help of a reorganized Board of Trade. New processing methods would be introduced, such as cold storage facilities and "novel devices for the preserving of fish" (p. 20). Premier E. Morris (1910: 6)

reported that new curing and cold storage methods would be introduced, "immensely" increasing the value of the catch.

There was little discussion of how capital could be directed to fisheries development, or of how the industry could be restructured. Calls for more investment were rare, compared to the situation with inland resources. Judge Prowse was an exception, for not only did he make this plea, but he also argued that the industry required the enterprise of large and experienced firms from the British Isles, who would

> . . . take the business in hand and make a name for Newfoundland products. . . . To use an American expression, "there are millions in it" for the right people.
> (Prowse, 1905b: 156-157)

Despite the recovery of optimism about the fisheries, and the enthusiasm for future improvements evident in promotional writings, a concerted effort to develop marine-based industries never materialized. Newfoundland fell rapidly behind competitors on the Banks, as well as in fish processing and the exploitation of other fish species. Even in salted cod, it slipped behind Norway in quality, price and volume, while at the same time being more dependent on this export than was the case with Norway (Alexander, 1974: 13-17).

Dependence and the Need to Diversify

Promotional writers readily expounded on the extent of Newfoundland's dependence on the fisheries. They were the colony's "staple industry" (Fane, 1893: 479; Harvey, 1900: 41; James, 1910: 7; McGrath, 1903: 627; E. Morris, 1910: 6). They had provided "the mainstay of the people . . . for generations" (E. Morris, 1910: 3), and they were " for centuries . . .

practically . . . the principal if not the only resource of the island" (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 3). Some writers provided figures demonstrating the extent of this dependence (*Golden Age*, 1910: 20; J. Murray, 1896: 462; Paton, 1914: 7).

However, opinions about this dependence were various and contradictory. On the one hand, fisheries were the mainstay of the colony and the reason for its continuation and prosperity. Some writers declared that they would remain so even with the introduction of other industries (Collins, 1898:3; Harvey, 1900: 41; McGrath, 1911: 127). For example, Prowse (1905b: 156) declared the fisheries to be "a mine that never peters out", reliable as "seed time and the harvest". According to McGrath (1903: 628), the fishery "meets the needs and insures the prosperity of all classes". The problem of fish failures was occasionally raised in these discussions, with the reassurance that although the catch might vary over time and space, the fisheries as a whole never entirely failed (Harvey, 1900: 46; Prowse, 1905b: 156; Whiteway, 1897: xvii). Two later writers did not dwell on problems at all, but rather on recent prosperity: according to the *Golden Age* pamphlet (1910: 10) the fisheries had been "attended with a constantly increasing measure of success", a sentiment echoed by Premier E. Morris (1910: 4).

Virtually all writers declared that exclusive dependence on the fisheries should, or would, be ended. Those who blamed the fisheries for retarded development often decried the "fog and codfish" stereotype, declaring that there was more to the island than just fish (Fane, 1893: 481; James, 1910: 4-5; Morison, 1890: 694-695; Nurse, 1911: 32; Prowse, 1905b: 2).

Premier Morris, recounting the origins of the railway, remarked on the resolve to end this dependence. He apparently associated modern industrial

development with something other than the fisheries:

> Thirty years ago . . . the statesmen of that period realised that if the colony was ever to attain a new status in industrial conditions the absolute dependence of the people upon the fisheries should be terminated and the development of the island by means of a railway was resolved upon.
> (E. Morris, 1910: 3)

One of the statesmen referred to was Sir William Whiteway, former Premier and one of the authors of the 1880 Joint Commission *Report*. In 1897, he repeated the argument contained in the *Report*: fisheries dependence led to hardship from periodic failures. Population growth had outstripped growth in the industry, the latter being ultimately limited by the lower prices which came with greater yields. The only solution was to diversify and exploit the resources of the interior, without, of course, abandoning the fisheries (Whiteway, 1897: xvi).

Population pressure, unemployment and want were also cited by Fane (1893: 481) as the main factors forcing the government to adopt "a more enlightened policy" and open up the country, despite continuing opposition from more conservative merchants.

Some time later, the author of the Newfoundland Colonisation Company's *Hand Book* declared:

> . . . when it is considered that recurrences of good fisheries have become few and far between, I maintain it is an impossibility and a folly to depend altogether on the fluctuating fortune of fisheries, when one can accomplish so much by giving attention to other industries.
> (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 16)

He asserted that people were tired of total dependence on the fisheries, and that the government would have to establish them in agriculture and inland resource extraction. He also provided examples of fishing families

who, after several bad years, had finally abandoned their calling in favour of the more comfortable life of farming--an argument consistent with his role as an agricultural promoter (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 15-16, 20).

However, some did not discuss the need for diversification with respect to problems in the fisheries. Diversification was proposed in a positive manner by Premier E. Morris (1910: 7), who declared that "Newfoundland's fishing wealth is every year, while still an important factor, becoming less and less the main reliance of her people." The *Golden Age* pamphlet also took a more positive view, indicating that dependence on more than one staple in the future would be far more beneficial to labourers, merchants and the state:

> The carrying on of all these [inland] enterprises will necessitate substantial supplies of materials, and the certain and liberal wages which will be secured by the people generally, as a result of these staple enterprises, contrasted with the more or less fluctuating nature of the fisheries, will make a very positive and definite addition to the revenue.
>
> (*Golden Age*, 1910: 19)

Summary and Assessment

Many writers stressed the abundance and value of the fisheries--particularly cod--and their important international role. Comparisons were made with the fisheries of other countries and with great agricultural regions, in an effort to raise their status. Although there were important exceptions in all of this, the general tendency was to emphasize wealth in order to counteract the stereotypes of Newfoundland as a poor country.

Many writers seemed to feel that a survey of the fisheries was necessary: even when the main topic was mineral resources, writers tried

to give the potential investor an idea of the state of the major industry, including the species exploited, methods used and value of products.

During the prosperity of the 1890's to World War I, some improvements were made in the industry, and in government management, and writers reported these and suggested others which they hoped would be made. However, the industry remained beset with problems, some of which were mentioned, such as fluctuating or declining returns in various branches. The barriers to a restructuring of the industry apparently were not relevant topics. While writers were enthusiastic about current and future technological changes, most of them failed to see the need for major transformations in the industry. The fisheries were generally conceived to be in a different category from inland resource industries: most writers failed to call for foreign investment, and few envisioned the potential for expanding the fisheries to provide new employment and enterprises. The general attitude toward the future of the industry was one of the status quo or incremental advance, rather than of great expansion. This is revealed in discussions of fisheries dependence. Writers described the fisheries as the reliable mainstay, with only a few implying that the period of prosperity would only be temporary. However, even those who sang the loudest praises of the industry indicated a preference for inland development as the major solution to economic problems.

The Railway

Introduction

The railway is an appropriate starting point in a discussion of inland resources, since so many people conceived of it as setting the stage for development. Debates over the railway in this period raised important

issues concerning state versus private monopoly control of transportation, communications and natural resources. Most promotional writers believed in the railway as a catalyst, and they tended to exaggerate its benefits for trade and industry, expressing a widespread faith which seemed to be justified by events in Canada and other settler colonies.

Attempt at Greater Monopoly

By the late 1890's, development proponents still had great hopes for the railway as a development catalyst, but railway debt remained a serious concern, even after economic recovery in 1897. In 1898, the Reid Newfoundland Company made an offer to bear more financial responsibility in exchange for more control in the form of additional land grants and an ownership option effective in fifty years. For the latter, it would immediately pay the government $1 million and return half the land grants. Even without the forfeited land, company grants would have totalled four million acres, including some coal fields in the west with the stipulation that the company develop the coal. The proposed contract would also subsidize the company to operate steamers, telegraphs and an urban railway, and to buy the dry dock (Hiller, 1974: 22; Prowse, 1971: 582[2]; *R.C.*, 1934: 32-33).

The Reid Company was already the biggest paymaster on the island, with a power rivalling that of the government in terms of networks of patronage and influence (Noel, 1971: 26-27; *R.C.*, 1934: 37). It therefore had many supporters in its bid for more control. Moreover, the Tory (old Conservative and Reform) government was opposed to public enterprise and wished to privatize all such operations in which it currently found itself involved, arguing to the public that private enterprise would run them more efficiently, relieving the government of the burden. It maintained that

giving Reid control or ownership of land and infrastructure was the best guarantee that the wilderness would be developed: Reid would have to develop its hinterland in order to profit from the venture, and its contacts in the Canadian and British business community would attract capital to the colony more effectively than would any government efforts (Hiller, 1974: 23).

However, there was strong opposition to the contract. Liberal Party leaders called it a sellout, accusing the government of abdicating its responsibility for infrastructure, communications, Crown Lands and economic development. They also objected to monopoly control of these areas by one company. Opposition was apparently widespread (Prowse, 1971: 583-585[3]; *R.C.*, 1934: 34-35). The Colonial Office in London received many petitions from around the island. It supported the protestors in a dispatch to the Colonial Governor, which included this memorable statement:

> The Colony is divested forever of any control over, or power of influencing its own development, and of any direct interest in or benefits from this development.
>
> (cited in Prowse, 1971: 583[4])

Although the contract was signed, the Tory government was overthrown on the issue in 1900, and the Liberals obtained a compromise contract when Reid applied for limited liability status under new legislation in 1901. Reid gave up the ownership option and most of the 1898 land grants, for a price, and control of the telegraphs reverted to the government. Although the company still operated some infrastructure and communications networks, well subsidized, and it still had vast land holdings. it abandoned some plans to develop timber and mining subsidiaries, apparently because it could no longer easily raise the necessary capital. Its role was thus

confined to operation of infrastructure and promotion of foreign investment in company-controlled resources (Hiller, 1974: 24-26; Prowse, 1971: 586[5]).

Promoters' Views of the Railway

Promotional writers freely attributed all economic development in the interior to the railway. As it was a large and controversial investment, it had to be defended as the lynch-pin of development. However, their point of view also reflected a widespread faith in the power of infrastructure to attract foreign investment and create economic development.

The railway was said to be breaking the isolation of the interior (Prowse, 1905b: 1), opening it up by passing through mineral, timber and agricultural areas, which justified its construction (Fane, 1893: 488; Harvey, 1900: 127-129). Harvey (1900) declared that a railway precedes settlement and makes it comparatively easy (p. 130). "These solitudes," he wrote, ". . . at last resound with the echoes of the railway and all its vitalizing forces" (p. 179). It was reported to have stimulated the timber industry and, less correctly, the later pulp and paper enterprises. Since the major pulp companies built their own lines and made little use of the trunk line, it would seem that writers were referring to Reid's role in attracting pulp investment through business contacts.

The railway, steamers, telegraph and urban tramway were said to have brought the colony into the 20th century and a new era of progress (*Golden Age*, 1910: 5; Harvey, 1900: 179; McGrath, 1911: 23-25; E. Morris, 1910: 4, 6-10). The railway was the "great innovator" (J. Howley, 1907: 2), and the Reid Company was the great developer and provider (History, 1901: 5-6; Our Great Developer, 1909: 6; McGrath, 1911: 23-25), having "made"

Newfoundland by extending transportation and communication, providing employment and attracting capital (*Golden Age*, 1910: 13-14; Harvey, 1897: 77-88, 1900: 127-129, 169-174; Our Great Developer, 1909: 6). Collins (1898: 15-16) did raise some respectful questions about the benefits of such a monopoly to the colony.

The railway and coastal steamers were also praised for improving internal communications, bringing "all the most important ports and fishing centres into touch" (Esmonde, 1910: 18). By this means, "business was decentralized, isolation was banished, and trade facilities were increased" (*Golden Age*, 1910: 11-12).

These improvements also made the island more accessible to the outside world:

> The transinsular railway and the steam ferry across the gulf have made a wonderful change, and the island has been brought into close connection with the outside world.
> (Prowse, 1904: 539)

According to some writers, it was also placing Newfoundland in the centre of international travel flows: as a link in a transatlantic and transcontinental system, it would greatly shorten the travel time (All Red Route, 1909: 13-16; Harvey, 1900: 171-173) McGrath expressed optimism in this regard just following the completion of the trunk line:

> . . . a new and powerful competitor will shortly be in the field, with a backing of substantial inducements, seeking for a goodly proportion of the immense passenger traffic across the Atlantic, and striking a serious blow at the seaports which now reign supreme. It would be a surprising circumstance if the sceptre should pass from the hand of New York into that of this little city of St. John's.
> (McGrath, 1897: 122-123)

Some writers got carried away, attributing to the railway all of the general progress which occurred at the turn of the century:

> The construction of a railroad across the island . . . opened up the vast untraversed interior to settlement and exploitation; called into being enterprises of considerable magnitude, and disclosed latent resources previously unimagined; created new forms of trade and industry; and facilitated communication and intercourse; besides enabling the capitalist and the work-man to make the wilderness fruitful through the agency of the mine, the farm and the mill.
> (*Golden Age*, 1910: 11-12)

> The construction of the railroad revolutionized the economic conditions of the island. Within ten years the revenue doubled, increasing from $1,500,000 in 1899 to $3,000,000 in 1909, . . . so favourable were the conditions that prevailed in every aspect of the colony's life during that period, resulting from high prices received for fish and fish products.
> (E. Morris, 1910: 4)

Morris is not clear about how the railway was responsible for the great prosperity in the fisheries.

Effects of the Railway

Completion of the transinsular railway in 1897 marked the end of major infrastructure development until the 1920's. However, branch lines were added after this time, and they took over much of the trade previously carried by coastal vessels--without, however, hurting the Reid coastal steamer routes (*R.C.*, 1934: 39-40).

In reality, the railway had little direct impact on interior development. Its major benefits at the time were job provision and stimulation of lumbering, construction and trade. Most of the major resource developments of the turn of the century made little use of the railway itself, although Reid was instrumental in the entry of several large enterprises which made

use of its land (Hiller, 1974: 26-27; *R.C.*, 1934: 48). Only the main line across the island was designed as a development road. Many of the branch lines were constructed as political payoffs to various Districts and to the Reid interests. They linked settled regions with the capital, leaving some of the more productive western areas under-provided. Construction of the new branch lines after 1909 was, ironically, supported with great enthusiasm by many small businessmen and wage labourers who hoped to benefit from the progress, or at least short-term profit and employment, reputed to come with the railway (Alexander, 1976: 71: Noel, 1971: 100-106). The railway was expensive to operate: not only did it burden the colony with debt (the total cost by 1929 was $40 million), but it was a relatively unprofitable venture for the Reid interests, which sold out to the government in 1923 (Hiller, 1974: 28; *R.C.*, 1934: 40, 67-68).

Minerals and Timber

Introduction

Nearly all books and articles described, however briefly, the timber and mineral resources of the colony. Gazetteers and guidebooks carried extensive surveys of this nature, in keeping with their two-fold purpose of attracting tourists and investors (Baedeker, 1907: 103-104; Harvey, 1897: 89-111, 1900: 75-92; McGrath, 1911: 77-111; Prowse, 1905b: 128-152). Figure 1 shows these inland resources as they were commonly portrayed in map form (p. 163). The following sections cover descriptions of the nature and location of these resources, the existing operations and their value to the economy, future prospects, calls for investment and the government's role in promoting development. As with other topics, the evidence from promotional writers is

combined with that from other sources.

Minerals

Mineral Deposits, Current and Potential Mining

Newfoundland was declared to be "rich in minerals", "rich in ore", "teeming" with "latent", "almost untouched", mineral wealth. Most writers were optimistic about the bright promise of the mining industry (James, 1910: 5; Northcliffe, 1910: 23-24; Paton, 1914: 8; Prowse, 1971: 574; Whiteway, 1897: xiv). The numerous accounts of mineral deposits and working mines made frequent reference to scientific authorities such as the colony's Geological Survey Reports and visiting geologists or mining experts. The two most successful mining ventures--copper in the northeast and iron ore on Bell Island--figured prominently in promotional writing. The yield, value and destination of the iron and copper ores were reported, and some writers noted their importance as labour-giving industries (*Golden Age*, 1910: 11; Harvey, 1897: 89-97; James, 1910: 11; E. Morris, 1910: 7; Paton, 1914: 8-9).

The northeast copper and iron pyrite mines, with their origins in the 1860's, had been the traditional outlet of mercantile investment, although some of them had changed hands several times and at least one was controlled by English capital (the Cape Copper Company, owners of Tilt Cove). Output had begun to decline by the 1890's, and by 1918 all the mines were either worked out or no longer profitable (Collins, 1898: 8; Prowse, 1905b: 137, 155; *R.C.*, 1934: 162). Declining yields were not often mentioned by those promoting more investment in copper.

The Bell Island iron mines came into production in the late 1890's. A very large iron deposit on Bell Island in Conception Bay attracted the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company, which leased the land in 1893 and began

production on three separate beds in 1895. The rights to one bed were sold to the Dominion Iron and Steel Company. All of the ore was shipped to Nova Scotia steel mills in this period (Prowse, 1971: 516-517).

Some writers provided detailed accounts of the copper or iron mining operations. One such article appeared in the first issue of the *Newfoundland Quarterly* (Bell Island, 1901: 2-3). Harvey (1900: 181-193) noted that there were no "belching, smoking chimneys", and that the open quarries were mined with relative ease. He provided photographs and sketches of the operations (Figure 2), and he included a description of the mills in Nova Scotia. McGrath (1911: 105-107) also described the mining operations and the value and destination of the ore. Another writer suggested that travellers visit "the great mining town" of Tilt Cove in the Notre Dame Bay copper region, and he described in enthusiastic detail the operation of the tramway which conveyed ore down to freighters waiting at the pier (Carroll, 1906: 17-18).

Writers frequently listed a host of other mineral deposits and smaller mines on the island and Labrador. These included the unworked western coal beds and oil on the West Coast. Oil drilling was conducted by various domestic and foreign syndicates, including the Canadian Petroleum Company, and some of it apparently was used in St. John's. There were also marble and other stone quarries, asbestos exploration (with Canadian, British and American involvement) and a proposed copper smelter to be constructed by an English company operating a West Coast mine. Lesser prospects existed for nickel, chromite, antimony, lead, manganese, silver, gold, gypsum, talc and slate (Collins, 1898: 6-13; Fane, 1892: 5-6; Harvey, 1897: 89-103, 1900: 80-92; James, 1910: 5-6; E. Morris, 1910: 4; Paton, 1914: 8-9; Prowse, 1905b: 1-2, 1971: 574-575).

The *Newfoundland Quarterly* printed what was ostensibly a United States Consular Report on Labrador's "considerable" mineral wealth. The "Report" mentioned the presence of accessible silver and gold deposits (U.S. Consular Report, 1906: 12). J.P. Howley, the Geological Surveyor, was quite optimistic about the future of Labrador:

> There cannot be a doubt that this vast territory, composed as it is of primitive rock series such as are the chief mineral producers of the globe, will some day prove to be a veritable "Eldorado". (J. Howley, 1901: 6)

The greatest hope for the future lay in the western coal beds. Experts and promoters alike predicted that there would soon be coal mines on the scale of Bell Island, with the added benefits of a local energy source and a boost to industry (Collins, 1898: 11-13; Fane, 1893: 484; *Golden Age*, 1910: 20-21; Harvey, 1897: 75).

Judge Prowse was particularly vocal on the subject of coal. In a *Newfoundland Quarterly* article (1901), he decried the current dependence on Cape Breton coal "monopolists", whose prices rose yearly, affecting poor people the most (p. 11). Prowse was referring to the Dominion Coal Company, sister to the Dominion Iron and Steel Company. He accused the various "capitalists" who controlled the western coal fields of sitting on the coal and refusing to develop it. Among these he named several well-known merchants. The Reid Company, he said, was refusing to help, having given up on Newfoundland and, moreover, having interests in the Dominion Coal Company. He declared his opposition to unproductive speculation:

> I for one believe that the great hidden wealth that Providence has bestowed upon us belongs to the people of this country, and should be used for their benefit alone and not for the aggrandisement of the grasping millionaires. (Prowse, 1901: 12)

He exhorted Newfoundlanders to press for more legislation to attract investors in coal, suggesting the hiring of American or Canadian scientists and the use of modern exploration machinery, in order to convince potential coal operators that the claims about coal were valid. He did, however, stipulate that inducements should not include the same mistake made with iron ore--selling the resource for "a mess of pottage" (p. 12). These problems with coal development were also raised in his *Guide Book* (1905b) although he left out the names of the local culprits (pp. 135-136).

It should be added that although some of the coal was high grade, it proved difficult to mine, relative to deposits on the North American continent. Coal companies wanting to go into production may have had trouble raising sufficient capital, regardless of government inducements. Other companies were apparently just speculating, as Prowse asserts. Various writers announced recent development plans, including a contract with an English company in 1910 (*Golden Age*, 1910: 21). However, the fields remained largely undeveloped (Alexander, 1976: 70; *R.C.* 1934: 162).

Calls for Investment

Writers stressed that the necessary capital investment in minerals would be amply rewarded, so great was the latent wealth. According to ex-Premier Whiteway (1897: xiv), "a great amount of wealth . . . in copper and other ores is awaiting the application of enterprise and capital to bring them into profitable use." In the same year, Harvey (1897: 97) announced that the colony was attracting the attention of mining capitalists and that its prospects "as a field for mining enterprises" were increasing. Some years later, Premier E. Morris (1910: 7) declared that the extent and value of mineral deposits were resulting in "an unequalled interest exhibited . . .

by British and American capitalists." The British emigrants' handbook reported:

> . . . each year tends to confirm the opinion that the colony is rich in mineral resources, and that capital, and to some extent skilled labour, are alone required for their development. (Paton, 1914: 8)

Harvey (1987: 90) declared mining to be "one of the leading industries of the country". Prowse (1971: 574) was not quite as euphoric about its accomplishments, declaring that minerals had undergone only partial development, with large areas still unsurveyed. Later, the emigrants' handbook declared the industry to be "still in its infancy" (Paton, 1914: 8). However, there was rarely any doubt expressed about its potential. Another writer reported that recent improvements were according the industry new importance (*Golden Age*, 1910: 11). E. Morris (1910: 7) stated somewhat conservatively that the industry "is steadily assuming an eminence which makes it an influential subsidiary industry." Some of the conservative evaluation of mining might have stemmed from the fact that after the iron ore development in the 1890's, no large mining projects came into being until the mid-1920's.[6]

Timber

Timber Wealth

Writers also described the "rich" and "extensive" forest resources, providing details on the location, extent and value of different species (Fane, 1893: 484-485; James, 1910: 5; Harvey, 1897: 108, 1900: 76-77; McGrath, 1911: 77-81; Prowse, 1905b: 146-148). Prowse (1971: 574) declared that critics abroad who doubted the existence of good timber lands had only to look at the value which yellow pine had for years obtained in foreign

markets. The emigrants' handbook reported that the timber suitable for lumber was good but

> . . . limited to the valleys of the larger rivers. . . . the country is pretty well denuded of the larger pine, but there is a vast amount of other useful timber, such as spruce, birch (white and yellow), tamarack (a species of larch), and poplar, still available for other purposes.
> (Paton, 1914: 9)

McGrath (1911: 78-80) declared that "all denuded forest areas will be again available within thirty years", even without reforestation programs. The "Report" cited earlier on Labrador described its timber potential in the following:

> On the southern watershed the forest growth of spruce and larch is luxuriant with trees of marketable size--virgin forests that await the woodman's axe. Here lies a great wealth of material for paper mills.
> (U.S. Consular Report: 1906: 12)[7]

Lumbering

Writers mentioned lumbering operations in the northeast which were said to have expanded considerably in the 1890's because the railway passed through some of the best timberlands (Harvey, 1900: 77; James, 1910: 5; Paton, 1914: 9). There were several large sawmills located at the mouths of the major rivers, producing for domestic and foreign markets. Their operations were occasionally described in some detail. Although most of the mills were domestically-owned, one English company apparently owned two large sawmills and controlled about 200 square miles in the region of the Exploits Rivers, manufacturing lumber for export to England. A number of smaller sawmills manufactured barrel staves and other products for local use, reducing some of the previous dependence on imports of special cuts of

lumber for the fisheries. New regulations and bounties for shipbuilding also stimulated production of lumber (Fane, 1892: 6, 1893: 484-485; J. Howley, 1907: 3; Thoms, 1967: 417-429). Pride in the industry is exemplified in the following passage:

> "In the wake of the railway followed the lumbermen, almost a curiosity in this richly-afforested island, for until twenty years ago the colony imported nearly all the lumber used, whereas now, in addition to supplying the local needs it exports from a quarter to half a million dollars worth. (*Golden Age*, 1910: 12)

The lumber industry underwent significant concentration of ownership beginning in 1903, with the arrival of the Newfoundland Timber Estates, Ltd., a Boston-based company with capital of $3 million to invest in the colony. It took over some of the largest timber operations on the Exploits and Gander Rivers, amounting to a total acreage of 1.5 million. The Exploits operations apparently utilized the most modern equipment available. Another Boston-based company, the Exploits River Lumber, Pulp and Paper Company, operated a sawmill and controlled about 700,000 acres with prospects for pulp development in the near future. This concentration occurred with some other companies as well (Prowse, 1905b: 1-2, 149-152).

Pulp and Paper

Newfoundland was thus already important in the American search for sources of timber to the north of the U.S. borders. The search intensified in Canada when American pulp and paper mills began to suffer supply shortages. Their original preference was for imports of raw timber to feed these mills. However, Canadian and Newfoundland legislators prohibited the export of raw timber during this period, requiring direct foreign investment in pulp

mills (Marshall, *et al.*, 1976: 36-37; *R.C.*, 1934: 152). This turned out to be an advantage for the American pulp industry. The new northern mills in Canada were technologically superior, and governments provided numerous concessions such as cheap wood and water power. Labour costs were lower due to lower costs of transport from forest to mill. This provided the companies with highly efficient operations in the long run. At the same time, many of the older American mills were converted to specialized pulp and paper manufacture. The American pulp firms thus established a vast Canadian-American empire of complementary mills and virtually unlimited supplies (Marshall, *et al.*, 1976: 35-36). With Canada providing an adequate hinterland, these firms were apparently not in a great hurry to bring Newfoundland into the system.

