

SETTLEMENT MIGRATION
IN
CENTRAL BONA VISTA BAY
NEWFOUNDLAND

SETTLEMENT MIGRATION
IN
CENTRAL BONAVISTA BAY
NEWFOUNDLAND

By

CLIFFORD GRANT HEAD, B.A.

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree
Master of Arts

McMaster University

September
1964

MASTER OF ARTS (1964)

McMASTER UNIVERSITY
Hamilton, Ontario.

TITLE: Settlement Migration in Central Bonavista Bay, Newfoundland

AUTHOR: Clifford Grant Head, B.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Associate Professor H. A. Wood

NUMBER OF PAGES: x, 154

SCOPE AND CONTENTS: During the last two decades, the islands of Bonavista Bay ---a large bay of Northeastern Newfoundland--- have been swept almost totally clear of settlements. Many of the dwellings were floated to the local mainland to join existing communities, or to found new and separate settlements. To describe and to explain this dramatic movement, this study probes the establishment of a permanent population in Central Bonavista Bay, and its development over more than two centuries to the mid-1950's, paying particular attention to the factors of development which influenced the recent migrations. The traditional way of life of the archipelago settlements is detailed, as are the basic changes which brought about the settlement migrations. Finally, the conditions in 1964 are examined, and an attempt is made to predict the future of the area.

PREFACE

Newfoundland--now a province of Canada--is located at the entrance to the St. Lawrence River system, the North Atlantic entrance to North America. Canadians tend to think too much of Newfoundland as merely one of the Maritime Provinces. But it is well to remember that the distance from Fredericton, N.B. to St. John's, Nfld. is nearly equal to that from Fredericton to Toronto. From Toronto, Newfoundland is more than one-third of the way to the British Isles. Thus, this island was early discovered by the Old World. It was first claimed by Cabot in 1497, but it had seen Europeans long before; fishermen used its grounds and harbours, but saw no reason to make their good fortune more widely known; it now seems certain too, that the Vikings established a colony in northern Newfoundland as early as 1000 A.D.

As the island became increasingly frequented as " a British ship moored near the Banks", permanent settlement developed. But as a colony, as an island far removed from centres of population, and with a reliance upon a sparse primary resource, Newfoundland developed slowly. Along much of its coast, it preserved the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries long after they had passed from Europe. Within the last two decades, however, the island has been drawn increasingly into the modern

world, with which it has been forced to compete economically.

With the announcement of Canada's Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Act--named as a help to agricultural areas, but in a broader sense an act to assist all rural areas in adapting to the rapid changes characteristic of today-- Newfoundland moved quickly to a programme of research and development. Amongst the first of the research schemes was a project entitled "Community Geographical Surveys", designed to examine and report upon the economic and social functionings of outport communities in three areas of Newfoundland. During the summer and fall of 1963, the writer, as director of this project, was introduced to Newfoundland.

Of the many fascinating areas studied under the 1963 scheme, Central Bonavista Bay appeared to offer the largest number of problems.(see location map, page *viii*). The settlements along this coast were found to be much larger than is common in Newfoundland. Investigations revealed a large segment of persons unemployed, and many of the settlements were mere dormitories, with no means of support for their population (see Fig.1, page *iv*). They had too, a curious mixture of old and new; the traditional had met the modern. House types--in Newfoundland, usually indicating a few periods of building and distinct regionalisms--were many and mixed. Conversations with residents often dipped into the days when "the tickle was so thick with masts of schooners you'd think it was a forest." The people of the heads of bays settlements occasionally referred to "those that moved

in from the islands." It became obvious that a major migration from the outer islands to the mainland had occurred, but its causes and form were blurred.

The abandoned islands were not visited during the summer of 1963, for the work at hand was directed more to reporting present-day conditions. But a short trip to Greenspond, once the capital of the Bay, proved well-rewarding. The clutter of homes was still there, and the churches and the courthouse still guarded the hills. The population, however, was less than half what it was in the days of glory. A sense of history wrapped this grey old settlement; it seemed to filter through the buildings, drift along the paths, and hang over the harbour; it could be snatched for, but never quite caught.

With all of these observations in mind, the subject of this thesis developed. The settlement migration phenomenon became the point of departure, especially as it was learned that planners were speaking more and more of "resettlement", or "centralization"; Bonavista Bay had been the first area to undertake this operation with government assistance, and shows the most concentrated example (see Fig. 2, page x). Surely, if plans were to be made for future population shuffles, the Bonavista Bay area would provide a good laboratory for an examination of this delicate process. To make plans for the future without a knowledge of the past is to fail to use man's unique privilege of building knowledge upon knowledge.

Purpose

In summary then, the purpose of this thesis is:

- (1) to discover when and why people came to Central Bonavista Bay, and to understand how they lived;
- (2) to discover the magnitude and significance of the recent settlement migrations in Central Bonavista Bay; and
- (3) to discover the reasons for the unemployment on the Central Bonavista Bay coast.

Method

The work began with the perusal of all government documents and published material available either in the writer's Newfoundland collection, or in local libraries. Field work was begun in Newfoundland in mid-May, 1964, beginning with a three week period in St. John's, gathering relevant documentary material from the Gosling Memorial Library, The Newfoundland Archives, Memorial University of Newfoundland library, and various government offices. With a basic documentary outline of the problems of the study in hand, actual work in the study area was begun. Three weeks were spent in the Central Bonavista Bay area, talking to key people involved in matters of historical significance, or the settlement migrations. All but two or three of the smallest abandoned settlements were landed upon, thoroughly explored, and photographed. Gathering of additional data at the Dominion Archives, and the final compilation of the study were carried out in Ontario during August, 1964.

The writer wishes to acknowledge:

The Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, through whom and for whom the writer was initiated into the fascination of Newfoundland;

Dr. W.F. Summers, Head of the Department of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland, who made the facilities of his department available;

Dr. A.F. Williams, Assistant Professor of Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland, from whom he gained valuable side-lights and inspiration;

Mr. Colin Story, Deputy Minister of ARDA Affairs, Province of Newfoundland, and Mr. H.G. MacGillivray of the same office, whose co-operation made much of this work possible and most of it easier;

The Departments of Highways; Welfare; Fisheries; Mines, Agriculture and Resources, Province of Newfoundland, all of whom supplied valuable data;

Miss Mona Cram and all the staff of the Gosling Memorial Library in St. John's, as well as those of the Newfoundland Archives, Memorial University of Newfoundland library, and the Dominion Archives;

Miss J. Smith, for assistance with maps and calculation of statistics, and Mrs. G. Nairn for expert typing;

Dr. H.A. Wood, Chairman of the Department of Geography, McMaster University, for his deep interest in, and penetrating suggestions upon, this thesis;

The Newfoundlanders, who extended their fullest co-operation and hospitality.

McMaster University,
Hamilton, Ontario,
September 7, 1964.

C.G.H.



LOCATION MAP
 SHOWING
CENTRAL BONAVISTA BAY
 AND AREAS STUDIED IN THE REPORT
 "COMMUNITY GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEYS" 1963

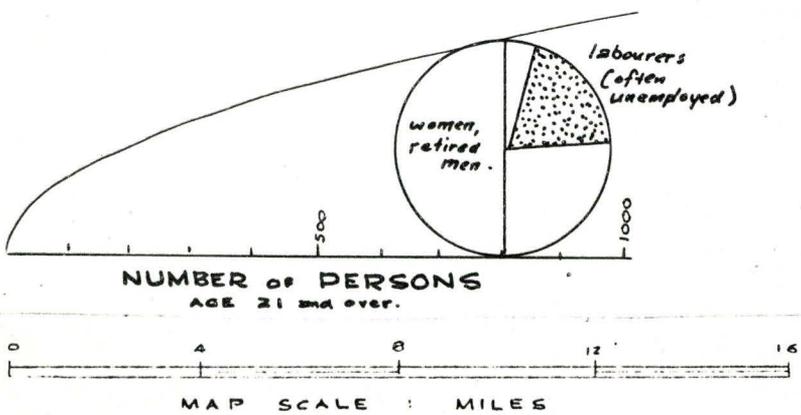
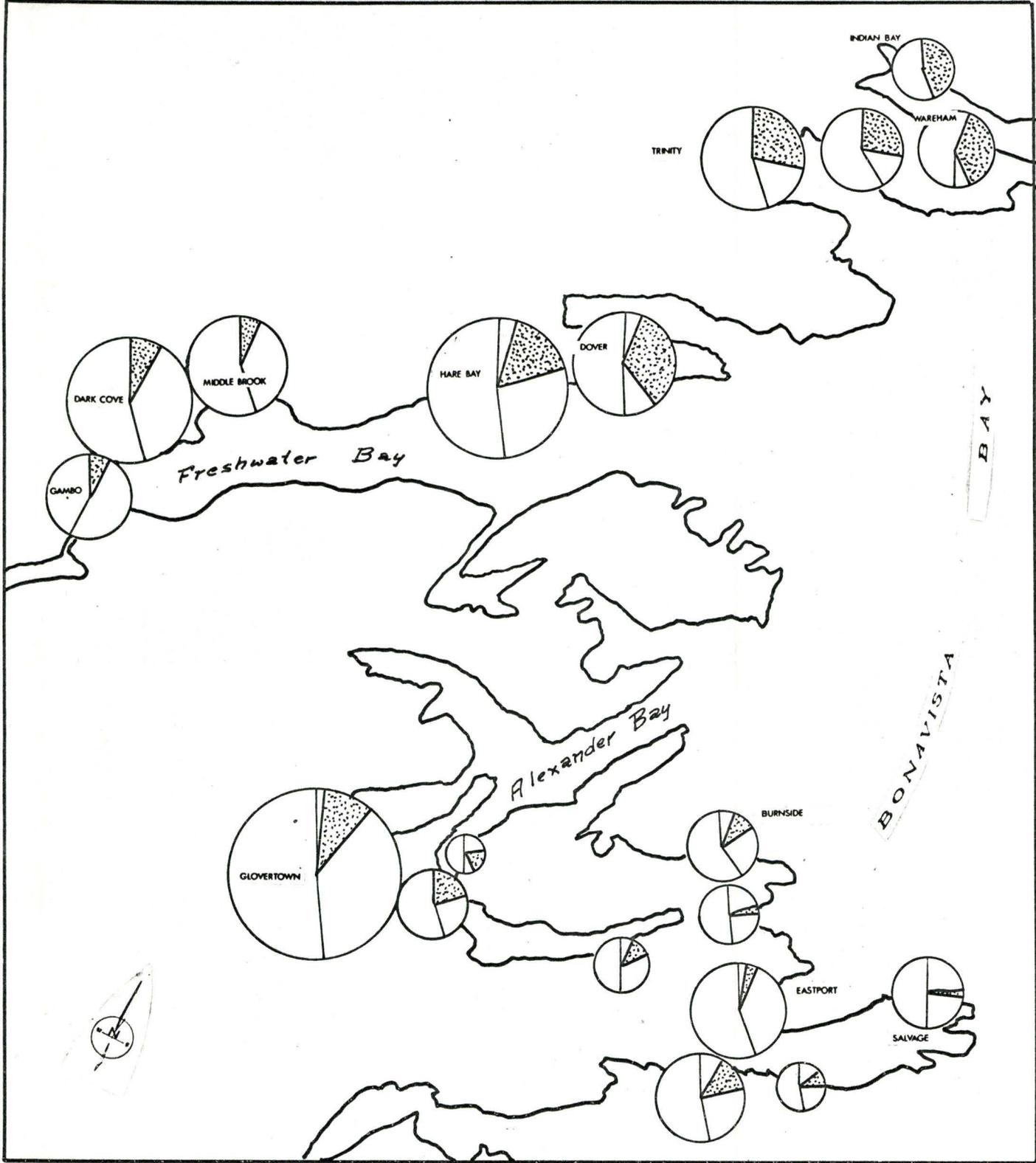


Fig. 1

PERSONS OFTEN UNEMPLOYED
(stippled)

Drawn from a map of occupations on the Northeast Coast included in map pocket in Head, "Community Geographical Surveys", 1963.

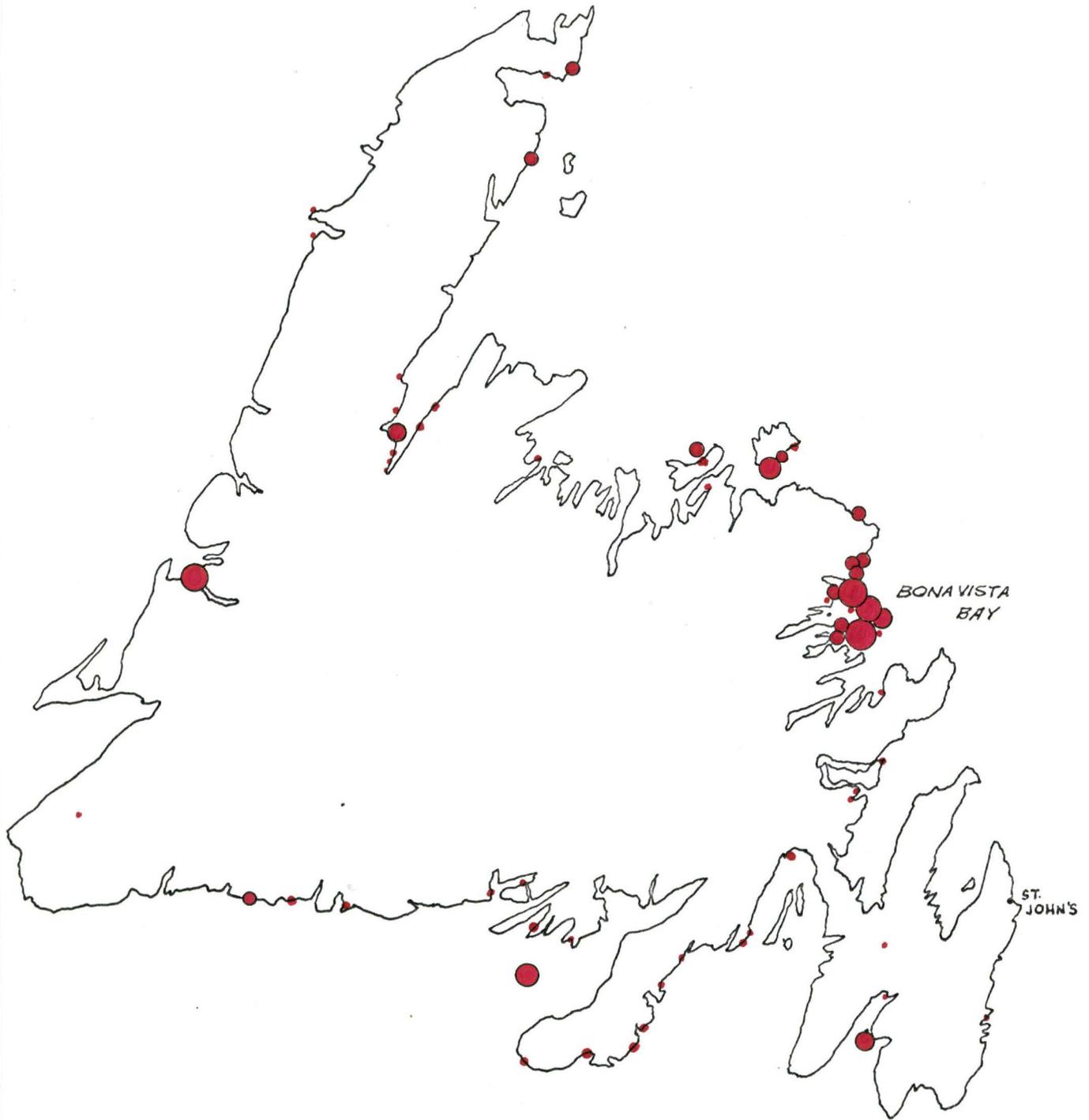
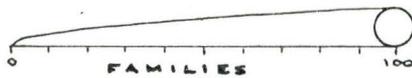


Fig. 2
NEWFOUNDLAND
SETTLEMENTS VACATED
with government assistance
1954 - 1962



CONTENTS

PREFACE

I	INTRODUCTION	
	1. The Cod, The Coast, and the Forest.....	1
II	SHIFTING POPULATIONS	
	2. Population Movement into Bonavista Bay...	7
	3. Developments "Up the Bay"	21
III	SHIFTING SETTLEMENTS	
	4. The Seeds of the Settlement Migration....	43
	5. Settlements Abandoned, and Created.....	52
	(a) Newport	
	(b) Bragg's Islands	
	(c) Flat Islands	
	(d) Fair Islands, and Centreville	
	(e) Burnt Island, and Butler's Cove	
	6. Settlements Swelled.....	91
	(a) Glovertown	
	(b) Dark Cove	
	(c) Hare Bay	

7. Settlements that Stayed.....104

(a) St. Brendan's

(b) Dock Cove

IV NINETEEN SIXTY-FOUR.....112

V CONCLUSIONS.....131

GLOSSARY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

THE COD, THE COAST, AND THE FOREST

The sea pounds the shore of Newfoundland, sending a fine salt shower ringing over the polished hard rock. Beyond the reach of the scouring breakers, and pressing back from the cold, wind-borne spray, are the dull browns, greys, and greens of the peat, the lichens, and the Labrador Tea. Reluctantly, the low ground cover grades to twisted, stunted spruce, while beyond, far up the bays, is the hazy form of a full coniferous forest.

To the old Newfoundlander, the land is of little interest; it is merely a place to live, in order to be near the sea. To the Upper Canadian, that vast expanse of heaving, grey North Atlantic looks particularly featureless and uninviting. But the sea is as various as any land. As it meets the island of Newfoundland especially, the sea is a reservoir of life.

Streaming south from the Davis Strait and the barren coast of Labrador comes the cold Labrador Current, flowing as a river into the waters over the Grand Banks, warmed by the Gulf Stream. In the early part of the year, the Labrador Current flows most strongly, and brings with it the Labrador ice, and

the West Greenland icebergs, to choke the Northeast Coast of Newfoundland.

But with the ice floes come the seals (Phoca Groenlandica), whelping on the ice just off Northeastern Newfoundland. It is on these shifting floes that the newly born "white coats" are daringly hunted by the Newfoundlanders each March. By May, the bay ice and drift ice has cleared from the coast, and only the icebergs slide by--far into the month of July--silently marking the course of the cold Labrador Current.

As the water of the bays warms with the coming summer, the lobsters become active along the shallower, boulder-strewn parts of the coast. The salmon return from the sea to fight up the rivers to spawn.

But it is the suitability of this marine environment for cod that is of utmost importance. The cod (Gadus callarias) is a cold-water fish, but it is killed by temperatures below 30° F.¹ Food for cod, as for most fish, is prevalent in the vicinity of the continental shelves, where sunshine can penetrate the water to foster plankton growth. Where cold and warm water mix, plankton and all forms of sea life are most plentiful. Here too, where cold water upwells, after long trips through the ocean depths, the collected nutrients are released, giving food for the plankton organisms.²

Off the Northeastern Coast of Newfoundland, then, where deep water comes relatively close to shore, we have a profile

as shown below:³

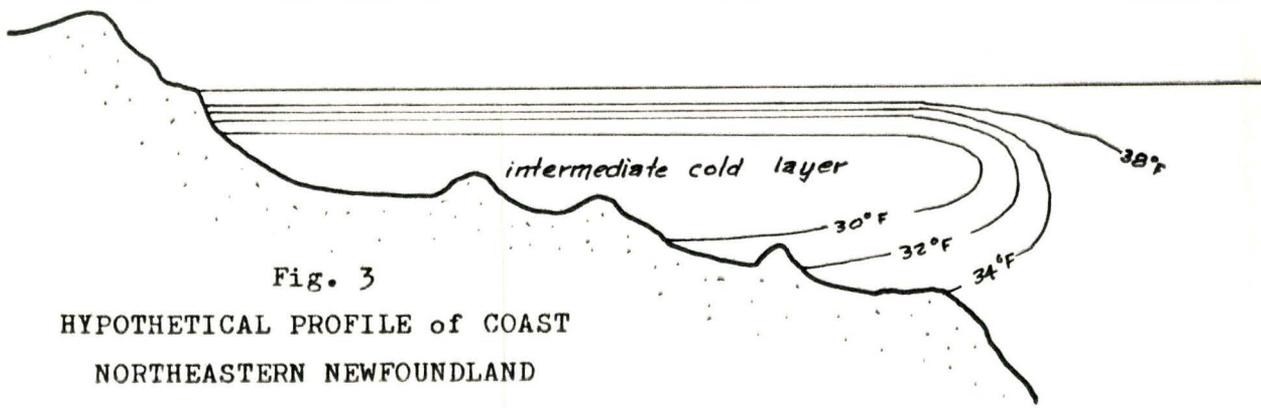


Fig. 3
 HYPOTHETICAL PROFILE of COAST
 NORTHEASTERN NEWFOUNDLAND

The cod spend the winter in the warmer deep water offshore, and in the spring, with the warming of the waters, come closer to shore to feed upon the marine life at the lower junction of warm and cold waters. Considerable numbers of the cod, however, break through the intermediate cold layer to follow the vast schools of caplin--a small silver fish, related to the smelt--as they drive to the shore to spawn. It is these cod that form the basis of the inshore fishery of Northeastern Newfoundland.

In this June run of the caplin, the cod can be taken in traps and nets along the shore. Later, glutted with caplin, they sink to the lower layers just above the cold water, and can be taken by jigging. As the water warms, the cod move deeper and farther off, and must be taken by handlining and lines of trawl. As winter approaches, and the top layers of water cool, the cod return to the much deeper waters beyond the banks.

Another factor affecting the location of the cod is wind. An offshore wind sends the warmer water away from the shore, allowing the colder water to upwell in its place. This brings food

to the surface, and the cod follow. Thus, with the prevailing summer winds from the south and southwest, the western shores of bays such as Bonavista are more favourable for fish population.

The land base for the fisheries is best developed on the headlands and islands closest to the fish population. In Northeastern Newfoundland, the fish are found in the mixing waters near the Labrador Current. In Bonavista Bay, the land base is everywhere rocky--granites to the north, and strongly-faulted metamorphosed volcanics and sedimentaries to the south (Fig. 4). The strike of these rocks, trending to the northeast, has allowed differential erosion, combined with strike and vertical faulting, to pattern Bonavista Bay with a series of ragged peninsulas. Cross-faulting has further cut the ends of the peninsulas into islands, and has opened deep bays into the interior.

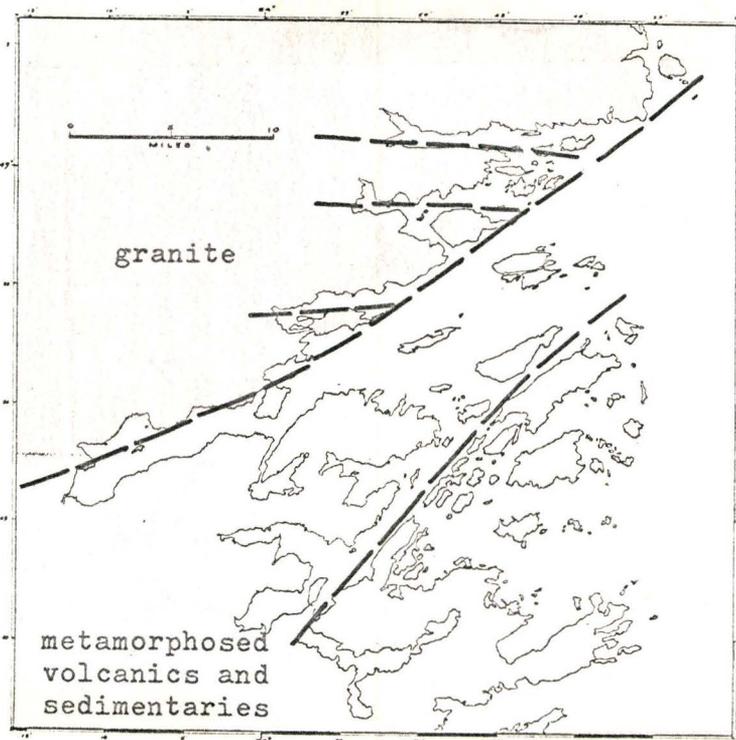


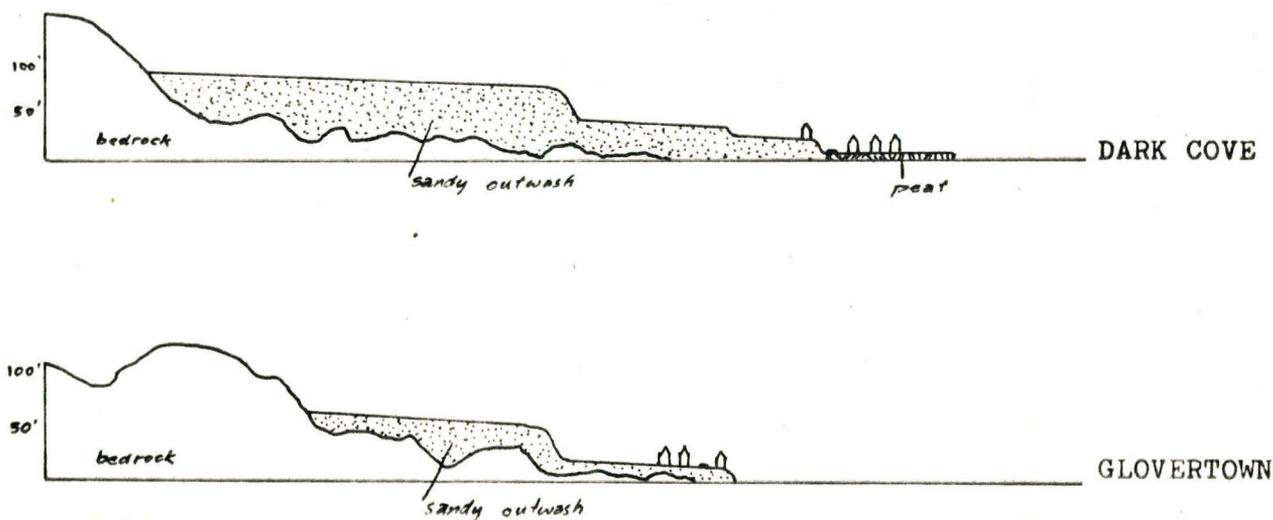
Fig. 4 GEOLOGY: rock types and major faults

Though the metamorphosed islands of the Bonavista Archipelago have yielded to an ancient planing action, those of granite rise in dome-shapes, with little or no evidence of benches along

their sides. The fishing settlements would have some interest in subsistence agriculture, and an easily built-upon site, but their primary concern was for a good harbour, hard by the fishing ground. Deeply gashed, narrow coves or a maze of fault-line channels called "tickles", provided the best harbours; the actual settlement site was often very steep and barren.

The shore at the heads of bays is rather different. The bays were usually the course followed by glacial ice, so that upon its retreat, the head of the bay was left with considerable morainic or outwash material. Immediately after the retreat of the ice, when the sea stood much higher than now in relation to the land, benches were cut in the easily-eroded glacial debris. These are not clear in all the bays, but the lower bench level is usually the one which has gained settlement.

Fig.5 GENERALIZED SETTLEMENT SITES



As the outer island settlements developed as bases for the exploitation of the sea, the inner bay settlements later developed as bases for the exploitation of the land. As one moves inland, away from the cold Labrador Current that has provided conditions favourable for cod, the climate becomes favourable for the spruce, balsam fir, and pine forests common to Newfoundland. With a suitable soil mantle provided by thin ground moraine, the forest became the prime resource of the settlements at the heads of the bays.

The fringes of land and sea between the tip of the peninsulas and the islands, and the heads of the bays, provided both fish and forest, but neither in the quantities offered by the extremes. The archipelago settlements and the inner bay settlements were antithetical in their environments.

CHAPTER TWO

POPULATION MOVEMENT INTO BONA VISTA BAY

By the end of the 1600's, the ships of England, France, Portugal and Spain had been taking fish from the prolific Newfoundland grounds for more than two centuries. The strongest of these fisheries, concentrated between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista, was the English. It must be emphasized that this was not a Newfoundland fishery, but rather was prosecuted by ships that came each spring from England, that set up rude shore establishments for the dry curing of fish, and that sailed in the fall for the markets of South Europe. But in time these "Western Adventurers", West of England merchants, found it advantageous to leave their shore installations and a small party of watchmen over the winter in Newfoundland, and to utilize the extra cargo space for fish.¹

Thus (and at times in direct opposition to the laws against settlement championed by the Adventurers themselves), small permanent settlements grew in Newfoundland. By 1677, 162 householders--who, with their families, totalled 523 persons--employed 1327 male servants, about half of whom "go home (for England) every Yeare, and return to their Masters at the beginning of the fishing season".²

During the Seventeenth Century, three distinct types of

fishing had developed along the eastern Newfoundland coast. The Adventurers set sail each spring for Newfoundland, where the captain of the first ship in each harbour was proclaimed "Fishing Admiral", with the power of law. He would thus, theoretically, choose the best fishing room, where he would erect stages and flakes for the processing of his summer's catch. After the fish was dried, it was loaded in the fishing ships and in "sack ships" (cargo ships) to be taken directly to the South European markets. This was the traditional British Ship Fishery, and formed a part of the famous North Atlantic "triangular trade".