However, Canada's success, combined with evidence of some British and American interest in Newfoundland (including the leasing of pulpwood lands), caused great excitement in the colony's commercial circles. Promotional writers, even before this time, had written about certain areas as ideal for pulp mill development. Collins (1898: 6) reported that trees suitable for pulp making were "conveniently situated" with respect to water transport and power. Prowse (1905b: 147-148) noted that the colony's vast, dense stands of small spruce, close to the water, were ideal for pulp making. He outlined the colony's comparative advantage in the following:

> . . . the great possibilities afforded by the country's splendid supply of pulp-wood, fine water-power, facilities of transport, cheap labour, and proximity to England, should hold out an inducement to capitalists in the mother country.
>
> (Prowse, 1905b: 155)

The Grand Lake region in the western interior reportedly possessed suitable forests and other raw materials for producing pulp, as well as potential power sources from coal and water (Brown, cited in Fane, 1893: 488-489; Harvey, 1900: 130-131).

The colony's first pulp mill was established in 1897, but it closed in 1903.[8] However, the most significant development came as a result of Reid's part in attracting the attention of the Harmsworth newspaper chain in Britain. The latter had for some time been contemplating direct investment in pulp and paper in a British colony, in order to secure newsprint supplies. This was part of a general movement toward vertical integration of many publishing firms. Harmsworth apparently felt insecure about their traditional suppliers of paper (Fay, 1956: 194-195; *R.C.*, 1934: 38).

The Harmsworth brothers' choice of Newfoundland was based on a number of factors, including the existence of political stability, cheap and willing labour, proximity of timber to river and ocean transportation and the readiness of the government to provide numerous concessions. In 1905, the firm was incorporated in the colony as the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company (A.N.D. Co.). With the aid of controversial legislation supporting this and other prospective pulp and paper developments, the company obtained rights to all resources on 2230 square miles of prime forest land. Part of the land was held in the form of a 100-year lease from the government, and part was leased or bought from Reid and the two American lumber companies. It acquired more land in later years. A.N.D. Co. began operations in 1909, after construction of a railroad, a large mill and a company town, Grand Falls, for an initial investment of $6 million--three times the colonial government's annual revenue. The company railway connected the mill with the

northeast port of Botwood, suggesting that the Newfoundland railway was hardly a direct inducement (Fay, 1956: 193-195; Prowse, 1971: 595[9]; *R.C.*, 1934: 38, 141).

In 1907, another paper company, Albert E. Reed of London, built a mill at Bishop's Falls, downriver from the Grand Falls mill, which utilized A.N.D. Co. transportation facilities. Lord Northcliffe (1910: 25-26), president of A.N.D. Co., declared his unqualified support of the entry of the Albert Reed Company. He warned the government to avoid the proliferation of "wildcat companies": those admitted should be responsible, and preferably British, rather than foreign as in Canada. The Reed Company was later taken over by A.N.D. Co. (Fay, 1956: 200; *R.C.*, 1934: 143). The American interest in Newfoundland pulp did not result in significant direct investment until the 1920's. However, the immigrants' handbook reported in 1914 that a local lumber company was constructing a pulp mill in Notre Dame Bay, near the existing British mills (Paton, 1914: 9).

Promotional writers waxed enthusiastic about these developments. The Geological Surveyor declared that earlier predictions about the industrial potential of the Exploits Valley (site of the British mills) had finally been fulfilled (J. Howley, 1907: 2). McGrath cited an example from Canada to indicate the greater value of exports of pulp and paper over those of pulp wood, as well as the higher demand for labour. He concluded:

> Therefore it will be seen that it is greatly advantageous to this, or to any country, to secure the establishment within its borders of the mills for the making of pulp and paper; and for that reason Newfoundland has cause to feel gratified that these enterprises are now established in its midst.
>
> (McGrath, 1911: 90-91)

Writers provided details on construction of the railway, dam and mills, the cutting and transport of logs (Figure 3) and manufacture of pulp, the modern port facilities at Botwood and the layout of the mill towns (*Golden Age*, 1910: 15-16; McGrath, 1911: 83-91; E. Morris, 1910: 8; Northcliffe, 1910: 20-27). J. Howley (1907: 2) described Grand Falls as a city in the wilderness, "laid out and equipped with . . . modern improvements".

Statistics on capital investment, output and value were proudly revealed (Newfoundland Board of Trade, 1910: 20; E. Morris, 1910: 8).[10] The pulp and paper industry was said to be adding to the colony's progress (*Golden Age*, 1910: 15-16), and with the likelihood of more investment in the future, it was "destined to challenge the supremacy of even our famous fisheries" (E. Morris, 1910: 8). Morris added that attention was also being directed to Labrador, where stands were being acquired for future pulp manufacture (p. 8).

Government Role in Mineral and Timber Development

Promotional writers assured the prospective investor that the colony provided an encouraging climate for the establishment of resource industries. Information on mining and timber laws was often provided, and special note was sometimes made of particular inducements. This included a bounty for coal boring (E. Morris, 1910: 4), an annual subsidy offered to any firm which might establish a copper smelter (Paton, 1914: 9) and the assurance of "every facility" for prospectors (Prowse, 1971: 574). Government policy apparently did not include the imposition of royalties on mineral exports. However, one promotional pamphlet announced jubilantly in 1910 that the government had obtained the voluntary consent of iron ore companies to pay

a modest royalty of 7½ cents per ton of annual output for ten years, amounting to $75,000 per annum for state coffers (*Golden Age*, 1910: 11).

Harvey (1900: 76) praised a recent "Pulp Paper Act", which granted licences on good terms for timber cutting. The 1905 pulp and paper Act met with far more opposition in the colony. The bill's proposed mill and lumber concessions for A.N.D. Co. and future pulp firms sparked controversy in the House of Assembly (Prowse, 1971: 595[11]). Opponents expressed fears similar to those raised over the 1898 Reid contract. Whiteway, the former Liberal premier and a vocal supporter of domestic enterprise, argued that this new bill once again threatened the colony's sovereignty over resources. He declared that it would place

> . . . a fence around the Exploits Valley and everything in it, under and over ground, including the caribou.
>
> (cited in Prowse, 1971: 595[12]).

However, despite indignation, rallies and newspaper campaigns, the opponents did not gain enough political support to stop the bill. The controversy surrounding this Act was not mentioned by later writers examined. Northcliffe (1910: 23-24) warmly acknowledged the government's assistance to his company, adding that both parties to the agreements held inland development as a high priority.

Perhaps a more encouraging piece of legislation was that prohibiting the export of raw timber, in order to induce pulp manufacture in the colony. Premier E. Morris (1910: 8) defended it by citing similar laws enacted in Canadian provinces. However, such legislation would have received full support of existing pulp companies, as it ensured future timber supplies.

The prospective investor was informed of the means of obtaining leases or grants of Crown Lands. Copies of the Crown Lands Act as of 1914 were also available in London's Emigrants' Information Office (Paton, 1914: 11). Guide books and the *Newfoundland Quarterly* regularly contained government notices and advertisements concerning these laws and the general inducements awaiting investors. An example is the following, entitled, "Crown Lands for Mining Coal, Iron, Copper, and other Minerals, etc.":

> The terms on which mining lands may be obtained are favorable to the development of mining interests. A mining lease may be secured of the Government for the mines and minerals contained in prescribed limits of unoccupied surface land, under conditions which are so reasonable, as to encourage this industry. The good results which have already been achieved in this line, in copper, iron, etc., afford ample proof that mining can be conducted with sure returns and large profits. The discoveries of minerals are of such frequent occurrence as to give assurance of large scope for mining industries.
>
> For further information, apply to
> MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND MINES,
> St. John's, Newfoundland.
> (in Harvey, 1910: xviii)

A similar advertisement for timber, entitled "Crown Lands for Lumber and Pulp-Wood Manufacture", stressed the availability of cheap land leases and other requirements for successful pulp manufacture in the hinterland:

> The excellence and abundance of timber and its location on the railway and on lakes and streams, is such, as to render it readily available. This insures extensive operations in lumbering and in the manufacture of wood-pulp. The requirements in these lines are vast and constantly growing, and new fields are eagerly sought. This colony, and the Crown lands offered, are specially desirable in all respects. *Cheap labour, vast water-power, and water transportation, all present great inducement to capital.* Lands for the purposes specified are offered at figures so nearly nominal as to invite

investigation and investment.
For further information, apply to
MINISTER AGRICULTURE AND MINES,
St. John's, Newfoundland.
(in Harvey, 1900: xvii, emphasis added)

In 1903, the Liberal government tightened existing regulations on leasing of mineral and timber lands. The leases had more stringent requirements for development as a condition of renewal, within shorter periods. Several years later, however, there was a rush on timber lands in Newfoundland and especially Labrador, by foreign and Newfoundland speculators wishing to sit on the lands until such time as foreign pulp companies decided to act. Many of those holding timber interests were prominent in a new ruling coalition, the People's Party, which took office in 1909. Many of the 1903 stipulations were loosely enforced by the new government, and in 1911, amendments were introduced to the original Act in order to facilitate speculation (Noel, 1971: 106-110).

The People's Party, led by E. Morris, was a coalition not only of older parties (particularly the Conservatives), but also of classes. It represented the growing alliance of big and small business--the Reid Company, the "progressive" St. John's commercial elite and numerous professionals, traders and other small businessmen--all with an interest in large scale resource extraction with foreign capital (Noel, 1971: 103). Many were involved in land speculation.

Government policy thus increasingly encouraged speculation, especially after 1909. Foreign and domestic landowners consolidated and extended their holdings, so that nearly all good resource lands in Newfoundland and Labrador were either leased or owned by the early 20th century (*R.C.*, 1934: 152).

People's Party politicians were, in their own interests, committed accommodating the colony to the priorities of foreign capital. The government actively sought new investors by offering more concessions--land grants, generous leases, tax holidays and duty exemptions. Few of the agreements made with potential investors ever materialized. There was little provision for domestic participation in these deals, and legislative inducements to domestic enterprise were minimal (Alexander, 1976: 71). The Party promised prosperity to all classes through its accommodation policy, and its apparent success in attracting development kept the opposition (Liberals and the F.P.U.'s Union Party) in a weak position--despite public controversy over the conflict of interest of various government officials (Noel, 1971: 100-115).

Agriculture

Introduction

Agricultural potential was frequently described in glowing terms, much the same as with minerals and timber. Writers described the extent of arable lands, the present and future importance of the sector and the nature of government inducements. Agriculture is here treated separately from minerals and timber, since it was not the same field for windfall profits, and because government aid was particularly important to its success on a large scale. Although most writers thought that agriculture would soon attract labour from the fisheries and from abroad, there was some difference of opinion as to what kind of farmer could succeed under existing conditions.

Surveys, Value and Potential Markets

Promoters of agriculture often felt it necessary to dispel the general idea that the Newfoundland climate forbade agriculture. Writers

thus spoke of the "remarkably temperate climate" (Morison, 1890: 694), "more temperate" than the Maritimes (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 10), with milder winters than the North American continent (Prowse, 1971: 574). While conceding that the spring was late, some emphasized that when it did arrive the vegetation was rapid, turning the island into a greenhouse virtually overnight (Harvey, 1900: 27; McGrath, 1911: 180). There were also assurances that fog was limited to a few locations and was almost nonexistent in Central and Western Newfoundland (Fane, 1893: 486; McGrath, 1911: 179).

The island's agriculture was said to be "susceptible of very enlarged development" (Whiteway, 1897: xv), with many thousands of square miles suitable for crops or husbandry (Fane, 1892: 7). The island could support thousands, or hundreds of thousands of farmers (*Golden Age*, 1910: 3; Whiteway, 1897: xv; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 23). Many stressed that the agricultural potential had been underestimated by visitors, mainly because they never saw the most fertile areas. For instance, sportsmen usually frequented the barrens to hunt (Prowse, 1971: 574) and were, in any case, probably bad judges of agricultural potential (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 22).

The location and extent of arable lands were outlined with frequent references to Geological Survey Reports and other authorities, including some imported to advise the government and the A.N.D. Co. (Fane, 1893: 485-486; Harvey, 1897: 104-111, 1900: 63-74; James, 1910: 5; E. Morris, 1910: 9-10; Northcliffe, 1910: 22-23; Paton, 1914: 9-10). One writer, admitting to some diversity of opinion over the island's agricultural potential, argued that recent experts "who have visited Newfoundland in the interest of agriculture report very favourably on the prospects in this respect" (Nurse, 1911: 32). The Newfoundland Colonisation Company's *Hand Book* included an Appendix with

a detailed survey of its lands, including soil and fertility analyses and eyewitness reports on the output of successful farmers (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 19-26).

Writers reported good lands at the heads of bays, unexploited due to the history of coastal settlement, only needing a "fair trial" (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 21), and now attracting more and more settlers (*Golden Age*, 1910: 8). The farms surrounding St. John's were mentioned as proof to the visitor of the island's suitability for agriculture (Baedeker, 1907: 111; Harvey, 1900: 72, 176-177; McGrath, 1911: 117). However, most writers were concerned that the island not be judged by the relatively poor soil in this region. Prowse (1905b: 140-141) reported that the best farmers were located near St. John's, where the land was poor. In the West, he said, where the land was good, the farming was "slovenly" and "primitive", but no explanation was offered.

Others characterized the West as an expanding agricultural region. The valleys of the Humber and Codroy Rivers, and the region of Deer Lake, were praised for their fertility and were said to support many farmers (Allan, 1907: 21; Baedeker, 1907: 115; Harvey, 1900: 65-69). The Humber Valley, the "Annapolis Valley of Newfoundland", was envisioned as the future site of "parks, lordly estates, and prosperous farms" (Allan, 1907: 21).

In Central Newfoundland, the Exploits River Valley reportedly had good land and some prosperous farmers (J. Howley, 1907: 3; McGrath, 1911: 116-117). Lord Northcliffe (1910: 22-23) stated that A.N.D. Co. had obtained expert opinion on the good agricultural potential of its lands, and that there were already some prosperous farmers in the area.

Although it was stressed that a wide variety of crops could be grown, writers usually conceded that rye and barley were preferable to wheat. There were, however, some reports of successful wheat crops grown by farmers or agricultural societies (Fane, 1893: 485; J. Howley, 1907: 3; Prowse, 1971: 574). The Humber Valley was said to be suitable for fruit farming (Allan, 1907: 21). Another writer asserted that there were "no finer potatoes grown in the world than the produce of Newfoundland", adding that they could be an important export crop (Collins, 1898: 5). The potential for animal husbandry and dairying was also indicated, and some thought that bog land could be cleared and planted in grasses for sheep and cattle ranching (Fane, 1893: 485-486; Paton, 1914: 10-11; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 15).

Writers often compared Newfoundland's agricultural potential with more reputable regions in North America. Some, admitting that there were large tracts of barren lands, added that the same could be said for parts of Canada and the U.S.A. (Harvey, 1900: 63-64; Prowse, 1971: 574). One writer quoted the Geological Survey as saying that large areas in Canada, already surveyed and settled, were far inferior to the fertile valleys on the West Coast of Newfoundland (McGrath, 1911: 116). In a more positive vein, the emigrants' handbook reported that the West Coast soil "compares favourably with that of the Maritime Provinces of British North America" (Paton, 1914: 10).

Writers asserted that local markets were potentially available in St. John's and in timber and mining regions, especially with recent improvements in transportation (E. Morris, 1910: 4; Northcliffe, 1910: 20; Whiteway, 1897: xv; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 14-15, 20). There was also said to be an excellent opportunity for exporting beef cattle to England (Fane, 1893: 486; Paton, 1914: 11; Whiteway, 1897: xv-xvi; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 15).

Progress, Problems and Anticipated Solutions

Newfoundland's agricultural performance did improve at the turn of the century.[13] Promoters bore glowing reports of a doubling or tripling of output between 1890 and 1910 (*Golden Age*, 1910: 8; E. Morris, 1910: 4; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 8). The improvements were attributed to a number of factors, such as government bounties on land cleared, a Model Farm Act in 1908, the work of agricultural societies and the land colonization and homesteading programs. The latter two were initiated by the government and the British-based Newfoundland Colonization Company. The Company held large tracts of land and sought investors willing to sponsor colonies (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910).

However, some promoters did admit to a continuing problem of imports exceeding domestic output, and the need to overcome it (Fane, 1893: 486; Fraser, 1902: 11; *Golden Age*, 1910: 7). Part of the problem was attributed by one writer to the Newfoundlander's preference for, and high consumption of, wheat flour. It was suggested that they could be induced in future to vary their diet (*Golden Age*, 1910: 22; McGrath, 1911: 126).

Some thought that the problem would also be solved by an increase in the number of fishing families with gardens, producing for household use and, perhaps, for the market. This practice was said to be widespread by the later part of the period: every fishing family now had a garden, and some had livestock (*Golden Age*, 1910: 7; McGrath, 1911: 179). The Newfoundland Colonisation Company's *Hand Book* reported that lately more fishermen were "seeing a *first profit* in the yield of potatoes and vegetables for family use, and gradually many have extended their holding to several acres" (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 16; author's emphasis). The writer then cited

examples of fishermen on the West Coast who had prospered by becoming commercial farmers as well. He conceded, however, that such operations would probably remain small-scale (p. 16). A writer promoting the Salmonier area (southwest of St. John's) stressed that fishing and farming should be carried on conjointly, and that Salmonier "admirably shows the presence of the Fisherman Farmer" (O'Reilly, 1901: 3).

Hopes were also expressed that a future increase in full-time farmers would correct the imbalance as no number of fishermen's gardens could do. It was said that more fishermen were moving into full-time commercial agriculture every year, disproving the old myths that a fisherman could never become a farmer. It was also said that they were more prosperous now than when they fished for a living, and that experienced immigrant farmers could do even better (Collins, 1898: 20; Fane, 1893: 479-481; *Golden Age*, 1910: 7-8; J. Howley, 1907: 3; Whiteway, 1897: xv; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 16-17). It was also asserted that hundreds, even thousands of urban poor "would here find a home of comfort and plenty" (Allan, 1907: 21). McGrath (1911: 18) declared that while Newfoundland could not hope to compete with Western Canada's fame, the personal experience of British immigrants to Newfoundland was proving that "a very profitable livelihood" could be made (McGrath, 1911: 118). Another writer announced a new farm colony program which "proposed to stimulate interest in agriculture by the providing of land for desirable British immigrants" (*Golden Age*, 1910: 21). The writer of the Newfoundland Colonisation Company's *Hand Book* expounded on the advantages of small intensive farms, and he anticipated a growing demand for the Company's lands (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 29).

The Limited Nature of Inducements

Promotional writers provided information for prospective farmers, including the laws for purchasing and homesteading. The Crown Lands Law was said to be "of the most liberal character, and well-calculated to promote the settlement of the country" (Harvey, 1900: 75). However, some detailed accounts reveal that even the homesteading laws were predominantly directed to the yeoman farmer with capital, or to a colonization company (Paton, 1914: 11-12; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 26-28). A government notice in 1900, entitled, "Crown Lands for Agriculture, Horticulture and Stock Raising", reported on the laws designed to stimulate farming and stock-raising. A $10 fee entitled the farmer to homesteading rights on 160 acres which, after three years of specified improvements, would become his. A $20 bounty per acre of cleared land was also mentioned (Harvey, 1900: xvi). These inducements were inadequate for the farmer without capital, in light of the obstacles faced.

The emigrant's handbook provided a warning:

> . . . while there may be a fair opening for farm labourers in the future, the opening at present is limited. No one, whether as a labourer or small farmer, should go out to the island unless he goes to someone already established as a settler, and unless he is prepared to stay and work with such a settler until he has acquired sufficient knowledge of the country and its climate to justify his starting on his own account.
> (Paton, 1914: 12)

The Newfoundland Colonisation Company stressed that immigrants should not be impoverished but, rather, well-to-do or at least appropriately skilled. It expressed hope that the sale of large blocks of land to wealthy capitalists (potential investors in the company) would foster agricultural settlement:

these capitalists would, in their own interests, set up only the best farmers on their lands (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 5-8, 14-15). The emigrants' handbook cited above makes this preference clear:

> Persons, however, who possess capital, and can afford to wait and buy their experience, could avail themselves of the larger schemes for farming in Newfoundland for which the legislation referred to offers inducement.
> (Paton, 1914: 12)

A British scholar of Newfoundland believed that although poor laws in Newfoundland were the "cradle" of agriculture, this sector was, "despite incessant rocking . . . still in its infancy" (Rogers, 1911: 182). Agriculture may have been seen by some government officials as the best means of absorbing surplus labour from the fisheries (Fraser, 1902: 11). However, governments made only minimal efforts in this direction, consistent with the avoidance of large and unprofitable ventures whose benefits would only come in the long term.

The outport garden remained the dominant form of agriculture, and the island still depended on imports for half its agricultural needs in 1910. However, promoters still hoped for an overnight boom. Perhaps they envisioned a rush of prosperous yeoman immigrants and land investors, similar to what was occurring in parts of Canada's West at the time.

Natural Resources for Tourism

Introduction

This section concerns the aspects of the Newfoundland natural environment which promoters considered important tourist attractions. Although writers maintained that the Colony was easily accessible from North America and Europe, they were well aware of its relative isolation in existing

transportation networks. It was therefore necessary to stress the advantages of this isolation in tourist promotion. The landscape, known by so few, was billed as an attraction for the jaded traveller in search of novelty--although there had to be much that was familiar in this uniqueness. The isolation, marine environment and unspoiled nature offered complete escape from urban life to an ideal health resort. The wilderness, unharmed by civilization, was a preserve of the most sought-for big game and fish.

The Natural Landscape

The natural landscape of Newfoundland was an important element in promotional writing, and virtually every writer had something to say about it, usually trying to mold it in the image of a benign wilderness. The idea of wilderness in late 19th century Western culture had changed: as nature was harnessed to human needs, wilderness was less awesome and uncharted, and more a place of temporary refuge, of definite function and limits. For the Victorian educated elite in particular, wilderness also symbolized rejection of urban refinement and corruption. A sojourn in a natural setting was an opportunity to strengthen one's aesthetic, physical and moral faculties. It promised a more authentic existence for those prepared with a training in science, religion and the romantic sensibility (Wright, 1968: xv-xvii).

The romantic symbolism of the wilderness had long been an important element of tourism, but by the end of the century it was becoming somewhat stale from overuse. Tour/guide books depicted landscape in the now well-worn vocabulary of the romantic and picturesque conventions. Wilderness, with its dangers reduced or selected in measured doses, was often described in phrases suggesting an 18th century garden and the essence of the picturesque, with extremes and irregularities tamed and enclosed (Barthes, 1973: 74; Turner and Ash, 1975: 43).

Writers promoting the scenery of Newfoundland accordingly tried to filter it through the familiar picturesque lens. The Newfoundland landscape also had to be likened to those of regions in Europe and North America known for their romantic poets and favoured recreation spots. However, comparison and replication were not enough: writers also stressed unique and bizarre features which would make the colony an attraction in its own right, appealing to the popular fascination with natural wonders and oddities--another romantic legacy.

Descriptions of the Newfoundland landscape usually included some of the following components of the romantic: 1) beauty and sublimity; 2) open, endless spaces, grand dimensions; 3) the picturesque, implying nature contained and enclosed, as well as contrasts, unevenness and irregularities; 4) wilderness, solitudes and spiritual freedom; 5) great age or timelessness; 6) anthropomorphism of nature and 7) novel or bizarre natural features.

Scenery was described in general with words such as attractive, beautiful, lovely, fine, exquisite, varied, magnificent and impressive. More obviously romantic were the words sublime, majestic, imposing, charming, picturesque, timeless, ancient, panoramas, solitudes and vast expanses. The colony was said to offer the unique, novel, bizarre, weird, fantastic or extraordinary. It was compared to well-known scenic areas and declared to be unexcelled, unrivalled or the grandest.

Writers liked to describe the rugged and rocky stretches of coastline, the "towering cliffs" (Prowse, 1905b: 114) of "unsurpassed grandeur" (Trip, 1907). The sea cliffs from St. John's northwards were likened to a "dark perpendicular sea-wall, with numerous indentations" (Baedeker, 1907: 111). The spectacular entrance to St. John's was a "great chasm", of "huge

cliffs of dark-red sandstone piled in broken masses on a foundation of gray slate rock", in the midst of which towered "an almost perpendicular precipice" (Baedeker, 1907: 109). Harvey was fond of pointing out the contrast between "external rocky ramparts", "repellant", "frowning outworks", and the more gentle landward terrain (1897: 154). He also described icebergs and a famous blowhole--"The Spout"--as unique natural wonders (1900: 115, 120).

The coast was often compared to that of Norway, with writers boasting of the greater size of Newfoundland fjords (Harvey, 1897: 145; Reid, c. 1910: 4). McGrath (1911: 185) likened to Norway the "picturesque coast", "deep inlets", "lofty cliffs" and "beautiful rivers". Harvey (1897: 145) called them "great watery ravines", "guarded by lofty cliffs, whose forms are reflected in the clear bright waters of the bays". A famous doctor and Labrador booster pronounced the most "awe-inspiring" and "imposing" fjord scenery to be in the more remote and lesser-known Labrador bays (Grenfell, 1905: 96, 104). He also stressed the peculiar beauty, and scientific utility,[14] of their rocky shorelines:

> Though these northern fjords are destitute of trees and the skeleton of mother earth is so visible as to greatly facilitate the study or her anatomy, yet the scenic effects are unspoilt by lack of colouring. The richly-coloured lichens hide the barrenness from a short distance off, and often add a rugged effect, as of massed beds of flowers on the crag sides.
>
> (Grenfell, 1905: 104)

Some of the great bays were recommended for their calm waters and scenic variety. In Bonavista Bay, a "placid calm usually prevails on the water", and the islands were thick with vegetation (Trip, 1907). One writer described features in Notre Dame Bay--"lofty evergreen hills; . . . a labyrinthine archipelago with no apparent outlet; . . . a little cup-like harbour

cut out of the solid earth" (Carroll, 1906: 17). Another wrote:

> The whole coast-line is intersected with deep bays and innumerable coves and creeks, into which some river or stream usually empties itself, while the trees in many grow right down to the water's edge.
>
> (Fane, 1893: 487)

Descriptions of the interior suggested vast expanses in phrases such as "wide moors" (Prowse, 1905b: 3) and "wide horizon" (Millais, 1905: 46). Writers often described what they considered to be a characteristic panorama, such as the following:

> . . . a land of fjord and mountain, and moor; of forest and lake, and river; with all that this definition implies. . . . rugged mountains, mirrored in lovely lakes, clothed with foliage . . . their summits, clear-cut, against a sky of blue, whose counterpart you must seek in sunny Italy.
>
> (Esmonde, 1910: 16)

It was also common to contrast a wide panorama with a more enclosed and secluded view, moving from mountains or barrens to a close view of a wood or small creek, such as in the following:

> Everywhere the eye is greeted with some new fantastic form of cliff or rich colouring of porphyry rock; while the softness of delicate mosses contrasts at intervals with the ruggedness of bare rocks on which the gnawing tooth of Time has been operating for countless ages. At almost every turn of the road little gem-like lakes flash into view, their waters clear as crystal, many of them with moss-clad islets sleeping in their bosoms.
>
> (Harvey, 1897: 154-155)

However, even many of the scenes of vast expanses had an air of the "wide, charming and picturesque" (James, 1910: 8), indicating a wilderness tamed, enclosed and predictable in design (see Figures 4 and 5) (p. 166).

The low hills and plateaux of most of the interior were "rolling", "lofty" (Harvey, 1897: 154-155), "high-hills, almost mountainous" (Fane, 1893: 487), "picturesque ranges" (James, 1910: 8). There was an occasional reference to similarity with the Scottish Highlands, or the Alps (James, 1910: 9; Reid, c. 1910: 5). The hills were "lofty, evergreen" (Carroll, 1906: 17), "clothed with wood" (Esmonde, 1910: 16; Reid, c. 1910: 5). The most impressive inland relief, the Long Range Mountains in the West, were described in romantic fashion in the following:

> How solemn and full of mystery they look! What dark shadows they have! . . . Deep fissures divide them. They are alike in their look of sublime mystery, of profound darkling aspect, and yet are they ever-changing with indescribable charm.
> (Allan, 1913: 2)

The island was described as "well-watered" (James, 1910: 8), and many writers mentioned the abundance of lakes and streams. One described "a large inland lake whose placid waters are scarcely ruffled by the rudest winds that blow" (Carroll, 1906: 17). Another praised Grand Lake, the "magnificent sheet of fresh water which forms such a conspicuous feature of our vast interior. . . . Its waters are exceedingly deep and as clear as crystal" (J. Howley, 1903: 14). It was also dubbed the "Lake Champlain of Newfoundland" (O'Reilly, 1911: 28). Another lake was described as "a vast body of clear, cold water, of many hundred acres, reposing in enchated [sic] silence amid the forest" (March, 1902: 18).

Rivers were "beautiful" (McGrath, 1911: 185; James, 1910: 4) and "dancing" (Millais, 1905: 46). There were "deep gorges, foaming torrents" (Reid, c. 1910: 5), "cascades descending to lakes from densely wooded shores", (Baedeker, 1907: 122). "Numerous picturesque cascades tumble down the

mountain sides, the glint of whose waters, seen at intervals, through the dense foliage, produces a charming effect" (J. Howley, 1903: 14). There were also the more placid lower stretches and their alluvial valleys, with "abundant greenery and limpid waters" (Prowse, 1905b: 3). The Humber River on the West Coast was often praised, for the "high beetling cliffs decked with verdure" along one stretch (Prowse, 1904: 543), and for its fertile valley, called "the Annapolis Valley of Newfoundland" by one writer, who also called another section "the Rhine of North America", again emphasizing fertility (Allan, 1907: 21). Harvey described the Humber River at length, comparing it to the Hudson and the Rhine:

> At points along the river great marble and limestone cliffs rise almost perpendicularly to the height of 2,000 feet, the rushing current having cut a succession of caves in their great marble walls. Along the river the over-hanging rocks and trees, the mountains towering on each hand; the swiftly flowing, but silent, river all contribute to form a scene rarely surpassed.
>
> (Harvey, 1900: 129)

Rivers valleys were frequently praised for their fertility, dense foliage and agricultural potential (Allan, 1907: 21; James, 1910: 8; Prowse, 1905b: 3). One writer fancifully described rivers flowing "through rich alluvial valleys, which only wait the advent of the husbandman to smile with lush meadows and waving corn" (Esmonde, 1910: 16).

Descriptions of land in general stressed abundant vegetation, fertility and protectiveness, often trying to counterract images of barren, swampy terrain (Fane, 1893: 486-487; James, 1910: 4-9). Timber stands, wildflowers, berries and other shrubs, and natural grazing lands were mentioned with the suggestion of potentially productive farmland (Harvey, 1897: 146;

Prowse, 1905b: 3; Reid, c. 1910: 4-5). Valleys were "fertile and beautiful" (James, 1910: 8). There were dense forests (Fane, 1893: 487), woods of "ever-changing beauty" (Millais, 1905: 46), "silent dells" and "wood-skirted ravines" (Harvey, 1897: 154). There were "moss-covered, flower-bespangled" glens (Carroll, 1892: 25), barrens covered with moss, berries and flowers (Reid, c. 1910: 5), presenting a "wild, weird beauty" (Prowse, 1905b: 3). One writer likened the dry marshes to English parks, forming "charming oases" in the forest (Fane, 1893: 487).

According to some writers, the Newfoundland climate contributed to the visual experience. Trying so often to counteract the negative stereotypes of fog, ice and arctic conditions, writers made the most of the "wonderfully clear atmostphere", "bright skies" and limited extent of fog (Harvey, 1897: 145; Paton, 1910: 3; McGrath, 1911: 179; Prowse, 1905b: 32, 1971: 574). The "sun's brilliancy", or the "great sun", enabled one to view landscapes far into the distance (Carroll, 1892: 25; Millais, 1905: 46). The clear atmosphere also provided "exquisite nights of twinkling starlight" (Millais, 1905: 46), and "in summer . . . a sky blue and serene as that of Italy, and more varied in its changing aspects" (Harvey, 1897: 154).

Writers described how each season enhanced the scenery, and some depicted the same landscape in different seasons (Allan, 1907: 21; E.C., 1909: 15). In autumn, when "the verdure begins to assume its variegated tints, the rich display of colour then presented to the eye, more especially by the deciduous forest trees, affords a picture of unsurpassed loveliness" (J. Howley, 1903: 14). It was stressed that winters were mild compared to the continent, and that they brought the beautiful silver thaws and aurora borealis (McGrath, 1911: 180-181; Morison, 1890: 694-695; Prowse, 1971: 574).

In the Labrador winter, "the Aurora often lends a weirdness to the silence of the night in these solitudes, and seems 'to flash a challenge from the still unconquered north'" (Grenfell, 1905: 104). The Lower Humber was recommended "in hoary winter, when old piles of ice and snow, bring out into grander view those rugged mountains and cliffs almost perpendicular to the heights above, and to the river beneath" (Allan, 1907: 21). Spring brought fresh, blustery days and the iceberg phenomenon, and eventually there was the "stunning" greenery of the "short but beautiful" summers (Harvey, 1897: 145; MacGregor, in McGrath, 1911: 179-181).

Nature was frequently described in anthropomorphic terms, with "manifold" moods and "dancing" rivers (Millais, 1905: 46). One writer remarked on "the witchery of Newfoundland's rivers as they foam through gorge and rapid, or glide peacefully along" (Esmonde, 1910: 16). One author recommended enjoyment of "Nature's holiday attire" in place of the "glare, glitter and dust" of the city. He later described "Nature . . . seized with the lazy indolence pervading all", reflecting the campers' moods. Later, the campers sang hymns in "Nature's vast Cathedral", and "the voices of Nature" sang along (Carroll, 1892: 25-26). There was some mention of fairies--"the green wooded isles clothed with verdure to the water's edge look like fairy abodes, or the homes of sylvan deities" (Trip, 1907). In a Labrador gorge, "the light falling on the lichen-covered surface suggested rather a fairy garden than the stern, ice-swept rocks they really are (Grenfell, 1905: 104).

The spiritual gains from contemplating the wilderness were also part of the scenic attractions. The wilderness was a "virgin country", a "new and beautiful paradise" for the tourist (McGrath, 1897: 118), for the

"lover of Nature who feasts on, revels in, the delights of the country" (Carroll, 1892: 25). One could easily find places where "not even the hut of a single settler breaks the solitude of nature" (Fane, 1893: 487). Grenfell (1905) suggested that some of Labrador's remote fjords, "where, perhaps, no foot of man has ever trod", would add "a freshness which endless tokens of civilisation entirely rob most places of in these days" (pp. 95-96). Here, "one can enjoy with Robinson Crusoe the delight of being monarch of all one surveys" (p. 96).

It also appears that aesthetic appreciation of the wilderness required a degree of culture and education unavailable to the local Newfoundland rustic, whose view of wilderness, unschooled in the romantic convention and conditioned by everyday work in the woods and on the water, was perhaps too mundane and antagonistic to be suitable for a guide book. In any case, such people were rarely consulted. Writers were interested in the cultured and civilized visitor's reaction to the beauty and novelty of a wilderness sojourn, and such testimonies were often recorded (Harvey, 1897: 148-154, 1900: 35-36, 139-140, 195-196; McGrath, 1911: 182-198; Prowse, 1905b: 31-32).

In many of the passages discussed above, it is difficult to recognize the actual landscapes of Newfoundland. Most of the writers were certainly familiar with their subjects, and some even had scientific backgrounds. The obscurity of place appears to come from the heavy veneer of romantic terminology employed, as well as the attempt to show the similarity, of the island at least, with familiar places abroad.

Sketching, painting and photography were popular pursuits in natural settings. Thus, a Newfoundland scene was often described as a "picture", "delightful to the artist" (Reid, c. 1910: 2-5), a "paradise for artists"

(Baedeker, 1907: 114). The landscape provided "an unceasing variety of strikingly beautiful natural pictures" for the camera (McGrath, 1911: 189). In the "magnificent" South Coast scenery, the artist could find "the most striking materials on which to work, and might spend with profit many weeks studying Nature's varied forms" (Harvey, 1900: 122). Notre Dame Bay was "just the place where the amateur photographer would be in his glory. He could get here for his album some of the prettiest bits of scenery in Newfoundland" (Carroll, 1906: 17). J. Howley (1907: 3) felt that "talented, patriotic poets and artists" should be at work in Notre Dame Bay.

The guidebooks and magazine articles carried many photographs, some of which appeared repeatedly in different publications. According to one writer, "Thousands of photographs and magazine 'cuts' without number have made the beauties of Newfoundland admired by millions" (Lewis, 1906: 12). The scenes were usually the typical romantic-picturesque fare, such as waterfalls in a setting of rocks and trees, vistas of hills and river valleys (a favourite being the Humber River gorge), ponds and streams with evidence of anglers, sea cliffs and shorelines with the occasional nestling outport.

Sanitarium

Newfoundland's potential as a natural sanitarium for the health-seeker was another heavily promoted recreation resource. The popularity of the health resort had begun with the European seaside or mineral spring health spa, where high society could recuperate in a natural setting, often in an atmosphere of relaxed social mores (Turner and Ash, 1975: 60-71). The wild and mountainous setting became attractive in the 19th century, influenced by the Romantic belief in the physical and spiritual healing

powers of the wilderness (Turner and Ash, 1975: 43, 60-71). Eventually, the "wilderness cure" attained legitimacy in medical circles, as doctors and "health propagandists" promoted exposure to ozone and coniferous trees as a cure for tuberculosis and other lung ailments (Thompson, 1976: 145-150, 159). Wilderness resorts in northwest Europe and North America achieved great popularity among the upper middle classes, a popularity not limited to the ailing. Scotland, Norway and the American northeast subsequently became the model for Newfoundland writers concerned with the unique benefits of a northern wilderness sanitarium.

The illness was not necessarily lung disease, but more often the general malaise striking the urban "brain-worker"--the busy professional or entrepreneur, for instance--suffering from material excess, over-eating, sedentary routines and cultural alienation.

The components of any wilderness cure were both physical and spiritual. A smog-free atmosphere and dry climate were necessary, with warm days and cool nights. The setting had to be isolated, with pine trees and proximity to water. There also had to be the opportunity for physical exercise, such as vigorous walks, bathing in cold water, and camping, sustained by a simple, healthy diet. All of these components would promote physical regeneration.

The spiritual benefits lay in escaping the artificial refinement of urban upper middle class society. The harried urbanite could convalesce by engaging the mind in simple camp duties, hunting, fishing and communing with nature in isolated rambles. Scenery would also regenerate the psyche: contemplation from a certain vista point, not to mention the physical exertion often required to attain it, would inspire renewed moral effort for the tasks waiting back home (Thompson, 1976: 148-159; Turner and Ash, 1975: 60-61).

Newfoundland promoters emphasized the healthful benefits of the atmosphere and climate, again trying to counteract negative images held abroad. The climate was recommended for its "salubrity" and "mildness" (McGrath, 1911: 179). Winter was relatively mild; summer was "pleasant", "equable", "balmy" and "delightful", with warm days and cool nights (Baedeker, 1907: 105; Fane, 1893: 486-487; McGrath, 1911: 179-181; Prowse, 1971: 574). The ocean provided "cool", "healthful", "invigorating" breezes, "cooling the fevered brain and smoothing the wrinkled brow of care" (Harvey, 1900: 35; James, 1910: 8; McGrath, 1911: 181; Reid, c. 1910: 4). The atmosphere was "invigorating" and "exhilarating" (Esmonde, 1910: 16; Harvey, 1897: 145). It was also pure, smoke-free and full of ozone (Esmonde, 1910: 16; Grenfell, 1905: 107; McGrath, 1911: 181).

> Elsewhere the air is enervating, but natives and tourists alike enjoy the tonic of our bracing atmostphere. The depleted oxygen that comes to us from the west is revitalized before it reaches our sea-girt isle. The pale victim of langour awakes to find himself alive once more, and his dull eye sparkles with the ozone of reinvigorated life.
>
> (Lewis, 1906: 11-12)

The Newfoundland climate and atmosphere provided a "bracing tonic" for the "heat-stricken New Yorker" (Prowse, 1905b: 32), for the "smoke-dried inhabitant of one of the great cities" (Harvey, 1900: 35; Reid, c. 1910: 4). J. Howley (1901: 6) wrote, "Here, will the wealthy denizens of the sun-scorched cities of America find a cooling-off place."

The outdoor holiday was a haven for the "over-worked, the over-wrought" (Esmonde, 1910: 16), for those "whose health has been impaired by the strain on body and mind of modern life. . . . Plain food, hard exercise, and the pure, invigorating air of the Northern wilderness will cure most

ailments" (Selous, 1905: 56). One could go camping, hunting, fishing, yachting or simply walking:

> There a number of summer weeks can be spent climbing the rocky heights of the New-land; wandering over its plains bright with wild flowers; plying the angler's rod, or bending the oar in the clear water of its countless lakes. . . . enjoying for a time a purer and better life.
>
> (Harvey, 1897: 147)

One writer in the *Newfoundland Quarterly* suggested that the colony could provide an Adirondacks of its own, perhaps in the region of Placentia. Not only could there be several country resorts and recreation areas, but Placentia was one of several sites suitable for a tuberculosis "Sanatorium" (O'Reilly, 1911: 26, 28).

Sport

The third, and most important, natural resource for tourism was the abundance of game and fish in the interior, particularly caribou and salmon with their international drawing power. The colony was promoted as a "sportsman's paradise" (Reid, c. 1910: 3), a "sporting country with no rival" (Prowse, 1971: 575), where "good" and even "splendid" sport could be obtained (Fane, 1893: 487; Northcliffe, 1910: 23). It offered sporting attractions "such as few other countries possess", a distinction "admitted by all who have given it a trial" (Harvey, 1900: 137).

The interior was "teeming with game", especially with the "lordly" caribou of which Newfoundland, compared to some other caribou regions, still had reason to boast. An internationally-known sportsman declared that, in the face of declining yields elsewhere, "Newfoundland remains a good hunting country" (Millais, 1905: 45-46). Another famous sportsman reported:

> I know of but one really wild country where big game is still plentiful which can be quickly and easily reached, and where a shooting trip can be undertaken at a comparatively small cost.
> (Selous, 1905: 51)

There were also "countless lakes and streams abounding in trout . . . the seaboard broken up by numerous estuaries that are the home of the lordly salmon" (McGrath, 1911: 188). Here, one could "enjoy wonderful and free fishing" (Reid, c. 1910: 4).

Most writers on sport also provided practical information on at least one species, with regard to habits and migrations in the wild, as well as the relevant hunting or fishing season. Besides salmon and caribou, there were trout, grouse and other birds, beaver, otter, fox and hare (Harvey, 1897: 155, 1900: 137-140; McGrath, 1911: 188-198; Prowse, 1905b: 62-64; Reid, c. 1910: 6-10).

The nature of the sporting experience was advertised for Newfoundland in much the same way as elsewhere. In part, sport provided an excuse for a holiday in a natural setting, and Newfoundland writers thus connected the "sportsman's paradise" with images such as the "playground" of America (Reid, c. 1910: 5), or the sanitarium associating sport with freedom and recuperation (Harvey, 1900: 35).

There was also the sportsman's reputed fascination with nature and wildlife. The sportsman Millais wrote that the caribou could invoke that "curious admiration for the grand and inexpressible which comes to all who love nature in its noblest forms" (Millais, 1905: 34). He later concluded:

> It is the Spirit of the Wilderness that calls you, and the man who has not known or understood has not lived.
> (Millais, 1905: 46)

Another part of the sporting experience was the chance to play at being a frontiersman or primitive hunter. The interior was advertised as an empty land, a new territory, "in its primeval state" (McGrath, 1911: 188), where the sportsman could "with comparatively little danger or discomfort enjoy the unfettered freedom of primitive man" (Grenfell, 1905: 107). A typical statement of this is the following:

> To the genuine sportsman, the real interest in the country will lie in the fact that it is virgin ground, that there are hundreds of square miles, wholly unexplored, where the foot of the white man has never trod. There are lakes and streams in which no angler's fly has ever been cast.
>
> (Prowse, 1905b: 33)[15]

There was also the suggestion of a chance to be an aristocrat or a large capitalist landowner:

> So this vast interior is one big game preserve. No English or American millionaire ever owned anything like it, either in the quantity of the game or its boundless expanse.
>
> (Prowse, 1905b: 33)

Writers appealed to the true sportsman in search of adventure and the excitement of chase and capture. Shooting in Newfoundland was described as a "wild sport", involving some effort for the best prizes (Prowse, 1904: 540). This true sportsman-pioneer would not want to count himself among those who simply shot from near the railway, "without ever straining a muscle of their bodies or displaying the most rudimentary knowledge of woodcraft" (Selous, 1905: 53-54). The "genuine deer-stalker, like Selous or Millais and Prichard, will go farther afield . . . into the very heart of the deer country" (Prowse, 1905b: 33). With a canoe and two "hardy" Newfoundland guides, he would reach the wild country, "untenanted save by

wild creatures, voiceless except for the plaintive call of the loon in the unnumbered lakes" (Selous, 1905: 52). However, the sportsman who wanted a more leisurely holiday was assured by these and other writers that hunting and fishing were quite accessible to transportation lines and other conveniences (McGrath, 1911: 188-190, 196-197; Prowse, 1905b: 33; Reid, c. 1910: 6-7).

Meeting the challenge of the wilderness supposedly brought out the best in a man. The ideal sportsman (like the ideal frontiersman and soldier) displayed the virtues of "endurance, nerve, and straight shooting" (Prowse, 1971: 575).

Consistent with the theme of manly pursuit and conquest was the habit of referring to nature and wildlife as female. In the following passage, the racism of the British sportsman also bears notice:

> Like some beautiful women, whose charms are undeniable, you can take every point of the individual caribou stag and tear it to bits, piece by piece. The nose is positively Hebraic, the eyes small and insignificant. . . . And yet--the "tout ensemble" is palpitating life . . . something undefinable.
>
> (Millais, 1905: 34, 36)

The Reid guide book provides a more subtle example of nature as female, passively awaiting conquest by the angler and hunter:

> The spirit of the most enthusiastic angler rises with the elevating influence of the scene, for his trained eye can take in at a glance the increasing activity existing beneath the trembling, transparent bosom of the matchless waters that are found within the confines of this extensive tract of pleasure grounds, where myriads of the finny tribe, unmolested, disport themselves. . . . in the autumn, the disciple of the gun and the lover of the chase take almost entire possession of the field.
>
> (Reid, c. 1910: 4)

The experience of the true sportsman was, by implication, superior to that of Newfoundland residents hunting and fishing for household use and for sale. Residents who hired out as guides were frequently praised for their knowledge of woodcraft and the bush, but their status was that of skilled servants rather than genuine sportsmen, judging from the references made to them.[16] The true sportsman, on the other hand, had a special appreciation of the hunt precisely because he did not engage in it for a livelihood, and because he could use his educated sensibilities to enhance the experience.

Newfoundland had been attracting the more adventurous and wealthy angler and big game hunter for several decades. The completion of the transinsular railway in 1897 opened up much hunting and fishing country previously only reached by steamer, canoe and on foot. This provided greater access to more amateur sporting men (and some women). They came in increasing numbers, and the colony gained more publicity in sporting circles abroad. However, the numbers were still relatively small, probably amounting to several hundred per year.[17]

Some of the large firms in resources, transportation, construction and trade were highly influential in the development of sport tourism, and in the direction of wildlife laws toward the priorities of sport. Hoteliers, lodgekeepers, smaller traders and other small businessmen also favoured and pressed for this development, as did many people interested in diversification in general. Sportsmen needed transportation and all manner of provisions, promising a significant source of profit in years to come.[18]

Promotional writers declared that the game and fish were not only abundant, but also freely available. Newfoundland's comparative advantage

over Scotland, Norway and Canada in this respect was often emphasized:

> It is all free and open to the world, a moderate fee of $50 (= £10 sterling) only being charged for each shooter's licence. The fishing is all free.
>
> (Prowse, 1905b: 33)[19]

Another guidebook was even more unqualified in its general claims:

> All the splendid deer barrens, grouse moors and notable salmon rivers are open to the public. There is no restriction, no limitation.
>
> (Reid, c. 1910: 6)

The latter statement probably referred to the fact that no hunting ground or stream was reserved for private use only, as was commonly the case in sport regions in other countries.

The government and the large landowners, including the railway, timber and pulp companies, maintained a policy of open access to hunters and anglers in order to encourage tourism. This general policy was subject to various licencing and catch or bag regulations, as government and private interests sought to control and manage wildlife as game for a growing tourist industry.

Many of the prime hunting and fishing areas were located on railway and timber or pulp company lands. These firms arranged for various services such as guides and trips in the bush. Reid and other transport companies doubled as travel agents. Corporate landowners also imposed restrictions, such as the requirement in some cases that sportsmen obtain special permits for use of land, and that they hire only company- or government-sponsored guides. These regulations were supplementary to government ones concerning the licencing of guides and sportsmen, the imposition of fees, catch or bag limitations, closed season on various forms of sport and the establishment

of game and fish reserves and hatcheries.

Guidebooks and articles included information on fish and game laws, with respect to licences, fees, quotas and seasons. They also reported on the progress of government and private associations in the management of sport tourism resources (Harvey, 1900: 140; Prowse, 1905b: 176-180, 1971: 575-577; Reid, c. 1910: 8-10).

Despite the professed abundance of salmon, there was a serious decline in stocks even as early as the 1890's. This was due mainly to barring of rivers for commercial salmon fishing, as well as to the destruction of salmon runs by sawmill operations (*J.H.A.*, Fisheries, Marine and Fisheries, *Reports*, 1898-1909). The problem was often mentioned by writers, as in the following:

> Finer salmon streams than those of the island naturally are, or were, could not be found elsewhere, but, unfortunately, they have been left unprotected so long that many have been seriously injured.
>
> (Harvey, 1900: 137)

The same writer then assured his readers that renewed efforts by the Department of Fisheries were already restoring salmon to their former levels. The Department's system of district protection wardens was expanded in 1902, and legal prohibitions were strengthened, resulting in eventual improvement of stocks. But the Department remained unequal to the task, largely from lack of funds and continuing problems with the understaffed warden system. In the popular West Coast fishing regions, residents with an interest in tourism maintained supplementary fish patrols (*J.H.A.*, Marine and Fisheries, *Report*, 1904: 163-182).

The caribou were also declining in numbers by the late 19th century. This was due to several factors. Caribou was an important source of food and clothing in white settler and Micmac communities, being especially

crucial in winter. The meat was also a source of commercial income, sold to local merchants and marketed in St. John's where it was a cheap and important food for the urban poor. Settlers exploited increasing numbers of caribou for household use in the late 19th century. Pressure also increased from commercial markets, as the railway and resource companies apparently bought the meat to sustain their work forces. The increase in sportsmen had a much lesser effect, although there were cases of mass slaughter of caribou by sportsmen who left the meat to rot. The transinsular railway made sport and non-sport hunting easier, as it crossed caribou migration paths, and some stations along the line provided camps and provisions for both kinds of hunters (Overton, 1979: 8-11).

As pressure on the newly-defined "game" resource grew, residents found themselves increasingly restricted. This began in the 1880's, and by the turn of the century, residents were subject to virtually the same regulations as were visiting sportsmen. These included limitations on killing methods and on sale of meat, and the introduction of close seasons, game reserves and quotas. Residents did not, however, have to pay for licences (Overton, 1979: 12-15; McGrath, 1911: 259).