But matters had become complicated by the "Planters" and the "By-Boat Keepers".

The Planters ... live all near the water side for the convenience of curing their fish which they catch and sell in the Summer season as the fishing ships leave.

And after the fishing ships are gone away which is about the midst of September they begin to fish again untill the latter end of October (sooner or longer as the season permits) and the fish then caught proves the best and is called the Winter fish.

By-Boats

Besides the Inhabitants and the Adventurers, there are other Persons, that not being willing or able to buy a Share in the fishing ships hire Servants in the West of England and carry them as Passengers to Newfoundland where they employ them in private Boats to catch and cure fish, and after the Season is over bring them back to England, or permit them to take Service with the Planters, or on board the Ship.³

The pressures of this settled population had begun to drive the English ship fishers away from the shore, and both they and the inhabitants spread northward from Cape Bonavista.⁴ The

FIG. 6

HOME PORTS OF THE FISHING SHIPS VISITING NEWFOUNDLAND

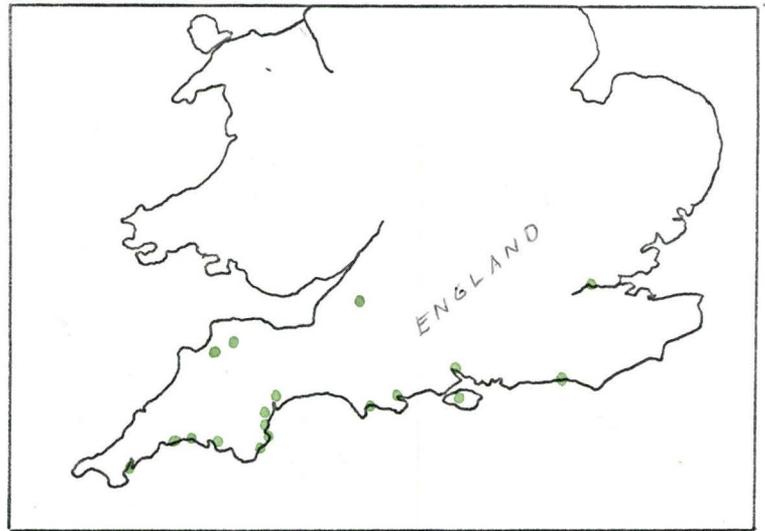
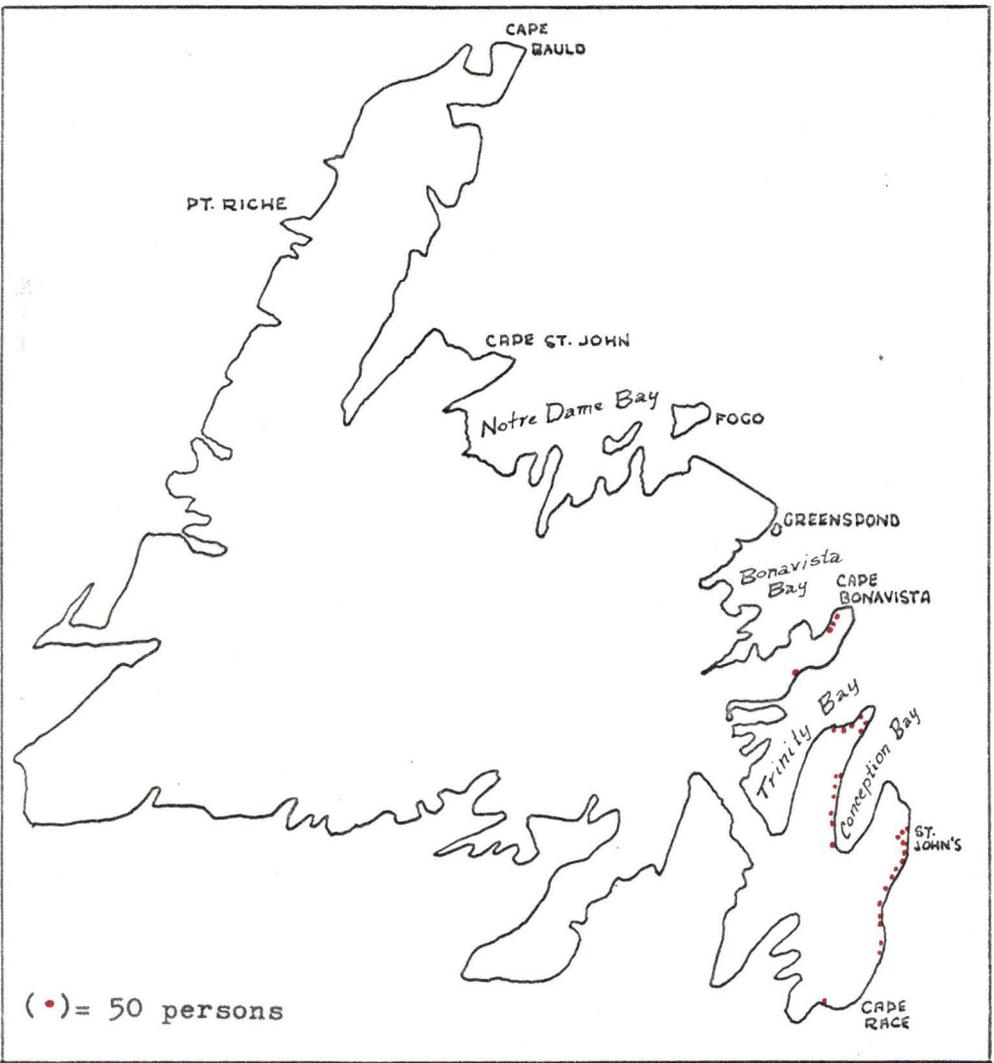


FIG. 7

NEWFOUNDLAND POPULATION DISTRIBUTION 1677



Both maps plotted from data in: C.O. 199/16 (1677)
"An Account of the Colony and Fishery of Newfoundland...."

first record of movement into Bonavista Bay comes in the closing years of the Seventeenth Century:

Letter from Wm Goch of Bonavista to Col. Norris 7 Sep. 1698.

I think it is my duty to acquaint your Honour that to the North side of this bay are many extraordinary harbours and better fishing; one William Wyng has fished there some years ... and this year one Nowill has been that way who has more fish for his two boats than they [the inhabitants of Bonavista] have for shallops, so that next summer severall of the inhabitants of this harbour design to remove thither and their masters of ships that have fished there this year intend to do likewise, for it is certain the fewer boats are kept in a place the better the fishing. ⁵

This letter most likely signals the first settling of Greenspond, ⁶ for more than two centuries to be the capital of Central Bonavista Bay.

Northward of Cape Bonavista was considered to be French fishing ground. But the wars between France and England from 1702 to 1713 led France to neglect her fisheries along the coast of Newfoundland; as it was to happen in each of the many such cases to follow, the English fishermen swept into the vacated area. Small salmon fisheries were established in the river-mouth bays in Bonavista and Notre Dame Bays, while some sealing was done in the outer reaches of Trinity and Bonavista Bays. ⁷ The English fishermen continued to move north, until, by 1739, Fogo and Twillingate could report that 386 persons had remained during the winter. ⁸

Until 1811, Newfoundland settlers were not allowed to possess land, for Britain wanted no interference with the English Ship Fishery, her "nursery for seamen". But laws mean little unless they can be enforced; by 1773, the Governor of Newfoundland was forced to admit to the Crown:

Very little of what was formerly called and thought to be Ship Room now remains in any of the harbours to the Southward of Cape Bonavista, particularly in St. John's, where, as well as at those places, almost every Spot commodious to the Fishery is claimed and Occupied as Private Property by the Inhabitants & others who Let them out at the Rate of about £10 a Room for the season, to which a proportional share of Beach or Flakes is allowed in which Bargain the Admirals do not interfere, nor would their Judgement or Decrees be much regarded....⁹

This condition existed not only in the old settled areas; the Crown had reason to believe that some:

... have, upon various unwarrantable pretences, possessed themselves of and do claim as their private Property, large Tracts of Land commodious for the Fishery, lying within the several Harbours and Rivers upon the Coast of Newfoundland, and the Islands adjacent thereto, between Bonavista and Point Riche, to the great prejudice and discouragement of the Ship Fishery....¹⁰

The English Ship Fishery was gradually losing the battle of Newfoundland to the permanent settlers, who, by the mid-1700's, were producing the greater part of the fish caught inshore.¹¹

This expansion north of Cape Bonavista, it must be remembered, was into the area in which the French had rights to a concurrent fishery; the French interpreted these rights as exclusive, and when not at war with England, attempted to enforce them as such. But the Seven Years' War (1756 - 1763), and the years of war ending in 1783, saw the English fishing ships and the Newfoundland shore fishermen firmly entrenched well north of Cape Bonavista.¹² The Treaty of Versailles (1783) recognized the French fishing rights north of Cape John only, thus leaving Bonavista and Notre Dame Bays open for the British fishermen. The French began a vigorous exploitation of their limits north of

Cape St. John, and strongly repelled British attempts to fish there. It is significant that during the war years, English and Conception Bay ship fishers had established along this "French Shore". These were therefore expelled, and they moved their operations north, to strengthen a fishery that had begun about twenty years before; ¹³ this was "The Labrador Fishery", in later years the mainstay of the Bonavista Bay economy.

By 1793, France was once more at war with England, in a campaign that was to last until 1817. Again, the neglect of the French fishery meant gains for the English and Newfoundland fishermen. A report of 1806 shows that ships were bringing fish "from the North, or French Shore" for making at Bonavista. It is this report, ¹⁴ "Register of Fishing Rooms in Bonavista Bay", that gives the first detailed account of conditions in the Bay; the locations of the rooms are plotted and presented here as Fig. 8. The clusters of activity suggest, and more detailed surname analyses confirm, that settlement spread to the Bonavista Bay archipelago from the towns of Bonavista and Greenspond. From Bonavista it had o'erflowed to King's Cove and Keels, and had then leapt to Salvage on the tip of the Eastport Peninsula; from Greenspond, it had lightly invaded Fair Island. This register comes at an opportune time, for, by 1806, only three of the archipelago islands were occupied, and these probably only recently. Gooseberry Island had only one fishery, and Fair Island had two. Flat Island's only room had been built in 1806, and was being used by men from Salvage-- an excellent example of the seasonal, and then permanent occupation

As the outer island settlements developed as bases for the exploitation of the sea, the inner bay settlements later developed as bases for the exploitation of the land. As one moves inland, away from the cold Labrador Current that has provided conditions favourable for cod, the climate becomes favourable for the spruce, balsam fir, and pine forests common to Newfoundland. With a suitable soil mantle provided by thin ground moraine, the forest became the prime resource of the settlements at the heads of the bays.

The fringes of land and sea between the tip of the peninsulas and the islands, and the heads of the bays, provided both fish and forest, but neither in the quantities offered by the extremes. The archipelago settlements and the inner bay settlements were antithetical in their environments.

CHAPTER TWO

POPULATION MOVEMENT INTO BONAVIDA BAY

By the end of the 1600's, the ships of England, France, Portugal and Spain had been taking fish from the prolific Newfoundland grounds for more than two centuries. The strongest of these fisheries, concentrated between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista, was the English. It must be emphasized that this was not a Newfoundland fishery, but rather was prosecuted by ships that came each spring from England, that set up rude shore establishments for the dry curing of fish, and that sailed in the fall for the markets of South Europe. But in time these "Western Adventurers", West of England merchants, found it advantageous to leave their shore installations and a small party of watchmen over the winter in Newfoundland, and to utilize the extra cargo space for fish.¹

Thus (and at times in direct opposition to the laws against settlement championed by the Adventurers themselves), small permanent settlements grew in Newfoundland. By 1677, 162 householders--who, with their families, totalled 523 persons--employed 1327 male servants, about half of whom "go home (for England) every Yeare, and return to their Masters at the beginning of the fishing season".²

During the Seventeenth Century, three distinct types of

fishing had developed along the eastern Newfoundland coast. The Adventurers set sail each spring for Newfoundland, where the captain of the first ship in each harbour was proclaimed "Fishing Admiral", with the power of law. He would thus, theoretically, choose the best fishing room, where he would erect stages and flakes for the processing of his summer's catch. After the fish was dried, it was loaded in the fishing ships and in "sack ships" (cargo ships) to be taken directly to the South European markets. This was the traditional British Ship Fishery, and formed a part of the famous North Atlantic "triangular trade".

But matters had become complicated by the "Planters" and the "By-Boat Keepers".

The Planters ... live all near the water side for the convenience of curing their fish which they catch and sell in the Summer season as the fishing ships leave.

And after the fishing ships are gone away which is about the midst of September they begin to fish again untill the latter end of October (sooner or longer as the season permits) and the fish then caught proves the best and is called the Winter fish.

By-Boats

Besides the Inhabitants and the Adventurers, there are other Persons, that not being willing or able to buy a Share in the fishing ships hire Servants in the West of England and carry them as Passengers to Newfoundland where they employ them in private Boats to catch and cure fish, and after the Season is over bring them back to England, or permit them to take Service with the Planters, or on board the Ship.³

The pressures of this settled population had begun to drive the English ship fishers away from the shore, and both they and the inhabitants spread northward from Cape Bonavista.⁴ The

FIG. 6

HOME PORTS OF THE FISHING SHIPS VISITING NEWFOUNDLAND

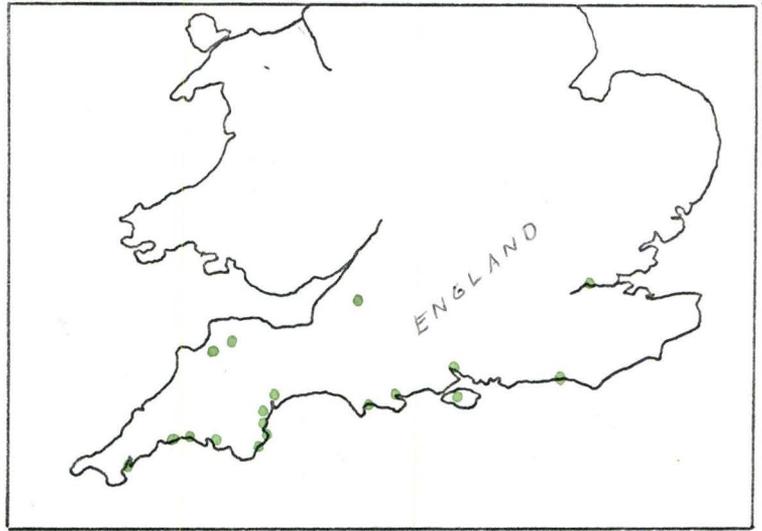
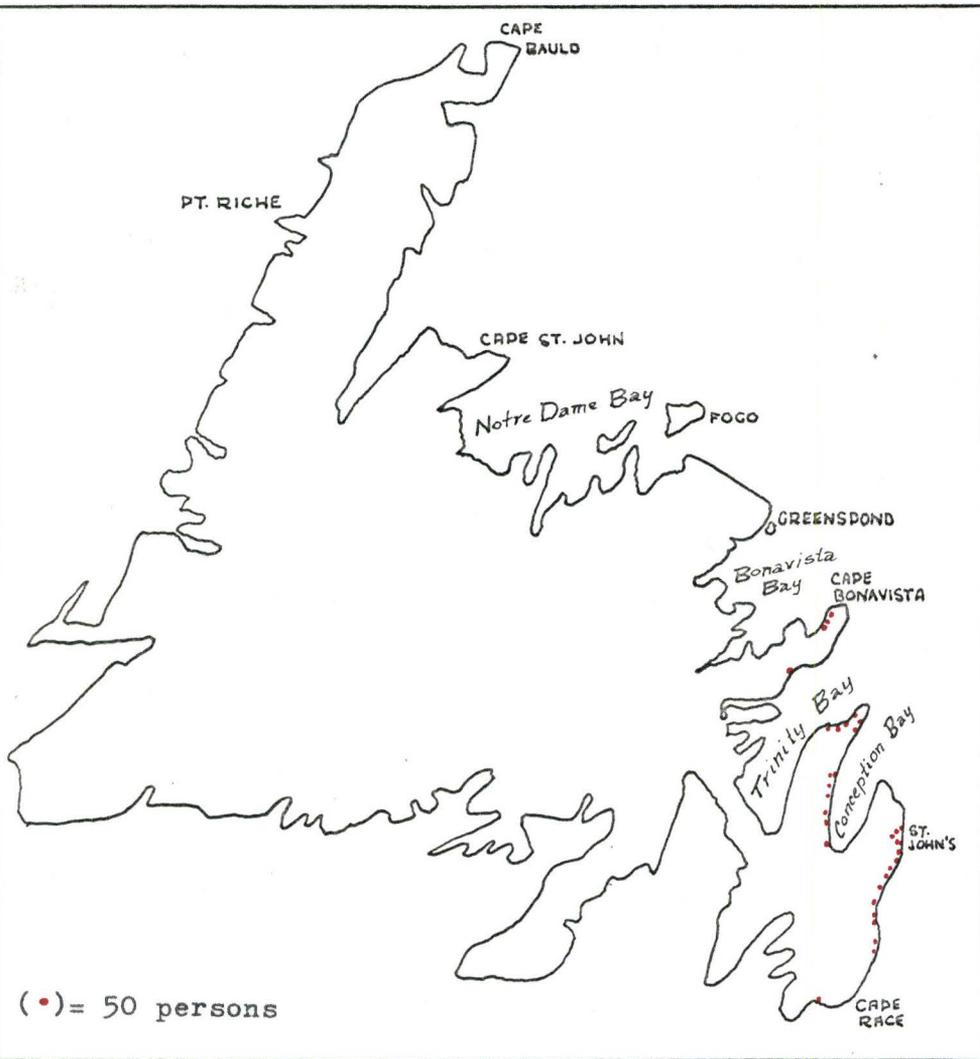


FIG. 7

NEWFOUNDLAND POPULATION DISTRIBUTION 1677



Both maps plotted from data in: C.O. 199/16 (1677)
 "An Account of the Colony and Fishery of Newfoundland...."

first record of movement into Bonavista Bay comes in the closing years of the Seventeenth Century:

Letter from Wm Coch of Bonavista to Col. Norris 7 Sep. 1698.

I think it is my duty to acquaint your Honour that to the North side of this bay are many extraordinary harbours and better fishing; one William Wyng has fished there some years ... and this year one Nowill has been that way who has more fish for his two boats than they [the inhabitants of Bonavista] have for shallops, so that next summer severall of the inhabitants of this harbour design to remove thither and their masters of ships that have fished there this year intend to do likewise, for it is certain the fewer boats are kept in a place the better the fishing. ⁵

This letter most likely signals the first settling of Greenspond, ⁶ for more than two centuries to be the capital of Central Bonavista Bay.

Northward of Cape Bonavista was considered to be French fishing ground. But the wars between France and England from 1702 to 1713 led France to neglect her fisheries along the coast of Newfoundland; as it was to happen in each of the many such cases to follow, the English fishermen swept into the vacated area. Small salmon fisheries were established in the river-mouth bays in Bonavista and Notre Dame Bays, while some sealing was done in the outer reaches of Trinity and Bonavista Bays. ⁷ The English fishermen continued to move north, until, by 1739, Fogo and Twillingate could report that 386 persons had remained during the winter. ⁸

Until 1811, Newfoundland settlers were not allowed to possess land, for Britain wanted no interference with the English Ship Fishery, her "nursery for seamen". But laws mean little unless they can be enforced; by 1773, the Governor of Newfoundland was forced to admit to the Crown:

Very little of what was formerly called and thought to be Ship Room now remains in any of the harbours to the Southward of Cape Bonavista, particularly in St. John's, where, as well as at those places, almost every Spot commodious to the Fishery is claimed and Occupied as Private Property by the Inhabitants & others who Let them out at the Rate of about £10 a Room for the season, to which a proportional share of Beach or Flakes is allowed in which Bargain the Admirals do not interfere, nor would their Judgement or Decrees be much regarded....⁹

This condition existed not only in the old settled areas; the Crown had reason to believe that some:

... have, upon various unwarrantable pretences, possessed themselves of and do claim as their private Property, large Tracts of Land commodious for the Fishery, lying within the several Harbours and Rivers upon the Coast of Newfoundland, and the Islands adjacent thereto, between Bonavista and Point Riche, to the great prejudice and discouragement of the Ship Fishery....¹⁰

The English Ship Fishery was gradually losing the battle of Newfoundland to the permanent settlers, who, by the mid-1700's, were producing the greater part of the fish caught inshore.¹¹

This expansion north of Cape Bonavista, it must be remembered, was into the area in which the French had rights to a concurrent fishery; the French interpreted these rights as exclusive, and when not at war with England, attempted to enforce them as such. But the Seven Years' War (1756 - 1763), and the years of war ending in 1783, saw the English fishing ships and the Newfoundland shore fishermen firmly entrenched well north of Cape Bonavista.¹² The Treaty of Versailles (1783) recognized the French fishing rights north of Cape John only, thus leaving Bonavista and Notre Dame Bays open for the British fishermen. The French began a vigorous exploitation of their limits north of

Cape St. John, and strongly repelled British attempts to fish there. It is significant that during the war years, English and Conception Bay ship fishers had established along this "French Shore". These were therefore expelled, and they moved their operations north, to strengthen a fishery that had begun about twenty years before; this was "The Labrador Fishery", in later years the mainstay of the Bonavista Bay economy.

By 1793, France was once more at war with England, in a campaign that was to last until 1817. Again, the neglect of the French fishery meant gains for the English and Newfoundland fishermen. A report of 1806 shows that ships were bringing fish "from the North, or French Shore" for making at Bonavista. It is this report, "Register of Fishing Rooms in Bonavista Bay",¹⁴ that gives the first detailed account of conditions in the Bay; the locations of the rooms are plotted and presented here as Fig. 8. The clusters of activity suggest, and more detailed surname analyses confirm, that settlement spread to the Bonavista Bay archipelago from the towns of Bonavista and Greenspond. From Bonavista it had overflowed to King's Cove and Keels, and had then leapt to Salvage on the tip of the Eastport Peninsula; from Greenspond, it had lightly invaded Fair Island. This register comes at an opportune time, for, by 1806, only three of the archipelago islands were occupied, and these probably only recently. Gooseberry Island had only one fishery, and Fair Island had two. Flat Island's only room had been built in 1806, and was being used by men from Salvage-- an excellent example of the seasonal, and then permanent occupation

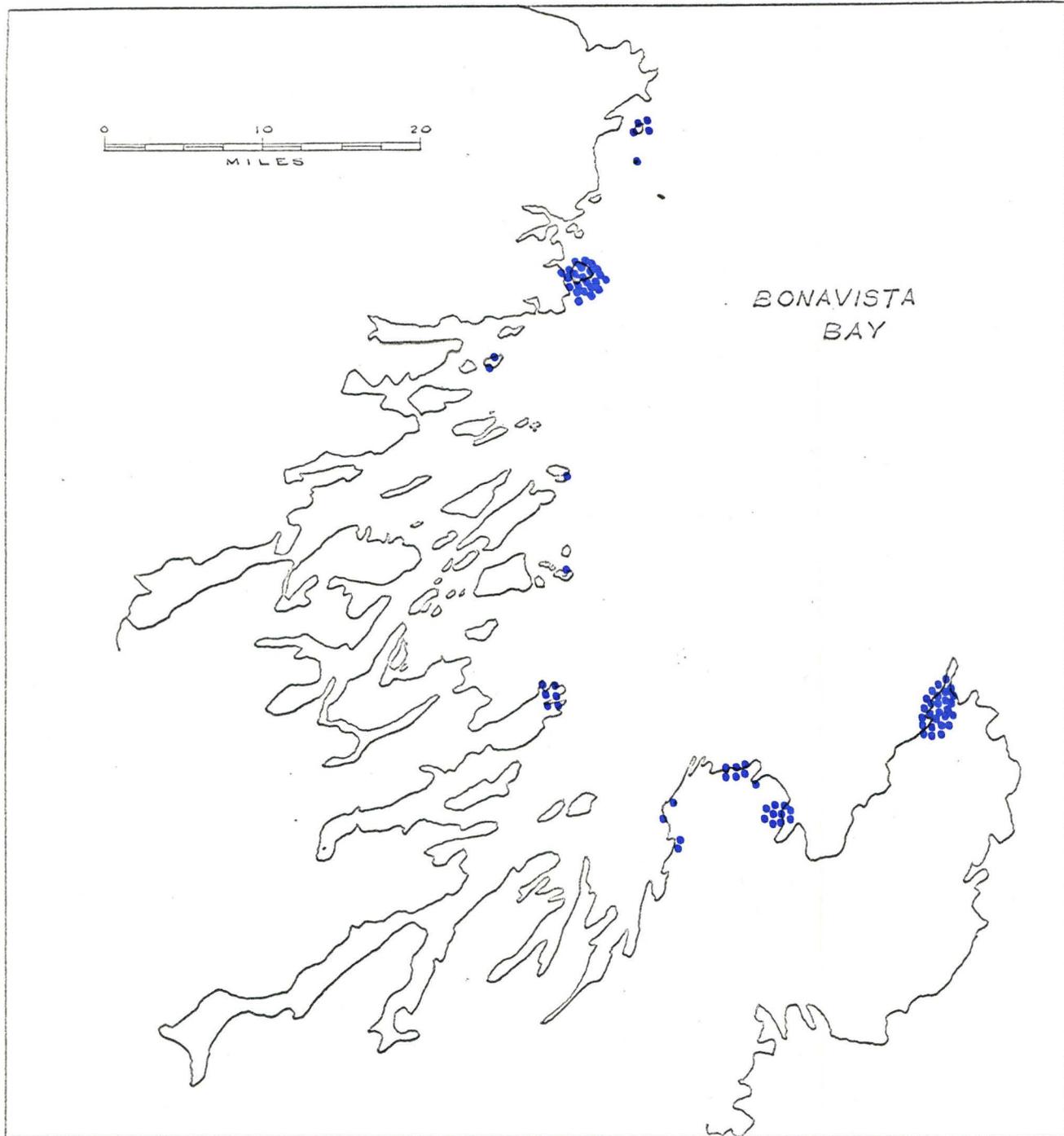


Fig. 8
FISHING ROOMS
in
BONAVISTA BAY

one dot (•) = one room

1806

Source: "Register of Fishing Rooms
in Bonavista Bay, 1805/6"

of these islands.

By 1817, the French fishermen were back on the north shore grounds, with the help of revived and extended French government bounties.¹⁵ The shore from Cape John around Cape Bauld to Cape Ray became very definitely known as "The French Shore", and little non-French fishing was done there until the Twentieth Century. With the northern Newfoundland shore thus closed to them, the fishermen of Bonavista Bay had two clear alternatives; fish the home grounds, or go north of the French Shore to fish the Labrador. The present state of knowledge, however, does not supply sure evidence of the extent of either pursuit; only clues have been found. The writer suggests, though, that in these early years, the Labrador fishery in the Central Bonavista Bay area was largely concentrated at Greenspond, for here we have evidence of early sealing vessels,¹⁶ which were likely used later in the season for "The Labrador". It is suggested too, that the overflow of population to the archipelago islands was mainly of private fishermen, and that these people would not in one generation gain the means for outfitting for The Labrador.

The population distribution of 1836 (see Fig. 9) was to be the basis of population in Central Bonavista Bay for the next forty years. Greenspond was still very much the capital--both legally and commercially--while a number of small fishing outposts dotted the islands and the tip of the Eastport Peninsula to the south. The spring seal fishery, started during the first years of the islands' settlement, and by the 1830's at a plateau of

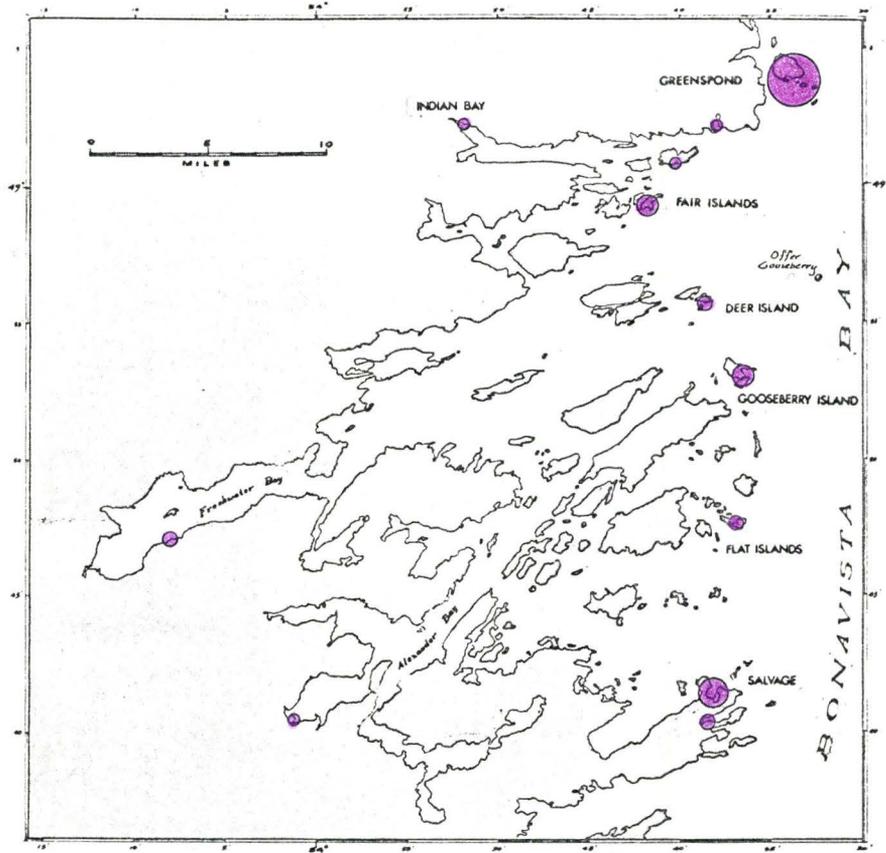
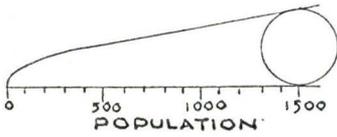


Fig. 9

DISTRIBUTION of POPULATION
CENTRAL BONAVISTA BAY
1836



Source: Newfoundland Census

maximum productivity, no doubt assisted in the tendency for dispersed settlement.¹⁷

Thus, population spread thinly over the archipelago islands. The locative factor was to be as close as possible to the sea resource; the Labrador Current brought the seals by the islands on the ice floes in the spring, and the caplin, running to land to spawn, brought the cod to the islands in the summer. Unwilling to break through the intermediate cold ocean layer again, and for some time "glutted" on caplin, the cod remained around the shallows of the islands and rocks offshore.

Though by far the most important fishing grounds are those immediately adjacent to the Offer Gooseberry Island, no permanent settlement was made there due to its extremely isolated and barren nature. Small huts were erected there, however, by fishermen who would make the voyage from the islands from Gooseberry Island north to Silver Fox Island, to spend perhaps a week at a time fishing.¹⁸ Between the Offer Gooseberry group and the archipelago islands there were many other fishing grounds which could be used daily from the larger islands of the archipelago. Those that offered sheltered small boat harbours, and more of the needs of a settlement--such as firewood and drinking water--gained permanent populations, and the local fishing grounds became rather particularly parcelled out amongst them.¹⁹

The settlements of the archipelago continued their growth, reaching their maximum growth rate--as a group--near the end of the century, and their maximum population shortly thereafter.

20

POPULATION Headlands and Islands: Salvage to Greenspond

	1836	1857	1869	1874	1884	1891	1901	1911
TOTAL	1190	2403	2992	3297	3891	4012	4344	4380
RATE (%)	102	24	10	18	4.4	8.3	0.8	

With the quickly rising population came pressures upon the resource base--a base that had been adequate for the few original families. Vegetable land was an example; each family attempted to grow its own needs and a slight surplus. The average per capita production was kept amazingly high, but the variation between settlements was considerable, and to a large extent reflected the suitability of the land for gardening endeavours. The southern islands, based upon softer rocks, with a flatter terrain (and, in some cases with a slight till cover), produced a surplus of potatoes (the main vegetable in the diet). St. Brendan's, for example, in 1857 was able to produce 5.8 barrels per capita--3.8 barrels above the subsistence level.²¹ But the granite islands in the north were never able to produce enough potatoes; Fair Islands, by the same date, were producing only 0.7 barrels per capita--1.3 barrels below the subsistence level.

The main resource for which the islands had been settled was, of course, fish. With population increasing rapidly, one can recall the statement of William Coch in 1698: "... for it is certain the fewer boats are kept in a place, the better the fishing."²² Unfortunately, the fish landings of the area cannot be traced. For though the census gives figures on cod catch for 1857, and onward from 1874, there is no way of knowing if these represent

average catch for the era--for fish catches fluctuate tremendously from year to year. But any evidence available indicates that the inshore fishery was not supplying a satisfactory livelihood; in 1857, in the Central Bonavista Bay area, five to fifteen quintals per man fishing was the range of catch (each man would hope for six to ten times that amount today), and the reports to the Colonial Office for 1866 note: "... the small boat fishery along the Coast [is] not being found sufficient to supply the increasing population." ²³

It was thus probably during this period, shortly after settlement had been established, that the residents of the archipelago turned to the Labrador Fishery, which had been pursued by the larger merchants of Greenspond and Conception Bay ports since the latter half of the eighteenth century. Schooners began to sail from the island outports to the Labrador Coast in early summer, and brought back the fish heavy-salted for washing out in the fall, and drying under the sun on the flakes of the home outport. The product was then sold either to the local merchants (probably at Greenspond), or to St. John's, from whence it was exported to the South European markets.

The record of the Labrador Fishery for the archipelago of Bonavista Bay is obscure. The first census to make note of Newfoundland's fleet of Labrador "floaters" (as the schooners that practised this floating fishery on The Labrador were called) was that of 1884--and by that time, this fishery had risen very nearly to its greatest height. ²⁴ If Bonavista Bay as a whole is considered,

the fleet can be seen to shift from southern ports to northern ports in the years between 1884 and 1920:

LABRADOR FISHERY: No. of vessels engaged²⁵

<u>Bonavista Bay</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1920</u>
Southern	92	57	24
Central	64	109	107
Northern	66	96	114

The pattern of the home ports in Central Bonavista Bay, however, showed a shift in a westerly direction, up the bays (see Fig. 10). The forces which brought about this change were not of the sea. The young inland settlements, though incidentally drawing to themselves the economy of the Labrador Fishery, offered a new resource --one which would give employment to the surplus populations of the earlier settled communities.

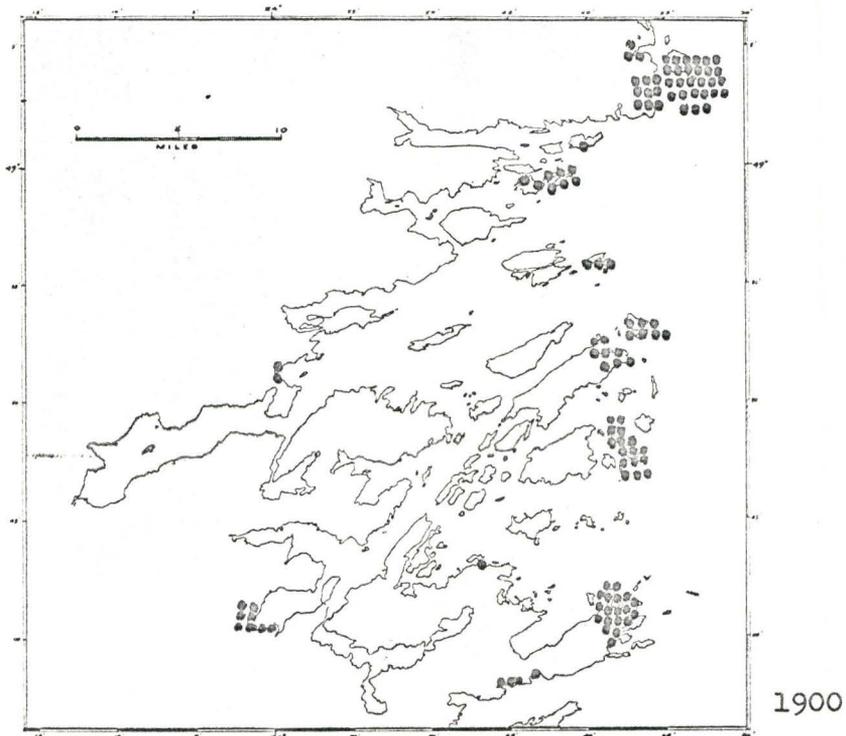
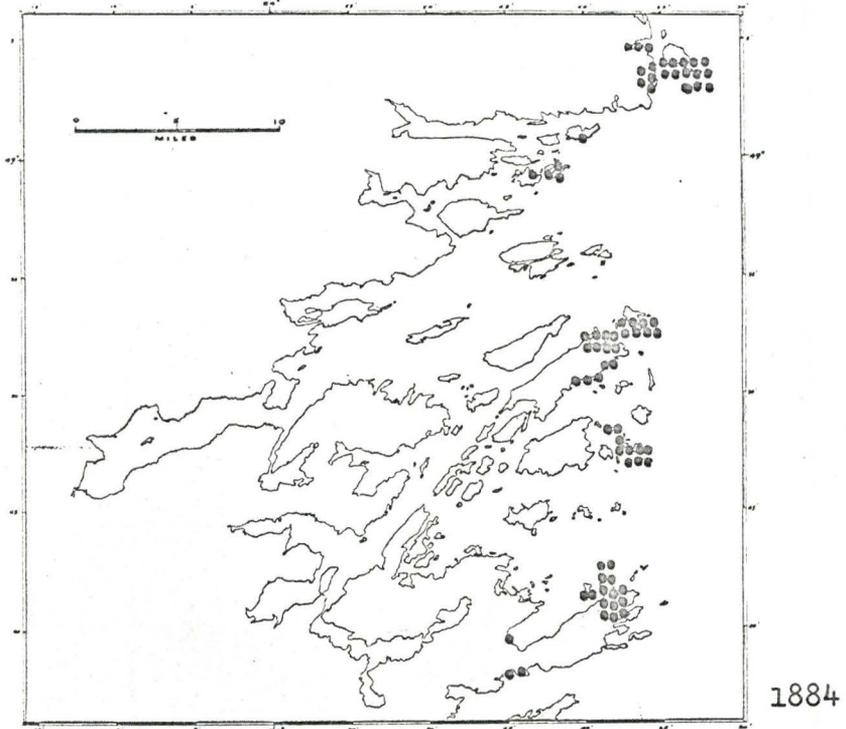


Fig. 10
VESSELS ENGAGED
in the
LABRADOR FISHERY

CHAPTER THREE

DEVELOPMENTS "UP THE BAY"

The closing quarter of the Nineteenth Century saw the appreciation of hitherto little-used resources; occupational patterns changed, and populations shifted. No longer was fish the only resource of Bonavista Bay--the focus of new development shifted "up the Bay" to the timber reserves on the mainland. This new interest was manifested by the slow creep of sawmills northward, as shown in the following table:

1

SAWMILLS

Bay	1858	1875	1884	1891
Conception (& St. John's)	1	1	2	-
Trinity	5	14	39	22
Bonavista	-	-	5	16
Notre Dame	6	4	5	8

Further serious interest in the interior was shown by the renewed talk of an across-the-island railway. In 1875, the report of a preliminary exploration and survey proposed a standard gauge line, built to the specifications of another cross-country line, The Canadian Pacific Railway. For more than a decade, however, the Newfoundland Railway remained mostly talk.

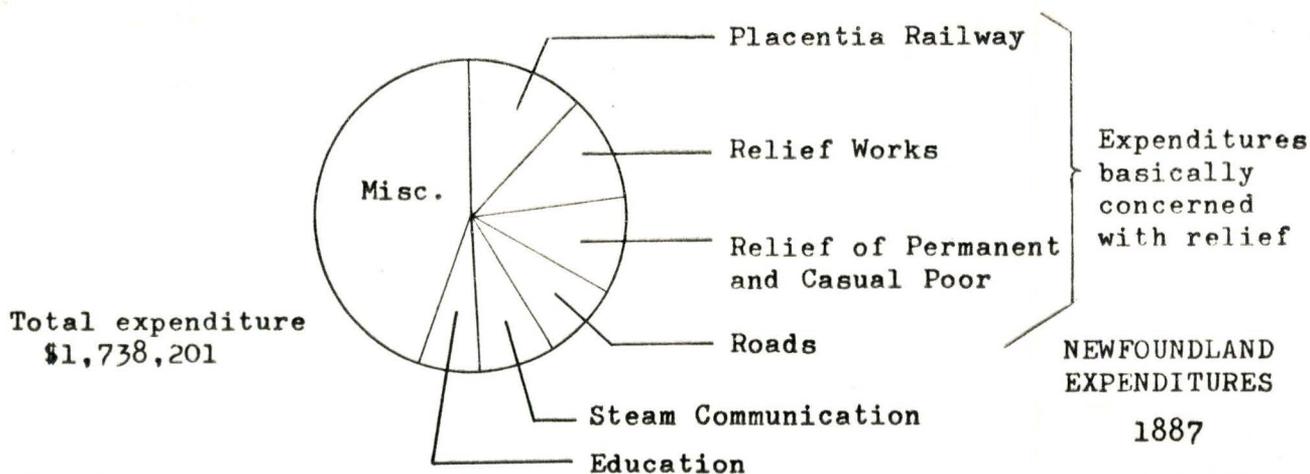
The interior was slowly becoming known. But the economy of Newfoundland rested upon the fishery, and--despite earlier attempts to revive the Bank Fishery--rested largely upon the Labrador and shore fisheries. These two main branches were in difficulties in the mid-1880's, and Newfoundland found herself upon bad times.

The northern districts were especially affected, principally on account of an almost total failure of the shore fishery, but also largely from a curtailment of outfit for the Labrador fishery, which left hundreds without any means of employment.²

Thus, every attempt was made to relieve the great dependence upon the shore fishery especially. Somewhat more success was had with a new Bank Fishery (largely from the "southern ports"), and with this had come "a considerable increase in the allied industry of shipbuilding"³, assisted by a government bounty of \$2.00 per ton.

The industry is chiefly confined to the northern districts where there are ample timber resources, and where it furnishes the people with employment during the winter, a season of the year when they are unable to continue fishing.⁴

The governments expenditures became largely concerned with works of relief:⁵



Roads and railways were built, and agriculture was encouraged. In 1886, for example, the largest single expenditure of the government was for "agricultural roads".⁶ In the same year, the legislature passed an "Act for the Promotion of Agriculture", providing for a bounty of \$6.00 per acre cleared. Reports for the following year indicate that this had met some measure of success; census figures for the Southern Bonavista Bay area especially, show considerable agricultural effort during these years. By 1887 too, the colony had embarked on a narrow-gauge railway construction programme, beginning with the line to Placentia, "the labour on which, was largely given to relieve distress".⁷

Before the end of the 1880's, construction was begun on a railway running north from the Placentia Railway at Whitbourne, and by 1892 had reached Gambo,⁸ becoming a very real force in opening the interior reaches of Bonavista Bay. By 1894, roads had been constructed to link certain settlements in Bonavista Bay, of which the most relevant were Middle Brook, Dark Cove, and Gambo.⁹

Despite some good years on The Labrador and an increasing Bank Fishery, the Newfoundland fisheries continued to have generally hard times.

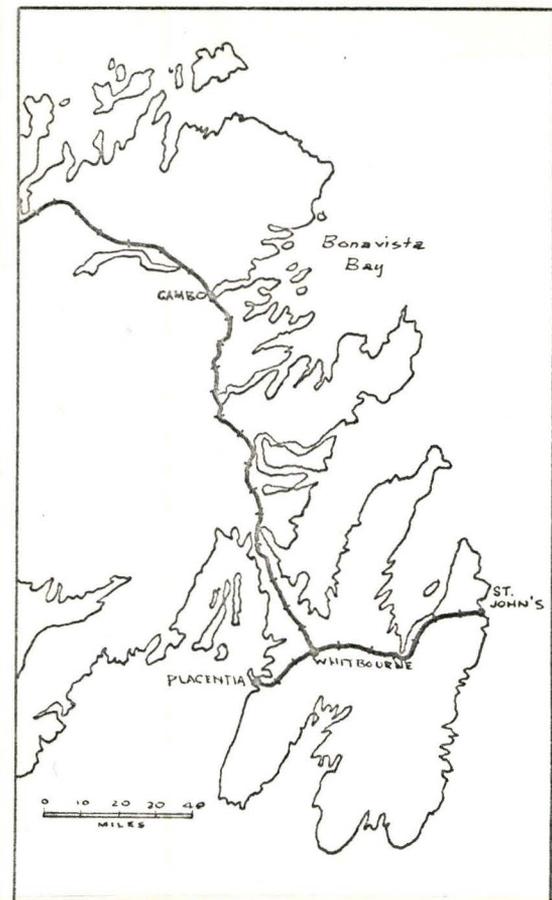


Fig. 11 THE RAILWAY

The reduction in the price obtained for these commodities [attributed to "the enormous bounty given the French Fishery"] which has been steadily decreasing for the last five or six years, was in 1894 of a most serious nature, and, in view of its future effect upon the well-being of a Colony whose fisheries have hitherto supported five-sixths of the population, is a matter of gravest import.¹⁰

Newfoundland timber, however, began to enter the economy (Fig. 12), especially in the northern areas such as Trinity and Bonavista Bay. Even in 1894, compared with a total value of dried cod of \$3,703,338, the \$82,641 gained from the export of wood products could not be considered to be major; but in Bonavista Bay, for example, it was significant. By 1898, the export of wood products accounted for a value of almost \$200,000, as wood pulp entered the economy for the first time.¹¹

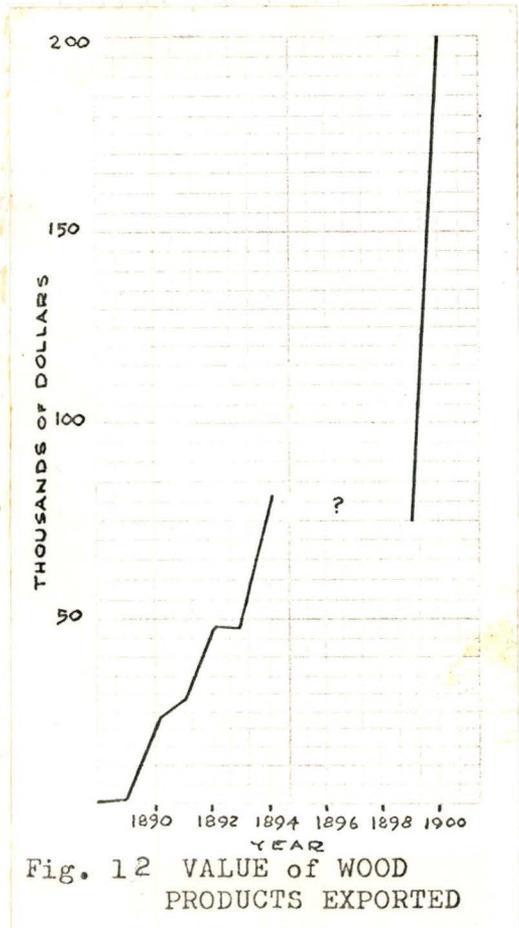


Fig. 12 VALUE of WOOD PRODUCTS EXPORTED

As the twentieth century opened, the depression of the 1880's was but a memory, and the relief works of that time, largely in the interior and the inner bays, were functioning as necessities in the economy. The Governor was able to report that "employment is to be had by all who desire it, foodstuffs are cheap, and there's but little distress or poverty".¹³

The country is, however, in a state of transition. The close and constant communication with the adjoining continent afforded by the railway [and by a steamer lately put on by Reid across the Strait] is slowly but surely changing our social

customs, our modes of thought, as well as our trade methods. The life of the continent is mingling with the life of the island, and the insular ideas are being broadened thereby. Quite a number of our young men find employment in Canada and the United States during the winter months, returning in the spring to proceed to the fishing grounds; while others, having given up the fishing altogether, work on the neighbouring continent during the summer and come home for but a short visit in the winter. The great bulk of their earnings is, at the present time at any rate, brought back with them. This relieves the fishery of the burden of providing for as many families; the same catch is divided among fewer people. While the fishery is still the great mainstay, the benefits of the subsidiary industries in the island are beginning to be felt. A large number of men are constantly engaged in mining, while the lumbering industry affords employment during winter to many who are fishing in the summer. The progress along the lines of industrial development is slow but satisfactory, and is already affording relief in some of the economic difficulties that confront us. The limit to this development will depend upon the extent of our resources, but nothing has yet arisen to check the faith of operators and investors, who look forward with confidence to days even more bright and more prosperous than the present.¹⁴

In Central Bonavista Bay, commercial logging began in the 1870's. The area was physically well-suited to such endeavours, for a large virgin forest clothed the inland hills, well away from the stunting influence of the cold sea. Though today, this forest is mainly spruce and balsam fir, it would appear that in the early days, much more pine was present; it was this pine that attracted the lumbering industry.¹⁵ The timber was relatively easy to extract, for major streams flowed into the deeply indented bays of the area, allowing log drives to be made with ease. At rapids, these same

streams could be dammed as power to operate large mills, or one of the many small streams could be used for medium-sized mills. The sheltered bays--or, in one case, a lake--could be used to store logs, and made excellent sites for the loading of lumber on- to schooners.

The first sawmill and its milling community of Gambo had been established on the Gambo Brook.¹⁶ The major mill in the area, however, was built at Mint Brook, about two miles south of Gambo, in 1876. The mill owner, from the King's Cove area, was Roman Catholic, and the work force, recruited from these partly-Irish settlements on the south shore of Bonavista Bay, was almost completely of that denomination (see Fig. 14 showing patterns of religious denominations in Bonavista Bay in 1901). A townsite was established (Fig. 15), with houses strung out along a horse-powered tramway that ran from the mill to the loading piers at Gambo, where timber was shipped by schooner to St. John's. The new settlement of Mint Brook was self-sufficient in most food, for almost everyone grew their own potatoes, and kept cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens.

Other interest in the area at that time was not concerned with timber, but with netting salmon, and especially, with gathering birch "rinds" (bark) with which to cover fish on the flakes during spells of poor weather. About 1878, two families who had come to know the area through these activities settled and constructed sawmills. The first came from St. Brendan's (the only protestant family there), and established at Dark Cove, damming a small

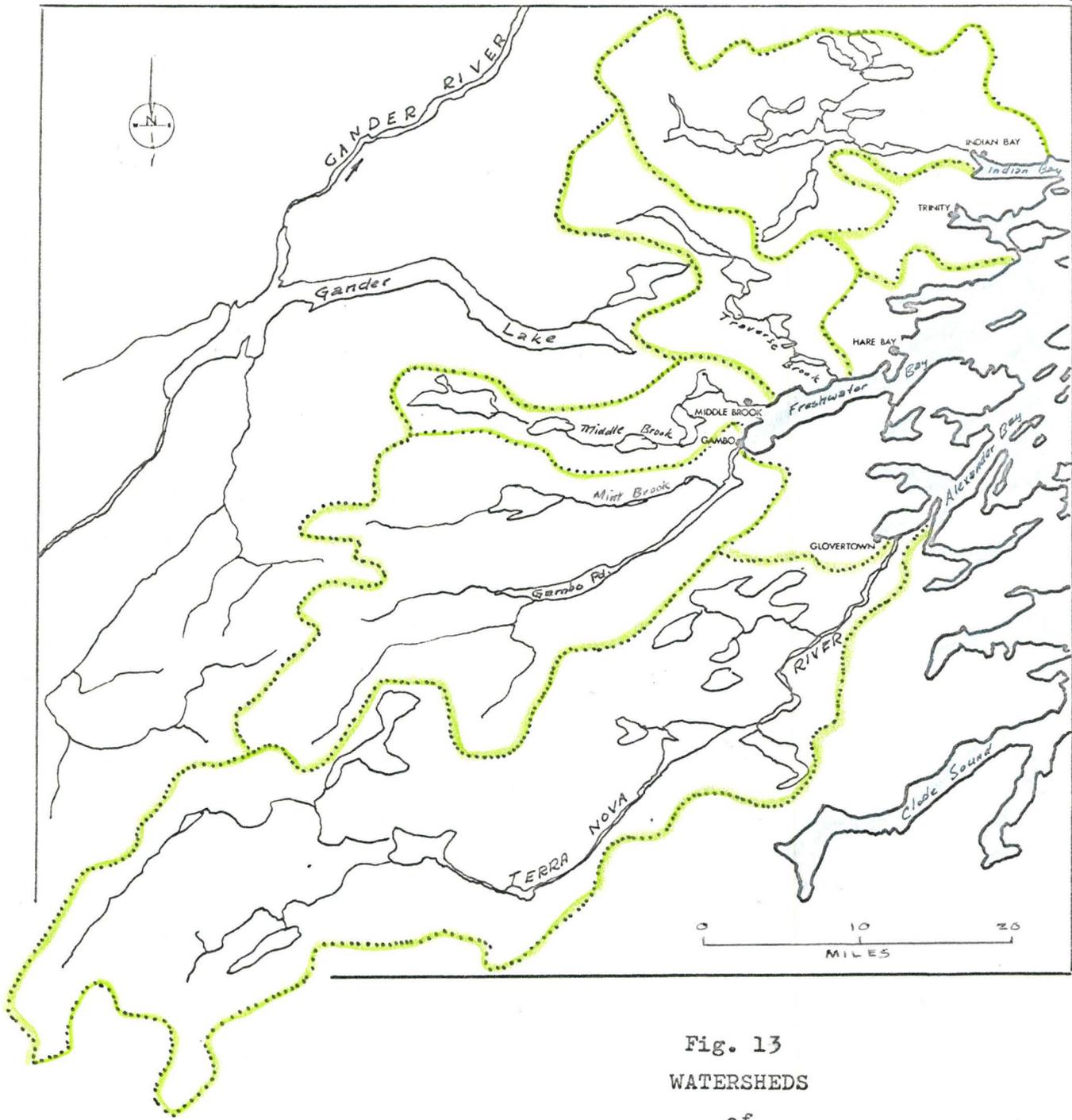


Fig. 13
WATERSHEDS
of
TIMBER EXPLOITATION

Fig. 14. RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS
1901

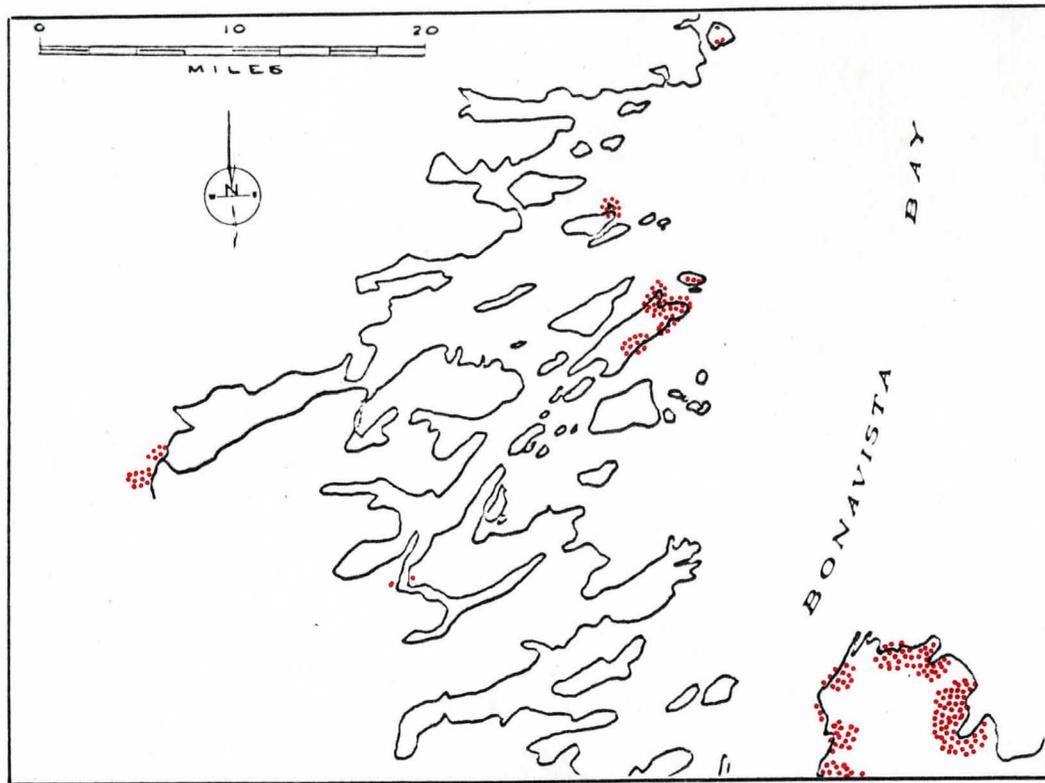


Fig. 14a PERSONS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
(•) = 10

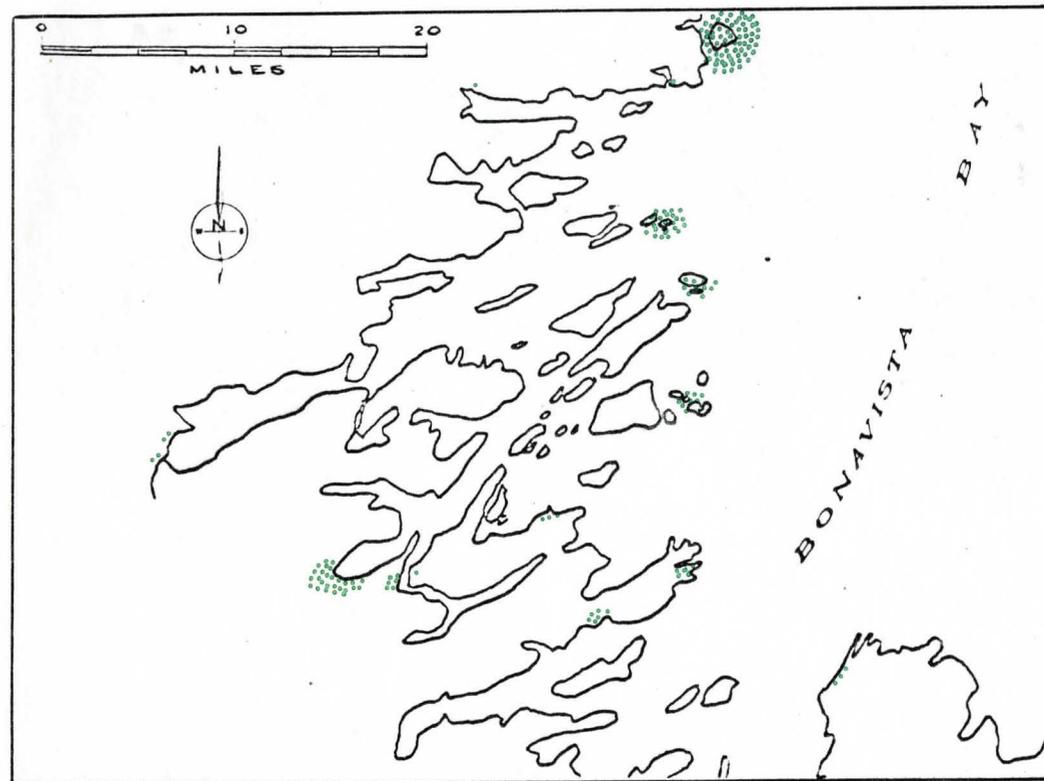


Fig. 14c PERSONS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH (later UNITED)
(•) = 10