Sport tourism proponents were instrumental in the movement for more restrictive legislation. These included local sportsmen, who formed a Game Protection Society, which employed its own deer wardens to enforce the laws until the wardens were absorbed into the Marine and Fisheries Department in 1902 (Overton, 1979: 15; *J.H.A.*, Marine and Fisheries, *Report*, 1903: 130-190).

Proponents, including promotional and sport writers, argued the need to conserve caribou for the development of a tourist industry which would

benefit the whole colony. They condemned mass killings and expressed concern about widespread violations of existing laws. The situation was blamed on the residents killing for food and sale, and little explanation was provided as to the widespread economic need for caribou. The practice was in some cases labelled as mere butchery or wanton slaughter, as distinct from real hunting (Kennedy, 1905: 57-58; McGrath, 1911: 189-191; Prichard, 1907: 370-371).

In 1910, a Game and Inland Fisheries Board was established. With its prominent volunteer members in charge of administering colonial game and sport fish laws, it continued work on fish hatcheries, a caribou reserve, and the game and fish protection districts to preserve the tourist resources (McGrath, 1911: 197). McGrath (1911: 189) stated proudly that "now the chase is confined chiefly to genuine hunters, who are permitted to kill three stags during the season." The problem of enforcement remained great, however, due to chronic lack of funding and staff, in the face of widespread evasion of the laws by residents who were not convinced that the Board was acting in their interests.

Although one cannot justify complete decimation of the caribou, which almost occurred later, it is clear that residents were threatened with the loss of an important food and income resource, with no adequate provision of a substitute. The problem was directly related to that of underemployment and stagnation in the fisheries, and the insufficient employment opportunities in other sectors.

Tourist Spots and Accommodation

For both the sportsman and the general tourist, writers provided information on the best spots for hunting, fishing, scenery and health,

sometimes with maps, routes of travel and accommodation suggestions. The railway main and branch lines had greatly improved accessibility, enabling Harvey (1900: 32) to state proudly that it "passes through the best part of the island, and by it the finest scenery, the best sporting and fishing grounds can be reached." Writers suggested the best spots for game and fish, as well as various scenic highlights, all along the routes. There were examples of short and long trips available, with accommodation possibilities. One could stay close to the railway in camps, cabins or lodges, or take a canoeing trip up country. One could also make connections along the railway with various coastal steamers (Baedeker, 1907: 119-123; Harvey, 1900: 97-136; McGrath, 1911: 189-197; Prowse, 1905b: 110-114; Reid, c. 1910: 6-8; A Word, 1906: 1).

Caribou were most accessible in Central and Western Newfoundland, close to the railway if one chose. Salmon and trout could be obtained in many regions, with the West Coast frequently declared to be the best:

> The railway between the Humber Mouth and Port-aux-Basques . . . makes accessible more good salmon and trout fishing streams than can probably be found in the same distance anywhere else in the world.
>
> (Baedeker, 1907: 123)

Also for the West Coast, the Prowse guidebook (1905b: 175) provided detailed maps of salmon pools on the Codroy and Grand Rivers. One of the most prestigious lodges, the "Log Cabin" at St. Georges Pond in the same region, was described in detail by one writer, as an example of the many "comfortable and attractive resorts" located "near the best fishing spots for the convenience and comfort of the angler" (March, 1902: 18). The West Coast was also the site of the Humber River cliffs, which were frequently noted for the train traveller (Harvey, 1900: 129-130; Prowse, 1904: 542-543, 1905b: 32).

The wardens from every protection district on the island submitted yearly reports in which they promoted the special sporting attractions of their areas. Wardens from lesser known districts were especially extravagant, in the attempt to have more tourists directed their way by the Fisheries Department and sporting associations (*J.H.A.*, Marine and Fisheries, *Report*, 1904: 163-182).

Visitors could also take trips on the coastal steamers, and the routes were described in various guidebooks and articles (Baedeker, 1907: 114-119; Carroll, 1906: 17-18; Harvey, 1900: 122-126; J. Howley, 1907: 2-3; Prowse, 1905b: 113-115). The "mighty bays" were also recommended for yachting (McGrath, 1911: 185). Notre Dame Bay was declared a "charming locality" and "delightful" for a summer yacht cruise (Fane, 1893: 487; J. Howley, 1907: 2-3). Grenfell (1905: 96-107) also suggested trips in Labrador waters by steamer or yacht, noting good spots for scenery, sport and accommodation.

The attractions of the Avalon Peninsula were also discussed at great length, for those who would come to the island through St. John's. The rivers here were quite frequently visited by resident St. John's sportsmen making short trips. The "barrens" south of St. John's were advertised as the best area for grouse shooting (Harvey, 1900: 119; Prowse, 1971: 543). Writers also suggested various scenic walking and driving tours in the St. John's vicinity, perhaps for the traveller on an ocean steamer making a brief stop at that port (Baedeker, 1907: 111-122; Harvey, 1897: 146-155, 1900: 103-122; Prowse, 1905b: 110-114).

Several outports near St. John's and around Conception Bay were advertised as summer health and bathing resorts, easily accessible by rail,

with cottages, hotels and boarding houses. These were summer havens for the St. John's well-to-do. Topsail was the most important one, described as "a pretty village with comfortable boarding houses . . . a favourite summer and bathing resort . . . somewhat ambitiously styled the 'Brighton of Newfoundland'" (Baedeker, 1907: 120). Harbour Grace, one of the larger fishing centres in the area was also promoted as a summer resort (Seymour, 1906: 13-14).

Although Reid (c. 1910: 1) advertised "Unrivalled Resorts for the Tourist, Health Seeker and Sportsman", other writers readily admitted that more accommodations were needed, and that many of the existing ones were a bit too rustic. This was usually accompanied by the assurance that the situation was daily improving, and that the occasional lack of material comforts was compensated by the warm hospitality of proprietors (McGrath, 1911: 208).

Plans for Development

Many articles appeared in the *Newfoundland Quarterly* admonishing Newfoundlanders to wake up to the potential of a tourist industry, and to provide more in the way of accommodations and services. For example, one writer declared:

> When the people of Placentia realize to the full how profitable it is to business of every kind, to have large numbers of summer visitors, they will begin in real earnest to cater to it. Shopkeepers, hotels, boarding-house keepers, fishermen and farmers, all will be taxed to their utmost to supply the needs of tourists.
>
> (Placentia, 1906: 14)

Prowse (1903: 16) noted that other sporting hinterlands were becoming expensive, and that Newfoundland should provide facilities similar to theirs in

order to draw people: The 1906 Department of Marine and Fisheries *Report* decried the lack of "good country hotels" (*J.H.A.*, Marine and Fisheries, *Report*, 1906: 150-151), a statement echoed by a *Newfoundland Quarterly* writer who warned:

> If our own people don't cater in this respect, there are others who will see the possibilities, and erect summer hotels in favoured regions along the railway.
>
> (Carroll, 1905: 1)

The same writer urged publication of more articles in sportmen's journals abroad, and he declared that the publicity gained through foreign sportsmen was having some effect: sporting clubs were now each year sending representatives, and publicity was reaching wider audiences. Another anonymous writer suggested utilizing the wardens' annual statistics on salmon and trout catches as publicity, sending them to clubs and sporting magazines abroad (Walton, Jr., 1908: 23). The need for a tourist association was also mentioned (March, 1902: 18).[20]

A different opinion on all this was expressed in the *Newfoundland Quarterly* by the same priest who had suggested potential locations for health and tuberculosis resorts. He warned of the dangers of tourist promotion--the proliferation of "gutter journalists and flunkies", as well as speculators, promoters and exploiters. He argued that the "independence even of a fishing tilt on Labrador" was preferable to the "subservience of a tourist era" which he felt the colony was undergoing at the time (O'Reilly, 1911: 26). Few writers shared this view.

Despite remaining problems of accessibility and accommodation, optimism prevailed. The problems were seen by most as merely a slow beginning to a future thriving industry. The books and articles published, combined

with accommodation and transportation improvements, the informal publicity of sportsmen and commercial men, as well as at least one Newfoundland sport exhibit abroad,[21] apparently increased the number of visitors (*J.H.A.*, Marine and Fisheries, *Report*, 1906: 152-158). One writer announced:

> Railway and steamship lines are reporting large increases each year in the tourist traffic, which must necessarily create a more widespread knowledge of the island generally.
> (Nurse, 1911: 32)

Another fancifully praised Neptune, "who now in increasing numbers bears on his bosom the tourist, to rejoice in the Country in Summer" (Lewis, 1906: 11). Many reported that more sportsmen and outdoorsmen were coming each year from Europe and North America (Harvey, 1900: 138; McGrath, 1911: 185-188; Prowse, 1904: 539; Reid, c. 1910: 4). Prowse announced the following:

> W.K. Vanderbilt, the great America millionaire, and many more of his countrymen, are disporting themselves over our great moorlands and marshes in quest of the lordly caribou.
> (Prowse, 1903: 16)

It was also said that more were coming to view the "natural beauties" of the island--to sketch, paint, write and take photographs--and to "drink in its health-giving breezes" (Harvey, 1900: 31; McGrath, 1911: 184-185; Reid, c. 1910: 3-4).

Assessment

Thus, despite obstacles, the advocates of tourism were convinced that it had great potential. However, its success was still dependent on a great amount of capital investment and promotional activity, both private and state-directed. Some sort of government inducement would have helped the accommodation shortage.[22] Accessibility to the island and the interior was still a problem, requiring government intervention. The West Coast,

by far the best region for North American tourists, was still in need of improvements such as railway branch lines, steamer service and roads, in all of which it was under-provided relative to the east.

Tourism was closely connected with inland resources through the railway and resource firms' growing monopoly ownership of land with wildlife and water rights. In many ways, tourism itself involved export staples--natural resources which remained in situ but were oriented towards foreign rather than domestic users. This is clear in the redefinition and management of certain wildlife species as game, and in the description of scenery in accord with guidebook models. Tourism, of course, also involved a mobilization of human resources. Promoters urged residents to redirect their energies and capital to accommodate the expected tourist boom in the service sector. Moreover, as will be seen in Chapter Five, they emphasized certain aspects of the people and the outport way of life as tourist attractions.

Tourism (as opposed to large-scale resource extraction) did seem to offer more opportunities for Newfoundland entrepreneurs. However, without the massive government and private investment hoped for by promoters, the benefits of tourism throughout the pre-war era were probably negligible Revenue from deer licences and later fishing licences was a mere pittance of several thousand dollars annually, regularly absorbed by chronically understaffed state management agencies. The tourist industry benefitted a few entrepreneurs--retailers in St. John's, transportation firms, some hotel and restaurant owners and the like. It provided employment for a small number of guides, wardens (who could never live on their salaries) and other service workers. Although the hope was that tourism would attract investment in timber and minerals, there is no evidence, from materials examined, that

certain investments would not have occurred without it.

Retarded Development of Inland Resources

Several writers attempted to explain the slow development of the interior, usually with reference to a history of political and economic barriers in a colony whose reason for being was marine wealth.

The most frequently cited cause of this underdevelopment was the history of neglect and hindrance on the part of British governments and absentee merchants. It was stated that merchants had for centuries exerted political pressure to maintain anti-settlement policies (Collins, 1898: 18; Fane, 1893: 481; *Golden Age*, 1910: 3-5; McGrath, 1903: 624-625). The colony had been a "Royal Wilderness", a "ship anchored" off the coast of North America (James, 1910: 4-5), which was denied the attention and financial aid given to Nova Scotia (E. Morris, 1910: 3). Newfoundland's history, it was said, had been one of "bloodshed and oppression, of neglect, if not cruelty, at the hands of the mother country" (McGrath, 1903: 625).

The effects of these policies were said to have remained long after Newfoundland had ceased to be merely a fishing station. This was attributed partly to inertia and partly to political and diplomatic factors in the present, as writers asserted that Newfoundland was still a pawn in British diplomacy. The prime example, for many, was British reluctance to push the French into ceding their rights to the French Shore (West Coast). It was not granted to the colony until 1904 and was thus a major issue for earlier writers (Fane, 1893: 483-484; McGrath, 1903: 626; Morison, 1890: 695; Whiteway, 1897: xii-xiii). Fane denounced the British position in the following:

> I say that it is a disgrace to the civilisation of the 19th century that the . . . resources of the

> very finest portion of an English colony should remain undeveloped because forsooth a foreign power has rights of fishery there. (Fane, 1893: 483)

He added that such a situation would not be tolerated by the larger and more powerful British colonies.

Newfoundland was also said to have been long shrouded in obscurity and damaging misconceptions. This was sometimes blamed on prejudice or conscious design of British merchants and administrators over the years (Baedeker, 1907: 105-107; Fane, 1892: 7, 1893: 479-481; James, 1910: 4-5). It was also said to be due to the colony's isolation and the imperfect knowledge acquired by migratory fishermen, missionaries and other visitors whose reports were disseminated back home (Fane, 1893: 486; James, 1910: 4-5; McGrath, 1897: 118-120; Morison, 1890: 694-695; Nurse, 1911: 32; Prowse, 1904: 539; Whiteway, 1897: xvii). One writer declared that the country had been "so sadly misrepresented that capitalists have naturally hesitated to invest when prospects appeared so gloomy and unpromising" (Nurse, 1911: 32).

Writers explained that Newfoundland was known abroad as a desolate land of fog, ice and codfish (Collins, 1898: 2; McGrath, 1903: 625-626; Morison, 1890: 694; Nurse, 1911: 32; Prowse, 1971: 574). Its interior was thought to be completely barren, rocky and full of bogs (Harvey, 1897: 144; James, 1910: 4-5; E. Morris, 1910: 3). Harvey eloquently summarized these misconceptions in the following:

> Until somewhat recently the prevalent idea was that the interior of the island was little better than the "Great Dismal Swamp," full of bogs, repulsive rocks, barren wastes, with here and there a few patches covered with a stunted forest growth, and the whole generally shrouded in a curtain of fog. (Harvey, 1900: 31)

Neglect of the interior was also blamed on the residents' exclusive interest in fishing (Baedeker, 1907: 104; History , 1901: 5-6; James, 1910: 5; McGrath, 1903: 620, 1911: 24). According to Premier E. Morris (1910: 4), "the people relied almost wholly on the fisheries for their livelihood, although the interior teemed with forest wealth." This explanation was sometimes given in a positive fashion, in terms of the vast marine wealth which for centuries encouraged residents to look no further than the coast. For example, Prowse (1905b: 2) stated, "The riches of the ocean have really obscured the resources of the land." The settlement pattern created by the fisheries was considered by Harvey (1900: 130) to be an important factor: coastal settlement had caused the interior to be, until recently, a "terra incognita". Some writers also emphasized the fishing mentality and the staples orientation: capital, skills and labour were tied to the fisheries, unavailable for other kinds of enterprise. Two writers mentioned this fishing mentality as an important cause of agricultural retardation, although at least one was optimistic about the ability of fishermen to adapt (Paton, 1914: 9-10; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 16).

There were few references to current mercantile opposition to inland development. Fane (1893: 481) reported that "the older school of merchant talk of this development as if it were the ruin of the place." As noted, however, this conservative opposition became more diffuse by the late 1890's. Moreover, most indigenous writers were inclined to represent local businessmen as a united front of progressive capitalists. Criticism of another sort was delivered by Judge Prowse, as discussed in the section on coal in this chapter. He railed against merchants (among others) for sitting on valuable resource lands for the purpose of speculation--rather than investing capital

and establishing resource industries for the colony's benefit (page 95 of this thesis).

Most writers did not go into such detail on these negative aspects. However, most did try to counteract negative impressions and to demonstrate that many obstacles were lately being overcome. As indicated, some took great pains to dispel images of severe climate and barrenness when writing of scenery and agriculture (Fane, 1893: 486; McGrath, 1911: 179; Prowse, 1971: 574; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 3-4, 9). Others simply emphasized temperate climate, fertile land, abundant timber stands and rich mineral deposits (Collins, 1898: 4-5; Harvey, 1897: 104-111; James, 1910: 4-5; Morison, 1890: 694; Northcliffe, 1910: 23-24; Nurse, 1911: 32).

Most of these writers declared that barriers to settlement and exploitation were breaking down: the interior was being opened up, and successive discoveries of the extent of its wealth were attracting more outside interest (*Golden Age*, 1910: 5, 23; Harvey, 1900: 31; McGrath, 1911: 23-25; Nurse, 1911: 32; Prowse, 1904: 539, 1905b: 1):

> New discoveries are being continually made, and they are not likely to be neglected by capitalists in the future as they have been in the past.
>
> (Collins, 1898: 10)

However, Fane (1893: 481) was less optimistic, declaring that it was "hard to undo the libels and misrepresentations of centuries."

Visions of Development

Visions of Newfoundland's development potential were focussed on the wealth of the interior rather than the ocean. The interior was said to be an empty land, a new and "virgin country" (McGrath, 1911: 118),

"vast" and "untraversed" (*Golden Age*, 1910: 11).

The empty land had two facets. One was the idea of a wilderness preserve, partly romantic nature appreciation and solitary retreat, partly the appeal of a natural pleasure grounds for sport, touring and resorts. This was the facet emphasized in tourist development. Far more important was the empty land awaiting transformation, the image of railways, mines, lumber and pulp mills, farms and industrial towns spreading into one of the world's "new lands". It was there to be opened, settled and drained of its riches for the benefit of civilization and progress.

Thus there was a duality, of wilderness as raw material awaiting development, and wilderness preserved in its pristine state for society's enjoyment. An example is the following:

> The railway pierces through a virgin wilderness, opening it up for the miner, the trapper, the lumberman, the papermaker, the farmer, the sportsman, and the tourist--all of whom have eagerly availed themselves of this opportunity to secure access to an unpeopled territory. . . . Now the miner's pick, the forester's axe, and the settler's plow are transforming the region along the railway line . . . into a territory of vast industrial possibilities, while beyond still lies the trackless waste, with its preserves of game--in fin, fur, and feather--to tempt the sportman [sic] and the angler.
>
> (*Golden Age*, 1910: 6)

Writers tried to convey in rosy rhetoric the idea of a territory with unlimited room for every use, now available to the world. One announced that the world had waited long, but not in vain, "for the fertility, beauty and charming scenery of the Ancient Colony to be made known" (James, 1910:9). Others emphasized recent discovery. McGrath (1911: 27-28) declared that "the unknown wilderness has proved to be a fair territory, with mighty forests,

smiling plains, rich mineral treasures, and scenery unexcelled". Another writer emphasized re-discovery, saying that Richard Whitbourne's euphoric 17th century account of the island had been "substantially confirmed by subsequent experience; we have fertile lands, noble timber forests, and inestimable mineral resources" (Morison, 1890: 694).

The "wilderness as raw material" theme usually stressed the prime role of technology. It destroyed the isolation, the "solitudes" and "repose" of the wilderness (Harvey, 1900: 174; McGrath, 1911: 27). Harvey (1900: 6, 130) predicted that the railway would bring about a "material and social revolution" which would "transform these unpeopled wastes into the smiling homes of men." A similar image was created by MacGregor, the former Governor cited earlier, in an article entitled "Business Possibilities in Labrador":

> When the truth about Labrador is known, the silence of centuries will be broken by the pick and hammer and spade of the prospector, the throb of the lumber mill, the pulp mill and the factory.
>
> (cited in McGrath, 1911: 178)

Thus, the extension of industrial society into the wilderness was described in images of technology personified. Only man, in the agency of the machine, could force a passive nature to realize its true potential--its utilitarian value. Harvey epitomized the urgency and optimism of this mission:

> The repose of ages has been broken. Petty Harbour has been invaded by the genius of progress. The long wasted energy of its wayward river has been made to subserve the ends of utility. Controlled and directed it has become a mighty force. . . This energy, transmitted to St. John's, drives the swift revolving dynamos in the sub-station. It is thus that man has enlisted this most potent and economic force of nature.
>
> . . . Nature's processes are patient, momentous and slow. . . . Not so with man. The necessity is upon him and it must be met.
>
> (Harvey, 1900: 175)

Writers also envisioned particular regions and towns transformed through technology and labour. Although such visions included agriculture, as we have seen, the emphasis was on resource extraction, such as the timber lands in the central and western interior. J. Howley wrote that the "noble" Exploits Valley and the Grand Lake area were "destined" to "take a prominent place in the country's future industrial development" (1907: 2), and "to develop into a hive of industry, to become the home of thousands of happy and contented individuals" (1903: 14). Harvey (1900: 132) predicted that in the Grand Lake area, a "thriving town . . . will spring up here and the solitudes, hitherto the domains of the deer, the fox and the wolf, will be resounding with the din of human labor." Another writer celebrated "the founding of a town in the wilderness"--Grand Falls in the Exploits Valley (*Golden Age*, 1910: 20). E. Morris, called it

> . . . the pioneer centre of paper production in this island . . . a model town, laid out on the most approved lines, and destined to become, in the course of a few years, among the most important industrial centres in the colony.
>
> (E. Morris, 1910: 8)

J. Howley described the phenomenon of Grand Falls with an amazement which must have been widespread at the time:

> But in my wildest dreams I never contemplated living to see a city laid out and equipped with all the most up-to-date modern improvements at the site of the Grand Falls of the Exploits, and even I would have laughed at the person who would have had the temerity to prognosticate such a thing twenty years ago.
>
> (J. Howley, 1907: 2)

Others described the smaller resource towns that could be viewed on a cruise around Notre Dame Bay. There was Tilt Cove, and other "pretty"

and "thriving" copper and lumber towns, and the port of Botwoodville, with "its magnificent lumber mill, and its well-built, comfortable little town" (Carroll, 1906: 17-18). There was also Dominion Point, in the Bay of Exploits, "where Messrs. Winsor's large steam sawmill stands surrounded by the neat white cottages of the lumbermen" (J. Howley, 1907: 3).

Besides the town in the wilderness, there was also the metropole of St. John's which could anticipate an even greater role in the future as a trading and manufacturing centre due to inland development. Writers described thriving businesses, modern conveniences, monuments to British culture and administration and, by contrast, quaint and picturesque features of an ancient seaport (Baedeker, 1907: 109-112; Esmonde, 1910: 17-18; Fane, 1893: 478; Harvey, 1900: 98-110, 179; McGrath, 1911: 236-241; Prowse, 1905b: 110-112; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 12-13). However, two of the British writers, more interested in mineral and timber promotion than in tourism, were less glowing about some aspects of the city's location and services (Collins, 1898: 18; Fane, 1893: 486).

McGrath (1897: 118, 120) also suggested that Port-aux-Basques, the western terminus of the railway, was a potential metropole. It was destined to be "the outlet of all the products of the newly-developing interior", and "a port of international reputation."

Many writers thus hoped that Newfoundland would have a productive hinterland supporting a large trading and manufacturing metropole. Their vision of this was influenced by the perceived success of Canada and the U.S.A. in conquering the frontier:

> The future success of Newfoundland lies in the path where Canada and America have gained their prosperity; new enterprizes, new industries, improved communications have mainly contributed

> to their welfare and progress, and in that direction we must follow.
> (Prowse, 1971: 550)

Newfoundland's progress was frequently gauged against theirs. In the following, Harvey pointed out that their thriving regions of today were once wilderness:

> The most flourishing and densely populated parts of New England States and Canada were, two centuries ago, looked upon, from outside, very much as those regions of Newfoundland we have been describing, are now regarded by the outside world. If the latent possibilities of the former have developed so marvellously, in a few generations, may we not regard such an advance as a precedent for the progressive capabilities, at present dormant, in the comparatively small population who occupy this island.
> (Harvey, 1894: 204)

Another writer predicted that as a result of the "expansion, development and industrial prosperity", made possible by railway construction, Newfoundland would "take her place in the great commercial procession" led by Canada and the U.S.A. (History, 1901: 5-6). A decade later came the report that although Canada's advance had been wonderful, "Newfoundland has kept step with her in many respects", particularly in population and trade increases (*Golden Age*, 1910: 5; McGrath, 1911: 28).

This metropolis-hinterland vision of the future was part of the nationalist rallying cry of politicians of the period.[23] Promotional writers reflected this nationalism in phrases commending the sacrifices made for the railway (Harvey, 1900: 174), the "great and patriotic work of the making of Newfoundland" (Esmonde, 1910: 18) and the colony's new international prominence. However, the nationalism was usually expressed in terms of Newfoundland becoming a more legitimate and important British colony than before. One writer hoped that its resources, "when properly developed, will make

Newfoundland one of the most prosperous of Britain's colonies" (Morison, 1890: 695). Harvey 1897: 157) proudly announced that "42,000 square miles of territory have been added to Britain's Colonial Empire by the new railway system." The British writer, Fane (1892: 7), was equally enthusiastic, predicting that "the people of England will recognise that in their oldest Colony they have a possession second to none in the Empire." McGrath (1897: 122) anticipated that Britain would perceive great "strategical value" in the railway passing through coal and iron deposits, sufficient to establish a naval station on the island, "to add a new tower of strength to Britain's already powerful defenses in North America."

The writer's visions of national autonomy were delimited not only by the imperial link but also by the general call to foreign capital. Capitalists were invited, as we have seen, to avail themselves of land, labour and infrastructure on easy terms. Writers celebrated the arrival of each new enterprise, real or prospective, and they expressed faith in the power of industrial capital from abroad to create a thriving nation as a by-product of achieving its own objectives (Esmonde, 1910: 19; Harvey, 1897: vii; E. Morris, 1910: 8; Prowse, 1905b: 1-4, 155):

> Capitalists in increasing numbers are finding their way to [Newfoundland's] shores every season. It is attracting deserved attention in the marts of commerce, and in the places where captains of industry and the progressive spirits of the age plan new conquests.
> (McGrath, 1911: 28)

Newfoundland was said to present "a most favourable field . . . for the employment of capital, which, if judiciously employed, cannot fail to secure a good return" (Collins, 1898: 20). A.N.D. Co. executive Northcliffe (1910: 23-24) reported that the company's investment was attracting attention to a

colony previously "neglected by the tide of capital and immigration." Another writer asserted that "the opening up of new industries . . . gives evidence of a manifestation of faith in the possibilities of the country in other lines" (Nurse, 1911: 32).