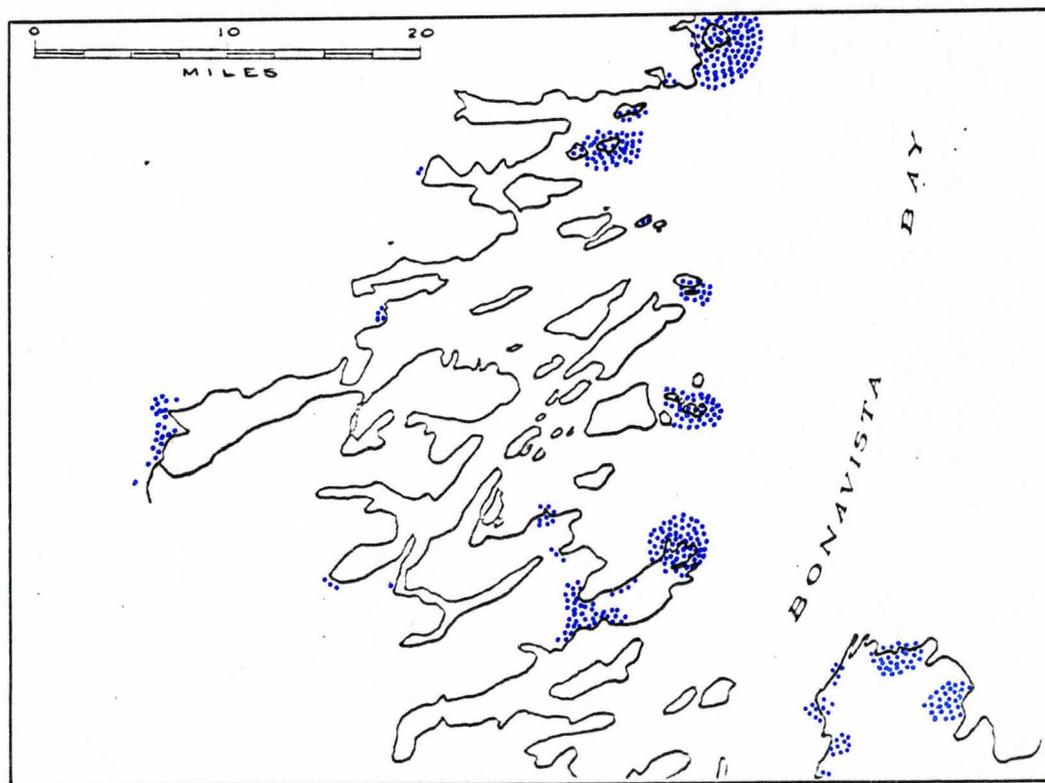


Fig. 14b PERSONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
(•) = 10

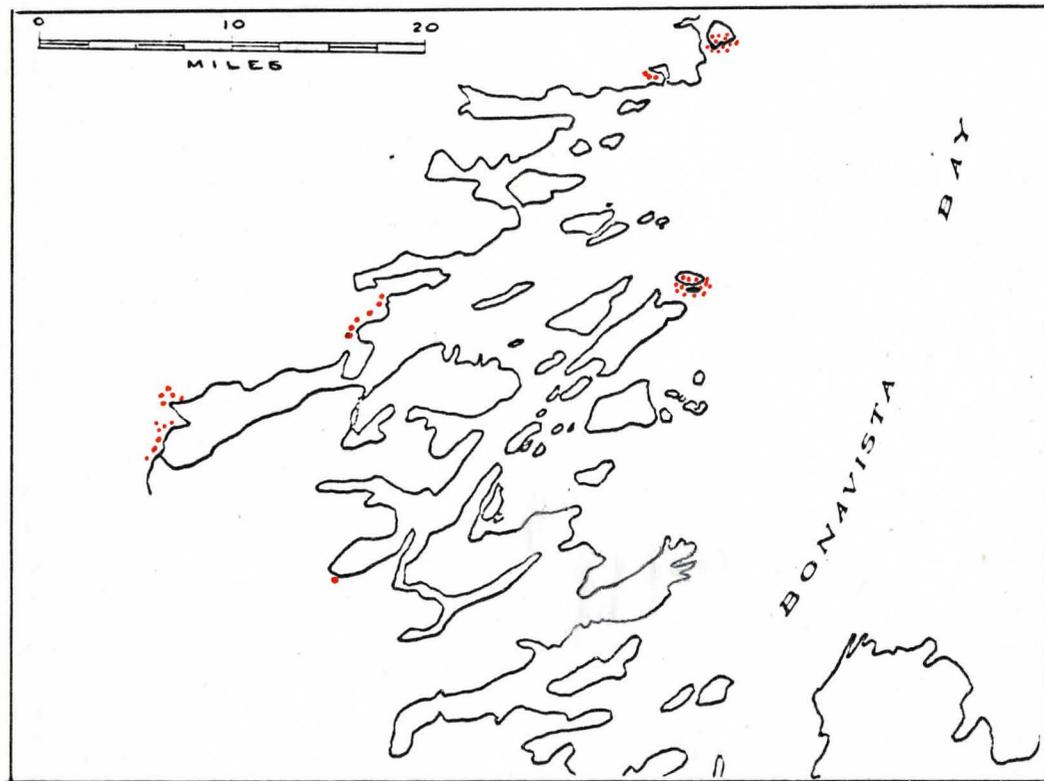


Fig. 14d PERSONS OF OTHER CHURCHES (mainly SALVATION ARMY)
(•) = 10

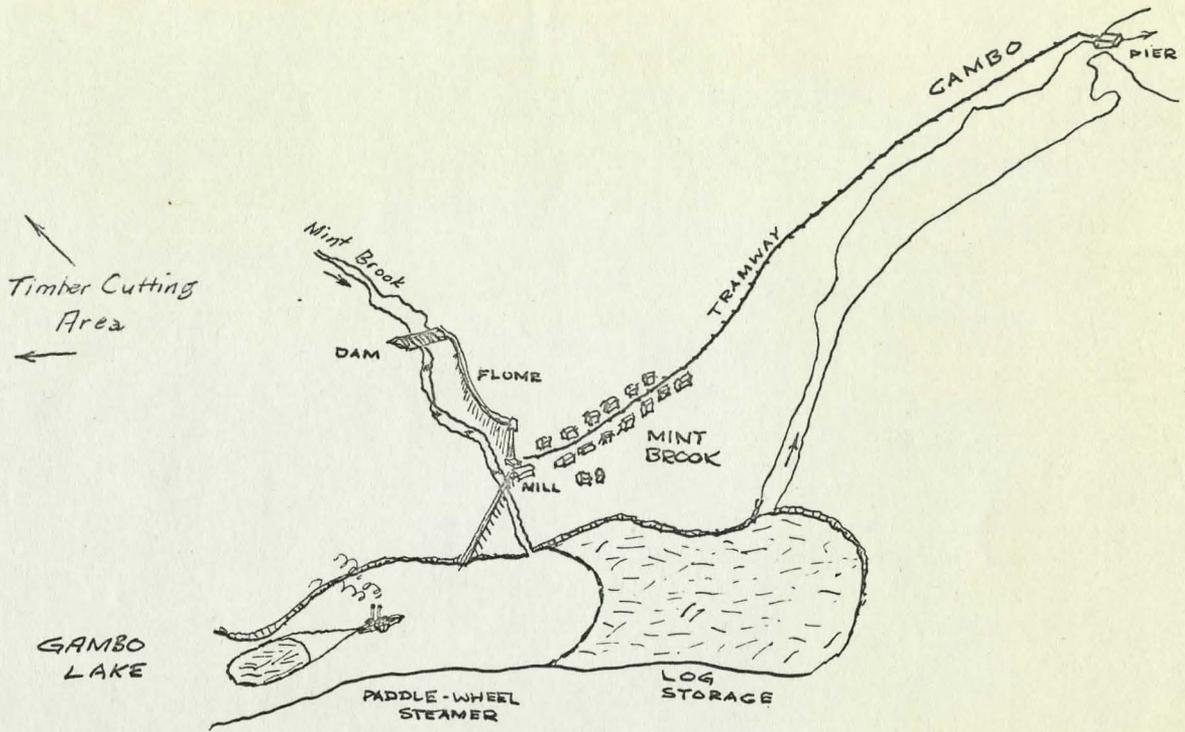


Fig. 15
 SKETCH
 showing
 UTILIZATION of SITE
 at MINT BROOK



Mint Brook is now
 lost in a forest.
 This is the turbine
 that powered the
 mill.

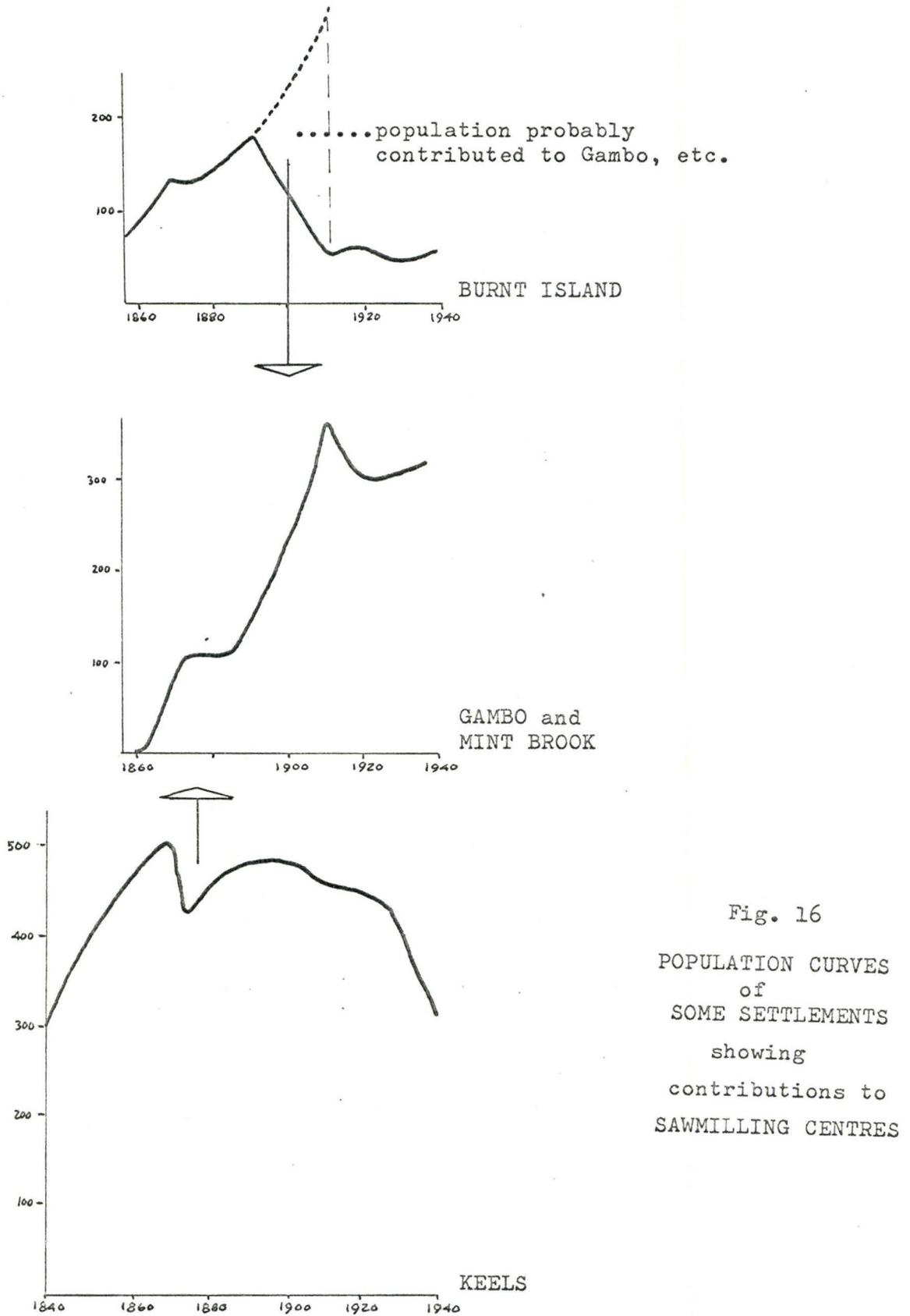


Fig. 16
POPULATION CURVES
of
SOME SETTLEMENTS
showing
contributions to
SAWMILLING CENTRES

pond, and bringing its water by ditch and flume to an overshot wheel at the shore. The second family came from Greenspond to settle on Doleman's Point at Middle Brook--a point of cleared land, locally known as a not-too-old Micmac Indian encampment. Their mill utilized the waters of Middle Brook. Since each of these families needed considerable land for the grazing of cows and work animals used in logging (horses and oxen), they obtained large grants, extending from the sea right back across the wide post-glacial terrace of this area to the high, steep, abandoned shore cliffs.

The year 1892 saw the completion of the railway to Gambo and an ensuing migration of population to the sawmilling centres in Freshwater Bay (Fig. 16 gives an example). The mill at Mint Brook became one of the largest in Newfoundland, and a steam railway replaced the tramway between the mill and the new railway at Gambo. The resident population at Mint Brook rose from 39 in 1884 to 125 in 1901, composed almost exclusively of Roman Catholics from the overcrowded settlements of King's Cove, St. Brendan's, and Burnt Island. With the completion of the railway, too, the small settlements on the south side of Freshwater Bay, such as Hay Cove and Man Point were abandoned and their people moved to Dark Cove and Middle Brook. In the years between 1891 and 1901, with immigration from across the bay and from many of the archipelago islands, the populations of Dark Cove and Middle Brook rose from 30 to 171 and from 93 to 215 respectively.

This activity in Freshwater Bay was complemented by

developments in other bays. Alexander Bay (early called Bloody Bay) nearly doubled its population between 1874 and 1884, and doubled again by 1901. The building of schooners; the cutting of pit-props for Britain during the Boer War; the manufacture of butter-tub staves; its function as port for Alexander Bay railway station, serving Flat Islands by sea and the Eastport Peninsula by land--all contributed to its rapid growth.

Hare Bay was settled in the latter part of the nineteenth century from Greenspond and Gooseberry Islands. Though the primary settlers brought with them a number of Labrador schooners, this activity was overshadowed by a quickly developed logging economy. The two main families of Hare Bay became major timber entrepreneurs, and scattered mills throughout the area from Traverse Brook north to Trinity (see Fig. 22). Hare Bay was later in starting than the settlements to the south, but it was no less certain in its rise; from 1901 to 1911 the population of Hare Bay rose from 52 to 199, and that of nearby Shoal Bay (now Dover) rose from 66 to 157.

Thus, responding to government encouragement for diversification of economy--manifested most strongly in the construction of the Newfoundland Railway--and to increasing home and world markets for timber, the new group of settlements was established in Bonavista Bay. Whereas in 1869, this new band of settlements had a population of 238 (Fig. 17), in 1901 it could boast a rapidly-increasing population of 1554 (Fig. 18). As illustrated graphically by Fig. 19 and Fig. 20 , though still located on salt-water

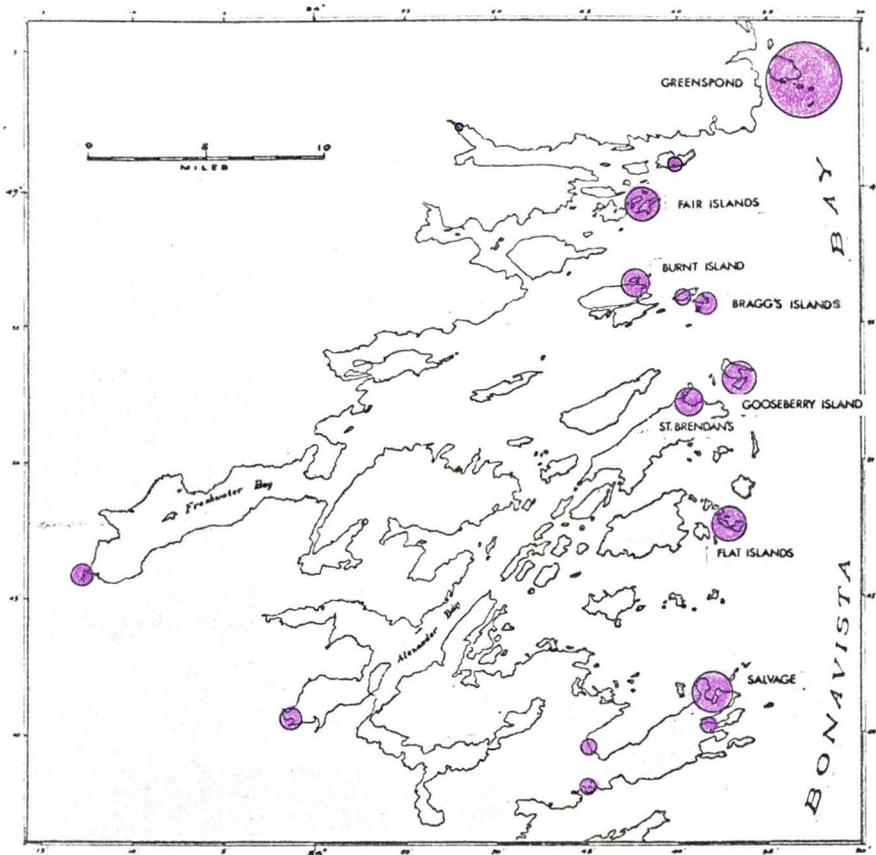
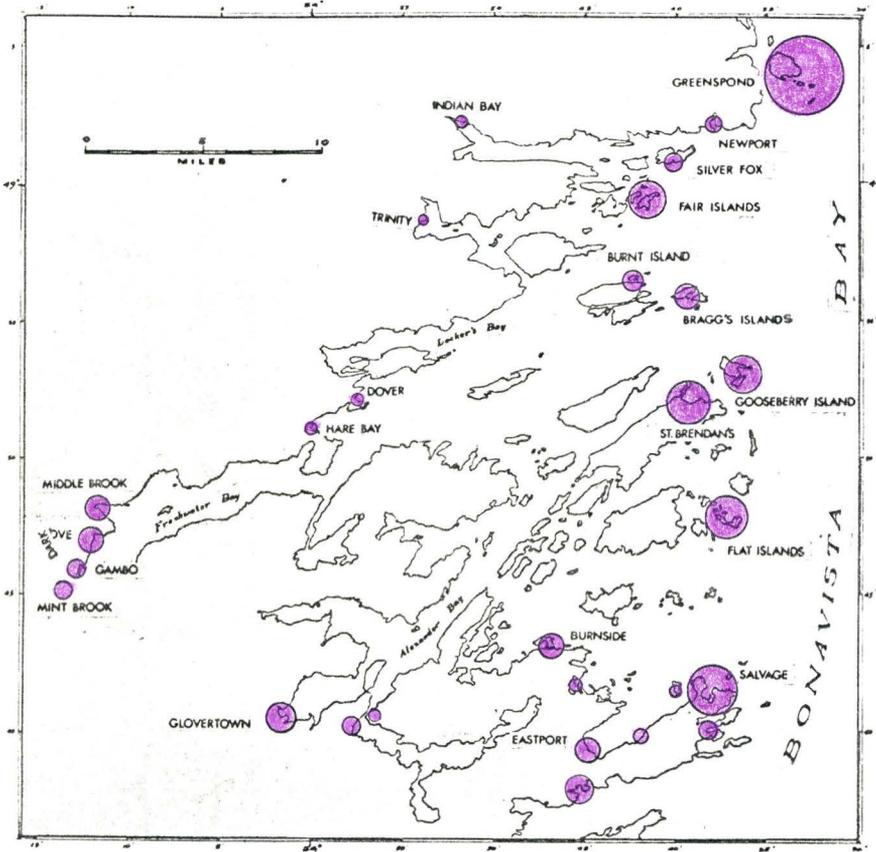


Fig. 17
1869



DISTRIBUTION
of
POPULATION
CENTRAL
BONAVISTA BAY

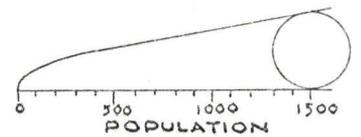


Fig. 18
1901

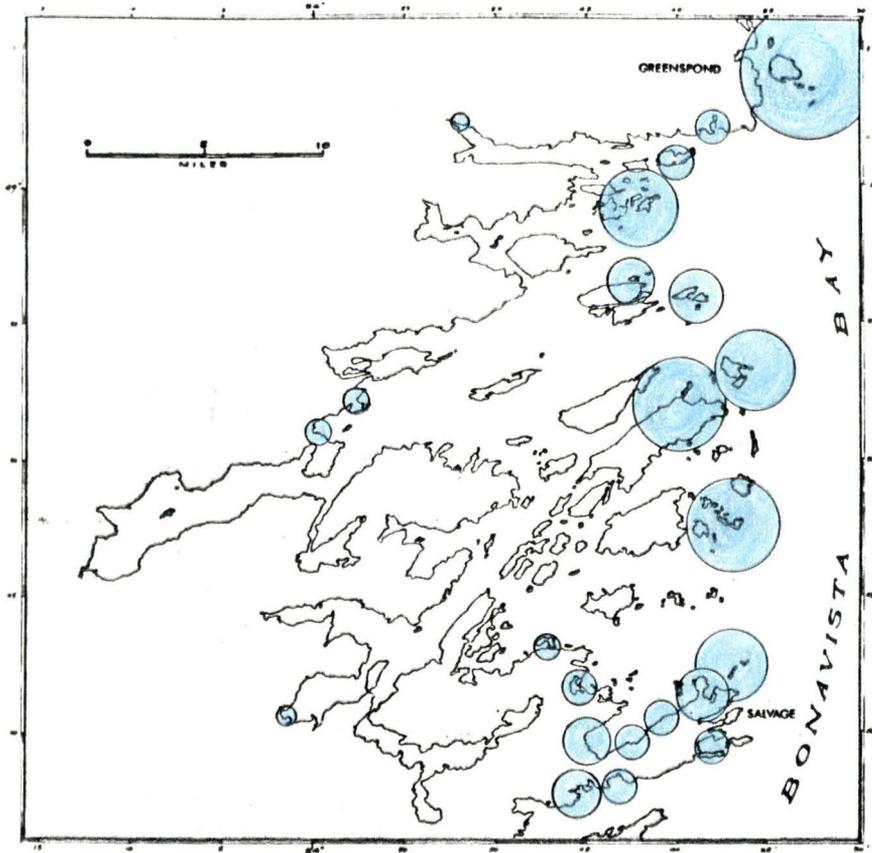
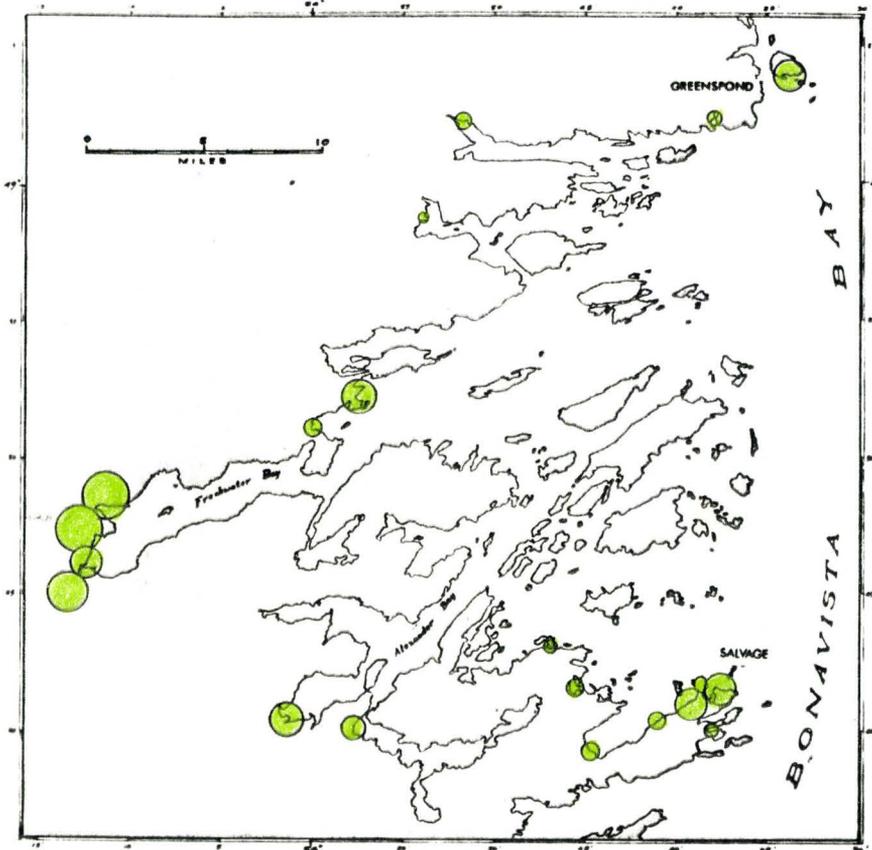


Fig. 19
Fishermen



OCCUPATIONS
1901
CENTRAL
BONAVISTA BAY



Fig. 20
Lumbermen

shores, the new settlements looked mainly to the land for their resource.

Growth within the Pattern

During the first part of the twentieth century, then, Bonavista Bay developed under two economies. The landward portion gained rapidly in population, due both to natural increase and to in-migration from the archipeligo as its timber cutting industries expanded considerably (see Fig. 21). But the population of most of the islands remained relatively static, reflecting a considerable loss due to out-migration, and the fishing industry changed little from that of the preceding century.¹⁷

The Mint Brook sawmill continued its gigantic production --cutting, it is said, 50,000 fbm of lumber each day--until 1906, when the mill and townsite were levelled by fire. Mint Brook was never rebuilt, and its population moved to Gambo, leaving the old town almost a legend in a maze of quickly invading bush.¹⁸ The increased population of Gambo then turned their attention both to the railway, and to smaller mills. But the sawmilling focus moved to Middle Brook, where a 40,000 fbm-per-day mill was established. Population at Middle Brook and Dark Cove (the two Protestant milling centres) rose sharply. And, to the north, Hare Bay was becoming a logging centre for a wide area, as sawmills began operations along the shore from Trinity Bay in the north to Content Reach in the south (see Fig. 22). One of the main Hare Bay millmen became "The Butter-Tub Stave King", with a number of mills specializing in



1901



1911



1920

Fig. 21

LOGS
CUT

(•) = 1000 logs

data from
Newfoundland
Census.

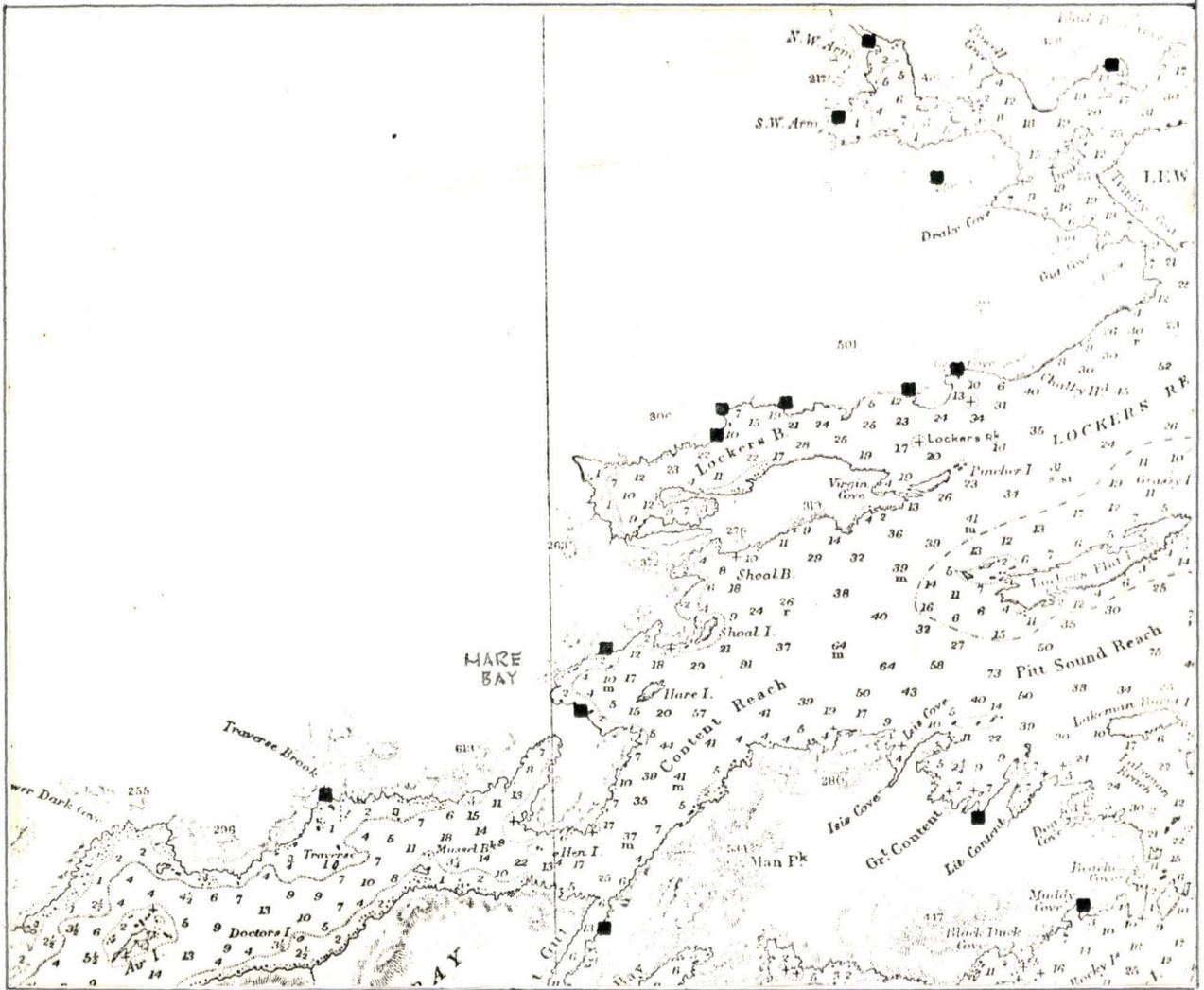


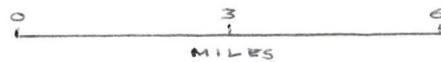
Fig. 22

SAWMILLS

in the HARE BAY district

c. 1900- c. 1940

■ = sawmill
 (not all mills
 operated during all
 of period; most
 used the best of the
 local timber reserve,
 then moved on.)



Source: Field Enquiry

this product scattered through the area.

The growing interest in pulpwood was manifested in Newfoundland as construction began in 1905 on the town and paper mill at Grand Falls, in the Newfoundland interior on the railway.¹⁹ Whether this drew population from Bonavista Bay, is as yet unknown. Of more promise for the Bay was the construction during World War I of a sulphite pulp mill at Glovertown. Unfortunately, the mill was never fully completed--though the machinery stood at the dock for a number of years, ready for installation--and was finally sold to the mill at Grand Falls.²⁰ The construction of this mill, and the promise it held for employment, however, attracted a considerable population to Glovertown; the establishment here of Bragg's Island names, for example, is known to have occurred in this manner.

A new type of activity entered the landward settlements when the Grand Falls pulp and paper mill (Anglo-Newfoundland Development Co.) took over the timber limits of the Glovertown company about 1925. With a system of woods roads pushed in from Gambo, cutting of wood for pulp became the main employment for the men of Freshwater Bay. In contrast to the early sawmilling industry, which cut mainly the pine, leaving the spruce and fir, the pulpwood industry cut only the spruce and fir, leaving the pine. To the north, however, in the hinterlands of Hare Bay and Trinity, lumbering and sawmilling was still the main activity.

The archipelago settlements, though supplying young men to the rapidly developing landward settlements such as Trinity, Hare Bay, and Glovertown, lost none of their importance as fishing

SULPHITE PULP MILL
at GLOVERTOWN

Building shell constructed during
World War I, but never completed.



SAWMILL
at DOVER

Plate I

RELICS

communities. Bonavista Bay, in fact--and especially the far northern portion, just beyond this study area--had become a stronghold of the Labrador Floaters. Foreign competition, however, was entering the traditional Newfoundland markets for Labradore-cure fish, and was to help effect a slow decline of this branch of the fishery from the 1930's onward.²¹ But the greatest absolute decline in the fleet was in the Conception Bay and St. John's area, making Bonavista Bay and other northern ports of proportionally greater importance. Population in the archipelago settlements in most cases either remained static, or had begun to decline, suggesting that a maximum supportable population level had been reached for that economy.

The years from the turn of the century onwards, saw steady improvements in transportation and communications. Coastal steamers, first from Pt. Blandford, then from Port Union, and later from St. John's, plied the bays with freight, passengers and mail during the summer months. In the years just before mid-century, these steamers (see Fig. 24) gave service weekly, with one steamer up and one down on alternate weeks.²² But in the winter months, when steamer communications were stopped by ice, only the most necessary travelling was done. Mail, for instance, moved by devious and arduous routes. Until the 1920's, a mail sack was piled on a small child's wagon, and carted by hand over a trail from the railway at Gambo to the settlements of Dark Cove and Middle Brook. From there, it would usually be taken by horse and cart (or by ox and cart if the snow was deep) to Hare Bay. Northward from Hare

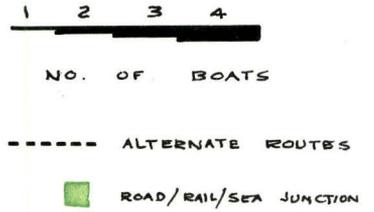
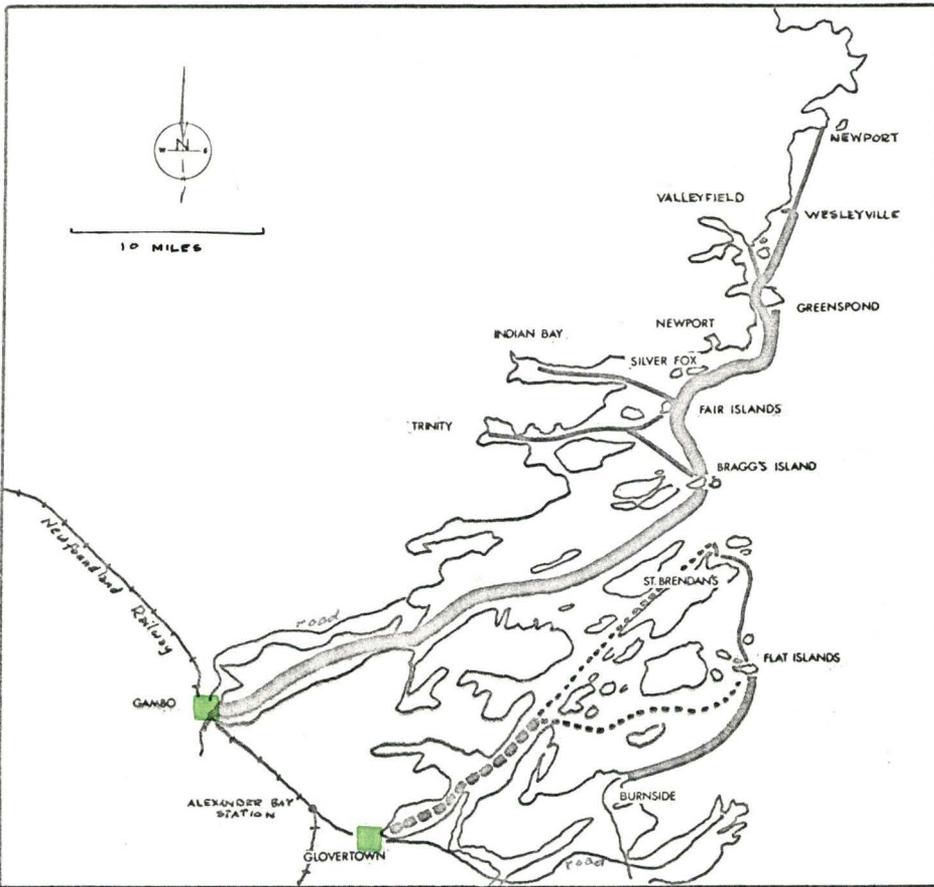


Fig. 23

MAIL and
PASSENGER BOATS

ran every Saturday
to connect with
train

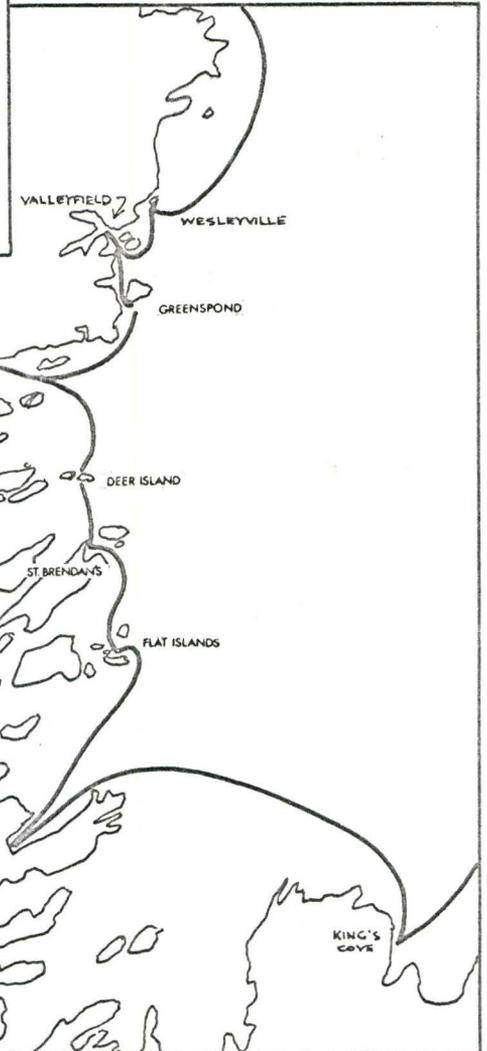


Fig. 24

NEWFOUNDLAND
RAILWAY
BOATS

one up and
one down
on alternate
weeks

Bay, a dog-team would cross the ice of Locker's Bay and Trinity Bay to a government mail-sorting depot at Mouse Island Cove (Powell Cove) on the north shore of Trinity Bay; another team would come south from the populous area around Wesleyville. Thus, mail was distributed to various points around the mainland; though the story is not clear, it seems that each island would appoint a courier to get the mail from the mainland by the best means possible--rowboat, trap skiff, or dog-team.

Later years saw the development of regular passenger and mail boats running a more nearly year-round schedule. Newtown, Wesleyville, Badger's Quay, and Greenspond each sent a boat every Saturday to meet the train at Gambo. Most of these boats made stops at Newtown, Fair Islands and Bragg's Islands; some, it would seem, also called at Trinity and Indian Bay. A second group of boats began running much later²³ between the islands of St. Brendan's and the nearby mainland, calling at Burnside when the ice was bad, and going directly to Glovertown (the town for Alexander Bay railway station) when the ice was clear.

Motorable roads were pushed out from the two railheads of Gambo and Glovertown. Burnside thus became the closest that one could approach the southern island groups by land, and Hare Bay, to which a rough road was built in 1928, became a roadhead for the northern mainland and archipelago. Each of these communities became well known to people of the islands, as they waited for the weather to calm or the ice to clear in order to continue journeys by boat back to their homes.

In summary then, by the end of the 1930's, the landward settlements of Central Bonavista Bay had seen a half-century of rapid development, spurred by the logging industries, and further forest exploitation seemed probable. The archipelago settlements, on the other hand, had contributed population to the landward areas, and had remained static both in population and economy. But in 1939, the Second World War had begun; for five years it sowed the seeds of change.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SEEDS OF THE SETTLEMENT MIGRATION

World War II brought great changes to Newfoundland.

This "Fortress Isle" was to show its strategic location as guard for the North Atlantic entrances to North America. Early in June of 1940, Canadian troops moved into the Gander Airport and the Botwood seaplane base area; by 1941, a third air base was constructed at Torbay, near St. John's. But of extreme importance was the fact that the United States had gained rights to construct three major bases in Newfoundland--at Stephenville on the West Coast (Harmon Field), at Argentia on the west coast of the Avalon Peninsula (Fort McAndrew), and at Fort Pepperrell, near St. John's.¹ At the peak of construction, 19,000 Newfoundlanders were employed at these bases.² And with the bases once established, Newfoundland labour played its part in maintenance and expansion. Small wonder, then, at a common remark of the day: "My son, when the Yanks leave, Newfoundland is dead!"

But the war brought not only the Yanks (and the Canadians). It brought too, demands for Newfoundland's primary products--wood, fish, and base metals.³ Increased forest exploitation supplied pulpwood for the newsprint mills at Grand Falls and Corner Brook; in the Hare Bay area especially, there was work for all in the cutting of pit props for Britain's mines.

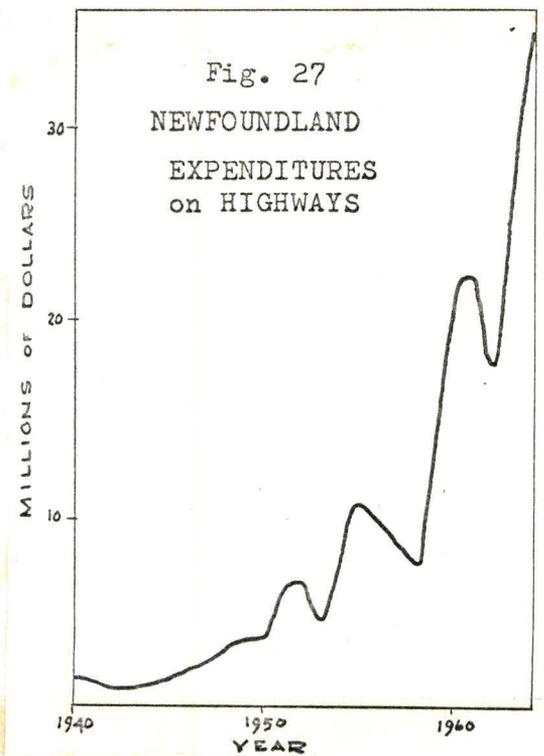
Thus, a tremendous landward attraction was set up for the coastal Newfoundlander who had looked traditionally to the sea for a livelihood. As a slight counterbalance of this landward pull, and lasting until shortly after the war, the fisherman--for the first time in history--knew exactly what price his fish would bring in the fall; in order to better assure Britain a food supply during the war, a Combined Foods Board had been set up which established food allocations in advance.⁴

The economic condition of Newfoundland had been altered profoundly during the war years. From an average yearly deficit of \$1,600,000 before the war, the Newfoundland Commission of Government moved to an average yearly surplus of \$7,000,000 following the war.⁵ In 1944/45, not one dollar was required for able-bodied relief!⁶ Though living conditions in the outports experienced little change, the Newfoundlander who had worked away on the bases had been introduced to a vitally different way of life. Motor cars, flush toilets, radios, and tightly-scheduled operations were things that little concerned him in the fishing outport; on the bases these were fundamental--and though the point can be argued, most will agree that the Newfoundlander is quick to adapt. A new life had been introduced, and the mind of the outport Newfoundlander inclined towards it.

An event of 1949 was to translate this inclination of mind into economic terms. The event was the Confederation of the Dominion of Newfoundland with the Dominion of Canada. Canada's system of social payments was applied to Newfoundland. Old age

pensions rose from \$30 a quarter per couple after age 75 to \$55 a month for each person after age 70; family allowance payments totalling more than \$1 million each month began to be paid.⁷ The Canadian system of Unemployment Insurance supplemented Newfoundland's (greatly increased) welfare payments scale. But significant to this study, Unemployment Insurance did not cover the self-employed fisherman until 1957. Inshore fishing is strikingly seasonal, and it was in contrast to the land-oriented work that the Unemployment Insurance payments put the fisherman at a great disadvantage. As well, during the 1950's, general construction work was readily available at Gander, which spiralled to importance as a refuelling stop for trans-Atlantic propellor-driven passenger aircraft; at St. John's, where the population grew from 58,000 in 1945 to 91,000 in 1961;⁸ and "on The Labrador", where gigantic developments of iron ore called for vast numbers of labourers.

The Province of Newfoundland, long hampered by the lack of funds, began a campaign to end the isolation of the outports. As soon as money became available, programmes of electrification and road-building were started. The increased spending on highways, for example, is shown by Fig. 27; government policy was to supply first those areas lacking roads that had the largest populations.⁹



But while Confederation with Canada helped bring--or, coincided with--a booming post-war economy, it also brought difficulties for this former Dominion's traditional staple-product, fish. Her fish were sold in sterling markets; but after 1949, Newfoundland was a part of the dollar area, and her customers found it difficult to gain sufficient foreign exchange.¹⁰ The fish production of the Labrador Floaters--the mainstay of the Bonavista Bay area--was particularly affected, for this was a marginal or submarginal operation, and had been steadily declining since the 1930's. The problems of currency exchange dealt a heavy--seemingly final--blow.

In Central Bonavista Bay, the first manifestation of the economic change sweeping Newfoundland during the war was the abandonment of Gooseberry Island in 1944, as those people moved to take advantage of employment in the cutting of pit props at Hare Bay. Gooseberry Island, one of the first settlements in the archipelago, and one of the larger, stands today swept clear of dwellings; only two shacks, the rock-buttressed main road, and the cemetery remain.

But by the beginning of the 1950's, Gooseberry Island was the only archipelago settlement abandoned. For the others, the general changes in Newfoundland had built up a great potential for movement, but that movement had not yet occurred. In the Central Bonavista Bay area, these potentials were:

(1) employment away from the island settlement: Bowaters

Pulp and Paper mill at Corner Brook, established in 1925,

had begun cutting pulpwood from a large camp at Indian Bay in 1939. During the war years, this activity switched to the cutting of pit props in the Hare Bay area, where there was employment for all who wished it. After the war, the activity moved back to Indian Bay, where wood was received from the watershed of Indian Bay Brook, barked, and loaded on ships for England. Work in general construction also attracted many men from the islands to the larger Newfoundland towns, and to The Labrador.

- (2) Roads and rumours of roads: In the early 1950's, it became possible to drive from Hare Bay and from the Glovertown area to Grand Falls, and by the late 1950's to St. John's (Fig. 28). In the early 1950's, surveys were being made to link the Northern Bonavista Bay settlements to the trans-Newfoundland road network, and by the late 1950's, this task was completed.¹¹ With a complete road system on the nearby mainland, the isolation of the islands became greater by comparison.
- (3) The decline and fall of the Labrador Fishery, which had been, before the war, the mainstay of most of the archipelago's economy.

This, then was the potential for movement; but it was left to a few individuals, with rather specific personal aims, to start the spark which set the currents of the settlement migration in rapid motion. In order better to understand these specific aims, to see more clearly the effect of the changes in general economic

conditions, and to show the mechanics of the moves, the archipelago settlements will be examined in detail, in the sequence in which they moved.

Fig. 26a
FISHERMEN
1936

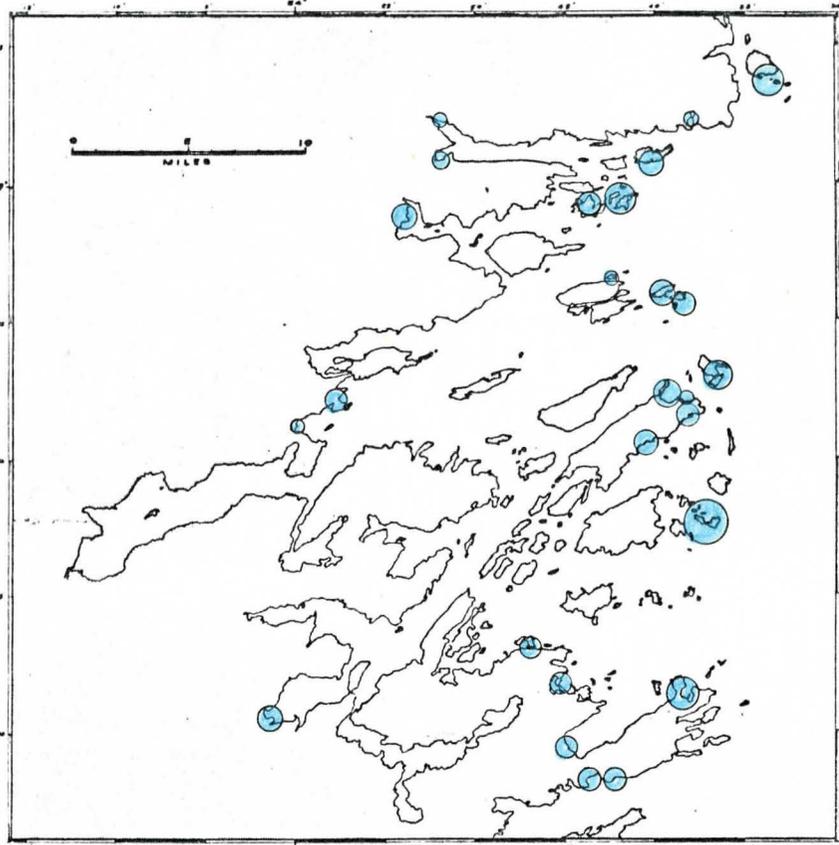


Fig. 26b
NON-FISHERMEN
1936

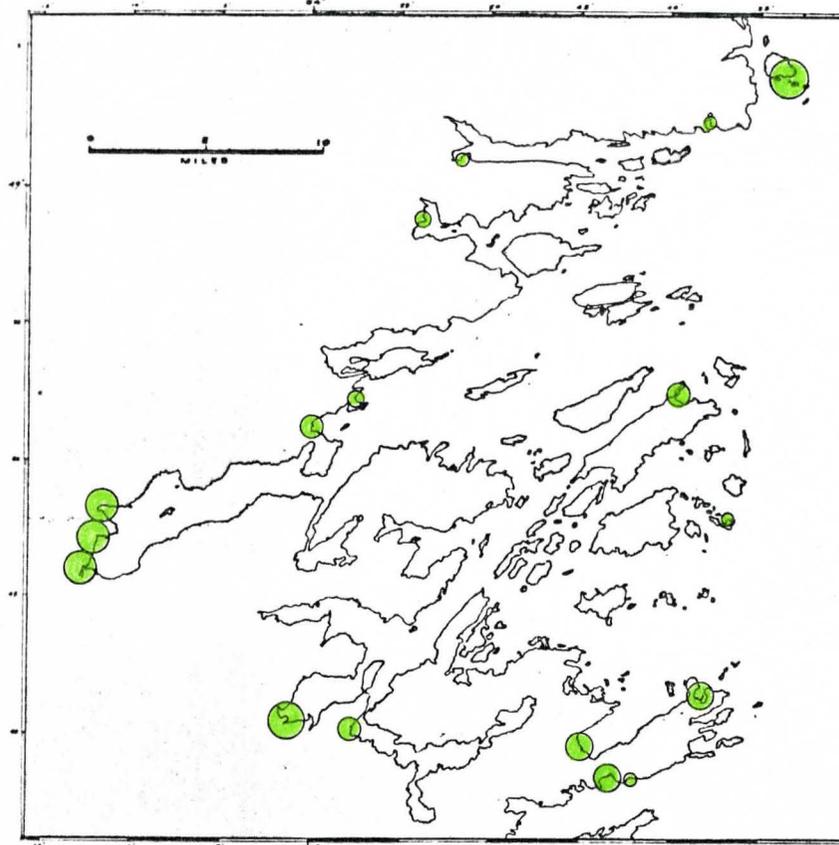


Fig. 26c
FISHERMEN
1955

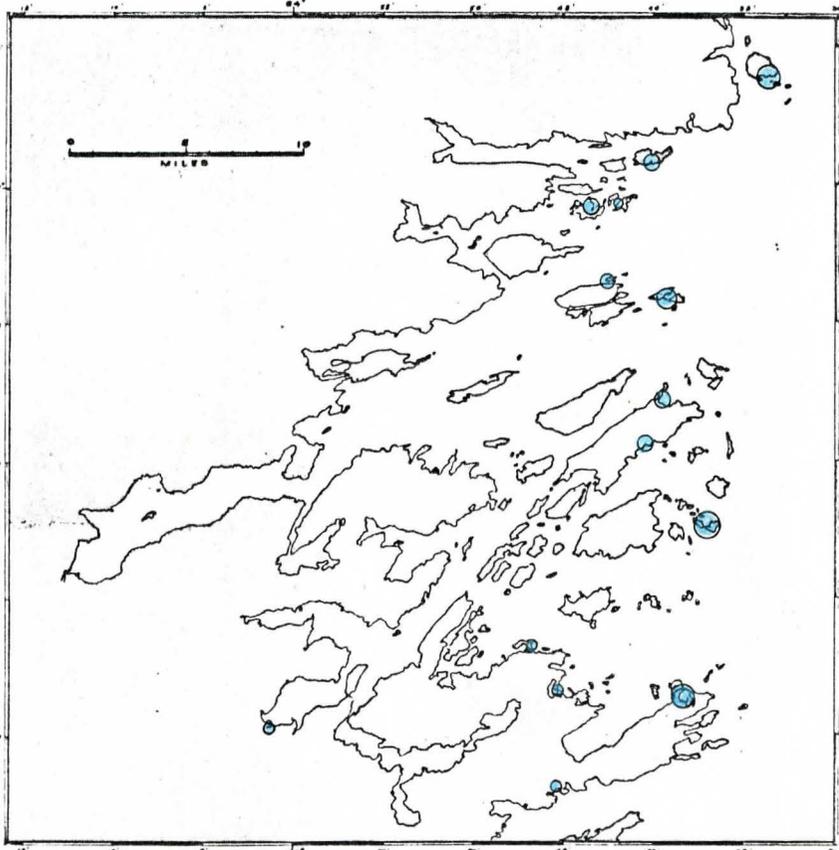


Fig. 26d
NON-FISHERMEN
1955

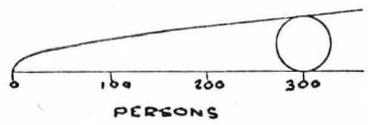
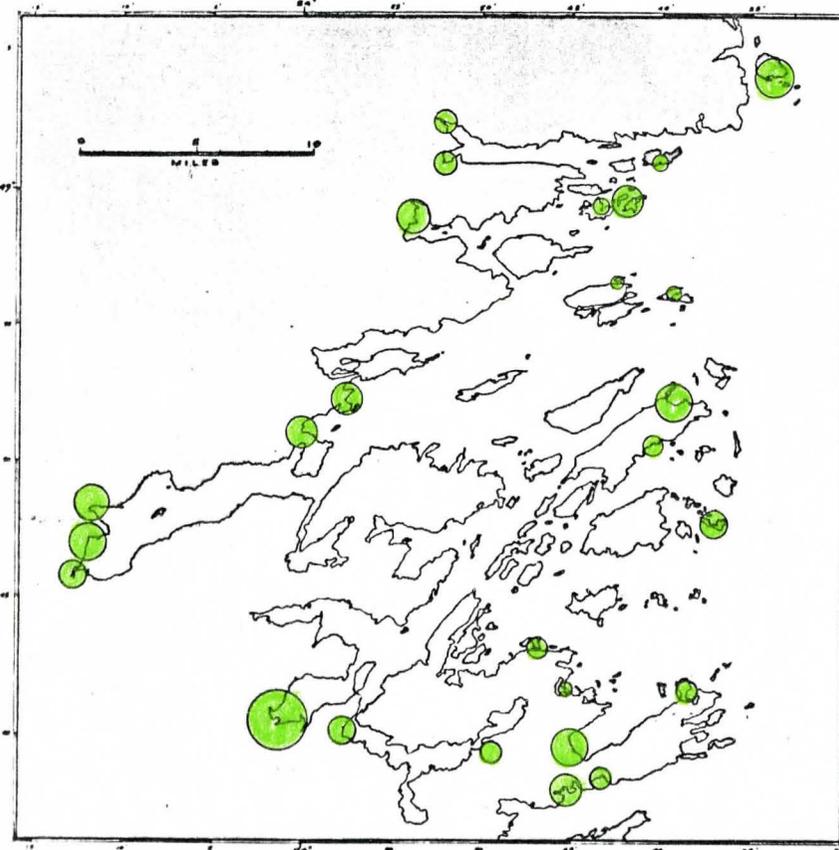


Fig. 26. Occupations 1936/1955

Sources: 1936 Hutchinson's Directory,
1955 Electors Lists.