New Employment, Net Emigration and Prosperity

Introduction

This section deals with the way writers described new employment opportunities, immigration and emigration, new prosperity and progress. The emphasis is on the period after fisheries recovery in the late 1890's, through the first decade of the century, when this prosperity was heightened by the success of the major resource companies.

During this boom period, opportunities for employment and enterprise opened up in resource extraction, construction, manufacturing, trade, services and public adminstration. Recovery in the fisheries eased the problem of unemployment in that sector. People also frequently migrated seasonally to industries in Canada and the U.S.A. to supplement their incomes at home. However, although net emigration declined somewhat, it was still high, averaging over 1000 people per year from a total population estimated at 221,000 in 1901 (Alexander, 1976: 63: Mannion, 1977: 13).

There was also an improvement in standard of living. An enlarged revenue, combined with pressure from the F.P.U., urban trade unions and other groups, led successive governments to introduce some reforms. Improvements were made in education, social welfare and public works, and the tariff was reduced or cancelled on many imported necessities (Noel, 1971: 58, 88, 98-100, 112; *R.C.*, 1934: 39). Still, the income disparities remained

great, and the majority lived on small incomes (still mostly in kind), with little security against the next inevitable slump (Alexander, 1976: 69, 72-74; *R.C.*, 1934: 39).

New Employment Sources

Promotional writers were fond of reporting, and envisioning, new sources of employment in resource extraction for a population outgrowing the fisheries. Agriculture, the subject of much hope but fewer reports of success, took second place to resource industries in these reports. The "new resource industries manned by dusty Newfoundlanders" (Esmonde, 1910: 19), had "created new avenues of labour, enlarged the demand for workmen, and compelled an increase in the rate of wages" (*Golden Age*, 1910: 18). James (1910: 5-6) reported that the colony had a total of 300 factories (of various kinds) employing 4000 men. Prowse (1971: 545), reporting recent developments in coal exploration, anticipated that "employment will be given to our labouring population, not only in the mines, but also in pulp factories and the manufacture of paper from wood."

Most later writers did not express fear, as did Fane (1893: 488), that railway employment would only be short-term, and that unless much new industry was created, there would be serious unemployment and a mass return to the already swollen labour force in the fisheries. Less than a decade later, it appeared that the need would eventually be fulfilled. The Reid Company interests had expanded, creating more jobs in construction, maintenance, services and its minor resource enterprises. New, "labour-absorbing", resource industries had arrived, partly through the efforts of Reid, and these were grounds for optimism (*Golden Age*, 1910: 11; McGrath, 1911: 23-24; E. Morris, 1910: 8-10; Our Great Developer, 1909: 6; Prowse, 1905b: 1-2, 149).

For example, one writer hailed Reid for their success in attracting A.N.D. Co., whose mill and timber operations were an important employment centre:

> What an effect this must necessarily have on our labour problem! What a sweet solace these avenues of industry will present to the "Labrador man" who has had a poor voyage! And what a relief to overcrowded sections of industry will be given by this new outlet for our labourers and mechanics!
>
> (Our Great Developer, 1909: 6)

Premier Morris (1910) anticipated that the industry would expand, employing people in the thousands, "with the subsequent disbursement of large sums amongst them for wages and otherwise" (p. 8). His justification of the law prohibiting raw timber exports included the declaration that people would benefit from the labour provided in the colony (p. 8.).

The Bell Island mines were also the subject of enthusiastic comments about new employment, from Harvey (1900: 85-86) and from the *Golden Age* pamphlet:

> . . . within easy reach of the chief centres of population, the mines have become a stand-by for thousands of fishermen, who after the close of the cod-catching in the autumn, and again in the spring before the sealfishery begins, find employment in these workings at good wages, and hundreds labor there all through the winter, in addition to which there is a permanent force engaged the whole year round.
>
> (*Golden Age*, 1910: 11)

Because much of the resource and infrastructure work was performed by fishermen in the off-season, it delivered some of them from the winter's "enforced idleness" decried by Harvey (1894: 202). Writers rarely described this resource work in detail. Harvey (1900: 119, 181-186) and McGrath (1911: 106) described the labour in the iron mines, particularly the apparent ease

with which the ore was broken up and loaded from the quarries. Harvey provided photographs and sketches of the men working.

The mines were a boost to the heavily populated Conception Bay area, where the problem of unemployment was most serious due to the growth limits of the cod fishery, stagnation in sealing and a decline in shipbuilding and other artisan activity. The railway had been drawing labour from this area, but now, hundreds had the opportunity of steady mining work, albeit seasonally: the company preferred to hire separate shifts of men on a six-month basis, as it kept labour costs down. The men would work a shift and then, if possible, work in the fishery, sealing or in the woods at other times of the year. However, an increasing number of them gave up other occupations and depended solely on mining (Overton, 1978: 109; *R.C.*, 1934: 156-158).

Mill and woods workers also came from the railway and the fisheries. Much skilled labour was imported. The pulp companies paid contractors to hire woods workers, with the latter paying about half their wages back for board, transport and medical fees. Except for the mill workers, the labour force was seasonal and migratory, and many men returned to the fisheries in the summer. This conformed to the pattern already set in the iron mines, and it was favoured by companies in many resource peripheries at the time, as it kept costs down (Fay, 1956: 194; Overton, 1978: 109; *R.C.*, 1934: 38, 141-145).

Immigration and Emigration

Several writers expressed optimism that the opening of the hinterland would result in a large population increase due in part to immigrants induced to come by prosperity and new industries (Collins, 1898: 20; Fane,

1892: 7; Harvey, 1897: 157-158).

However, the British emigrants' handbook referred to earlier demonstrated that the colony had not, by 1914, done enough to enable immigrants to come in great numbers. The author thus tried to discourage prospective emigrants with little money. His words to the potential farmer of small means have already been recorded (p. 113 of this thesis). He extended the warning to others, in the following:

> It cannot be said that there is at present any favourable opening for artisans or miners, but the extension of mining operations may lead to a demand later on. There is considerable demand for female servants.
> (Paton, 1914: 12)

McGrath (1903: 633) tried to turn the low immigration rates to good account in a boast that the colony "without the aid of any immigration whatever has shown a higher centesimal increase of population the past ten years than the neighboring Dominion of Canada." In a similar vein, the *Golden Age* pamphlet (1910: 14) discussed low immigration--and the additional problem of high emigration--in terms of the prosperity which had been achieved despite these difficulties.

The problem of high emigration was not discussed at length. Several writers did try to present the phenomenon in a positive way, as in the above example. Harvey, describing the quality of life of fishing families, argued the following:

> Their passionate attachment to the land of their birth, their love for it when settled in other lands and their frequent longings to return--all indicate that their life has been on the whole a happy one.
> (Harvey, 1894: 203)[24]

In 1900, the passage was shortened to this effect:

> One marked feature in their character is their passionate attachment to the land of their nativity.
>
> (Harvey, 1900: 151)

Perhaps Harvey decided to remove the suggestion that people wished to return home but were prevented by lack of employment opportunities.

Also in a positive vein, a British mining promoter noted the enterprise exhibited by the "young men and maidens who abandon their country to seek their fortunes in Canada and the United States." He expressed hope that emigration would cease as inland development got underway (Collins, 1898: 14). On the other hand, a writer promoting the Salmonier region appeared to blame the problem of emigration on a lack of individual enterprise at home:

> A pleasing sign . . . is the very laudable ambition which every man [in Salmonier] has--to get a boat of his own. This is the right spirit, as it checks the emigration tendency which has already done so much towards depopulating Newfoundland.
>
> (O'Reilly, 1901: 3)

Progress and Prosperity

Writers also reported on recent progress in general. Baedeker (1907: 107) reported that progress since the mid-19th century had been "steady and substantial", and that "civilizing influences" had been at work. Those writing at the end of the first decade of the 20th century were especially euphoric. James (1910: 5-8) reported that, contrary to opinion abroad, the colony was now rich in capital. He cited the value of buildings (and rents obtained from them), all fishing vessels, personal savings in banks and capital invested in resource industries. This was the colony's "Golden Age", according to the pamphlet of the same name (1910: 13-18), brought about by

the policy of railway development. The writer declared that the wisdom of this policy had been demonstrated by the ensuing prosperity: "bounteous" fisheries, good prices and success with minerals and timber had all "contributed towards a great industrial boom in the Island, and given an assurance of prosperity in the Colony not previously enjoyed by her" (pp. 14, 18). Others, as we have seen, also attributed prosperity to the railway (pp. 89-91 of this thesis).

McGrath (1911: 25-27) wrote at length on the causes of this "really marvellous" advancement, citing the Reid Company activities as a catalyst to outport fish trade, the Bell Island mines with their large payroll and up-to-date technology and the pulp mills which had put the colony "in the forefront of the world's pulp-wood industries". He concluded:

> As a fruit of these developments and others, less important perhaps, but not without their influences, the change in this great Island becomes all the more striking every year. Its winter is now over and gone, and the cheering summer is with the people at last.
> (McGrath, 1911: 27-28)

Recent prosperity was said to have greatly improved the people's standard of living, general material welfare and personal savings. This was attributed not only to more employment, trade and better fish prices, but also to increased government revenue from the tariff, timber licences and mining royalties. The government was thus able to reduce the tariff rate and to spend more on public works and social services (*Golden Age*, 1910: 5, 10, 14; McGrath, 1903: 632, 1911: 207; E. Morris, 1910: 4-5; Prowse, 1905b: 153-154).

One writer attempted to treat the net emigration figures as an asset, saying that while the population had grown ten per cent in each decade from

1890, government revenue had doubled, allowing a great per capita rise in the standard of living (*Golden Age*, 1910: 9, 14).

Perhaps inspired by reports abroad that the colony's high railway debt would be its ruin, the *Golden Age* pamphlet (1910: 8, 18-19) alleged that public debt was lower per capita than that of Canada's Maritime Provinces. It would be easily paid off, according to the writer, with the help of import duties on construction materials for new branch lines, as well as through the general economic boom made possible by the railway. Another writer admitted that people were being taxed heavily for the railway, but he anticipated that this would end with the expected revenue increases from resource industries (History, 1901: 6).

The *Golden Age* pamphlet (1910: 9-10) announced the recent People's Party government "policy of progress", consisting of new developments in infrastructure, agriculture, fisheries, inland resource extraction and home manufacturing. The government intended, "by concerted, well-directed and unceasing action to promote the advancement along all avenues of endeavour, of the colony itself, and of those who dwell within its borders" (p. 10).

McGrath (1911: 28) asserted that the future was "destined to be still more remarkable." The island would soon be a "hive of industry" (Prowse, 1905b: 145), with "a bright future in store" (Prowse, 1971: 549).[25] Although it had received bad treatment in the past, one wrote, it would soon "nevertheless triumph in both trade and industry" (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 18). New resource industries would eventually cause Newfoundland to be "known and recognized as something more than a synonym for 'cod, fog and ice'" (Nurse, 1911: 32). The rhetoric in the following passage is typical:

> . . . just now the Colony is at the dawn of another period of what it is hoped will prove

> an era of even greater prosperity and widen the scope of the industrial activities and the economic advantages of the people.
> (*Golden Age*, 1910: 9)

Former Premier Whiteway (1897: xvii-xviii) expressed "every confidence" in the country's future. Premier E. Morris (1910: 11) declared that industrial prosperity would enable the people "to become steadily more comfortable, contented, and well-to-do." Judge Prowse (1971: 550) fervently wished that Newfoundland would "have every success, that her sons and daughters may grow and multiply, that their garners may be full with all manner of store."

Assessment of the Staples Economy

The massive debt accumulation by the late 1890's was apparently not cause for alarm to these writers, who weighed it against the prospect of rapid economic growth. The colony appeared to be freeing itself from dependence on one export staple. Mineral and timber industries had caused the fisheries to decline in relative importance, but the latter had also recovered, absorbing more labour and restoring profits and revenue. These developments were grounds for unmitigated optimism among the political-commercial elite. However, there still remained the challenge of making this prosperity more lasting and widespread in the society as a whole.

In the resource industries, this would have required spreading the benefits of foreign investment to other economic sectors. However, the effects of legislative inducements worked in the opposite direction. Public control over vast land areas was lost, and resource enclaves were created with few linkages to the secondary sector. Taxation on resource industries brought in minimal revenue, and there were few moves to direct revenue

towards domestic industrial development. The resource enclaves created some local employment and an expansion of the tertiary sector, and they added significantly to export value. But long-term benefits to the domestic economy were slight, because of the lack of local participation. The export-led growth strategy replaced "a domestically owned and controlled one-product economy with a largely foreign owned and controlled three-product economy" (Alexander, 1974: 11).

The colony was now also making large payments abroad for the skills and technology used in infrastructure development (Alexander, 1976: 69). Financing the large public debt locked Newfoundland into the international finance network. Loans and interest had to be paid off not only by attracting more foreign investment, but also by imposing a heavier tariff on imports. This regressive taxation forced the small fishermen, still in the majority and the most important value-producing group, to carry the burden of debt through purchase of imported goods. Large resource firms, on the other hand, took little risk and many government handouts in the form of land grants, subsidies and tariff breaks. Small producers and labourers thus subsidized infrastructure development and resource enclaves, in which only a small percentage of them found employment.

The economy also faced the challenge of transforming the fisheries into a modern food industry--a process already occurring in other fishing countries. The inshore fishery was capable of growth through diversification of the catch and upgrading of the product, but this would have required technological and organizational improvements in catching and processing operations. More backward and forward linkages could have been provided in food processing and producer goods industries (Alexander, 1974: 13-18;

Joy, 1977: 10). More of the merchants' capital would have to be turned back to the inshore fishery in order to benefit the vast majority of the population and to give the economy a more solid base. Sager concludes the following, with respect to the merchants' actual response to this challenge:

> The neglect and decline of Newfoundland's most valuable resource industry was fully consistent with the interests of the merchant class. There may be no specific lesson about entrepreneurship here; but there is a forceful reminder of the gulf that has existed between the private interests of this island's merchant community and the welfare of its major industry and its people.
> (Sager, 1978: 31)

Reforms were proposed by the F.P.U., the Department of Marine and Fisheries officials and other individuals, but these advocates of fisheries development were unable to obtain the necessary popular support and government intervention to bring about change. Their efforts to do so were repeatedly defeated by a powerful mercantile opposition. Moreover, alliances between the radical F.P.U. and other reform groups were frail, weakening the movement as a whole.

In considering the euphoric statements made in this chapter about inland and fisheries potential, it must be borne in mind that the inshore fishery remained virtually unchanged--despite the fact that it was the basis of the economy and that its sudden recovery was the main reason for prosperity in the early 20th century. Its neglect was all the more serious because the inland resource boom only materialized in a sporadic manner. The colony was left with scattered enclaves, an expensive railway, a small, protected manufacturing sector and a stagnating fishing industry unable to meet new international demands for variety.

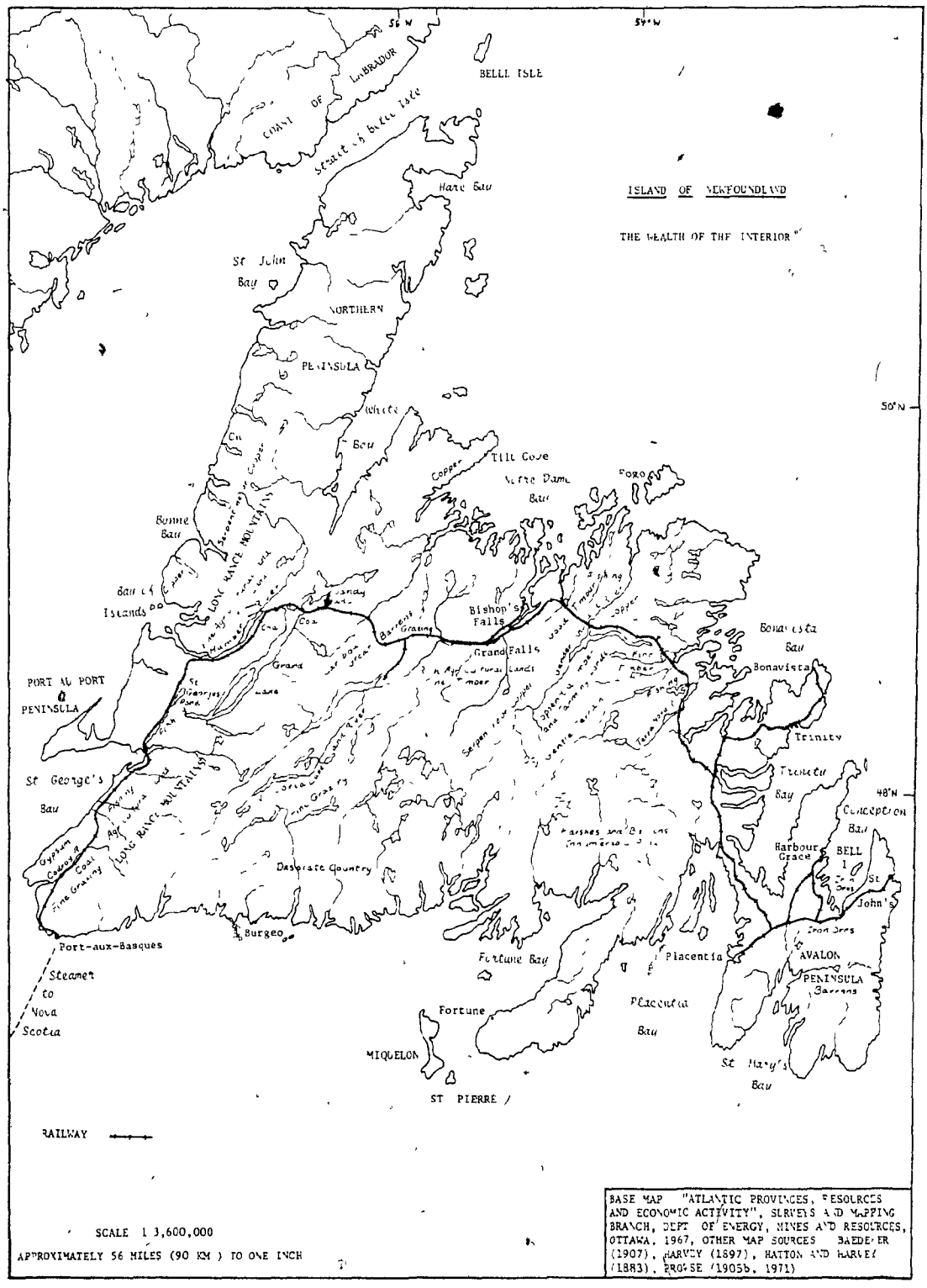

Figure 1: Map Based on Promoters' Maps of Inland Wealth, Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries

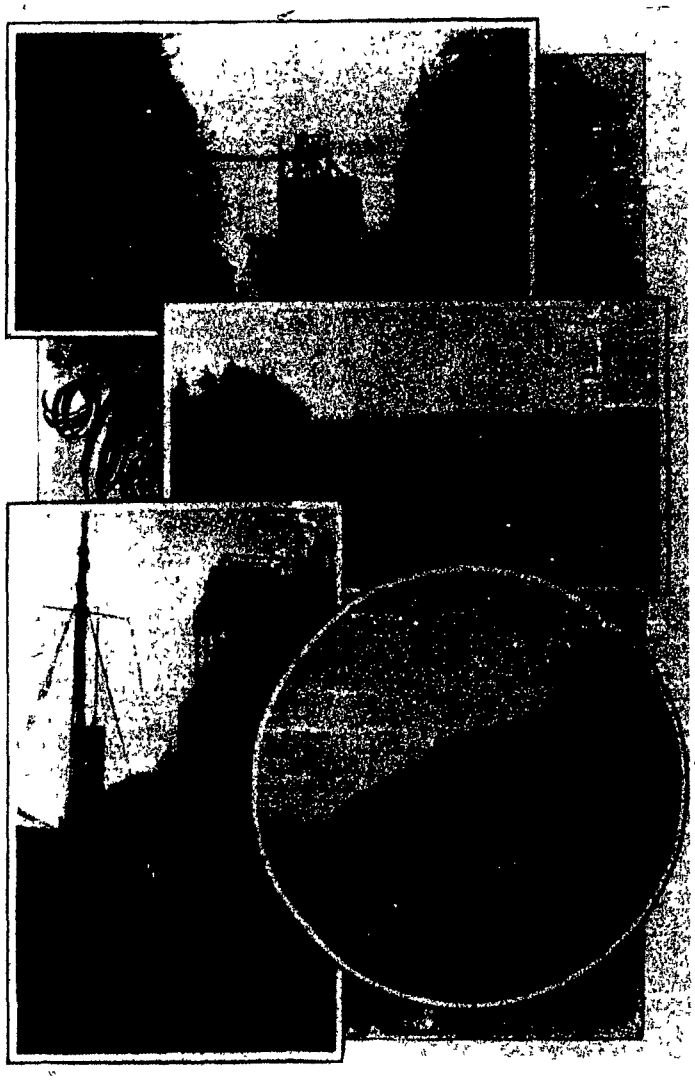

Figure 2: "Bell Island"

(Source: Harvey, 1900:182)

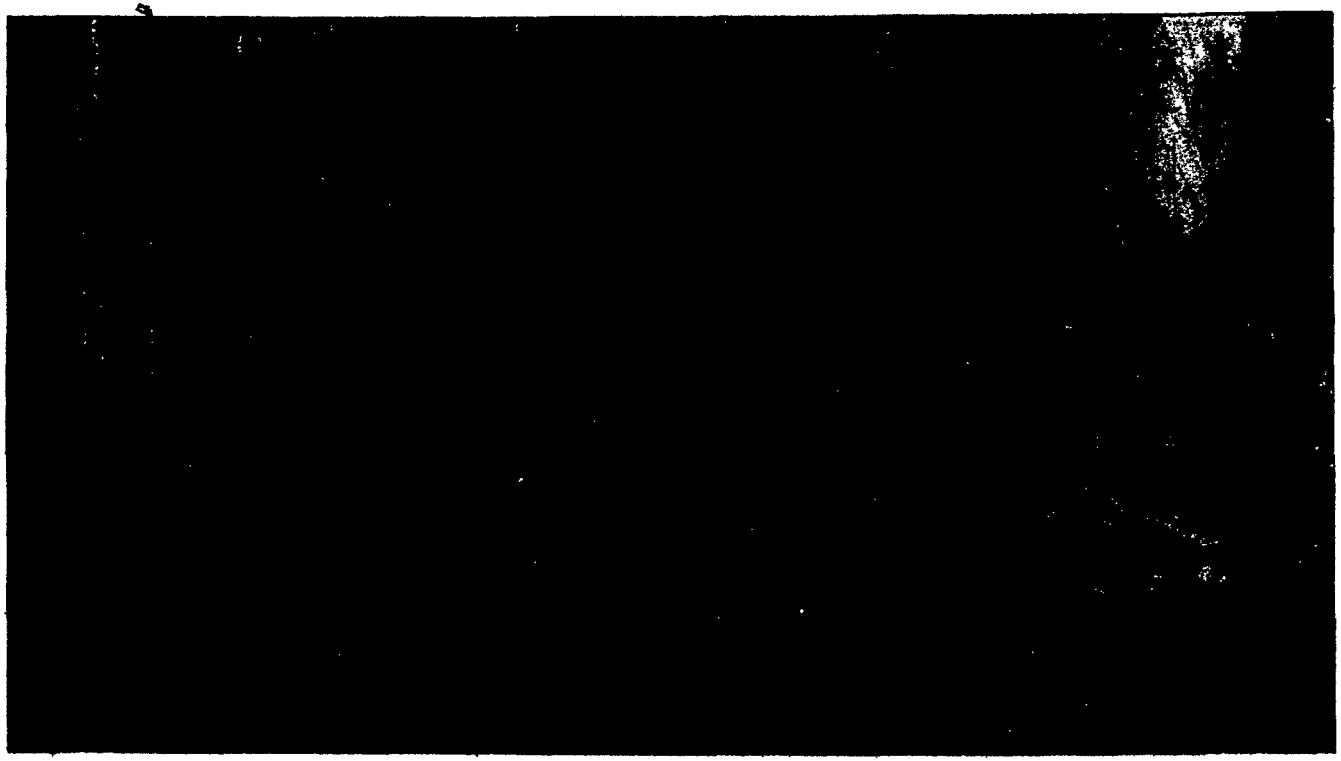

Figure 3: "Forest near Grand Falls"

(Source: McGrath, 1911:face 113)

Figure 4: "Sunset on the Humber"

(Source: Harvey, 1900:71)

Figure 5: "Country Scene"

(Source: Harvey, 1900:82)

Figure 6: "The Humber River"

(Source: McGrath, 1911:face 145)

Notes

[1]According to MacKay (1946: 511-521), the quinquennial average export value of *all marine products* was about $9.78 million for 1906-10, 84.4% of the colony's average total export value of about $11.59 for the same period. The figure for 1911-15 was about $10 million, 74% of the average total export value of about $13.55 million. Average export value for *all cod products* was about $8.07 million for 1906-10, and about 8.23 million for 1911-15. Exports of *dried cod* averaged $7.65 million and $7.58 million respectively. (See Appendix, Tables IV and V, this thesis). Alexander (1974: 17) reports that in 1913, Newfoundland's salted cod was worth about $8.07 million and Norway's about $13.11 million.

[2]The text of pages 578 to 618 were written by the compilers, James R. Thoms and F. Burnham Gill, who updated the *History* to 1907, in keeping with Prowse's original intention for a third edition. See Prowse, 1971: ix-x.

[3]Thoms and Gill. See note 2.

[4]Thoms and Gill. See note 2.

[5]Thoms and Gill. See note 2.

[6]James (1910: 6) reported that over $11.5 million had been invested in the mines by 1910. According to MacKay (1946: 511-512), the quinquennial average export value of mineral products was about $1.39 million for 1906-10, 11.99% of the colony's average total export value of about $11.59 for the same period. The figure for 1911-15 was about $1.33 million, 9.8% of the average total export value of about $13.55 million. (See Appendix, Table IV, this thesis). Joy (1977: 12-13) cites census figures indicating that the per capita value of minerals was $2.81 in 1891 and $5.20 in 1911.