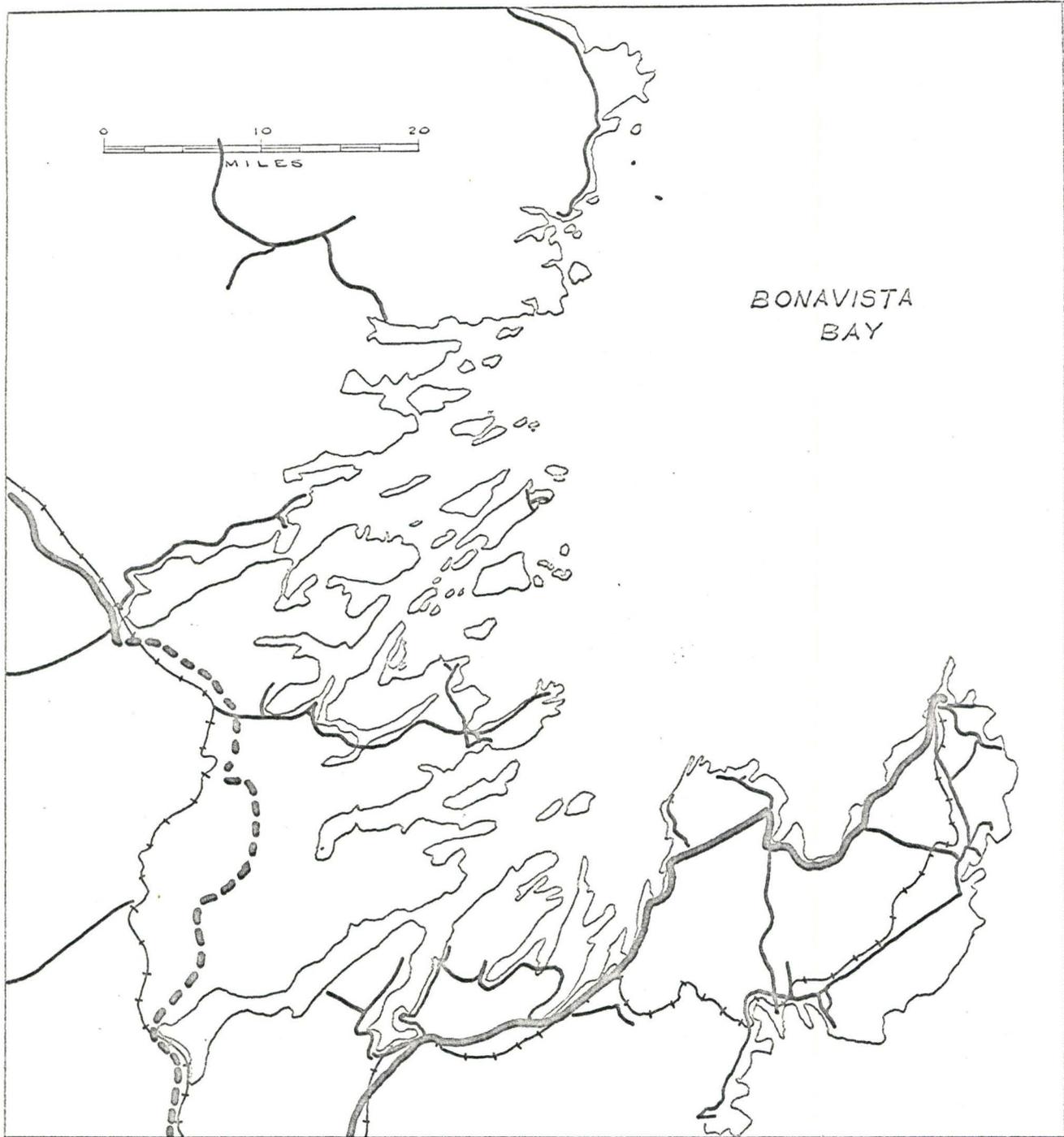


Fig. 28

ROADS and RAILWAYS

1955

-  Highway
-  Secondary Road
-  Highway under const.
-  Railway

Source: Province of Newfoundland map, 1955.



A PORTION OF GOOSEBERRY ISLANDS 1914



THE SAME VIEW, 1964

CHAPTER FIVE

SETTLEMENTS ABANDONED, AND SETTLEMENTS CREATED

Newport (New Harbour)

This small but excellent harbour, located on the Northern Bonavista Bay mainland, has been settled since the first census in 1836. It at no time reached a great population, boasting of less than 200 persons as its maximum in 1951. Newport had been settled as a base for the inshore fishery in its neighbourhood; its grounds (see Fig. 29) were the same as those of Fair Island and Silver Fox Island, which before the days of motorboats, were visited by rowboat and sailboat. Experience in manning the sailboats to the Offer Gooseberries was put to use when this port took up the Labrador Fishery late in the Nineteenth Century. Schooners of 40-60 tons were built with local wood hauled out by horse. As many men as could get berths signed on for the Labrador, but not all could be accommodated, so that considerable numbers stayed with the home grounds. Fish was brought back from the Labrador to be made at Newport, from whence it was taken (along with the shore-men's fish) by schooner to St. John's in the fall. Wherever the best price could be had, the fish was sold, and the schooner was then loaded with the winter supplies for each family of Newport.

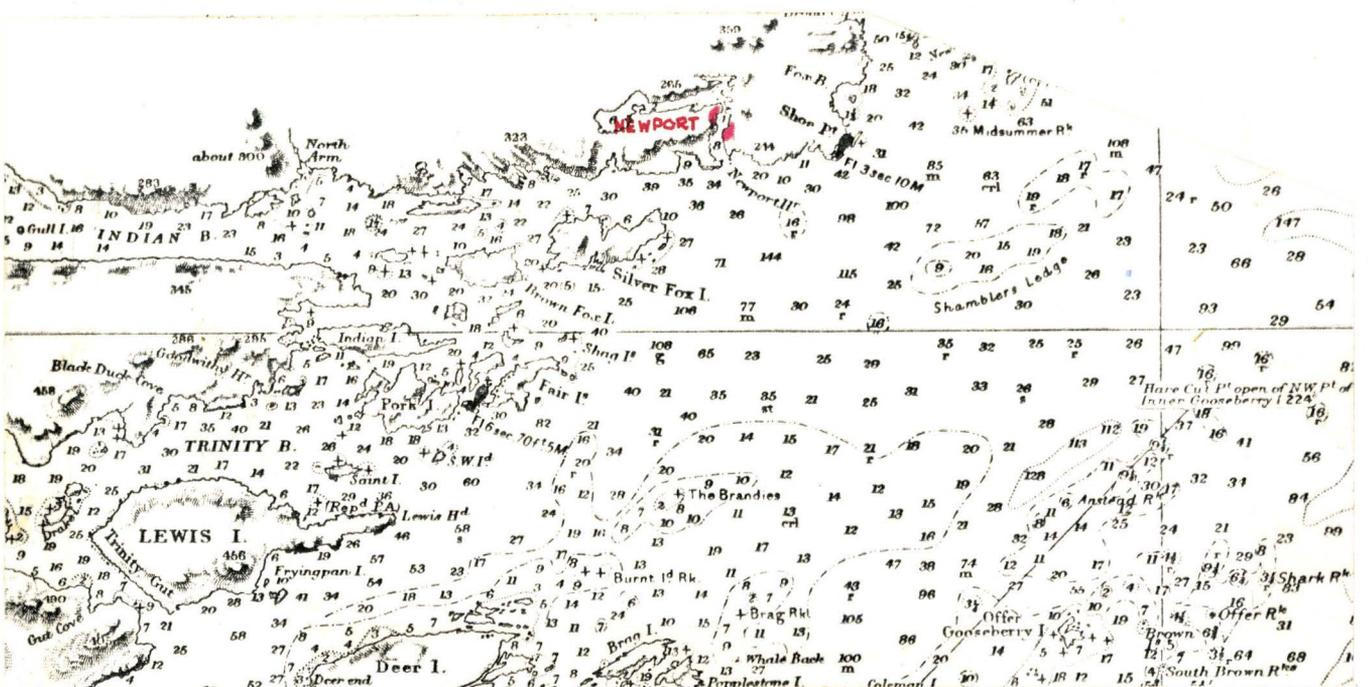
Traditionally everyone kept pigs, chickens, and sheep, and a few families kept cows. All kept horses to haul firewood from the surrounding territory in the winter months (see Fig. 29).

Newport, when population started to rise after first settlement, was never able to grow enough potatoes to support her people. The land-use map of 1941 and the air photo (Fig. 29a) show clearly why. Here was an excellent harbour, close to the fishing grounds, but the settlement site was granite bedrock; only the small patches of bog lying in faults could be utilized for vegetable gardens. The largest production of potatoes came in 1935, no doubt due to the great depression, but in the years following, the residents report, the vegetable ground was quite worn out. The local wood supply was destroyed too, when a fire swept the area in 1948.

During World War II, almost every man at Newport took to the construction work offered by the bases at Gander, Argentia, Stephenville, and St. John's. The Labrador Fishery, which had been starting to decline before the war, revived slightly during the war due to the fixed price for fish, but died for Newport when the last schooner returned in 1946. Though located on the mainland, Newport was connected only by a footpath to the populous area of Badger's Quay and Wesleyville, and of course, to the hospital built during the war at Brookfield. Newport had few hopes for a motor road.

In 1950, a merchant in Hare Bay, then at the road-head, put his business up for sale in order to operate an hotel in

St. John's. The merchant of Newport saw personal opportunity in this, and moved to Hare Bay to take over and vastly expand this business. Others started moving; Newport could not get teachers (difficult to get in the best of outports) and the school had to be closed. In 1952, most of the settlement moved out. Almost all of the residents moved to Hare Bay and Dover; these were at, or close to, the roadhead, and were offering considerable employment in pulpwood cutting. About half of the houses were floated to their new sites buoyed with empty oil drums (a process more fully explained in connection with Bragg's Island, page 64) while the rest were dismantled and reassembled. Since the houses arrived at their new locations by water, it was advantageous that the site be as close to the sea as possible (see map of Hare Bay, page 101). Thus, though the Newport people no longer looked to the sea for a livelihood, the traditional Newfoundland attraction for "salt-water" was preserved.

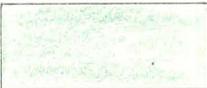


The map on the facing page was interpreted from air photos flown by Canadian Airways, Ltd., Montreal, on August 22, 1941; scale of original photos given as 1 inch = 1,000 feet.

The photos, job No. 179, cover the watershed of Indian Bay River and adjacent territory only.

LEGEND for maps

Scale as marked

	Forest		Cart Track
	Scrub Forest or brush		Trail
	Open Grassland		Dwelling
	Hay		Shed
	Vegetable Garden		Fish Flakes
	Bog		Wharf
	Cemetery		Church
			School

Approx. 500 feet

rock with thin vegetation and bog

rock with thin vegetation and bog.

NEWPORT

HARBOUR

"SOUTH SIDE"

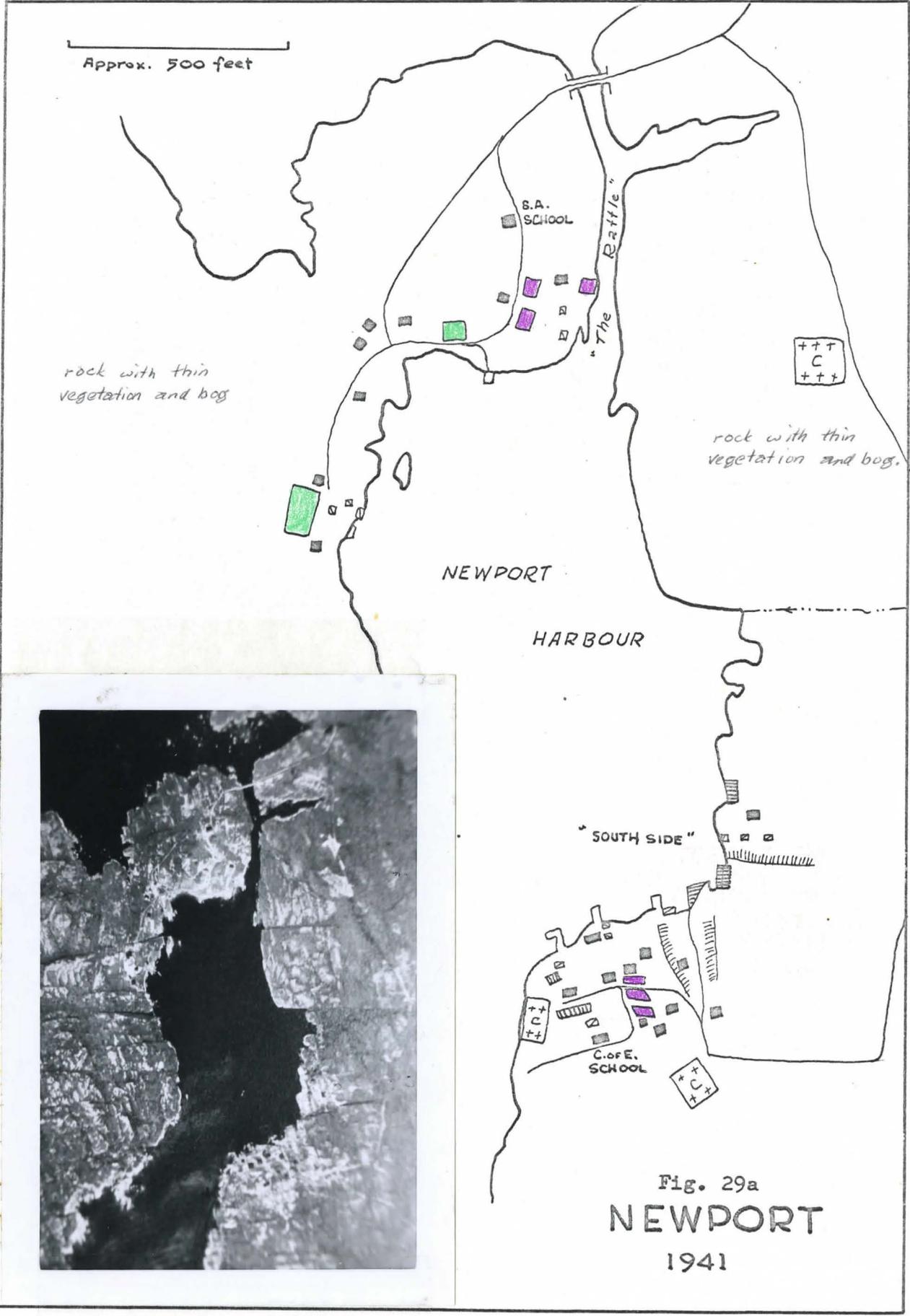
C. of E. SCHOOL

S.A. SCHOOL

"The Rattle"



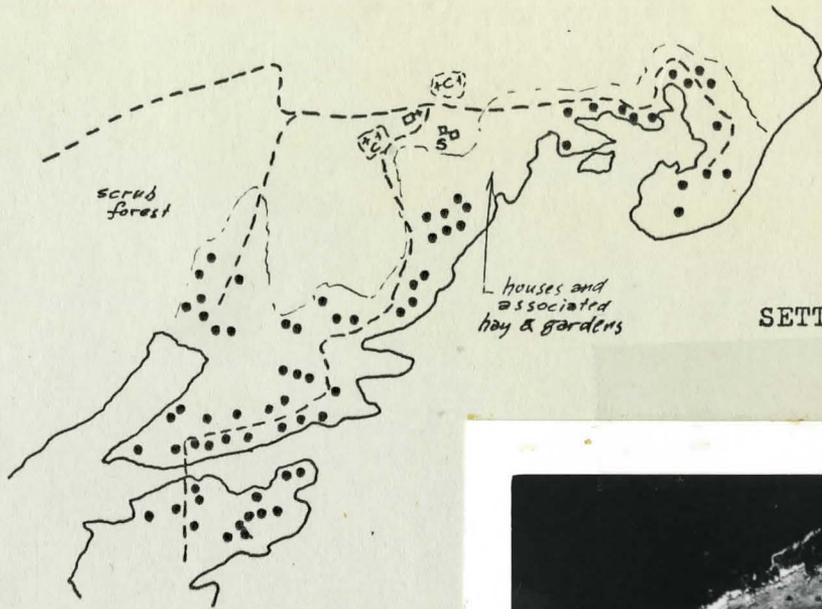
Fig. 29a
NEWPORT
1941



Bragg's Islands

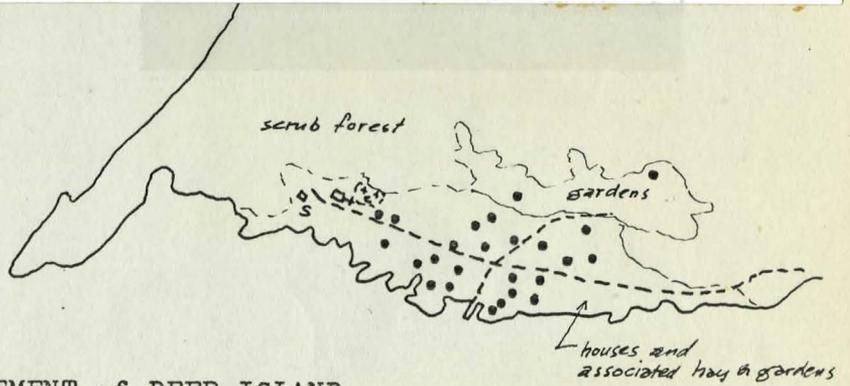
Bragg's Islands are a group of strongly faulted conglomerate islands, located centrally in the Northern Bonavista Bay archipelago. The largest of these is Bragg's Island proper, with a population in 1945 of 231; Deer Island settlement was located on Popplestone Island, while Green's Island was the smallest settlement, located on an islet immediately south of Popplestone Island. The first settlement occurred on Deer Island, and numbered 36 in 1836.

The three settlement sites and something of their traditional land use are shown in Fig. 30. Bragg's Islands are not considered to supply good ship harbours, for the small boat harbour making the central focus of Bragg's Island is not commodious, and the main tickles are too open to the wind. The relatively soft rocks, and the flat nature of the islands, however, allowed the inhabitants to raise very nearly all of their needs in vegetables. Gardens were located adjacent to the houses, and in larger alluvial patches in wide downfaulted areas inland from the house sites. One of these areas at Deer Island, founded on a mixture of alluvial and organic matter, was referred to by the residents as "one huge farm", for it covered perhaps as much as five acres. Every family kept one or two pigs, five or six sheep, and many chickens and hens; no cows were kept, and only a very few had horses, for firewood was gathered largely from regions "up the bay". Sheep were usually grazed for the summer on larger islands to the west.



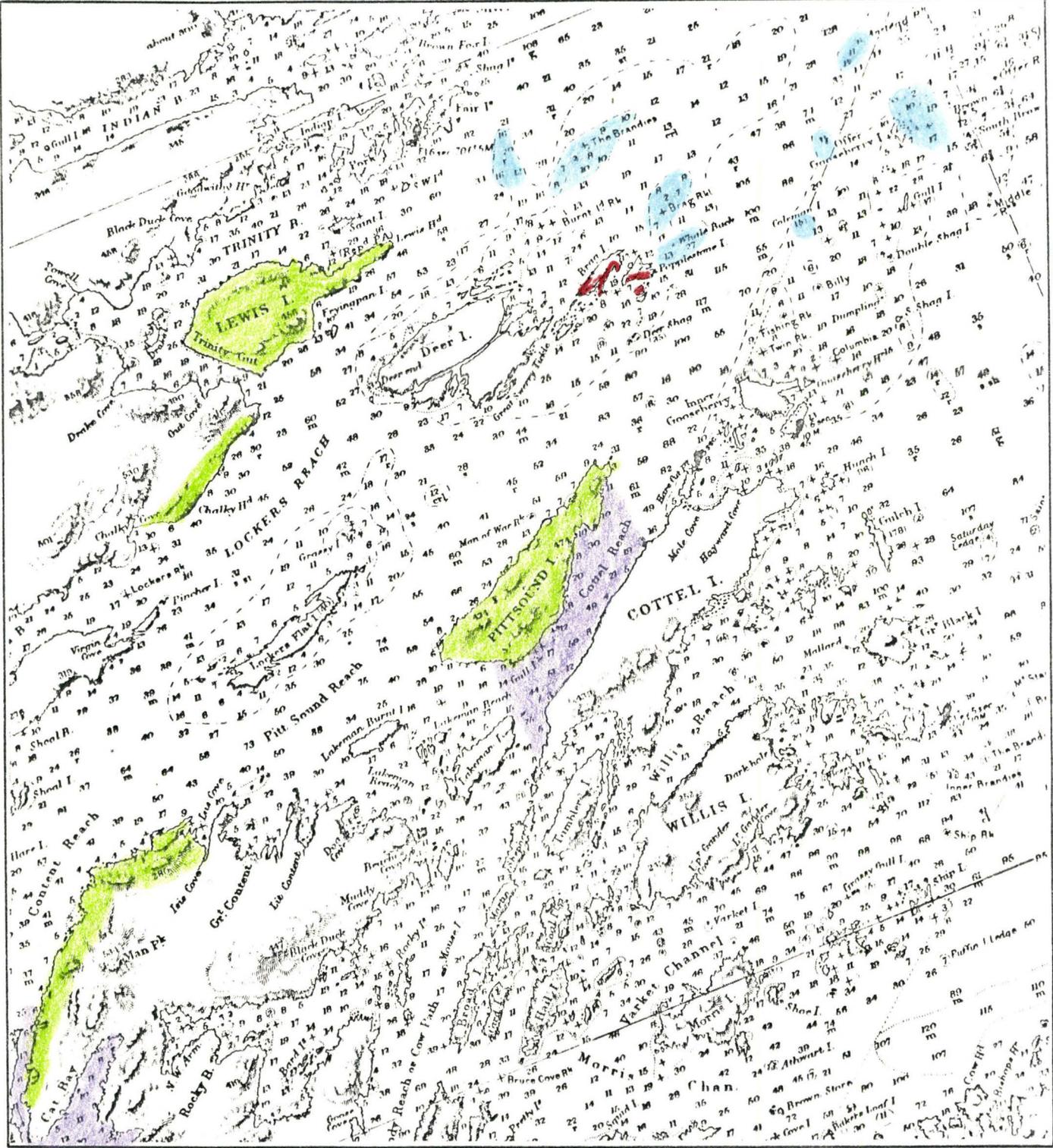
SETTLEMENT of BRAGG'S ISLAND
1948

one-half mile
SCALE OF SKETCHES



SETTLEMENT of DEER ISLAND
1948

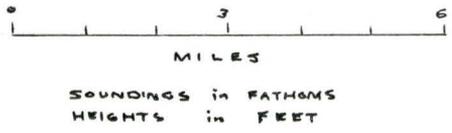
Fig. 30 BRAGG'S ISLANDS



Legend

- Fishing Grounds
- Wood-Gathering Areas
- Bait Grounds
(Squid, Mussels)
- Lobster Grounds
- Settlement Area

Fig. 31
 THE TRADITIONAL TERRITORY
 of
 BRAGG'S ISLANDS



The people of Bragg's Islands were always much more concerned with the inshore fishing grounds than were their neighbours on Fair Islands. This distinction became even more apparent in later years, as Bragg's Islanders took over the local grounds (shown in Fig. 31) almost exclusively. Fish in the early days was sold mostly to Greenspond and to St. John's merchants who would buy it on the island, and hold it there to be shipped out by schooner in the fall. In later years, trading companies from the Bonavista Peninsula came to buy. Some fish too, went by Labrador schooner to St. John's, in the same manner as followed by Newport.¹

Traditionally, the outports followed a definite cycle of work, varying little from year to year. The Bragg's Islands illustrate the cycle of a home fishery outport, and reveal the large activity area, or territory, that small island settlements can command. Since the migrations of the last ten years, this cycle has been disrupted, but in this description, the present tense will be used.

Fishing by jigging and handlining (see Glossary) begins during the last ten days of May, working the grounds just off from the land. The fish is lightly salted, and stored in the stage for about two weeks; if the weather is favourable, it is then washed out, and laid upon the flakes to dry in the sun (this is the process of "making" fish). In early June, the potato gardens are planted, and fertilized with kelp (Fig. 32). By June 20th, "the caplin skull" has begun, as these small silver

fish, related to the smelt, spawn, then boil unto the beaches in the millions. The caplin are taken by dip nets and by seine, spread upon the vegetable patches for fertilizer, and covered with earth. The arrival of the caplin signals the arrival of the cod on-

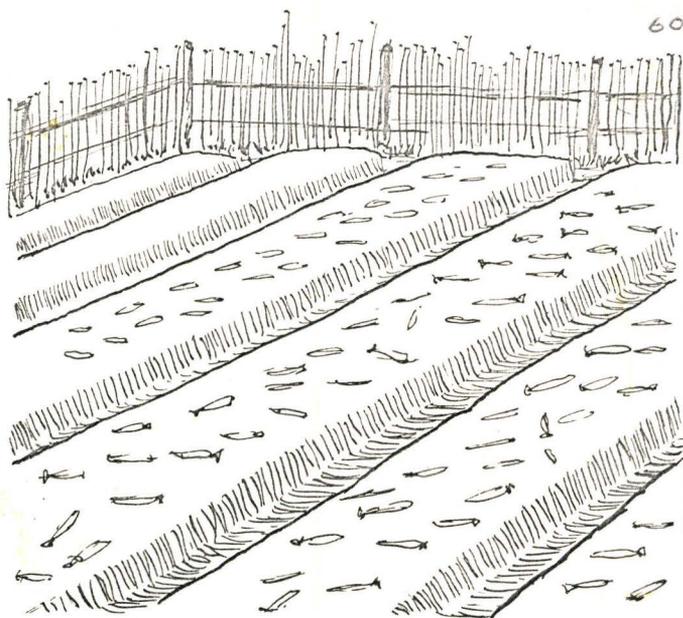


Fig. 32 Caplin spread as fertilizer on vegetable patch.

shore, following the caplin and eating voraciously upon them. The cod rush blindly about, snapping madly after the caplin schools. They can thus easily be taken by cod traps, set along the shore, and by trawls baited with caplin. This season too, sees some of the men setting lobster pots around the nearby rocks and shoals.

By July 20th, the cod are gluttoned on caplin--"too logy t'eat"--and no longer stream along the coast after the caplin. The cod traps are brought in and carefully laid out on the grass or the beaches to dry, while the fishing goes on with cod nets (the cod fumble blindly about) or by jigging. With the warming water, the cod have moved offshore by the first part of August, and the nets also are brought in to dry, while jigging enters its peak period. During August too, some of the activity shifts from the local grounds to Cat Bay (see Fig. 31), where men are engaged in digging mussels, and to Cottel's Arm, where squid-jigging and herring-netting yields bait for handlining and trawling in the fall.

By the end of August, the jigging is over, and the men are hook-and-lining and trawling until stopped by rough weather.

By September 10th, the potatoes are dug and stored in root cellars. The last of the fish are washed out and dried on the flakes; some cut a little firewood on the larger islands adjacent to the west; some cut timber for boats on Pittsoud Island and Lewis Island (Fig. 31); some ready to leave the settlement for winter work "in the lumberwoods" at Terra Nova and Gambo. Generally, this is a slack period when the house can be painted, when an account of the summer's voyage can be made, or when a prediction of the severity of the winter can be advanced.

November 1st sees the winter's work of gathering firewood begin in earnest. Using their motor boats, the men of Bragg's Islands thread their way to Lewis Island, Pittsoud Island, Chalky Head and Content Reach (see Fig. 31). The balsam fir and white spruce, usually of about 4 to 8 inches at the butt, are cut to sticks of 12 - 14 feet and stacked in teepee-like piles until the first big snow. With the snow, the men go again to the woods, to haul out the wood to the shoreline on "handslides", small woodsleds hauled by either one or two men. Slob ice drifts in from the Labrador in the early part of the year, and it is not until this has departed some time in May, that the wood can be taken, by boat, to the settlement. While waiting for the ice to go then, the time is used in preparing for the summer's fishery --fixing damaged stages, painting trawl buoys, mending nets. It is during this period too, while the drift ice and growlers pack

the sea, that physical communication with the islands is completely severed; for a week or a month, medical emergencies must take care of themselves. When the ice clears, then, wood is brought in, and the fishing season begins.

Thus passed each year until World War II. But though the war brought great economic changes to most other Central Bonavista Bay settlements, Bragg's Islands lost relatively few men to the bases (only 7 or 8, according to residents). Fixed prices for fish during the war, and the fact that shore-cured, light-salted fish was not faced with strong competitors, may have helped to keep the Bragg's Islands fishermen at work on their local grounds. It was not until some time after the war, that fish prices became uncertain. But other reasons seem to have been most important in sparking the move.