[7]This part of the "Report" bears a striking resemblance to an article by Sir William MacGregor, once Governor of Newfoundland, entitled, "Business Possibilities in Labrador", and cited in McGrath (1911: 178).

[8]It was financed with the commercial capital of John J. Harvey. Water supply problems forced the 1903 closure. See Thoms (1967: 420-421).

[9]Thoms and Gill. See note 2.

[10]E. Morris (1910: 8) reported that A.N.D. Co. represented invested capital of about $6 million with an estimated daily output of 240 tons of pulp and paper. According to MacKay (1946: 511-512), the quinquennial average export value of mineral products was $294,786 for 1906-10, 2.54% of the colony's average total export value of about $11.59 for the same period. The figure for 1911-15 was about $1.98 million, 14.61% of the average total export value of about $13.55 million. (See Appendix, Table IV, this thesis). The large jump was due to pulp and paper production. Joy (1977: 12) states that the per capita value of lumber production rose from $0.60 in 1884 to $2.73 in 1911.

[11]Thoms and Gill. See note 2.

[12]Thoms and Gill. See note 2.

[13]Figures based on the census show that land in cultivation increased from 66 square miles in 1891 to 115 square miles in 1901, and the number of farmers increased from 1,547 to 2,475 in the same period (McGrath, 1911: 225; Rogers, 1911: 182). However, Joy (1977: 12) cites an estimate to the effect that agricultural acreage was only 0.28 acres per capita in 1874 and 0.46 acres per capita in 1911. There was a small export component, averaging $7,425 for 1906-10 and $14,753 for 1911-15 (MacKay, 1946: 512).

[14]The Newfoundland and Labrador environment was the subject of increased scientific interest in the late 19th century, attracting geologists, paleontologists and botanists. The turn of the century also witnessed many northern land and sea expeditions, in which amateur explorers took part, and these captured the interest of the reading public. The Victorian and Edwardian person of means was also encouraged to develop a scientific hobby which could be pursued in travel.

Direct reference to the attraction of Newfoundland for the amateur scientist were rare in the literature examined. Harvey (1900: 35-36) included testimonials of visiting scientists. Baedeker (1907: 115) mentioned that the Port au Port Peninsula on the West Coast had become the "paradise of geologists". (Grenfell, 1905: 107) wrote that in Labrador, geology, botany and mineralogy could be pursued everywhere. Some works mentioned well-known expeditions into the Labrador interior (Baedeker, 1907: 107; Harvey, 1900: 166). The scientific aspect of tourism was exploited more extensively in the 1920's.

[15]A similar version of this can be found in Reid (c. 1910: 5) and Prowse (1904: 540).

[16]For example, one sportsman, called them "capable men, good 'packers', and keen on sport" (Prichard, 1905: 50). Another declared that "the two men I had with me . . . were the best of guides and companions: always willing and cheerful, and never tired of hard work and cold water" (Selous, 1905: 55). Prowse (1905: 2-3), conceding that the Newfoundland guide was "not as picturesque as the Scottish counterpart", declared him to be invaluable all the same.

[17]This is surmised from examination of colonial Revenue Reports listing deer licences, as well as the occasional remark in Fisheries, and Marine and Fisheries, Department *Reports*, all in the *JHA* from 1893 to 1909. After 1909, some information is available in Game and Inland Fisheries Board, *Reports*, also in *JHA*.

[18]An idea of the range of commercial interest in sport and other kinds of tourism was gained from reading advertisements in the *Newfoundland Quarterly* for the period.

[19]See also Esmonde (1910: 17).

[20]The *First Annual Report* of the Newfoundland Board of Trade (1910: 15-16) announced the formation of a tourist committee composed of Board members. Its main function would be to promote the construction of a publically-financed hotel in St. John's, and, at a later time, smaller hotels along the railway.

[21]Reid Newfoundland Co. participated in the 1906 Sportsman's Exhibit in New York City, according to the *JHA Report* just cited.

[22]Perhaps in the form of loan guarantees to small service entrepreneurs.

[23]Confederation with Canada was only considered briefly by some of them, working mainly behind the scenes with Canadian corporate and political interests. The intrigue was never carried far because of longstanding opposition in the colony (Noel, 1971: 41-44, 48-49, 58, 62-63).

[24]Virtually the same passage appears in Harvey. 1897: 162.

[25]See also Prowse (1911: 11-14).

CHAPTER FIVE

CLASS, COMMUNITY AND THE NEWFOUNDLAND CHARACTER

Introduction

Chapter Four was concerned with descriptions of natural resources and the potential for economic development. Chapter Five complements this picture by examining the writers' portrayals of classes, communities and people. This complement is necessary, in part because people were themselves potential resources, capable of being mobilized in the development of tourism and new primary industries. Writers accordingly emphasized human aspects of interest and utility to the potential tourist or investor. However, added to this promotional orientation was a wider ideological one which also had a bearing on the way Newfoundland was represented abroad. Newfoundland society was depicted in the language of upper middle class ideologies which shaped the opinions of writer and reader alike. The resulting selective picture was significant in that many of the writers were major purveyors of information on Newfoundland to a reading public abroad. Moreover, the Newfoundland writers frequently put forward their own conceptions of the society and the nation's priorities as if they were speaking for all of its citizens.

Although writers purported to be describing Newfoundland as a whole, most of their information pertained to rural communities and fishing families. This is hardly surprising, since these were the dominant features of

Newfoundland life, the object of greatest interest abroad and the greatest potential human resource. However, writers were describing a way of life of which they had little or no everyday experience. The class which received the most "press"--fishermen--were without the means to speak for themselves.

Not all writers who commented on society and people did so with promotional intent. For those who did, several purposes were evident from their writings. A general one was to dispel the reports of poverty and backwardness circulating abroad, by describing prosperous and harmonious communities of industrious fishermen, happy with their lot in life but catching up to the modern world.

There were also two more specific promotional purposes. One was to appeal to the potential tourist by fitting the fisherman, and the outport society, into popular romantic notions of community. Writers described traditional values, folkways and quaint landscapes, offering the outport as a refuge for the urban "brain-worker". The other purpose was to advertise a politically and socially stable society anticipating industrial development, and a potential industrial labour force of diligent and skilled ex-fishermen willing to work for low wages. These were important components of the colony's comparative advantage in resource extraction.

A wider ideological framework stemmed from the aforementioned distance between writer and subject matter. Although many writers appeared to sympathize with the majority who fished for a living--or to feel a certain national pride in this way of life--the class and rural-urban differences caused them to rely for their understanding on familiar stereotypes of labouring masses the world over. These stereotypes were not just convenient labels in the face of ignorance. They were ideological categories by which

the upper middle class fit its own "peasantry" into the view of social hierarchy predominant in Western European culture. The fisherman was situated, scientifically and morally, within a social order explained by the determinisms of heredity, environment and technology. Moreover, economic and cultural distance permitted a degree of romanticism, a vision of idyllic rural simplicity and contact with nature which appealed to a privileged urban class in search of its roots. Needless to say, this scientific, moral and romantic stereotyping also served to make of the fisherman an entity recognizable to a foreign readership.

Other classes in the colony, both rural and urban, were given far less treatment. However, even the scanty information provided showed the same tendency to stereotype, again in accord with accepted characters and roles in a bourgeois social order. By this means, they too were made familiar and legitimate for readers abroad.

Classes

Most writers did not discuss class structure and relations in any detail. Their attitudes toward the colony's class system are revealed through scattered remarks on each class, on the system of exchange between merchant and fisherman and on the causes of economic disparity. Harvey did feel it necessary to inform his readers that there was "no distinction of ranks other than that arising from wealth, education or official or professional position" (Harvey, 1897: 161, 1900: 149-150).

Fane (1893: 488) reported in 1893 that there were few wealthy people, and that these consisted mostly of government officials, lawyers and merchants in St. John's. Harvey (1900: 150) described the upper class as consisting of "officials of the Government, Members of the Legislature, judges, clergy.

merchants, doctors, lawyers and wealthy individuals who have retired from business."

According to Harvey (1900: 150), the country's native capitalists were the big merchants, "vitally important to the interests of the community and the prosecution of the staple industries on which the bulk of the people depend for a subsistence." Prowse (1971: 527) reminded his readers that "a fishery business like ours is a most precarious enterprise. . . . occasional large profits are a necessity in such an exceedingly risky business." McGrath was less charitable towards them, in the following passage:

> The "merchants" are the descendants of the early "merchant adventurers" who exploited the newly founded colony. Like their forefathers, they still import practically all that the colonists eat and wear and use, and export all the fish that they catch. Twenty of these merchants monopolize the trade of the island to-day as completely as their forefathers did two or three centuries ago.
> (McGrath, 1903: 618)

Merchants were sometimes mentioned by name, in connection with particular advances in the fishing industry or investments in mineral and timber companies. So were the big foreign capitalists such as Reid and Northcliffe, as well as professionals with some particular distinction (Harvey, 1897: 81, 194, 1900: 126, 169-174, 192; McGrath, 1911: 24, 29-35, 176-177; Our Great Developer, 1909: 6; Prowse, 1905b: 1-2).

Comments about the Reid engineering firm reflected the writers' excitement about the potential for a new class of resident industrial capitalists. The Reid family was praised for "their ever-ready interest in all matters that stand for the betterment of our conditions" (Our Great Developer, 1909: 6). Another writer commended their charitable donations, pronouncing them to be more responsible than the many (presumably merchants) who had made

their fortunes in the colony and left (Newfoundlander, 1912: 9-11). Others spoke of their qualities as representative of the modern capitalists--courage, business acumen, foresight and willingness to take risks (History, 1901: 5-6; McGrath, 1911: 25). They were praised for promoting and initiating many enterprises, for infusing the people with a new spirit of enterprise and providing opportunities for its realization (*Golden Age*, 1910: 11; McGrath, 1911: 23-25; Our Great Developer, 1909: 6). One British writer was slightly less euphoric. Although favourable about their "ample capital, large experience, and great business ability", he expressed doubts that such a monopoly would always stimulate domestic enterprise (Collins, 1898: 15-16).

The middle class was described by Harvey in the following:

> The middle class is composed of the newer merchants, importers, commission agents, shopkeepers, tradesmen, farmers, *and that large class who, by industry and economy, have acquired a modest competence.*
>
> (Harvey, 1900: 150, emphasis added)

Since this "shield of society", as he called it, was most infused with "the sentiment of progress" and "the desire for the development of the resources of the island", their steady growth was guaranteeing a good future for the country (p. 150).

Harvey's list of middle class occupations appears to have distinguished this class from most fishermen, except for those who were unusually prosperous, perhaps owning a schooner, hiring a number of share labourers, moving into trading--in other words, becoming skippers, planters or merchants. In the following, McGrath suggests the requirements for true middle class status as a fisherman:

> The Newfoundland fisherman's highest ambition in life is to be the skipper, and. if possible, onwer of his schooner. . . . No mortal can be

> prouder of material advancement than is the Newfoundlander who becomes a "schooner holder." In this craft he can carry on the fishery, freight goods to and from St. John's, convey herring to Nova Scotia and produce back to his home.
>
> (McGrath, 1903: 632)

Farmers were also considered middle class, perhaps because many of them invested more capital in their operations and were subject to less merchant control than the fishermen. The yeoman farmer was held in high esteem as the potential basis of a lasting economic development. This stemmed partly from the need, perceived by many writers, to substitute domestic food production for imports. It was also related to the positive images, rooted in British culture, of farming as opposed to fishing for a living.

The small urban working class was rarely discussed. One writer declared that they were better off than the fishermen (Fane, 1893: 488). Workers in the new resource industries, in rural mining and pulp towns, were also generally characterized as well-paid and comfortable (Carroll, 1906: 17-18; *Golden Age*, 1910: 18; J. Howley, 1907: 3; McGrath, 1911: 85-90; O'Reilly, 1901: 3). Harvey (1900: 150) reported that "the working classes generally welcome the prospect of new industries for the support of themselves and their children, knowing that the fisheries alone are insufficient to maintain their increasing numbers."

For Harvey, at any rate, fishermen were part of the working classes. Fishing families were given more treatment than any other economic group. This class, constituting the vast majority of people, the productive base and potential industrial labour force, was also of greatest interest to the outside world, representing the typical Newfoundlander.

An important issue in the description of this class was its standard of living, as affected by the exclusive production of one staple in exchange for imports. Writers often compared the exclusive fishing occupation with that of part- or full-time farming. As we have seen, some asserted that farmers were invariably more prosperous and secure than fishermen (Fane, 1893: 488; Northcliffe, 1910: 25; J. Howley, 1907: 3). Fane, writing in a depression period and concerned primarily with the colony's inland resources, presented an unfavourable view of those engaged in fishing:

> The people are, for the most part, very poor, and live from hand to mouth, having no support outside the fishery. . . . The few who have turned their attention to the cultivation of the soil are in much better circumstances.
> (Fane, 1893: 488)

The land company promoter noted that fishermen's standard of living was highly variable, and that the farming life was far preferable (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 15-17).

Another view was taken by McGrath: although the fishing life was simple, the industry was dependable and "self-insuring":

> It is so varied, is spread over such a large extent of coast, and is prosecuted under such a diversity of conditions, that the fishermen as a class must encounter a very phenomenal year indeed in its misfortunes to deprive them of an average sea harvest.
> (McGrath, 1903: 632)

This generalization conveniently skirted the fact that "an average sea harvest" was meaningless to those suffering hardships from failures in particular localities.

The preponderance of those whose only occupation was fishing, apart from a kitchen garden, was explained by two writers in a basically positive way. One declared that exclusive fishing, and high dependence on imports,

was

> . . . a clear proof either that they find fishing a more profitable vocation than farming and manufacturing, or that their aptitudes and environment better adapt them for the fishing industry.
> (J. Murray, 1896: 462)

The other explained that hundreds of years of experience proved that "it pays the settlers better to catch fish than grow foodstuffs or venture into manufacturing" (McGrath, 1903: 632).

Both writers reported, however, that the life of fishing was much improved by households with substantial gardens and some animals (McGrath, 1903: 631; J. Murray, 1896: 462). Harvey (1900: 150) declared that those who farmed as well as fished were "invariably the most independent and comfortable of their class." Reports on the prosperity of the growing number of fishermen-farmers were even more glowing in the following decade (*Golden Age*, 1910: 7; McGrath, 1911: 179; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 16).

Some writers conceded that the fishing life was not an easy one, but rather, "stern", "dreary" and lacking in comforts (McGrath, 1903: 631; I. Morris, 1901: 19-20; J. Murray, 1896: 463; Nurse, 1911: 32). Labour in the fisheries was described as hard, severe and incessant, very heavy, strenuous, toilsome and dangerous (Fane, 1893: 480; Harvey, 1894: 202, 1900: 121, 126; McGrath, 1903: 628; J. Murray, 1896: 463; Nurse, 1911: 132). One writer declared that convicts in large prisons probably had "many more of the substantial comforts of life" (J. Murray, 1896: 463).

However, this class was said to have only minimal material needs and to be generally content with their lot. J. Murray (1896: 462) suggested this, in a description of the great quantity but limited range of imports consumed

by fishermen, explaining that "their habits are simple; their wants are primitive and few." McGrath described the regular diet of fish and a few staples, the luxury of sugar, milk and butter, the dependence on caribou and hares for meat, and concluded the following:

> They are simple and frugal in their habits and their wants are few. But they thrive all the more for this and their healthful outdoor exercises. . . .
>
> The great thing is that they love their calling, and though toil and tribulations are their portion, they bravely face its discomforts, and are happier, probably, in their unsophisticated way, than their more aggressive and striving fellows in larger communities.
>
> (McGrath, 1903: 631)

The fishing families were evidently to be judged by different standards which defined their poverty as a greater wealth. Romanticism of meagre diets and hard work created an image of simple, healthful living, contentment and lack of ambition. This was, by implication, far superior to the degrading effects of wealth and privilege: the fishermen did not suffer the over-indulgence, inactivity and aggressiveness which were the burden of the upper middle class.

The fishermen were also said to "compare favourably with the working classes of other countries" (McGrath, 1911: 207). Harvey also made this claim with the same romantic images of freedom, the outdoors and few material needs:

> On the whole, the fishermen of Newfoundland, though they have not much of this world's goods, compare not unfavorably as to their condition with the laboring classes of other countries. If, at times, they have privations and hardships they have many compensations for these in their free, open-air life, their robust health and their capabilites of enjoying simple pleasures. There is, perhaps, as much genuine happiness among them as among any similar number who toil for their daily bread.
>
> (Harvey, 1900: 150-151, 1897: 161-162)[1]

The *Golden Age* pamphlet (1910) made a more sweeping claim that probably no people elsewhere had "a more comfortable and contented existence than the Newfoundland fishermen" (p. 8), adding that fishermen were richer in personal savings than it might appear, since most, having no faith in banks, hoarded their money (p. 16). Another writer lamented the "erroneous idea prevalent in other countries" that poverty was widespread, since it discouraged tourism. He asserted that poverty was rare, and that "genuine destitution" was "practically unknown" in the colony. Nowhere could one find "a happier and more contented people on the whole" than Newfoundlanders, especially fishermen:

> It is not to be imagined that his sometimes scanty earnings can supply him at all times with luxuries, but he possesses what is worth far more, and that which is frequently not experienced by those who are accustomed to an abundance of life's goods nemely [sic], contentment.
>
> (Nurse, 1911: 32)

Fishing families were also said to be fortunate in having no other form of taxation than the tariff, and because most owned their own houses, they were not troubled with paying rents (*Golden Age*, 1910: 14, 18; McGrath, 1903: 630-631; J. Murray, 1896: 462). These writers apparently considered the tariff on imported goods to be of negligible importance, perhaps because it took proportionately less from their incomes than from those of the poor (MacKay, 1946: 25).

Besides standard of living, the independence of this class was also an important issue. J. Murray (1893: 463) considered it to be somewhat illusory, but he added that this "theoretical" freedom was prized more highly by fishermen "than the most gilded life of luxury and ease." Others considered

it to be quite real, and a compensation for hardships. Some referred to their ownership of boats, nets and the like, control over catching and curing and free access to timber, game, wild fruits and land for gardens (Harvey, 1894: 202-203; McGrath, 1903: 631; J. Murray, 1896: 462). This was typically described as in the following:

> They live on the coast, have virtually no rents to pay, can obtain abundant wood and water for nothing, and in these small hamlets other costly accessories are not required.
> (*Golden Age*, 1910: 8)

McGrath's (1903) discussion of independence tended to blur the distinctions among three classes--the fishing families in possession of small boats, the more prosperous fishermen, skippers and small traders owning schooners and, lastly, the large merchants, usually with fleets of schooners and steamers. He described fishermen as building and sailing their own crafts, killing and curing fish, then conveying the fish to market, sailing the vessels to many foreign ports (p. 630). He continued:

> Even if the *fisher-folk* do not always own their crafts wholly, they do so in part, and *in a corporate capacity own all the vessels and plants engaged in the fishery all around the island*; so that the men are in perpetual possession of all the essentials of life and living. For this reason they are, in connection with the other natural advantages of their situation, *among the most independent class of workers in the world.*
> (McGrath, 1903: 632, emphasis added)

J. Murray (1896: 462) created a similar ambiguity. He wrote that because fish was sold for cash in foreign markets, the Newfoundland buyers were "enabled to purchase all their requirements for food and clothing wherever the best value can be had". In the context of this article, the term "buyers"

appeared to refer to fishermen as well as merchants, but the former had, as indicated in this thesis, little chance of obtaining the "best value".

Truck System

In the few discussions of the truck system, the distinction between fisherman and trader was made clearer, and some evidence was provided of limitations on the fisherman's independence. For instance, McGrath (1903: 618) was far less ambiguous than in the previous passage, describing the merchants who supplied fishermen at the start of the season and took the catch at the end. However, he did not discuss its problems.

Harvey (1894) argued that the system usually worked well, affording the diligent fisherman a "snug balance" (p. 202) after a good season and credit after a bad one. The problem arose, according to him, only after a series of bad seasons when the fishermen were deeply in debt and the supplying merchants--having taken risks along with fishermen--were suffering as well. Harvey thus blamed the vagaries of the system on nature. He also apparently blamed the persistence of the system on fishermen, saying that merchants would much prefer to dispense with credit and pay in cash:

> . . . but the practice is deeply engrained, during bygone generations, in the habits and ideas of the people, and the bulk of them are too poor to dispense with advances. . . . The present class of merchants are not accountable for a system which originated when the fisheries were first worked and is the growth of many generations. They can only get rid of it by slow degrees.
> (Harvey, 1894: 202-203)

Wingfield-Bonnyn, the agricultural land promoter with no particular interests in presenting the fishing economy in a favourable light, denounced the truck system as a condition of bondage for fishermen; however, his

explanation of it was vague:

> They may be termed slaves to their general fishing vocation on the share principle, and are kept in thraldom, servitude and debt by a pernicious "truck" system, which it is to be hoped may eventually be exterminated. . . . Fishermen should be paid the wages of their labour and the proportion of their shares, and left to supply themselves with the necessaries of life wherever and from whomsoever they list or choose. Anything in the shape of a *barter* of fish against dry goods and grocery supplies, should be left to their own *free* action and choice. Until such a method is carried out, the fishermen of Newfoundland will be worse off than the serfs in autocratic Russia.
>
> (Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 5)

Harvey (1900: 150) later dropped his 1894 discourse on the truck system, announcing merely that the system was "greatly curtailed". The *Golden Age* pamphlet (1910: 12) also announced the recent "curtailment of the antiquated 'supply system'". It remained, in fact, widespread (*R.C.*, 1934: 79-81).

Economic Disparity

Some of the writers provided implicit explanations for class differences, particularly for the existence of a large class of fishermen reputed in the outside world to be living in near-poverty and controlled by merchants. These explanations usually emerged from discussions of fisheries dependence, the truck system and, in some cases, public relief, and they often stressed industry, initiative and enterprise.

As indicated, some writers considered exclusive reliance on fishing to be a major cause of low living standards. Those with sufficient industry and initiative were supposedly able to become farmers as well, and to prosper. The difficulties in combining commercial farming with fishing--in terms of

capital and labour requirements--were either minimized or not discussed.

The other cause suggested was the stagnation of individual enterprise in the truck system. The virtual guarantee of credit on the one hand, and the frequent lack of reward for extra effort on the other, was said to inhibit this quality. Both Harvey and the *Golden Age* writer, in announcing the demise of the truck system, appeared to view lack of industry, thrift and initiative in fishermen as its major problematic effect. The *Golden Age* pamphlet (1910: 12) mentioned that the system had put merchants in control of fishermen, but the writer's main point was that its supposed curtailment had thrown fishermen "more on their own resources, induced them to greater energy and renewed effort, so that their catch being better cured, they profited all the more." Harvey was more concerned with improvidence:

> The fishermen are becoming more prudent and thrifty than formerly and a number of them can dispense with supplies on credit, and pay in cash for what they require.
> (Harvey, 1900: 150)[2]

Little was said of the role of merchants in suppressing the economic and political initiatives of fishermen, or of their interest in preserving the credit-barter system because of the ease of buying cheap and selling dear underneath its protective cover.

Fane (1893: 487), one of the English writers promoting the colony's mineral resources, reasoned in a similar way in reference to fishermen and labourers in general. Discussing public relief, he characterized the people as "rather lazy" due to circumstance: years ago, the population grew too large for the fisheries, and unemployment forced the people to look to the government for relief. The government, motivated by a "praiseworthy spirit of kindness", provided this relief but unfortunately became "too lavish",

helping able-bodied men without requiring labour in return. Fane blamed the relief system for dependence and lack of thrift, citing examples of men preferring relief to employment when the latter was available. He concluded:

> It is sad to see a fine hardy race of men thus demoralised by an iniquitous system, started years ago with the best intentions, but which is against the first principles of political economy.
> (Fane, 1893: 488)

In a similar vein, Prowse in his *History* (1971: 486-487, 495) applauded the government's attempt in 1868 to abolish relief to the able-bodied.

However, as will be seen in a later section, there was no shortage of praises for the fishermen's industry and skill at various tasks, even from the same writers above. Another writer, in fact, seemed to be countering allegations of laziness in the statement that "fishermen are an industrious class of men, and are never happier than when they are earning an honest dollar" (I. Morris, 1901: 20). However, another Englishman whose purposes were similar to Fane's, made it clear that industry was not enough. He described fishermen as "industrious enough when they find themselves in a groove, but, except in seafaring matters, possessed of very little initiative, and too ready to call upon the Government to do a great many things for them that they ought to do for themselves (Collins, 1898: 14). He wondered why there should be poverty in outports when the residents had abundant and free homestead land, fishing and wood at their disposal. He reported observing many idle fishermen, and was thus inclined to blame "the people's inertia", but it was a conclusion qualified by another observation: so many were emigrating in search of work, a move calling for a great deal of "energy and enterprise". "Evidently", he said, "they have, or fear, difficulties in securing the means of living at home" (p. 14).

These personal qualities of industry, thrift, initiative--the "spirit of enterprise"--were deemed necessary to gain competitive advantage in the struggle for existence. They were key concepts in social Darwinist and environmental determinist theories: differences in individuals, social groups and countries were explained in terms of innate or environmental characteristics which fostered success or failure. A scientific rationale was provided for those in a privileged position, enabling them to see peasants and wage labourers as resting in their rightful places in the struggle for survival (M. Harris, 1968: 108-141; Hobsbawm, 1975: 246-248, 254, 261-270).

Newfoundland writers did not, for the most part, question the prevailing conception of a natural order of "lofty and low". Fishermen as a class were, by aptitude, experience and environment, best suited to fishing, in need of the merchants' patronage and susceptible to periods of laziness, improvidence and dependence if not compelled to work steadily by a structure of rewards and sanctions. Only a few with special talents, initiative and the spirit of enterprise could rise from the lower ranks to become capitalists, professionals, traders or skippers.[3]

Social Welfare and Community Life

Many writers commented on Newfoundland's social institutions, and they attempted to convey a picture of the moral and social life of small communities. Among the features commonly mentioned were the system of government, the religious denominations and their schools and cathedrals, as well as various social and cultural organizations--orphanages, hospitals, debating societies, sports clubs and the like. Harvey and McGrath provided the most thorough accounts of their development and present condition.

Churches and other institutions were said to be "surprisingly fine

for a people whose average earnings for a family do not exceed $300 a year" (McGrath, 1903: 631), and charities were "everywhere liberally supported" (Harvey, 1900: 149). Harvey (1897: 159) described the "excellent" and improved denominational school system and the people's new appreciation of education. McGrath and Prowse were not so glowing. Prowse (1971: 549) admitted that the education system had not "done them justice", and McGrath (1903: 630) cited lack of education as their "greatest drawback. Children rarely get beyond the rudimentary stages; while in the smallest hamlets there are no schools at all." However, he minimized the bad effects of this, declaring that "this want of learning does not militate against them so seriously in this isolated region as it would in the great world abroad" (p. 630). He later reported that the spread of education and clergy to the outports had greatly improved social conditions (McGrath, 1911: 207).

Writers described the moral life supporting these institutions: stressing religious tolerance, hospitality, charity, mutual aid, law and order and social harmony in fishing communities. Harvey (1900: 149) noted "kindness to the poor and indigent", and McGrath (1911: 207) cited charity and aid to those in distress as "notable characteristics of all classes". McGrath characterized a spirit of mutual aid in the following:

> They are untainted with modern selfishness; if bad fisheries prevail the least poor will help their more destitute neighbors, until all are reduced to a common level of misery. In good times, they will give generously to those in distress or to charitable objects.
> (McGrath, 1903: 631)

Sobriety and respect for the law were also stressed. Prowse (1971: 549) stated that there was "no other country so free from crime". Harvey (1897: 160) declared, "The people are a law-abiding, orderly race. Serious

crime is rare." McGrath (1911: 206) asserted that the colony was "absolutely crimeless, law abiding, moral and temperate. Serious crime is practically unknown." He cited the low murder rate and virtually empty penitentiary, as well as the temperance and sabbath laws to which, he said, people adamantly adhered (pp. 206-209). Harvey tried to dispell the reputation for violence and religious conflict which the colony had gained from incidents in the mid-19th century:

> Quiet, orderly, church-going, attached to their religious faith, the people live peacefully among themselves, and outbreaks of bigotry or fanaticism are almost urknown.
> (Harvey, 1900: 149)[4]

The isolated condition of most fishing communities received a more contradictory treatment. On the one hand, isolation was a disadvantage, especially in discussions of the advent of progress and modern civilization in the colony. The people were sometimes characterized as behind the times, cut off from new ideas, fashions and technology (Collins, 1898: 18; Whiteway, 1897: xvi-xvii). Prowse (1906: 210) attributing this isolation to earlier anti-settlement policies, declared that it was "small wonder that under such an outrageous state of affairs the poor settlers, living in isolation, cut off from the world, remained in utter ignorance." McGrath (1903, 1911) wrote of the "dreary, lonesome, isolated existence of a winter in the coast hamlets" (1903: 631), and of "thousands living along the remoter sections of the coast who rarely had any intercourse with the outside world" (1911: 210). Harvey (1900: 152) described them as "a people so long insulated from the outside world" with its intellectual and social advantages. Fane (1893: 488) referred to a "lonely" life of "dreary hardship" experienced by outport clergy.

Writers also reported that the disadvantages of isolation were being overcome, albeit slowly, through education and new communications networks (E. Morris, 1910: 9; Whiteway, 1897: x). There was now a new awareness among the people themselves of the advantages of greater contact with the outside world (*Golden Age*, 1910: 23; McGrath, 1911: 207, 210; Prowse, 1904: 539). According to Harvey, many cultural activities, previously limited to St. John's and a few smaller towns, were now to be found "among the lonely dwellers by the sea . . . and are stirring intellectual life among the toilers of the deep" (1900: 152).[5]

However, isolation was also presented in a positive way. Firstly, the communities were portrayed as quaint and traditional, worthy of preservation and study. Secondly, they were self-reliant, harmonious and protected from the disintegrating effects of urbanism. Prowse (1906: 210) in his exposition on the influence of geography on history and culture, discussed the positive factor of insularity in the making of the "bold free race" of Englishmen, and the "handy and self-dependent" Newfoundlanders. Harvey, comparing Newfoundland to Norway, pointed out similarities in the two fishing populations:

> . . . so abundant in insular peculiarities and primitive characteristics, hidden away in nooks remote from all the outer world, quaint in manners.
>
> (Harvey, 1897: 145)[6]

The virtues of an insular life appeared also in Harvey's (1894) description of leisure and social life of outport families. Although families were poor, he said, their winter recreation brought "gladness and relaxation", and "home-born happiness" (p. 203). He appeared to include several work activities in this category of recreation, and his viewpoint was clearly that

of an outsider accustomed to more "civilized" leisure pursuits:

> They have their social pleasures, outdoor sports, games, shooting, hunting, trapping, etc. Dancing is a favourite winter amusement . . . they dance for hours with a vigour and honest heartiness which brings them more real pleasure than is experienced in the refined and artificial entertainments of more advanced communities. Weddings in particular are celebrated with an amount of gaiety and festivity which at once indicates an exuberance of animal spirits, and a kindly sympathy with the "happy couple".
>
> (Harvey, 1894: 203-204)[7]

Folk Romanticism

Nostalgic stirrings in the Newfoundland urban middle class and elite corresponded to similar movements in Europe and North America at the time. A new interest was taken in the way of life and folk culture of rural and peasant communities--a nostalgic appreciation of the "simple life" as viewed by those far removed from it. The romantic ideal of community appeared in novels and essays in which people were portrayed as human artifacts, survivors from a pre-industrial past, pristine and untouched by the corruption of urban industrial society. The lives of the peasantry were more authentic, spiritually and physically healthy, closer to nature and lived within accepted social hierarchies (Carter, 1976: 3-4; Plant, 1974: 13-24; Wright, 1968: xvii). The ideology of community minimized contraditions, suffering and dissent. The peasants' poverty and lack of education were romanticized as part of a simple, uncorrupted way of life. The long, arduous labour provided daily outdoor exercise and adventure, fostering a healthy, hardy race in harmony with nature (Turner and Ash, 1975: 49-50).

In the early 20th century, Newfoundland and other North Atlantic fishing societies became the subject of a variety of books and articles by

European and North American writers, who visited remote communities and tried to depict for their readers the way of life, folklore and handicrafts they discovered there.[8]

The educated urbanites in St. John's also began to look at their own colony's outport culture as being more than just backward but also part of the national heritage. Stories about life in old Newfoundland, poems in outport dialect and reminiscences from missionaries, educators and other professionals appeared more frequently in local publications. In one St. John's Annual, the editors announced their intention to cut down on photographs of "icebergs and pictures from Grand Pond" in favour of printing old outport tales. Readers were encouraged to collect folklore and to treasure the memoirs of a dying way of life:

> . . . I think that both bay men and city men would be doing a good for their common country if they endeavored to garner in the folklore and simple stories of Newfoundland, that beguiled the time by the fireside on many a frosty night, before the telegraph wires spanned the island, or the newspapers of the country found a home in every chimneycorner.
>
> (Rex, 1901: 3)

One of the most important vehicles for this nostalgia was the *Newfoundland Quarterly*. As the medium for the St. John's upper middle class "high" culture, it carried this culture's new appreciation of the outport way of life. Nostalgic stories and dialect poems appeared frequently.[9]

Isaac C. Morris, author of a *Quarterly* article entitled, "The Old Fisher-Folk" (1901), declared that the country's "colonial" history had been pursued by local historians to the neglect of "domestic" history. The outports, he said, were "comparatively unknown to the outside world, and even to ourselves." He argued that historians interested in them would have

to "visit the fisher-folk, and see them as they appear in the guise of every-day life" (p. 19). The visit would have to be an extended one, allowing the scholar to "enter within the fisherman's cot, and become for the time, as one of themselves" (p. 19). This the author declared he had done, gaining the "lore" and an understanding of the way of life. He described a "typical fisherman's cot" as perhaps appearing "small and uninviting" to the stranger, "but when viewed in that higher sense of peace and contentment, it was a veritable heritage" (p. 19). The author included descriptions of "heirlooms"--plain and humble objects of great value to the possessors:

> Such objects attract the attention and give rise to various questions, which supply food for the traveller, when he desires to record his ideas for the benefit of the reading public. It is from the humbler walks of life that its inwardness is clearly seen, and its true meaning really learned.
> (I. Morris, 1901: 20)

Another writer in the *Quarterly* lamented the new fancy architecture of the St. John's suburbs, and longed for the old days of picturesque farm cottages (The Days, 1906: 3-5).

Promotional writers were aware of this nostalgic interest in the North Atlantic lifestyle. Some wrote articles specifically about the "fisher-folk" for publication at home and abroad.[10] This popular nostalgia fueled their romantic images of the outport community and the class of fishing families. It was also a major influence on their portraits of the "typical" Newfoundland character, as will be seen in the next section.

Character Stereotypes

It was the habit in this period to describe social collectivities such as nations or classes in terms of a typical--or composite--individual,

which epitomized the tendency to explain social relations in terms of individual character traits. Promotional writers often tried to describe a "typical Newfoundlander", although this "national character" in fact referred mainly to fishermen (and sometimes women), with occasional references to the "characters" of other classes. The character stereotypes covered in this section raise many of the themes already discussed, but they are treated separately because of their importance in social explanation and their frequent use in promotion.

The Newfoundland national character[11] was a composite of various physical, intellectual and moral qualities said to be influenced by "race", environment and occupation or way of life. In discussing this character, many writers attempted to counteract allegations abroad that the people were poor and ignorant. They stressed the beneficial effects of a good "racial" pedigree, a rigorous environment, an active life and cohesive community in the formation of exemplary human beings.

The "racial" influence usually had two components, biological heredity and national-ethnic heritage. In Newfoundland, the two antagonistic "races" of Anglo-Saxon and Celt were said to have blended harmoniously, creating a "superior race, having the best qualities of the stocks from which they originated", at the same time free from "undesirable intermixtures" with additional races, foreign or indigenous (Harvey, 1897: 58, 1900: 147-448; McGrath, 1903: 629-630). The "environmental influence" consisted of insularity and climate, a harsh seacoast environment and constant forays into the ocean, which fostered a hardy and healthy national type: "The race has taken kindly to the soil and thriven" (Harvey, 1897: 158). Finally, the occupation and way of life of the "typical" Newfoundlander were considered influential

in the formation of a physically, mentally and morally strong type.

One of the most thorough discussions of the mixture of these influences was provided by Judge Prowse (1906) in a short exposition on the influence of geography on history, and of the environment on human character (pp. 209-210). According to Prowse, the "prime factor" in the creation of the English type was insularity. Separation from the Continent had made a "bold free race" (p. 210). The "merits and defects" of the Newfoundlander were also due to the insular environment and marine occupations. Isolation had fostered self-reliance and skill at many trades, but the "special gift of handicraft" also resulted from "heredity": "The first settlers were all tradesmen, carpenters, smiths, sawyers, and boat-builders" (p. 210).

Another geographic treatise was provided by Harvey:

> If it be true, as some one has stated it, that "the law of the world's progress is an advance from the warmer to the colder latitudes,"--from the enervating heat of the tropical and semi-tropical lands to the invigorating climes of the bracing north, we may ask whether the day is not coming when these stalwart islanders, nurtured amidst storms and grim north-easters, battling with the billows amid ice-laden seas, will take a high place among the world's workers and leaders, and outstrip the less capable inhabitants of warmer regions.
>
> (Harvey, 1894: 204)

Most explanations of national character were not as comprehensive as the above, but one or more of the three influences were usually called forth to explain the Newfoundland physique, mentality, temperament and moral fibre.

The people, particularly fishermen, were said to be "a physically splendid race of men" (McGrath, 1911: 209), "a vigorous, hardy, energetic people" (Baedeker, 1907: 105), "healthy" and "strong" (Wingfield-Bonnyn,

c. 1910: 4) and "hardy" (James, 1910: 4; Morison, 1890: 695). One British sportsman-writer expressed admiration for their "splendid physique":

> The feats of skill and endurance I have seen performed, as ordinary matters of every day life, would make many of our professional athletes rub their eyes.
>
> (Esmonde, 1910: 17)

Physique was in one case attributed to the "racial" mixture of Anglo-Saxon and Celt, producing "stalwart men and comely matrons and maids whom the traveler of to-day looks on with admiration" (Harvey, 1897: 158, 1900: 148). There was also the environment, particularly the "healthful", "salubrious" climate and "health-giving breezes", manifested in "the robust, healthy appearance of the people, and the great age to which numbers of them live" (Harvey, 1900: 27, 149; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 10):

> The hardy, robust appearance of our stalwart fishermen, the blooming complexions of our girls, all bear testimony to the healthiness of our sea-girt isle.
>
> (Prowse, 1971: 574)

Daily outdoor work--the "open-air life" centred on the fisheries (Baedeker, 1970: 105)--also influenced physique and health. Here was a "physically splendid race of men, whose daily occupations bring out the finest qualities" (McGrath, 1911: 209). They were "strong and ruddy, bearing the glow of an active, vigorous life in their cheeks" (McGrath, 1903: 627-631). Having "buffeted the billows" for generations, Newfoundlanders were "a hardy, robust race in their general physique", and "well fitted for the world's rough work" (Harvey, 1900: 149).

Writers thus romanticized a "challenging" environment and occupation which fostered good health and physique, in much the same way that others

romanticized the European peasant or the colonial yeoman farmer. Some implied that generations of hard work in a "salubrious" climate had bred a separate race eminently suited to its station in life.

Natural good health was meant to compensate for the scarcity of medical care in outports. The serious problem of tuberculosis in the colony was mentioned by only one writer examined, in a *Newfoundland Quarterly* article praising the philanthropy of the Reid family for their donation of money for sanitariums (Newfoundlander, 1912: 9-11). The problem of poor health conditions was also raised in discussion of the Labrador fishery, but only because it was unavoidable: the English doctor Wilfred Grenfell, had established medical missions in the region which had become well-known symbols of British philanthropy (Baedeker, 1907: 116-117; Harvey, 1900: 126; McGrath, 1911: 176-177).

As to moral and affective characteristics, the Newfoundlander was described as honest, good-natured, noble, quiet, orderly, law-abiding, open-hearted, amiable and kindly (Collins, 1898: 13; Fane, 1893: 488; McGrath, 1903: 627; Morison, 1890: 695; Prowse, 1971: 549; Whiteway, 1897: xvi; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 4). Writers stressed their hospitable nature (Collins, 1898: 13; Fane, 1893: 488; McGrath, 1903: 627; Morison, 1890: 695; Whiteway, 1897: xvi). One writer declared that the Newfoundlander was "nothing, if not a gentleman" (Esmonde, 1910; 17). He lauded the "natural and unaffected and innate courtesy of the people in every walk of life, and their invariable, and openhanded hospitality" (p. 17). Prowse (1971: 549) declared that strangers were "delighted with their courtesy, their simple kindness." Many of these qualities were related to an innate or racial factor, as in Esmonde and Wingfield-Bonnyn above, and in Harvey's "emotional activity of

the Celt" (1897: 158, 1900: 147). They were also, as we have seen, explained by isolated communities and rugged environments which fostered kindliness, charity and a warm welcome to strangers.

Mentality and skill were described in words such as courage, individualism, resolution, adaptability, resourcefulness, versatility and ingeniousness (Fane, 1893: 488; McGrath, 1903: 627, 631; Northcliffe, 1910: 21-22; Prowse, 1905b: 53-55; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 4). Again, the three influences appeared. For some writers, environment and daily occupation provided numerous challenges, adventures and tests of skill, intelligence and perseverance. "Racial" factors were used to demonstrate that the people were equal to any task. The Saxon brought "courage and self-reliance" (McGrath, 1911: 205), and the Celt brought "imaginativeness", "swiftness" (Harvey, 1897: 158, 1900: 147) and "brilliancy and daring" (McGrath, 1911: 205-206).

The Newfoundlander was said to be "quick-witted" (McGrath, 1903: 627), his native intelligence enabling him to do well in business and scholarship when the opportunity arose. One writer noted exceptional musical ability (Collins, 1898: 13; Esmonde, 1910: 17-18; McGrath, 1903: 627-631, 1911: 206; Nurse, 1911: 32; Prowse, 1971: 550; Wingfield-Bonnyn, c. 1910: 16). Harvey hoped they would inherit the future:

> All travellers are struck with the mental quickness and general intelligence of the people; and now that education is doing its work, it will be found that here is a people who, when duly cultured, will play no unworthy part in the world of the future, and will be able to compete with the brain-workers of the coming age in all departments of life.
>
> (Harvey, 1897: 160)

The Newfoundlander was also versatile and adept at seamanship, fishing, hunting, farming, boatbuilding, mechanics, carpentry and other trades. The

sailing skill inspired one writer to a treatise on "influences". First, there was the racial one, as the present Newfoundlander was a descendent of sailors. Then there was the marine environment: dwelling on a "wonderful" coastline, he was tempted into "the most turbulent of all oceans" by the abundance of fish. However, race and environment also fostered versatility:

> But . . . there must be something extra good in the genius of the locality, and in the fibre of the race, which makes him equally at home in the depths of his trackless forests; and equally happy in his picturesque settlements along the coast, and on the storm-swept Atlantic from Cape Race to the Labrador.
> (Esmonde, 1910: 17)

McGrath (1911: 206) also stressed versatility--specifically, an easy adaptability to wage labour for resource companies. He declared the Newfoundlander to be "equally at home in facing the hazards of the ocean's surges, the risks and perils of the ore-mine, and in more recent times in the log-drive."

Although the fisherman was an intelligent, industrious, creative and versatile worker, we have seen from earlier discussions that he supposedly lacked the extra quality of enterprise necessary for the capitalist's success. There were also latent tendencies to improvidence, lack of initiative and laziness activated by the truck system and public relief.

The middle class Newfoundlander, on the other hand, had an extra measure of industry, thrift and progressive spirit which enabled him to rise by his bootstraps to a modest standard of living. The big capitalist--usually foreign but sometimes including a merchant with mining or timber interests--was exceptionally progressive, capable, prudent, far-seeing, courageous and willing to take risks.

Although McGrath (1903: 617-619) argued at one point that all Newfoundlanders possessed a spirit of pioneering, drive and expansion, the

general implication was the opposite. Occasionally, there was a direct statement that the Newfoundlander was sluggish in responding to new economic opportunity (Collins, 1898: 18; History, 1901: 5-6). Usually, only the suggestion was there, in the praise heaped on the colony's visiting empire builders for their excellent character.

The Newfoundlander as a Factor of Production

Direct statements to this effect were discussed in the context of timber in Chapter Three. Cheap labour was one inducement advertised to pulp and paper manufacturers, and the Harmsworth brothers' (A.N.D. Co.) search for a pulp mill site involved this social factor, as well as those of an industrious work force, political stability and the presence of British traditions.

Many of the topics covered in the present chapter relate to these criteria for comparative advantage in resources. Firstly, the impression is given that all classes had a favourable attitude towards progress. Secondly, a peaceful and orderly society implied the absence of class or ethnic conflict which might disrupt the operation of new industries. Thirdly, there were the personal characteristics of this potential labour force: they were industrious, willing and skilful which compensated for their lack of experience in capitalist industries. An advantage of this attachment to the fishing economy in conjunction with a growing need for supplementary income: they were an ideal cheap, seasonal labour force because household labour in subsistence and fishing would subsidize the low wages received and provide buffers for periods of unemployment.

The Outport as a Tourist Attraction

The main tourist feature of the outport was the existence of a quaint and unusual way of life which appealed to a romantic nostalgia for rural communities. Those who dwelt on this topic suggested two kinds of experience for the tourist. One was to be an amateur anthropologist, studying livelihood, folkways, dialect, handicrafts and the like. Harvey (1900: 32, 115) declared that the "insular peculiarities, linguistic oddities and quaint views" of the fishing people would provide "an interesting study" for the "inquiring" traveller.[12] In the following, he described the benefits of isolation to outport dwellers, promising the tourist a "sensation of novelty":

> . . . here the traveller finds himself among a new race of people--the hardy fisher-folk, quaint in their manners, having their own ways of looking at things; entirely unaffected by the conventionalities and fashions of the outside world; primitive in their modes of living; kindly and friendly. Travellers will find such archaic people abundantly interesting, and worthy of a careful study. They are original, quaint, and in many ways quite unique.
>
> (Harvey, 1897: 147)

One could visit Quidi Vidi, a "typical fishing village" near St. John's, and watch families at work landing, splitting and curing cod (Harvey, 1894: 202, 1900: 114-115; J. Murray, 1896: 462). Baedeker (1907: 112) instructed the tourist to arrive at 5:00 PM for the event.

Steamer cruises were also encouraged as a means of studying the way of life, particularly along the Labrador coast where one could see native people as well as white settlers. Here also, the amateur archaeologist could find relics of past civilizations (Baedeker, 1907: 117; Grenfell, 1905: 106-107; Harvey, 1900: 125; McGrath, 1903: 627).

These anthropological studies might also include the study and acquisition of memorabilia:

> There are to be seen in some places the old-time houses with large open fire-places, dog-irons and the other accessories of a vanished period, while curiosities, in the shape of old furniture, old silver and other articles of this kind, are often to be secured.
> (McGrath, 1911: 208)

The other kind of tourist experience was to become a temporary participant, escaping the pace and alienation of urban life for an idyllic retreat. Harvey (1900) promised that tourists in fishing villages could forget "the world of bustle, trade and show. . . . its strifes, its anxieties and ambitions, its struggles, its weariness and its vanities" (p. 177) to participate in the simple, authentic life of people content with few amenities:

> He has entered a more real existence, where true peace abides. He partakes of the calmer moods of those about him, and lives again the free and happier days of the long ago. . . . Who, tossed on the ever-restless billows of life's sea, ever seeking, but never finding rest, would not learn a lesson of wise living from these careless villagers.
> (Harvey, 1900: 177)

McGrath (1911: 185) suggested that tourists would find it pleasant "to move about among the people in the fishing villages, seek for cod with them in their boats."

Hospitality was also a part of the experience. The visitor, showered with attention, would feel at home immediately (Harvey, 1900: 149). People would go to great trouble to provide a "hospitable reception" and "the best accommodation that the place can afford" (McGrath, 1911: 208).

A few writers tried to characterize the general appearance of villages as the tourist might see them on a cruise around the coast (see Figures 7-9). One writer, in an article concerned with the prevailing small-scale inshore fishery, described the settlement pattern as follows:

> Their fishing hamlets which fringe the coast from Cape Race to Cape John, in every bay, bight and bottom, are as nearly alike in outward feature as they can well be.
> (J. Murray, 1896: 462)

The "typical fishing villages", and sometimes the mining or lumber towns, were described as picturesque, charming, pretty, romantic, quaint, neat, nice, pleasant, comfortable, busy and thriving. They were sheltered, shut in, surrounded, snug or nestling, in rocks, clefts, towering precipices, or in a deep cove or ravine (Baedeker, 1907: 112-121; Carroll, 1906: 18; Esmonde, 1910: 17; Harvey, 1900: 115-120, 133-136; J. Howley, 1907: 3; McGrath, 1903: 627).

Houses were described as "picturesque" and "comfortable" (Carroll, 1906: 17; The Days, 1906: 3-5; McGrath, 1911: 208), and as "neat, white cottages" (J. Howley, 1907: 3; McGrath, 1903: 627). A "special feature" for the tourist were the fish stages and flakes, "which run down into and overhang the landwash" (Baedeker, 1907: 105, 113; J. Murray, 1896: 462).

Writers often juxtaposed the rocky, imposing shoreline with the apparently frail and tenuous hold of small coastal settlements upon it. McGrath's (1903: 627) imaginary visitor "cruises past the rugged shore and sees the neat white cottages perched among the cliffs." Baedeker (1907: 105) noted outports "sprinkled all around the shores, often in the most curious and picturesque situations among the clefts of the rocks." Another passage from the same guidebook suggested a symmetry of rock and water combined with

the uneven pattern of dwellings--a picturesque scene:

> The effect of the pond-like harbours, surrounded by rugged hills, is enhanced by the halphazard way in which the cottages are dotted down among the rocks, wherever a foothold can be obtained.
> (Baedeker, 1907: 114)

Another writer mentioned "the prettiest little hamlets imaginable,--just the kind of places that a journalist would copy for show-plates for his Christmas or Souvenir number" (Carroll, 1906: 18). Harvey (1900: 177) described hills which "close down" on the visitor just before entering a village whose houses extended up the hillsides. One of his best picturesque "pencil sketches" was of Quidi Vidi, near St. John's:

> The small harbor is connected with the ocean by a narrow gut only wide enough for fishing boats. All around rise steep, red cliffs in fantastic shapes. Very frequently an iceberg or two are grounded close by the mouth of the little harbor, their dazzlingly white pinnacles and spires contrasting strikingly with the dark, frowning rocks. These, with the fishing boats, stages and flakes, make a strikingly characteristic picture. Artists revel in the scenery of Quidi Vidi.
> (Harvey, 1900: 115)

The frequent use of words such as snug, sheltered, quaint and comfortable referred not only to the physical site on which houses were built but also to the outport as a refuge from ocean storms and the outside world with all its trials:

> The storms may rage without, but here in this sheltered retreat the wave-tossed boat finds a safe harbor, and here its kindly people dwell in peace and contentment. It is a picture of natural repose in accord with the tranquil lives of its people.
> (Harvey, 1900: 177)

However, impressions of prosperity and a modern atmosphere were also conveyed. Fishing, mining and mill towns were described as busy and thriving. One large outport was called a "great fishing centre, and during the fishing season it is crowded with boats and presents a very lively scene" (Baedeker, 1907: 117). The "great" and "thriving" coastal mining town of Tilt Cove was described in the following manner:

> . . . around this miniature lake, at the base of the surrounding hills, are laid out the neat, well-kept houses of the resident [sic],--their well-kept appearance denoting comfort and even luxury.
>
> (Carroll, 1906: 17)

Another writer described Salmonier with its numerous houses, churches, the large fleet of fishing vessels and the well-tilled farms nearby, all of which "proclaim the presence of an industrious and thriving population" (O'Reilly, 1901: 3).