Bragg's Islands had always prided themselves on the number of eminent people who had made their way to the top from their small schools. But with the economic and social revolution taking place in mainland Newfoundland, teachers no longer wished to come to the isolated island outport, and teachers with only one summer's training above Grade 11 were all that places such as Bragg's Islands were able to get. During 1949 and 1950 the sons of one of the island residents went to Musgravetown to take teaching positions; their parents began to spend the winters there and the summers fishing from Bragg's Islands. The seed of an idea was sown.

By 1952, the educational situation was clearly worsening.

Then, in 1953, two of the church leaders of the settlements moved to the mainland--one to Hare Bay, and the other to Dark Cove--and took up the dual life of woods workers in the winter, and fishermen from the islands in the summer. Bragg's Islands had thus lost a good portion of its religious leadership--a matter perhaps more serious than education. A third community leader (and merchant), much concerned about the situation, travelled to St. John's to set the problem before the Premier of Newfoundland. The Premier proposed that a petition be circulated on Bragg's Island gaining the approval of all families to a proposal of total abandonment. If this approval was gained, then the Government of Newfoundland would supply all necessary equipment for the move, including tractors and cradles. In places where it was found impractical to move houses, a grant of costs up to a maximum of \$600 was suggested.

The offer was communicated to the people of Bragg's Islands. Eighty percent disagreed that the move would be a good thing. But the merchant and community leader decided to move anyway. Since some of his customers had previously moved to Dark Cove, an attempt was made to re-establish the store there; due to difficulties in gaining suitable land, however, the move was made to Glovertown, where relatives had arranged a suitable site in advance. Thus, in October of 1954, the main shop was removed from Bragg's Island, and seven or eight families followed it to Glovertown.

Bragg's Island had lost three of its secular and

religious leaders, and only one small shop remained; such is the construction of a Newfoundland outport, that this was like ripping the two keystones from a double-arched bridge. Very much against the wishes of many of the community, the islanders decided that there was nothing left but to vacate. Preferring to manage the move themselves, the residents declined the government's offer of equipment, and engaged a community contractor on the basis of the alternative cash grant.

Of the more than eighty families that were to make the move--to Glovertown, Dark Cove, and Hare Bay--thirty homes were to be launched and floated to Hare Bay. So rough was the terrain of the island house sites, however, that all but six or seven were dismantled and rafted to their new mainland sites. The operation of floating an entire house was not novel; it had been done sporadically for years, but never over such long distances. First, a "slipway" of cribbing was built from the water's edge to under the house. With the help of block and tackle--both fore and aft--the house was moved to the shore (see photo III). Furniture was either removed completely, or stored on the second floor, while the downstairs floor was covered with empty, sealed oil drums. Later, it was to be a matter of pride to relate the number of drums that were required for one's house, for anywhere between thirty to fifty were needed, depending upon the size of the house. At low tide, the house was moved to the tidal shore, and was floated on the incoming tide. Leaving the islands as early as possible in the morning, and using



With the help of block and tackle, the house was moved over cribwork to the shore.



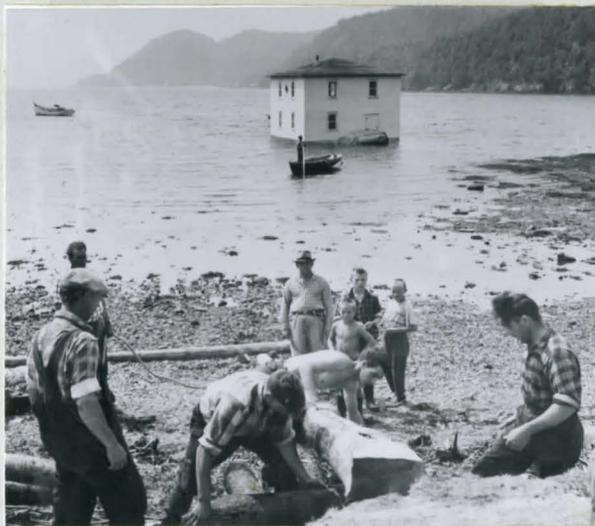
At low tide, it was moved unto the tidal shore, and, with empty and sealed oil drums inside, was floated on the incoming tide.

Plate III
MOVING DAY I



UNDER WAY

The trip usually took from dawn to dusk.



Cribbing is now prepared at the new site, to allow the house to be moved up the beach at the next high tide.

eight or ten fishing boats as power, the house would usually arrive at its new harbour by dusk of the same evening. With high tide the next morning, the house would be dragged ashore, and taken on skids to a prepared building site. In some cases, the trip would take more than a day; the night was spent in some sheltered cove, where each slept in his accustomed bed, and later cooked up breakfast on the kitchen stove as usual, before casting off lines and heading for the mainland.³

By the fall of 1955 then, Bragg's Island, Deer Island and Green's Island were broken bits of old lumber, the torn pages of a school book blowing in the wind, and roadways being won by domesticated grasses growing wild. From afar though, one could still see the church, dominating the island, long a reference for the mariner, and left as a monument.



Flat Islands

Flat Islands are a group of metamorphic and volcanic islands, strongly folded and thrust-faulted from the northwest. The group, composed of Flat Island proper (or Samson Island) to the east, North Island in the centre, and Coward's Island to the west, is the southern-most of the once-settled island groups of Bonavista Bay. It was first settled as a summery fishery in 1806, from Salvage, and its communications and migration links continued to be with the Eastport Peninsula in winter, and, with the advent of the Newfoundland Railway, with Alexander Bay Station (represented on the coast by Glovertown) in the summer.

The three settlement sites are shown in the sketches and air photo, page 69. The main schooner harbour is located just north of Flat Island, where small islets and Great Black Island provide some measure of shelter from northeast gales, while the high "Flat" Island effectively blocks easterly and southerly storms. As a group, the islands provide many good small boat harbours.

Though the relatively hard nature of the islands' rocks would not, perhaps, suggest a fertile site, Flat Islands have at all times been more than self-sufficient in potatoes. Suitable areas of vegetable soil, mostly of a boggy nature, are most common on the westerly islands; Flat Island proper, though used considerably in the earlier years as potato ground, has steeper slopes, a thinner soil mantle, and was soon overrun by dwellings. Gardens were scattered on the small islands and on the fertile

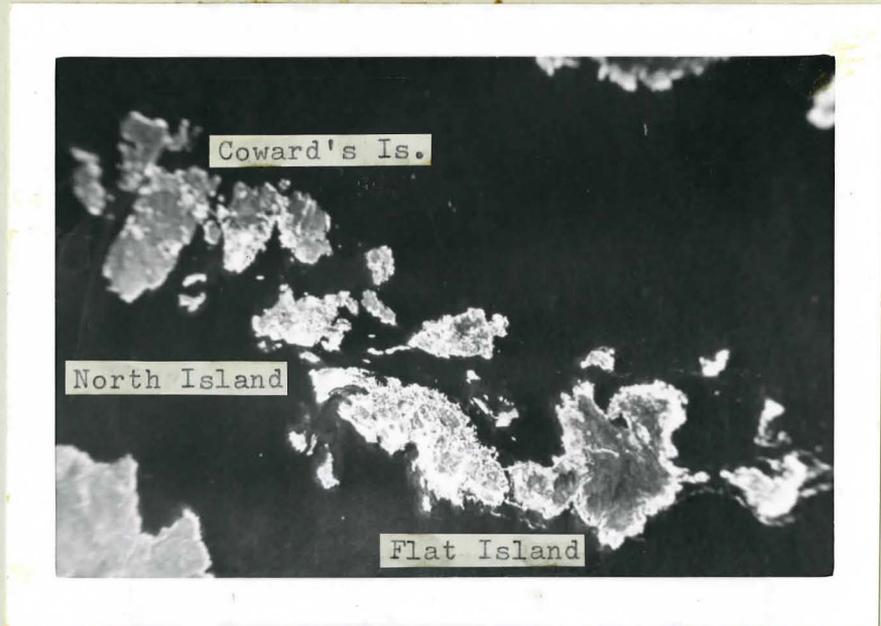


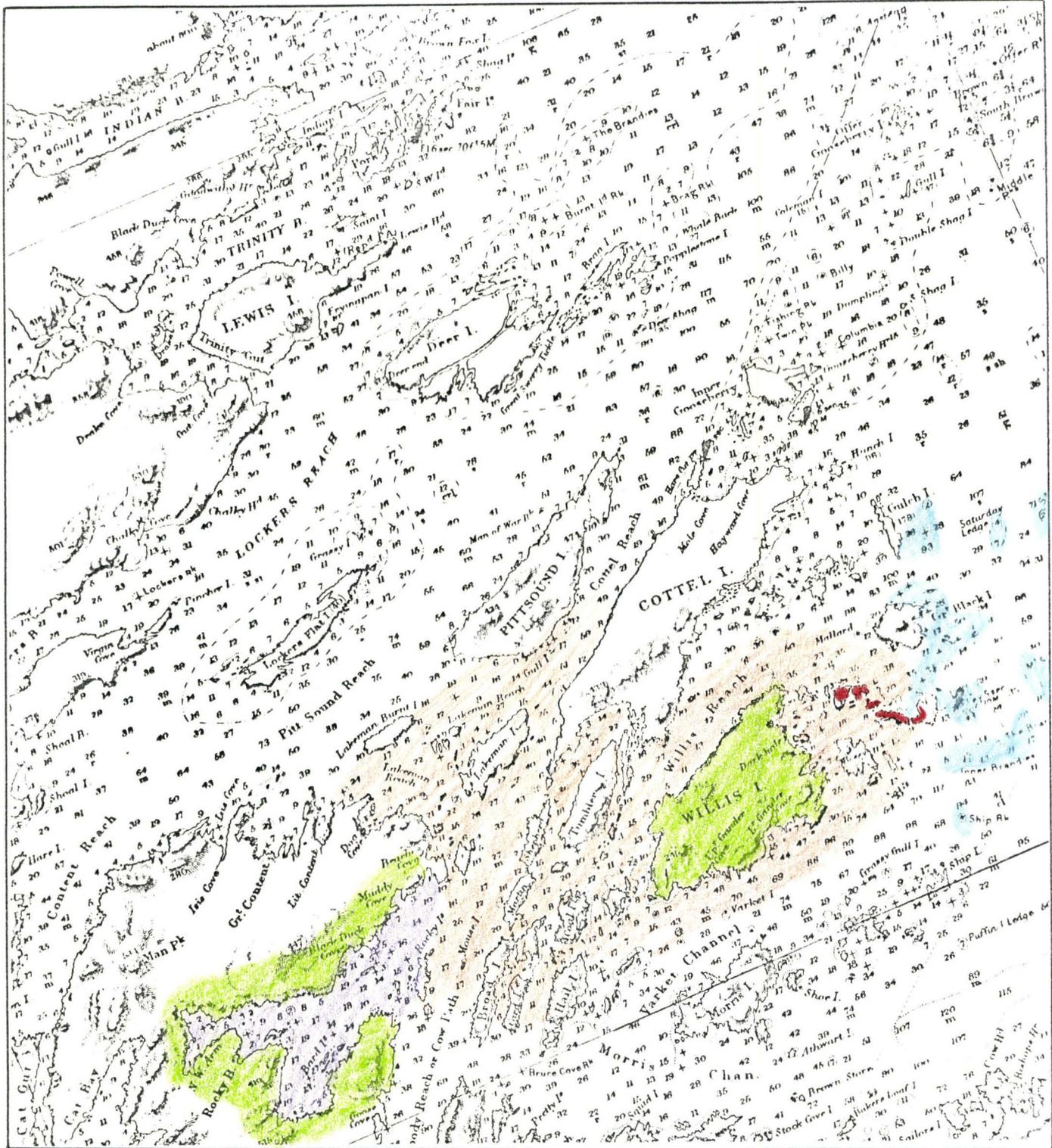
Fig. 33

FLAT ISLANDS

land bordering the small creeks and coves on the eastern side of Willis Island; the small islands were kept free of animals, and thus needed no fences. Traditionally, each family kept two or three pigs, four or five sheep, and six or seven hens; no one kept cows, and, since firewood was hauled by hand from other islands, no horses were needed.

With housing needs for all these animals, as well as buildings for the family and the fishery, each household would embrace a considerable conglomeration of buildings. The study of the outport architecture is particularly interesting, for it shows a close relationship with the needs of the economy and the materials at hand. The relative isolation of the outports has led to distinct regional variations, and simple technical changes have often led to definite changes in styles.⁴ Examples from Flat Islands are shown and described on page 72.

Flat Islands were first settled as a base for the local fishery, but sometime later the emphasis shifted to the Labrador Fishery, leaving only the old men and the boys to exploit the home grounds. Fish was brought from the Labrador to be made at Flat Islands, and then, with the landmen's fish, was taken to St. John's, to be sold, so that the settlement's supplies for the next year could be purchased. Local merchants supplied only those fishermen and their families who were directly attached to them. In later years, and continuing right to the end of the Flat Islands settlement, merchants from Catalina and St. John's bought and stored fish on Flat Islands, and collected it by schooner in the fall.



Legend

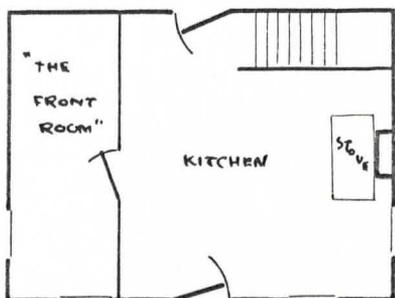
-  Fishing Grounds
-  Wood Gathering Areas
-  Bait Grounds
(squid, mussels)
-  Lobster Grounds

Fig. 35
THE TRADITIONAL TERRITORY
of
FLAT ISLANDS

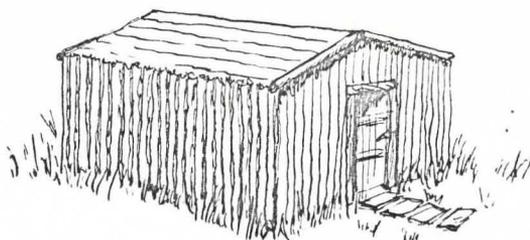


 Settlement Area

SCALE : 1" = 10'

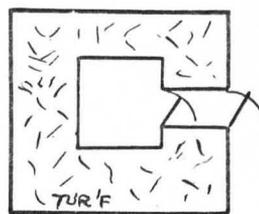
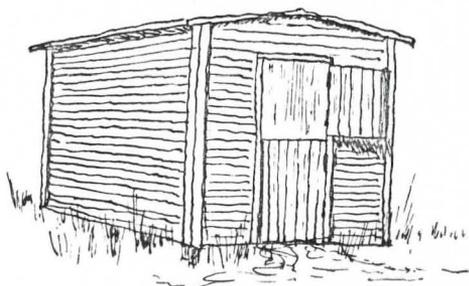


THE HEN'S HOUSE



THE ROOT CELLAR

THE SHEEP'S HOUSE



1" = 10'



THE PRIVY

Fig. 34
FLAT ISLAND ARCHITECTURE

The year's cycle of activities for the Flat Islands differed little from that of Bragg's Islands, outlined above. More attention was given here, however, to the spring fisheries for salmon and lobster. From the time the ice cleared in May, until the legal end of the lobster season in mid-July,⁵ almost all home fishermen had out salmon nets and about 100 lobster pots. During this season, the pots and nets were hauled each morning, and the salmon and lobsters were sold to the two large local merchants for canning. The rest of the day was spent hauling caplin and working on the gardens, until the nets were hauled again in the evening about six o'clock.

For the Labrador Floater fisherman, the winter cycle was the same as the landsman, and the summer's work began when he "went in collar" on May 10th. Details of the activities of the Labrador fisherman's summer are given in conjunction with Fair Islands, page 81.

During the war years, Flat Islanders began to find work off the island. By the 1950's, fully one-half of the work force found its main income in non-fishing jobs.⁶ It became customary to close the island house for the winter, while away on the mainland; more and more, the owners did not return, and abandoned homes became common. Slowly then, it came to be understood that the island was declining, and during the winters many people began to talk of leaving.

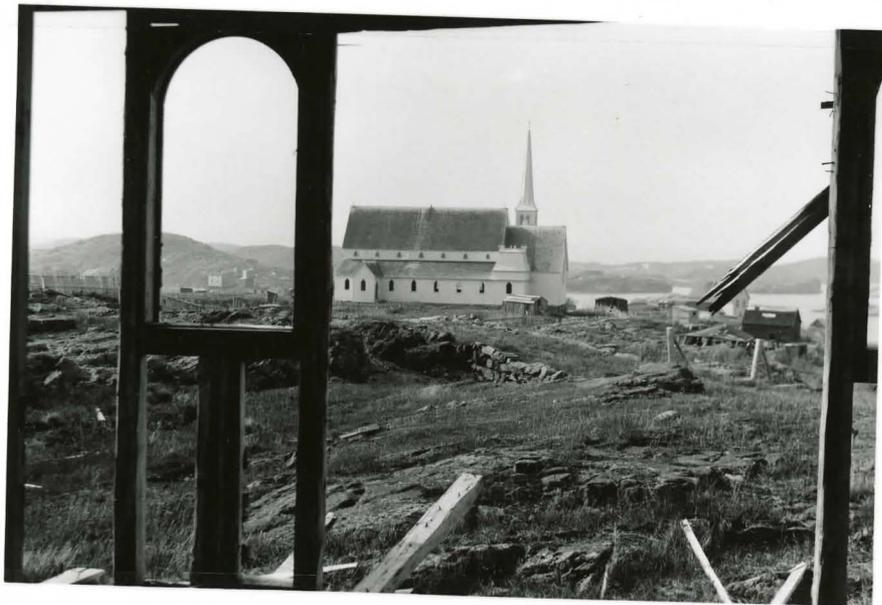
The spark was supplied in 1953, when the North Island merchant moved to Harbour Grace, Conception Bay. In 1954, an

island resident floated his home to Glovertown; he had been working in St. John's as a carpenter for some years, and his father had previously bought property in Glovertown and moved there. The following year, another house was floated to Glovertown. This owner too, was a carpenter at St. John's and Montreal; when he came home, he was sometimes held up for as much as a week at Glovertown, while waiting for the ice to clear sufficiently to make the trip to Flat Island. The logical idea then, was to live at Glovertown, near to friends and relations, but in close touch with road and railway.

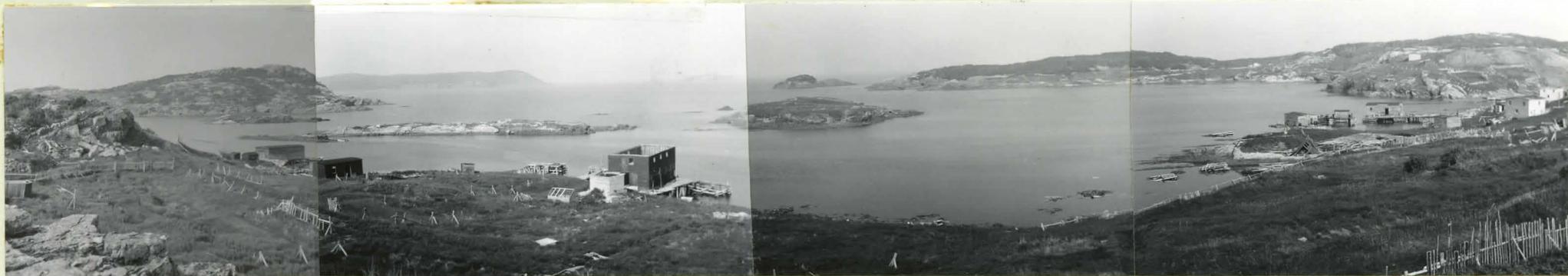
The talk began in earnest. The summer of 1956 saw many more move out. But still, those who were left thought that that would be all; when, in 1957, great numbers prepared to vacate, it was clearly seen that the community was foundering, and total evacuation was accepted. It must be remembered too, that no one would receive government assistance unless every family agreed to move, and those who moved first would not receive assistance unless the move was complete within two years.

Of 119 families to receive assistance for the move, more than one-half went to Burnside, St. Chad's, Glovertown, or Eastport--settlements that had communication ties with Flat Islands, and where relatives lived. In most of these cases, the Flat Island house was floated to the new location intact (40%), or was disassembled and the materials rafted in. About 20% of those who moved went to St. John's and vicinity, where they had been working as carpenters and other tradesmen. The remainder scattered,

following various employment opportunities, or joining relatives, across the breadth of Newfoundland. Those who had moved long distances were forced to begin life anew, not only under very new social conditions, but with little or no returns for the property they had left. A house on an abandoned island was of little worth. Many of the Flat Island homes then, were purchased by people in nearby outports for prices varying from \$100 to \$300, and were moved to areas where Flat Island had earlier had little or no connection. Thus the later Flat Island house types (as shown on page 72) appeared at Hare Bay, at Dark Cove, and at Dock Cove, Cottel's Island (see page 109).



The Anglican Church still dominates
the once proud and prosperous
Flat Island. View over settlement
from half-demolished community hall.



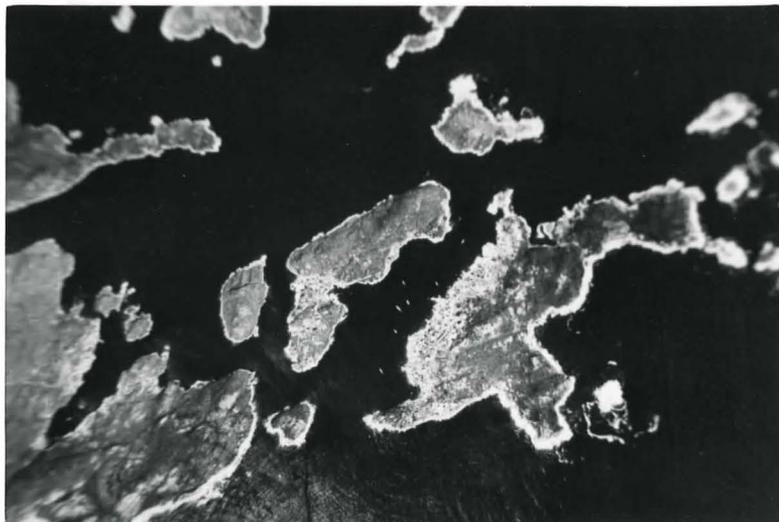
This view, looking north, shows what was once the focus of economic activity on
Flat Island. The main schooner harbour is in the background, while the merchants'
establishments filled the shoreline in the foreground.

Fair Islands, and Centreville

Fair Islands and Silver Fox Island (included here for convenience) are the most northerly of the island groups of Bonavista Bay. Unlike the hitherto considered islands, this group is composed of granite, exhibiting dome-shaped forms; the high profiles and the deep faults have combined to provide many excellent schooner harbours. Though originally settled as a local fishing station, Fair Islands have long been noted for the Labrador Fishery, in later years having given the home grounds almost completely to the Bragg's Islanders.

Though the group provides good harbours, the settlement sites are in most cases steep--though Fair Island proper is situated on a sloping bench--and almost devoid of soil; patches of bog were treasured as gardens, and the best sites were used as cemeteries. These islands, then, were seldom self-sufficient in vegetables. As with most of the other islands, however, everyone kept pigs, sheep, and chickens; perhaps half-a-dozen families kept goats, but none kept cows or horses.

A further site difference at Fair Islands, was the availability of fresh water; on other islands--flat in their form--water was obtained from stagnant pools in rock crevices or peat bogs. At Fair Islands, however, spring lines could be found at the base of cliffs (see photo VI), and though not offering bubbling clear water as in areas of glacial deposition, they gave better water than elsewhere on the islands.



FAIR ISLANDS

showing seven schooners in the shelter of
Fair Island Tickle, and two in Sydney Cove.



A typical spring site
at the base of the cliffs
backing the Fair Island
settlement site. Fenced
to keep out sheep, etc.

Plate VI
FAIR ISLANDS



"The Tickle"

Approx. 500 feet

unfitted land areas are rock and thin vegetation mantle.

Fig. 37
FAIR ISLAND
1941

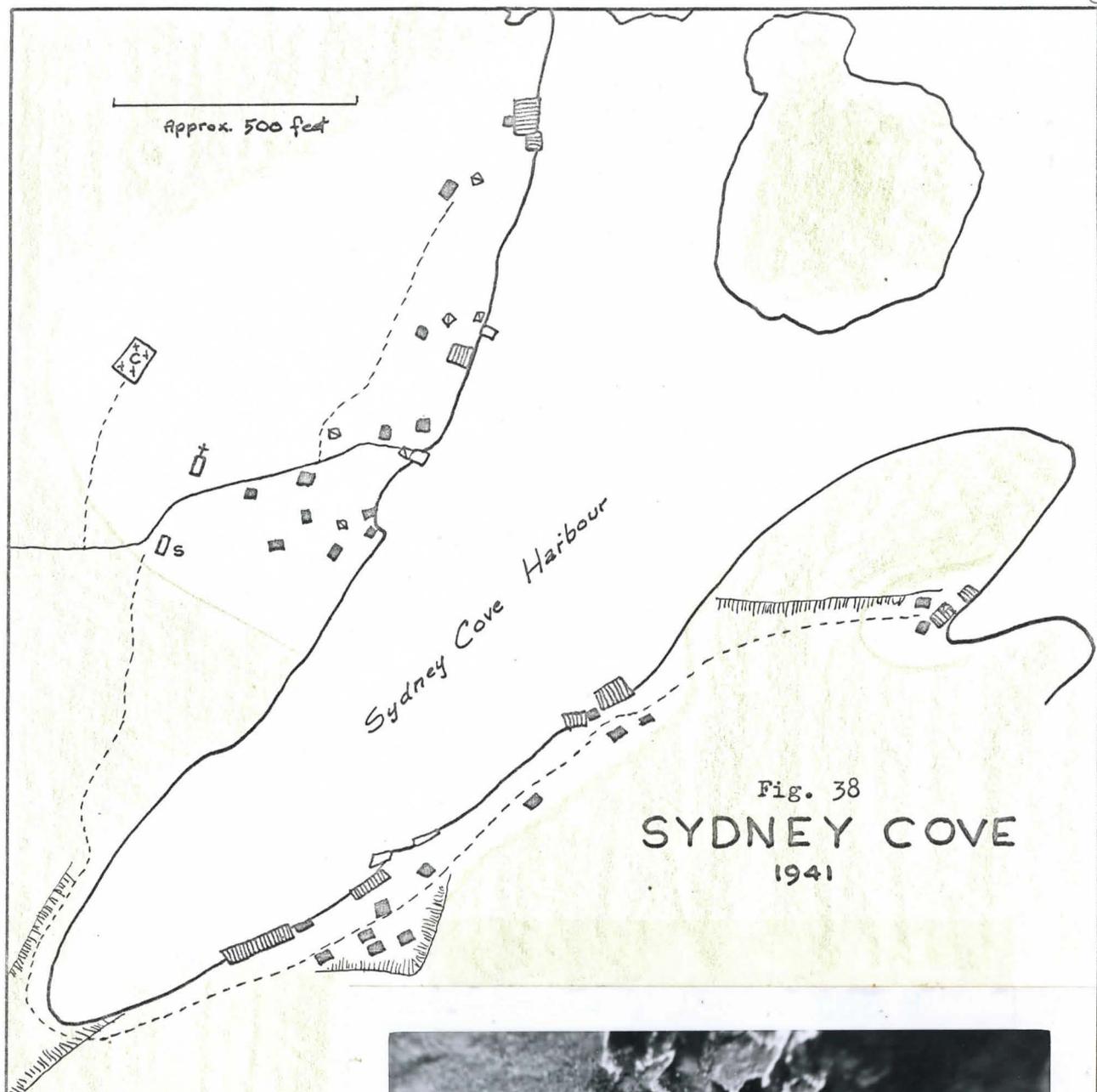


Fig. 38
 SYDNEY COVE
 1941

untinted land areas are
 rock with thin vegetation
 mantle and bog.



But in the years before Confederation, the tightly-knit group of Fair Islanders did not gain their livelihood at home. The Labrador Fishery claimed almost every man in the group, for all of the summer months.

May 10th each year saw the men "taken in collar" (signed on) for The Labrador, and the work of preparing for the trip to that barren coast in search of the cod would begin. The schooner would be "hauled over" (tipped on her side) so that she could be scraped and painted, and the rigging would be checked out and repaired. Everything was made ship-shape. By June 1st, a voyage was made to St. John's to load salt for the summer fishery, and to get supplies to carry the crew and their families at home until the fall. Upon the return to Fair Islands, with all ready for departure, the rum would flow freely, and the schooner would slip from the tackle into the open sea with course set for the north.

Fishing on The Labrador would continue until all the salt was used (a "full voyage") or until late August or early September. The heavy-salted bulk fish was then brought to Fair Islands to be "made" on the flakes during the month of September. (If a full voyage was made earlier, the fish often had to be kept in the schooner until cooler weather in the fall in order to prevent "burning" of the fish on the flakes). With a month of fish-making finished, during which all members of the community--women and children included--worked on the flakes, the fish was reloaded on the schooner and taken for sale in St. John's. The rounds of

Water Street were made until the best price was found, where the fish were unloaded and exchanged for the winter's supplies for the people of Fair Islands. The winter saw the gathering of firewood on Lewis Island in much the same manner as in the case of Bragg's Islands.