Summary and Assessment

The stereotyped images of classes, social conditions and character of the people were selective, emphasizing certain aspects while neglecting others. Even those with a grain of truth became stereotypes, and falsities, when held to represent the whole. Sometimes, stereotypes were used to generalize about the fishing population, to fit them into pre-existing molds which explained their condition. Sometimes, positive ones were emphasized in order to dispel negative impressions of Newfoundland held abroad. However, they also frequently objectified people as tourist attractions or as a potential industrial labour force.

The picture of the class structure was sketchy and confusing, as many writers tended to blur distinctions between classes. This lack of information

itself suggests an ideological view of society as an organic whole, whose complementary parts move in harmony with an occasional adjustment.

Writers sometimes conveyed clearer impressions of particular classes. There were the modestly enterprising middle class, the meritorious professionals, the merchant patrons or exploiters, the exceptionally enterprising industrial capitalists and railroad men, the comfortable and industrious wage labourers and fishermen.

Fishing families were discussed in greatest detail, with particular attention to their standard of living and degree of independence. Most of the statements were positive: they lived a simple, arduous life compensated by modest expectations, lack of modern greed, absence of rents and property taxes, with "free" sources of food and raw materials from the land. Their independence, or sense of it, was stressed by some writers, whose arguments rested on ownership of boats, gear, houses and garden plots and, again, unlimited access to the land. Writers who emphasized both these aspects made few references to the problems with wildlife, the dependence on heavily taxed imported necessities and the truck system's constraints on independence and standard of living. There was, with only a few dissenting views, a tendency to present a romantic picture of frontier self-sufficiency, of the fisherman content with his simple life.

The paucity of information on the truck system may have been significant: its injurious effects had been publicized abroad, particularly during the 1880's depression, and some writers may have felt that the less said the better. Others may have deemed it irrelevant to the subject at hand. Those few who discussed it implied that it depressed living standards and stifled enterprise, but most of them treated it as a mechanical arrangement

which often went awry due to bad seasons or the fisherman's lack of initiative. The implication was that mercantile control and large profits were necessary parts of this marketing mechanism, and that the fisherman could only be slowly educated to accept the responsibility of greater independence. However, none of these writers discussed the mercantile interest in perpetuating the status quo of the system, and the opposition faced by fishermen who did try to gain more independence and power in the market.[13]

Most writers at least implied a rationale for class-based economic disparities, predicated on individual qualities such as industry, enterprise and vision. Those who argued that the masses' economic advancement was hindered by excessive fisheries dependence provided examples of people who, by their own industry and initiative, had expanded into farming or other pursuits. Few even mentioned, let alone explained, the barriers to a large scale move in this direction--the labour and capital requirements of agriculture, with or without fishing, the difficulty fishermen had in acquiring enough of a surplus from fishing to invest in agriculture and the lack of an adequate marketing structure.

Others blamed economic disparities on the truck system and public relief, which supposedly failed to provide incentives to labour and initiative. The real culprits were, by implication, the labouring masses, who were inclined toward improvidence, inertia and lack of enterprise if not given adequate positive and negative incentives. Two of the writers expressed the typical attitude of the upper middle class toward public relief: it was a guaranteed income which too often did not demand commensurate labour in return, and which was therefore likely to encourage laziness.

There was rarely a direct statement about naturally-determined social hierarchies, but many writers implied the idea. The working masses of fishermen may have been industrious, robust, healthy, adaptable, skilled and intelligent--even potential "brain-workers". They nevertheless lacked the necessary, and equally vague, combination of initiative, drive, thrift and spirit of enterprise which characterized those ranged above them in the social hierarchy. Explanations for this focussed on heredity, environment or occupation. The emphasis was on qualities of the individual, implying that class structure was a distribution of wealth and status based on personal achievements. Exceptional people within the working classes could advance, but the class structure as a whole would remain governed by the distribution of naturally- or occupationally-derived aptitudes. Some writers appeared to vascillate between liberal-progressive visions of collective advancement and change, and this more conservative ideology of static, entrenched hierarchies.

Writers described the development of modern social institutions supported by a traditional fabric of charity, hospitality, mutual aid, religious tolerance and social harmony. The typical Newfoundlander in this social milieu was kindly, generous, amiable, good-natured, hospitable, orderly and intelligent.

Most writers advocated the diffusion of modern communications and institutions. From this perspective, they conceded that fishing families were behind the times, under-educated and otherwise deprived, but also progressive and forward-looking. On the other hand, they were also inclined to justify and even romanticize the existing institutional framework, including its deficiencies.

The treatment of isolation illustrates this contradiction. From a progressive and modernist perspective, isolation was seen as a condition of social deprivation. From a romantic and conservative perspective, people were self-sufficient and protected from the disintegrating effects of urban society. The emphasis of the first point of view was the need for transformation, and of the second, the need for conservation.

As with wilderness, there was an economic utility in both transformation and conservation. Many writers declared a need for economic improvements in the outports and the creation of a modern class of "free" wage workers for industrial development. At the same time, they emphasized features worth preserving--a traditional social fabric with its stabilizing influences, the absence of open class conflict, the apparent contentment with modest living standards. They stressed the benefits of the traditional economy in developing skills, adaptability, physical endurance and pioneer self-sufficiency. All these qualities might be of interest to the potential resource company. They were also, in combination with others, potential tourist resources. The isolation, quaintness, community life and absence of modern trappings were all part of the appeal to privileged urbanites seeking temporary refuge in an "authentic" rural lifestyle.

The depiction of the Newfoundland fisherman and communities was often a misrepresentation of actual conditions. This is evident by the many stereotypes which contradict one another in support of different themes: communities were isolated and backward, or protected and socially complete. People anticipated progress or were content in their quaint views of the world. They were industrious and versatile in work, or lacking enterprise and susceptible to laziness. They were poor and in need of new income sources,

or living a simple, self-sufficient life. The misrepresentation was also evident in the whitewashing of hardship and conflict, and in the fact that human complexity was left out, making the people appear one-dimensional.

This chapter has attempted to show how a group of writers presented a selective portrait of a way of life for readers abroad. Their portrayals interpreted Newfoundland in terms of a bourgeois concept of a social order. However, they were also dedicated to a reorientation of the colony to foreign-controlled resource extraction. Their portrayals often suggested the harnessing of human resources to meet the economic and cultural needs of a metropolitan upper middle class.

Notes

[1]The 1894 version is even more eloquent:

> . . . their capabilities for enjoying simple pleasures. There is perhaps as much genuine happiness among them as among any similar number who toil for their daily bread. Compared with the pale factory workers, the toilers in the great cities of Europe and America who breathe a pestiferous atmosphere in crowded tenements, too often amid foul conditions that depress the spirits and shorten life, the condition of these hardy fishermen is an enviable one. (Harvey, 1894: 203).

[2]This passage also appears in earlier works (Harvey, 1894: 203, 1897: 161), but without the prefatory announcement of the truck system's demise. This suggests that Harvey may also have attributed improvidence to innate characteristics of fishermen.

[3]Two articles in the *Newfoundland Quarterly* provide examples of social Darwinism, one with an application to Newfoundland society. One by F.H. Scott, entitled "Means of Acquiring Distinction", described society as made up of superior and inferior people, lofty and low--a natural order in which man's position was determined by his industry, an important competitive advantage in the struggle for survival (*Newfoundland Quarterly*, 1906, 5(4): 7-8).

The other, entitled "Larry Lurrigan's Lively Logs", by M.F. Howley, provided a number of outport anecdotes, including one which demonstrated that a certain family was poor because the father was lazy and somewhat dim-witted. The moral was that industrious people were well-off, and only the lazy were poor (*Newfoundland Quarterly*, 1903, 3(3)).

[4]Similar passage in Harvey, 1897: 160.

[5]Similar passage in Harvey, 1894: 204.

[6]Similar passage in Harvey, 1900: 32.

[7]Similar passage in Harvey, 1900: 151.

[8]Examples of this are, "The Codfishers of Newfoundland", by Norman Duncan, in *The World's Work*, 1903, 6(3): 3617-3638; Duncan was a prolific writer of adventure and nostalgia fiction in the North Atlantic; "The Way of the Northern Sea-Coast Folk", in the *Craftsman*, 1916, 30(5): 456-462.

[9]Examples of outport culture described in anecdotes, poems, etc. are the following, with varying degrees of nostalgia: Devine (1901: 15), Isabella (1902: 14), LeMessurier (1902: 17-18) Shortis, (1901: 11).

[10]For examples, see McGrath (1903); I. Morris (1901); J. Murray (1896); Prowse (1904; 1906).

[11]This refers only to those of European culture. Occasionally, writers commented on the "character" of native groups. Micmacs on the island, often hired as hunting guides, received occasional comment for their abilities in the bush (Harvey, 1900: 139; Kennedy, 1905: 58). People presumed to be exceptional, such as a man who could read and write better than the available whites, or a family with an impressive farm, were recorded (Carroll, 1892: 25-26; J. Howley, 1907: 3). The extinct Beothuks were frequently romanticized. Harvey (1900: 161-162) called them "vigorous and warlike", but also "of quick intelligence, tractable" and living in "savage abundance" in their island paradise. Prowse (1905b: 14-15) described them as innocent but revengeful, and an "ill-fated race". Articles specifically on Micmacs and Beothuks, some of which were highly romantic, appeared occasionally in the *Newfoundland Quarterly*: English (1902: 5), Millais (1908: 18-20), Power (1910: 2-3), Wayback (1903: 3), Where and Whereby (1910: 16).

For Labrador, McGrath (1911: 174) described "Christianized Eskimos" on the coast, "uplifted" by Moravian missionaries. Prowse (1905b: 14) considered the Inuit to have been "cruel and bloodthirsty" in the old days. McGrath (1911: 174) described the "Montagnais" and "Nascopie" roaming the interior as hunters and trappers. Labrador native people were promoted for tourism, as human artifacts, by Dr. Grenfell (1905: 107) who called them "a people still strongly bearing the flavour of prehistoric times."

[12]See also Baedeker (1907: 112).

[13]See, for instance, Fay (1956: 151-152), Noel (1971: 8-9, 80-81). Earlier, Hatton and Harvey (1883: 76-77) included a report on price-fixing, and the difficulties encountered by some who protested the practice, in the early 19th century.

Figure 7: "Fishing Village"

(Source: Harvey, 1900:90)

Figure 8: "A Bit of Coast Scenery, Bay of Islands"

(Source: McGrath, 1911:face 65)

Figure 9: "Toad's Cove"

(Source: Harvey, 1897:face 80)

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Exclusive dependence on the fisheries has been a frequent explanation for Newfoundland's underdevelopment. This thesis has followed a number of scholars in considering that it was the economic organization of the fisheries, rather than single-staple dependence per se, which was the crucial factor. This economic structure caused periods of stagnation, crisis and modest prosperity from which the majority of small producers gained but little.

Most of the writers analyzed here espoused a land-based staples economy as the key to the future. They were part of a long line of propagandists, before and afterwards, who sought progress and prosperity in the development land-based resources. The prevailing development ideology of the period characterized the inshore fishery as part of the past, destined to die a natural death, and even the more modern offshore sector was viewed as playing a subsidiary role.

Although the inshore fishery dominated the economy, provided the colony's "Golden Age" and held the greatest potential for lasting development, it was not transformed into a marine food industry as was being done elsewhere. The necessary investment and reorganization did not occur, largely because the commercial elite avoided the task and blocked the efforts of others to take it up. Moreover, the mercantile structure of the inshore fishery deprived producers of the capital and incentives needed for such

development.

The commercial elite preferred to direct their capital to short-term, low-risk ventures and to attracting foreign capital, in both of which they perceived greater opportunities for profit. Those who were the least "fish-bound" led the way in accommodating the colony to the priorities of foreign direct investment. Politicians, merchants, capitalists and professionals persuaded successive generations of Newfoundlanders that the wealth of the interior was massive enough to provide employment and prosperity for all, despite foreign ownership. However, the priorities of foreign capital ultimately benefitted only a few, since they included few opportunities for employment, domestic enterprise and the creation of a more balanced economy. They involved, rather, the cheap and efficient extraction of resources for industry abroad, which placed the colony in a new niche in the international economy as a producer of raw materials and importer of manufactured goods. Most of the profits from resource extraction were not reinvested in the economy, and most of the value was added abroad. The main beneficiaries in Newfoundland were the commercial elite, and the vast majority did not have the opportunity to realize the economic potential of their labour and of natural resources to build a stronger, domestically-oriented economy.

The promotional literature examined in this thesis was written in the initial heyday of accommodation to foreign industrial capital. Much of it expressed the promotional ideology of that accommodation, as well as more general ideological perspectives purveyed by an upper middle class. It has been argued that promotional purposes and ideological perspectives were interwoven in the themes examined.

One of the major themes has been designated here as romantic and conservative, expressing disaffection with urban life, nostalgia and need for contact with nature. It embodied the suggestion that some ideals of urban civilization were best realized through brief sojourns in the country and in the past.

For the natural environment, it was associated with a vision of wilderness as pristine, virgin country, saved from destruction and functioning as a preserve of aesthetic and recreation wealth. Promotion involved a redefinition of the natural landscape for aesthetic tourism, fitting it into the picturesque mold, likening it to famous regions elsewhere, but with a touch of the unique and bizarre--all intended for the educated aesthetic sensibility. Wilderness was also billed as a sanitarium, and the benefits of this health-cure were said to be manifested in the typical resident. Lastly, it was a preserve where the sportsman could enjoy exploration, adventure, chase and the illusion of being gentry. Appeal was made to the true sportsman, educated and leisured, hunting game and battling with the lordly salmon, and distinguishable from the rustic animal-killer.

For the economy and society, the romantic-conservative view focussed on community as the preserve of authenticity, morality, social cohesion and harmony with nature, of the simple life untainted by ambition and greed. Labour was at times adventure, at other times drudgery with great moral reward. Rural producers were independent and self-sufficient, and a quasi-feudal economy was celebrated with its presumed absence of class conflict. Isolation of communities was conceived as preservation of all that was traditional and good, worth insulating against urban influence. The fisherman embodied the rural ideal--robust, simple, happy and hospitable. He was

individualistic and clever, but satisfied with small gains and pleasures in life. The community was portrayed as a refuge for the tourist wishing to regain spiritual health or to view and study the quaint and peculiar. Descriptions blended familiar images of village life and landscape with the unique features of the Newfoundland version.

The other major theme, indicated in this thesis in terms such as progressive modernism and utilitarian transformation, was associated with an ideology of industrial development which called for the subsumption of nature and human labour to capitalist commodity production. Logically, this theme was related to prevailing scientific conceptions of nature and human society, some of which were discussed in the thesis.

Wilderness was portrayed as a repository of resource wealth for human use. It was virgin country, passively awaiting transformation, taming and containment. There were powerful landscape images of the railway forging a development road through the wilderness, of towns and factories transforming the "wastelands". The implication was the wilderness realized its true essence only in its utility to human society. Promotion emphasized wilderness as an inviting field now open for enterprise and resource extraction.

In the portrayal of community and character, this theme was a more complex association of ideologies of development and transformation with those of a stable social hierarchy. The latter relied partly on the corresponding social Darwinism, and partly on more traditional justifications of a natural order. Communities were sometimes behind the times and cut off, other times possessing a good blend of modern and traditional institutions. Fishermen were progressive, desiring change, intelligent, versatile and

industrious. However, they apparently lacked that special combination of industry, initiative and enterprise possessed by the capitalist. Thus, on the basis of individual intangibles, fishermen and capitalists rested in their proper places in the struggle for survival. Moreover, the preservation of an economy of small producers in a mercantile structure, and its articulation with industrial capital, was often implied as being potentially useful in the process of development. Writers stressed the small producers' progressive desire for change juxtaposed with an absence of class conflict and the survival of a traditional economic and social fabric. These qualities promised a cheap, hard-working labour force and a stable social milieu for industrial development. Here again, the themes of transformation and conservation were merged.

All of the themes involved selection, distortion, simplification and stereotyping, frequently involving writers in contradiction. The general themes of transformation and conservation were interwoven with scientific ideologies such as social Darwinism and environmental determinism, and with romantic and nostalgic impulses from urban upper middle classes. Problems and conflicts were obscured to make the colony more acceptable abroad, and to justify the prevailing social order and modes of resource exploitation. People and nature were seen through dominant ideological filters and redefined in accord with their anticipated utility to resource extraction and tourism.

Newfoundland's commercial-political elite defined social reality and the society's relationship with nature in a manner consistent with its interest and position. Promotional writing was an extreme form of this selective definition of social reality. Many of the writers were the

intellectual voices for various fractions of the local elite, while others represented the same dominant class perspectives from abroad. These ideological perspectives were presented (usually sincerely) in the name of all classes--a claim enforced through socialization, monopoly of information flows and stifling of dissent. They were also presented as being for the good of all citizens--a doubtful proposition. Underneath their imaginary country was a highly polarized society in which a small elite blocked the kind of developments in which natural resources and human skill could generate, and redistribute, more economic surplus for the benefit of the majority.

More interest has been directed lately towards dissecting the predominant myths by which Newfoundland has been known over the centuries. The most important work of this nature is a literary study by O'Flaherty (1979). Although it appeared after the research for this thesis was completed, it merits brief discussion here. The author surveys "literary responses" to Newfoundland in their historical context, from discovery and settlement to Confederation with Canada in 1949, relating periods in the colony's development to themes in the literature of each period. This analytical survey of literature on Newfoundland provides the broad literary context in which a specific study such as this thesis should be placed.

O'Flaherty's work traces predominant themes in the perception of Newfoundland, indicating the narrow and contradictory nature of many stereotypes. Themes are followed from one writer to another, focussing on how they were altered by new social circumstances. The author also relates these points of view to the backgrounds and purposes of those purveying them, indicating cases of the same writer adopting different stances depending on

the intended audience. The book demonstrates differences in the pictures conveyed by nationalists and promoters, by some "supercilious" outside observers and by those who succeeded in conveying more of the complexity of the whole. The author also points to the danger of taking prominent views of a region as representative of that region and its people.

Along with many other themes, O'Flaherty elucidates the 19th century inland vision which began with a few officials, scholars and propagandists in the early decades and grew to an important literary expression of a political and economic movement by the end of the century. Many of the later writers were busily engaged in promoting the country in accord with this vision (pp. 55, 57-58, 71-81). O'Flaherty also describes, for the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the local literati's growing awareness of Newfoundland as a unique region, emerging as a nation with a distinct "race" (pp. 91-92). For most of them, nationalism was linked with faith in the power of big capital to realize the wealth of the interior and modernize the country (pp. 111-115). O'Flaherty also describes the cultural flowering which took place, manifested in a new interest in local history, folk culture, natural history and regional poetry (pp. 114-117). This cultural nationalism reacted with an increased scientific, literary, humanitarian and recreational interest from abroad (pp. 82-110).

In contrast with O'Flaherty's work, this thesis has attempted a more specific dissection of themes in a given period, focussing on the origins, nature and significance of certain regional perceptions. There are obvious limitations in being confined to themes evinced in promotional writing. However, it should be recalled that boosterism in this period was a dominant form of literary expression, permeating the work of

geologist, minister and poet alike. This permeation makes it difficult to identify a separate body of promotional literature as distinct from the "real" literature of the period, thus making the field of investigation a wide one. This also explains why even the most obviously promotional material can be examined as literary and historical evidence, since it reveals points of view dominant in literature as a whole, and in political rhetoric, at this time.

In terms of historical-perceptual geography, this thesis has looked at themes in the perception of landscape, natural resources and people, examining their underlying assumptions and purposes as related to general and specific ideologies. This analysis has approached such literature not merely as a propaganda tool but also as a vehicle in which a predominant world view is expressed. This world view was found to have roots in a small urban middle class which could claim to speak for all people by virtue of its dominance in the society and its control over communication.

Comprehensive analysis of cultural expression, such as regional perceptions in literature, should include: (1) the social backgrounds and purposes of the cultural "producers"; (2) the content, in terms of images and themes regarding some aspect of the environment or society; (3) the dissemination and effects of this cultural expression; and (4) the social context in which it has meaning.

This thesis has presented a partial analysis, focussing on the content viewed against the larger social whole, with some information as to producers and dissemination. Moreover, this study is basically an exploration of promotional and ideological themes in the perceptions of an elite and, at times, certain fractions of that elite. A more thorough examination would

be required of the dissemination of these perceptions and ideologies among the majority of people, as well as the existence of oppositional points of view which were weak or suppressed.

It would also be useful to compare the content of this promotional literature with that of later periods. The re-emergence of similar themes regarding inland staples development, and of romantic nostalgia, corresponded with periods of new foreign investment, government development campaigns and the anticipation of mass tourism. Even a cursory examination of later promotional literature suggests that while some features changed in the imaginary country of Newfoundland, others remained, strikingly, the same.

TABLE I: Population, from Census, 1857-1911*

Year	Island	Labrador	Total
1857	122,638	1,650	124,288
1874	158,958	2,416	161,374
1884	193,124	4,211	197,335
1891	197,934	4,106	202,040
1901	217,037	3,947	220,984
1911	238,670	3,949	242,619

*Source: *R.C.*, 1934: 234

TABLE II: Occupations, from Census, 1891-1911*

	1891	1901	1911
Archbishops	-	-	1
Bishops	3	4	3
Clergymen	183	239	245
Teachers	606	789	1,395
Lawyers	43	55	46
Doctors	62	83	119
Merchants and Traders	771	1,040	1 326
Engaged in Office or Shop	1,952	2,353	4,641
Government Service	614	739	1,468
Farmers	1,547	2,475	2,915
Fishermen and others who cultivate land	36,303	40,438	40,880
Mechanics	2,682	3,111	5,376
Catching and Curing Fish Males	36,694	41,231	43,795
Catching and Curing Fish Females	18,081	21,443	23,245
Lumbering	625	1,408	2,821
Mining	1,258	1,576	2,260
Engaged in Factories	1,058	626	1,204
Otherwise Employed**	8,686	11,639	14,811

*Source: *R.C.*, 1934: 236.

**Probably includes workers in transportation, communications, public utilities and construction (Alexander, 1976: 69).

TABLE III: Distribution of the Labour Force, from Census, 1891-1911*

	1891	1901	1911
Labour Force	56,984	67,368	82,426
Primary:	70%	69%	63%
Agriculture	3	4	4
Fishing	64	61	53
Lumbering	1	2	3
Mining	2	2	2
Secondary:	22	23	27
Mechanics	5	5	7
Factory Workers	2	1	2
Others**	15	17	18
Service:	7.9	8	11
Professional	2	2	2
Merchants	1.4	1.5	1.6
Clerical	3.4	3.5	5.6
Government	-	-	-

*Source: Alexander, 1976: 68.

**Probably includes workers in construction, communications, transportation, utilities and some services. Hence, secondary figures are probably too high and service too low.

TABLE IV: Quinquennial Average Export Value of Commodity Groups, 1886-1920*

Quinquennial Averages	Products of the Sea		Products of the Forest		Products of the Mines		All Others**		Total	
	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%	$	%
1915-20	23,514,450	83.19	3,223,605	11.40	946,795	3.35	584,637	2.06	28,269,487	100.00
1911-15	10,045,935	74.13	1.979,339	14.61	1,329,341	9.81	196,804	1.45	13,551,419	100.00
1906-10	9,778,243	84.40	294,786	2.54	1,388,646	11.99	124,565	1.07	11,586,238	100.00
1901-05	8,073,450	83.73	205,530	2.13	1,253,682	13.00	109,854	1.14	9,642,516	100.00
1896-00	5,567,027	87.05	85,273	1.33	695,710	10.88	47,523	.74	6,395,534	100.00
1891, 93-95	5,741,087	89.93	41,595	.65	575,508	9.02	25,703	.40	6,383,893	100.00
1886-90	5,144,253	92.84	13,691	.22	399,579	6.45	30,332	.49	5,587,854	100.00

*Source: MacKay, 1946: 511, 512.

**Furs and Game, Berries, Products of Agriculture, Miscellaneous.

TABLE V: Quinquennial Average Export Value of Marine Prod

Quinquennial Averages	Dried Cod	Total Cod	Total Herring	Total Salmon	Total Lobster	Total Seal
1916-20	$17,817,781	$20,613,506	$1,615,723	$ 86,354	$170,966	$799,66
1911-15	7,587,574	8,233,659	430,766	106,318	356,980	672,34
1906-10	7,652,659	8,077,442	338,754	72,991	371,157	661,92
1901-05	5,673,278	6,177,063	351,775	94,186	434,258	718,91
1896-00	4,050,284	4,335,384	156,615	78,957	506,640	459,80
1891, 93-95	4,193,331	4,487,571	217,278	69,965	357,119	585,45
1886-90	3,695,414	3,942,972	200,987	78,705	346,659	558,73

*Source: MacKay, 1946: 518, 521.

nial Average Export Value of Marine Products, 1886-1920*

ng	Total Salmon	Total Lobster	Total Seal	Total Whale	Total Dried Cround	All Other Fish Products	Total
5,723	$ 86,354	$170,966	$799,668	$ 51,246	$91,339	$85,649	$23,514,450
0,766	106,318	356,980	672,342	149,844	59,098	36,925	10,045,935
8,754	72,991	371,157	661,929	219,753	16,347	19,868	9,778,243
1,775	94,186	434,258	718,912	277,465	6,556	13,235	8,073,450
6,615	78,957	506,640	459,806	13,282	2,746	13,598	5,567,027
7,278	69,965	357,119	585,455	10,003	2,067	11,631	5,741,087
0,987	78,705	346,659	558,731	4,683	1,804	9,710	5,144,253

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