With the war, Fair Islanders began to turn more to jobs on the local mainland. Schooner skippers found it much harder to get crews, and had difficulty getting decent prices for their fish; but even until the mid-1950's, twenty schooners sailed for The Labrador. At this time, though, the change came quickly, as half of the men left to undertake construction jobs, and the other half to work at cutting and loading pulpwood at nearby Indian Bay. The schooners were beached and left to rot.

By the mid-1950's too, the abandonment of the archipelago was showing itself to be a very real thing. The Bragg's Island settlements had gone, and Flat Islands were being abandoned quickly. But all of these places had moved to roadheads; for the Fair Islander, the move to a roadhead would be long, and there were few family ties with the nearest roadhead settlements. Trinity, the community that had been settled earlier by Fair Islanders, was as isolated as Fair Islands themselves.

In the case of Fair Islands, government policy and assistance was to be of extreme importance. The financial assistance for moving, which had been established for the Bragg's and Flat Islanders, of course, still stood. But the first matter that affected Fair Islands particularly, was the government's road-building

"The schooners were beached
and left to rot."



Plate VII

policy. Federal and provincial funds had pushed the Trans-Canada Highway east from Grand Falls to Gambo in the early 1950's. Since provincial road-building policy is to link the largest number of people as soon as funds become available, it was proposed that the populous Badger's Quay/Wesleyville area be connected by direct route to the newly developing town of Gander. Though route surveys were actually made, it was decided that money would be better spent if the road followed the coast, passing southward through Indian Bay, Trinity, Dover and Hare Bay. Cutting and clearing started on this "North Shore Highway" in 1955, and by 1958, the last gap, between Trinity and Hare Bay, had been closed.¹⁰ For the first time, a motor road linked to the outside was brought within the activity area of Fair Islands.

In 1955, six families had moved from Fair Islands to Hare Bay, driven from the Labrador Fishery by submarginal profits. Two years later, two families moved to Catalina (on Trinity Bay) to undertake the inshore fishery, and Paul's Island people moved to Hare Bay and Trinity to pursue woods work full time. In 1958, the first house left Fair Island, buoyed with 38 oil drums, to occupy a new site on the North Shore Highway near Wareham, at a place later to be called Black Duck Cove (Fig. 39). The owner was a Union delegate whose work took him amongst the loggers of Fair Island, working mainly at Indian Bay. The next year, the house was moved to a better site nearby--a large, slightly sloping, gravelly area, well cleared of heavy timber by previous fires. The same summer (1959), twelve more homes were landed with oil drums

inside, and made their way to this new inland site, stringing out along the highroad. By the end of July, land fronting on both sides of the road had been staked with claims in the form of initialled boards for almost a mile; notices had begun to appear even on land behind the first set of claims.

<p>About this time, the Crown Lands Office became aware of the conditions, for more than twenty applications for Crown Land had been received, and there was no plan for the area. Though it was generally agreed that the new settlers had chosen not only the best locality, (in respect to their place of work), and the best general site, it was felt that every attempt should be made to control the settlement so that strip development could be avoided. The settlers made it clear, however, that they definitely did not want to accept building lots back from the North Shore Highway unless "proper roads" were constructed for them.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">¹¹</p> <p>APPLICATIONS FOR CROWN LAND in WAREHAM AREA</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 20px;">1956</td> <td style="text-align: right;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1957</td> <td style="text-align: right;">2</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1958</td> <td style="text-align: right;">5</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1959</td> <td style="text-align: right;">20</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td style="text-align: right;">(to end of July)</td> </tr> </table>	1956	2	1957	2	1958	5	1959	20		(to end of July)
1956	2										
1957	2										
1958	5										
1959	20										
	(to end of July)										

¹²

The provincial government then carried out a topographical survey of the area and laid out approximately 100 residential lots of 100' x 200', as well as commercial, church and school sites (see Fig. 39). A circular made the new site, later called "Centre-ville", known on the islands.

¹³

By October, 1959, though, it was reported that of the more than thirty families still on Fair Islands, the majority

intended to remain. By the fall of 1960, Centreville had completed a new school, had accepted what was thought to be the last group of settlers, and had settled down to a new life. But by May of 1961, all of those remaining in Fair Islands, 36 houses in all, had agreed to move to Centreville during the summer.¹⁴

Then, during the same summer, about twenty fishing families from Silver Fox Island, spurning the new inland site-- for it would not allow them to live close to their stages and boats--squatted at Black Duck Cove, midway between Centreville and Wareham. Reluctantly, the provincial planners accept Black Duck Cove as a "suburb" of Centreville, and considered it in planning for such services as a water supply.¹⁵

Centreville, then became the transplanted community of Fair Islands; very few of the Fair Islanders had moved to settlements other than Centreville or Wareham. This new settlement was the only major attempt by the Newfoundland Government to plan settlement migration,¹⁶ and it outlined the difficulties involved in dealings with the individualistic outport culture. But most important in succeeding years, though Fair Islands settlement was left as broken and scattered lumber, the Fair Islands community, transferred to the mainland site, remained intact and strong.

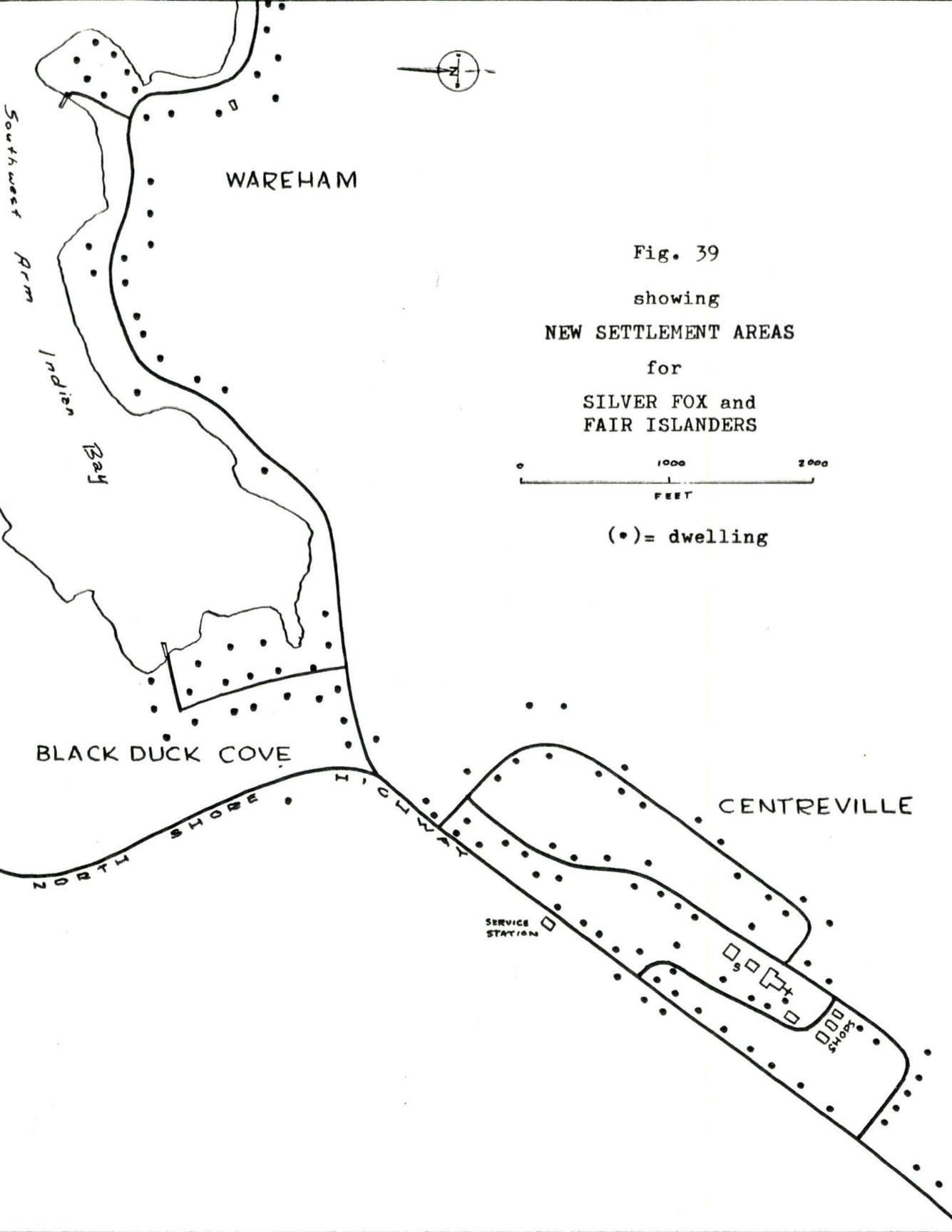
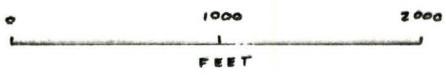


Fig. 39
showing
NEW SETTLEMENT AREAS
for
SILVER FOX and
FAIR ISLANDERS



(•) = dwelling

WAREHAM

Southwest Arm

Indian Bay

BLACK DUCK COVE

NORTH SHORE HIGHWAY

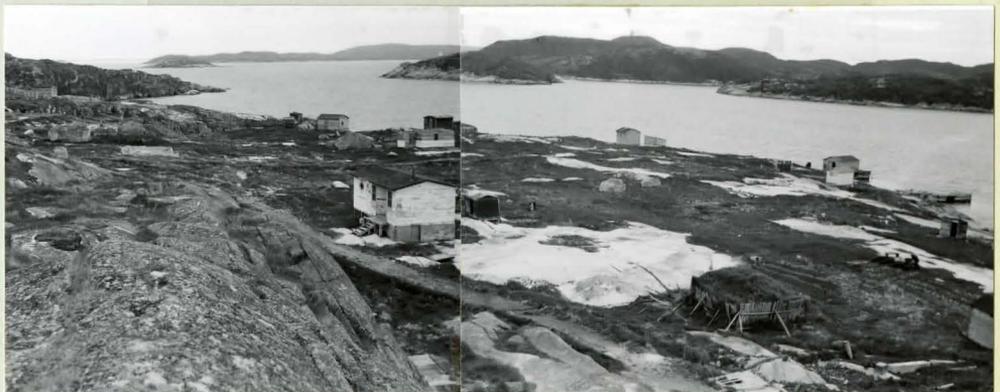
CENTREVILLE

SERVICE STATION

SHOPS



South-central portion of the
Fair Islands settlement 1959



A view of the same area 1964

Plate VIII
FAIR ISLANDS-BEFORE and AFTER

Burnt Island and Butler's Cove

The small settlement of Burnt Island, located on the tickle on the northern side of Deer Island (not to be confused with Deer Island settlement, located on Popplestone Island), was the last of the archipelago settlements to move. As first one, then all of the neighbouring settlements were vacated, Burnt Island's eighty or so people were left extremely isolated. But to move they faced more than the usual problems. Two-thirds of the working men were fishermen, and to continue their work--and to gain the benefits of the move--they must locate at a nearby mainland point. Burnt Island, however, was an island of Roman Catholicism in a sea of Protestantism; the nearest Roman Catholic settlements were at St. Brendan's where they would not gain the benefits of the mainland road, and at Gambo where they would have all the advantages of mainland living, but could not pursue their traditional vocation.

Burnt Island used to get its mail by trap skiff from Dover, and when the ice was particularly bad in Dover's harbour, a landing was made in a small cove behind the settlement. This was near to the new road into Dover, and would supply a good small harbour for the fishing boats. The cove's rather narrow, but relatively level, bench had seen earlier settlement by a now-gone family, and supported a small patch of grass.¹⁷ No thorough consideration was given to the matters of soil or water supply, but the site was chosen as the new location for the Burnt Island fishermen.¹⁸ Homes were floated in from the island, and skidded

into place by tractor. A one room school was built and used also as a chapel. Though some of the younger men find work at Indian Bay, the majority fish for lobster, salmon and cod from their old grounds around the island. The soil has been found to be excellent, and almost every family has vegetable gardens to supply all its needs. Though it is unfortunate that they are cut off so from others of their religion, the people of Butler's Cove are quite happy with their new lot.

This migration of the Burnt Islanders could well exemplify the site selection criteria employed by the area's first residents. Given a general attraction for an area, the most important factor in site selection was a good small boat harbour in easy reach of the fishing grounds; all else was secondary. Little thought was given to choosing a site that could accommodate its own rapidly increasing population. Butler's Cove is already expanding, as sons build on the family plots to accommodate new families.

BUTLER'S COVE



CHAPTER SIX

SETTLEMENTS SWELLED

Glovertown

Glovertown is located at the head of Alexander Bay, just to the north of the Terra Nova River. Glaciation gave the area a legacy of outwash sands, partially mantling the uneven and steeply-dipping bedrock of the area. Relatively higher sea levels immediately after glaciation cut a number of fairly level benches into the outwash, of which the lowest--at a height of 10-15 ft.--is the most marked. It is this lowest bench, which extends back from the sea in varying amounts--from 200 ft. to 1000 ft.--that has attracted all of the settlement until most recent years.

Sawmilling in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it will be recalled, marked the beginning of Glovertown. Immigration from the archipelago in those years, and during the construction of the ill-fated pulp mill in later years increased its population rapidly. The immigrants came mainly from the northern areas of Bonavista Bay--from Bragg's Islands, and from the Greenspond area--where Methodism (later, the United Church) had become firmly established in the last half of the nineteenth century. Glovertown thus became strongly Methodist, though other religions were represented in small numbers.



This view of Glovertown shows well the shoreline strip character of most Newfoundland settlement. The built up area is almost exclusively on a low-level post-glacial terrace cut in sandy and gravelly outwash. The houses in left distance are along the highroad out of the settlement, leading to the Trans-Canada Highway, and the Alexander Bay railway station. The foreground slope has been cleared of forest by accidental fire.

Glovertown established its major connections with the more southerly islands of the archipelago through its transportation functions, rather than through family names or religion. Though the Newfoundland Railway passed four miles inland from Alexander Bay, it was connected by an early road to Glovertown, which acted as the port for the railway; an early road was also built to the Eastport Peninsula, and Glovertown became a "cross-roads" between rail, road and sea transportation. When returning from a rail trip to St. John's, then, and while waiting for a blizzard to subside, for the ice to clear from the bay, or for the wind to lower in force, the islander was often held over at Glovertown.

During the 1950's, Glovertown saw the influx of more than thirty Bragg's Island families--almost completely of two family names, names that had been established in Glovertown by the pulp-mill episode. Relations had arranged for land for the merchant, who was the first to arrive, and who brought seven or eight families with him. Some of these people became important workers in the Glovertown United Church. The Bragg's Islanders took up the following occupations:

BRAGG'S ISLANDERS in GLOVERTOWN	Labourers	Fishermen	Service & Carpenters	Loggers	Retired
<u>OCCUPATIONS</u>	10%	26%	37%	10%	17%

Source: Field enquiry, 1964.

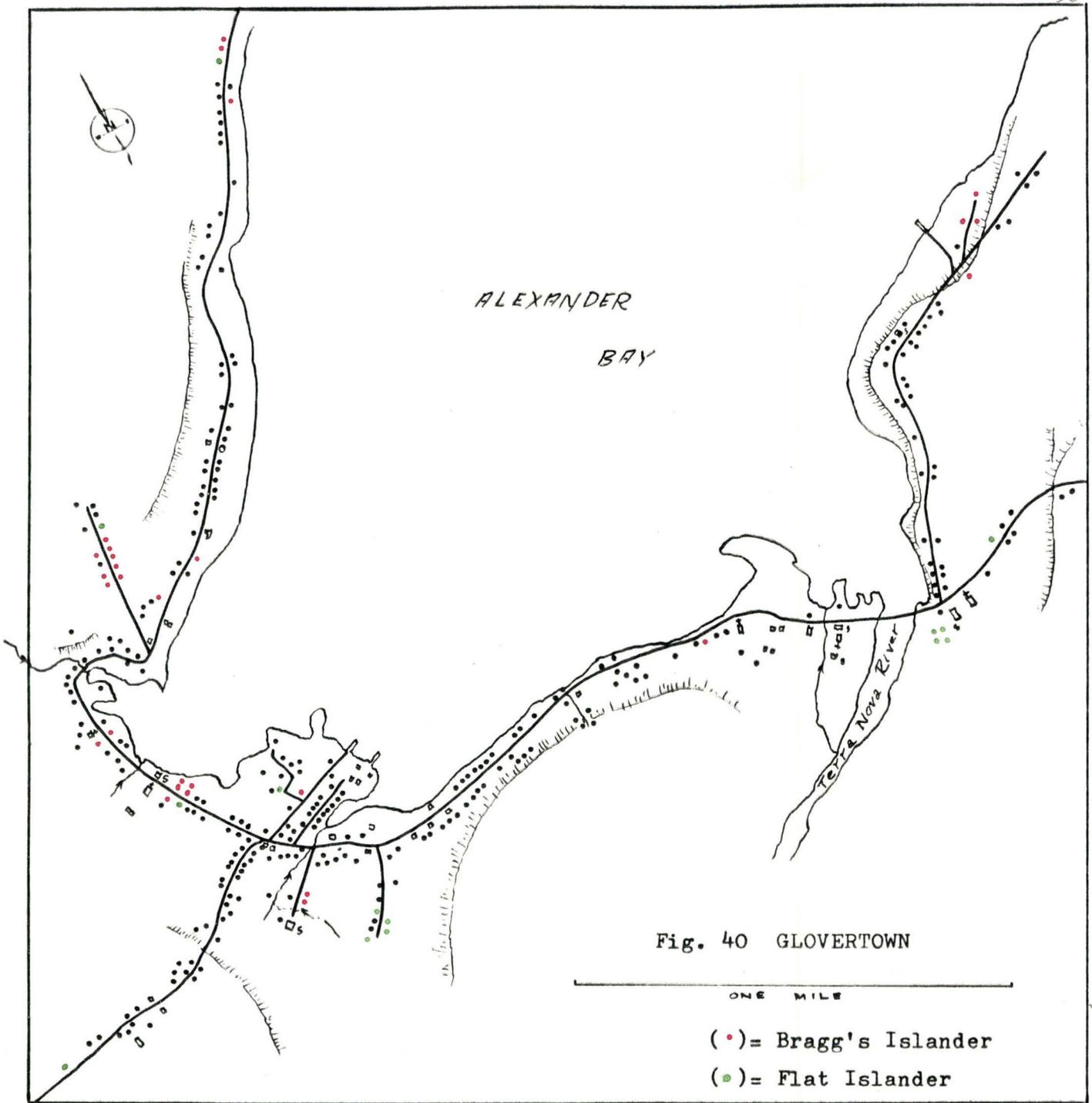
From Flat Islands came sixteen families, drawn to Glovertown mainly because of its transportation functions. Others came

merely because Glovertown offered "a place to live", or because their sons had founded a family here years before. Glovertown did not have a large group of Church of Englanders, so those of that religious denomination from Flat Islands were forced to build a church, which they located near the southeast end of town. Those who came from Flat Islands took up the following occupations:

FLAT ISLANDERS in GLOVERTOWN	<u>Fishing</u>	<u>Carpenter or Serv.</u>	<u>Retired</u>
<u>OCCUPATIONS</u>	20%	40%	40%

Source: Field enquiry, 1964.

For these late immigrants, the operation of gaining land was influenced by the fact that the original settlers in this inland area--unlike those of the earlier settled islands--came under Crown Lands control, and deeding of land was done in a proper legal manner. In order to assure enough grazing land for work and food animals, and to provide for an increasing family, the original patentee appeared to favour a dispersed type of settlement. It was usual, it seems, to divide all the good land amongst the first settlers. As population rose, the cove became more thickly settled, both with family building and with outsiders who had "bought in". When the islanders came in the mid-1950's, then, they had to purchase land in the same manner as it would be done in urban Canada. Since the Newfoundlander attempts wherever possible to settle adjacent to the sea, the first choice of lots was within the thickly settled shoreline strip (see Fig. 40).



ALEXANDER
BAY

Terre Nova River

Fig. 40 GLOVERTOWN

ONE MILE

- (•) = Bragg's Islander
- (•) = Flat Islander

The new settlers scattered widely over the area, placing their homes wherever they could find suitable land for sale. Two concentrations of new settlement, are of special interest because they are slightly back from the sea, on the second bench cut into the outwash sands and gravels. The first, "Bragg's Island Lane", is an area of outwash sands and gravels, on top of the abandoned shore cliff. The area was already pierced by a narrow woods track; this was widened, and the Bragg's Islands houses were rebuilt along it. Later, the Glovertown Town Council supplied a proper road. The second group of houses back from the sea, "Flat Island Road", came about because the sons of some Flat Islanders had already established there, and the access was good. Two acres of land were purchased from the Glovertown owner for \$200; one house was floated in and dragged to the site, and the others were rebuilt from Flat Island house materials.

Dark Cove

During the abandonment of Bragg's Islands, twenty families moved to Dark Cove to take up the following occupations:

BRAGG'S ISLANDERS in DARK COVE: 20 <u>OCCUPATIONS</u>	<u>Service & Carpenters</u> 35%	<u>Loggers</u> 55%	<u>Retired</u> 10%
---	--	-----------------------	-----------------------

These families settled in three groups, known locally as "The Marsh", "The Waterfront", and "Pauls' Hill" (see Fig. 41). The last-mentioned settlement is of most interest, for it indicates a move away from the sea, unto the higher terraces. A family had moved to Dark Cove from Bragg's Islands in the late 1920's when they were working away at carpentry, and found it much more convenient to live on the mainland. The recent group of migrants from Bragg's Island of the same family name, located on the family-owned land, back of the earlier settlement, and along a woods trail. As these new white houses began to dominate the hill, the provincial government extended an existing local road up the shore cliff to serve them.

The Pauls' Hill settlement at Dark Cove is significant because it sparked a notable plan by the town council for land subdivision. The town is purchasing crown land on the terraces behind the present settlement, and has begun development of approximately 100 building lots, 75' x 100', in two rows just below the highest terrace. The site will be serviced with water, power, storm and sanitary sewers. A recreational area, adjacent to a recently completed high school is also planned.

Thus, Dark Cove, a settlement that has had few ties with the sea, has finally begun to look inland for house sites. But tradition dies hard; the process has taken nearly a century.

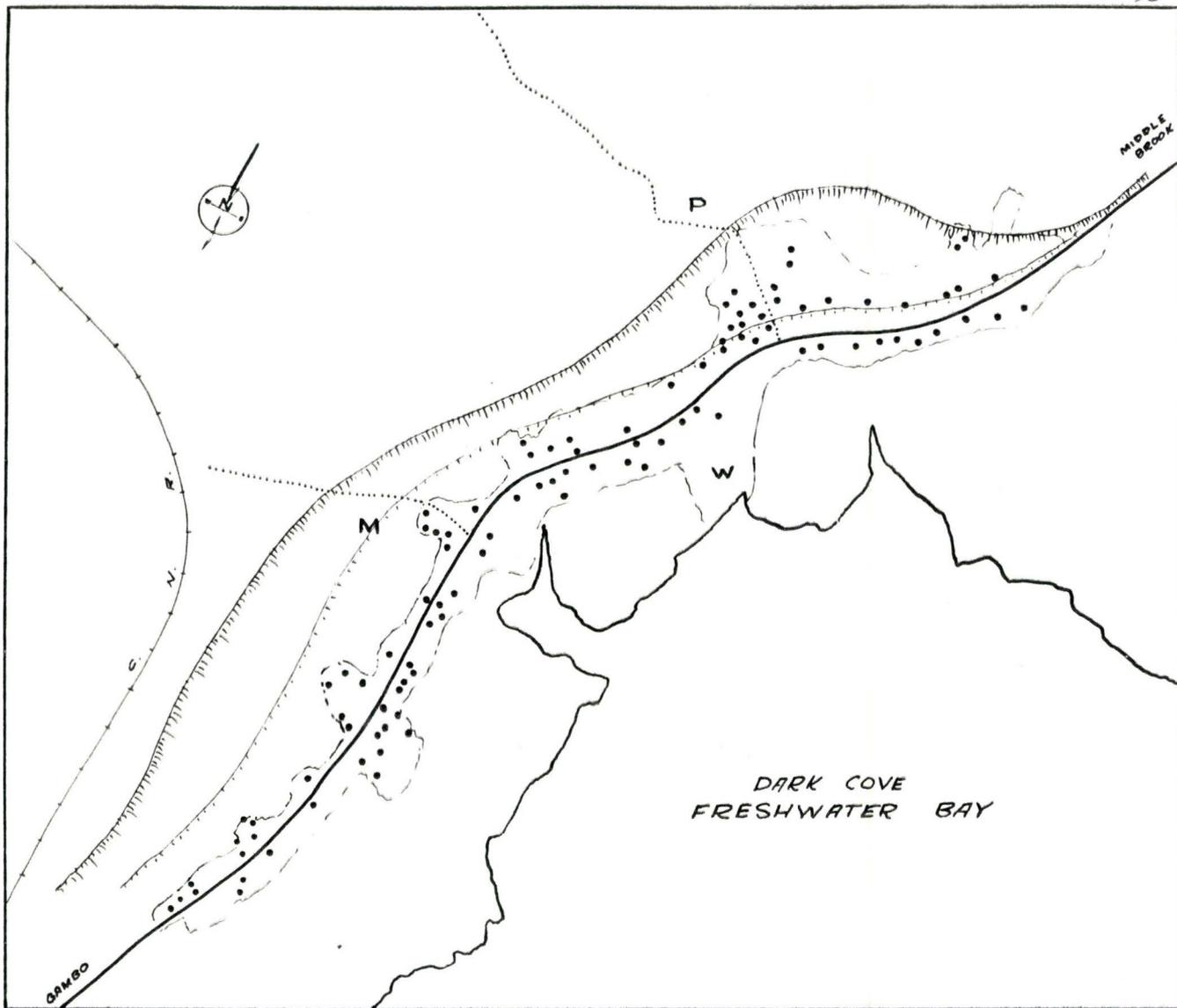
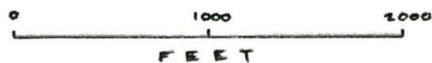


Fig. 41 DARK COVE
(1947)



M = "The Marsh", area settled by islanders in 1950's.

P = "Pauls' Hill", area settled by islanders in 1950's.

W = "The Waterfront", area settled by islanders in 1950's.



Area of houses and associated gardens.



Trail



High and distinct shore cliff



Low and indistinct shore cliff

Hare Bay

Hare Bay had seen settlement and population increase first as a focus of sawmilling activities over a rather wide area, and later as a focus of pip-prop cutting and loading. The first settlement site filled most of the cove, and was composed of three gently sloping extensions of better land that extended from the rough rock and bog behind (see Fig. 42). The two extremities of Hare Bay were the first settled, and the increasing population spread from these foci, to form a continuous strip of settlement around the head of the harbour. The major religion of Hare Bay was Salvation Army, for the majority of its settlers came from Gooseberry Island. A minority, located in the eastern end of the settlement, came from the northern portions of Bonavista Bay, and brought the Church of England.

In 1944, the inhabitants of Gooseberry Island moved to the mainland to take up the many woods and construction jobs created by World War II. Many came to Hare Bay, where work in the cutting of pit props was being offered to all. The Gooseberry Islanders fitted easily into the Hare Bay community; they were of the same religion, and many of them carried the same names as the original Hare Bay settlers; they had relatively little difficulty in settling unto parts of the grants of the original Gooseberry Island settlers in the westerly sections of the settlement (see Fig. 42).

The second group of immigrants were from Newport, which,

was abandoned in 1953. The merchant of Newport took over a shop in the Central portion of Hare Bay, and donated some of his land for a large new Anglican Church (Newport was both Salvation Army and Church of England). The Newporters, as shown on Fig. 42, settled in the eastern portion of Hare Bay; here, some land was available, owned by people of the same name who had come from the far northern portions of Bonavista Bay during the first settling of Hare Bay; as well, since some of the houses were floated in, a low shore and a site nearby was preferred--eastern Hare Bay offered this, while the central portion of the town did not.

Thus, by the time of the main migrations of islanders, Hare Bay was rather densely settled with the homes of the sons of Hare Bay people, and with the homes of Gooseberry Islanders and Newporters. Since the newcomers had only small plots, and the larger areas of open land were in most cases being kept by the Hare Bay people as house sites for their offspring (see example, Fig. 43), the difficulties of finding land were very real. For those who were to continue to fish (and in Hare Bay it is only the islanders who fish), it was required that the house site be by the sea--both for convenience and for safe-keeping of boats and gear. Meeting this requirement generally meant the acceptance of rocky or otherwise undesirable sites, at prices similar to those excellent sites farther inland. But even those who had turned to land-oriented occupations did not wish to go inland; it was mostly the Hare Bay people themselves who had settled along the highroad and took advantage of Crown Land at a low purchase

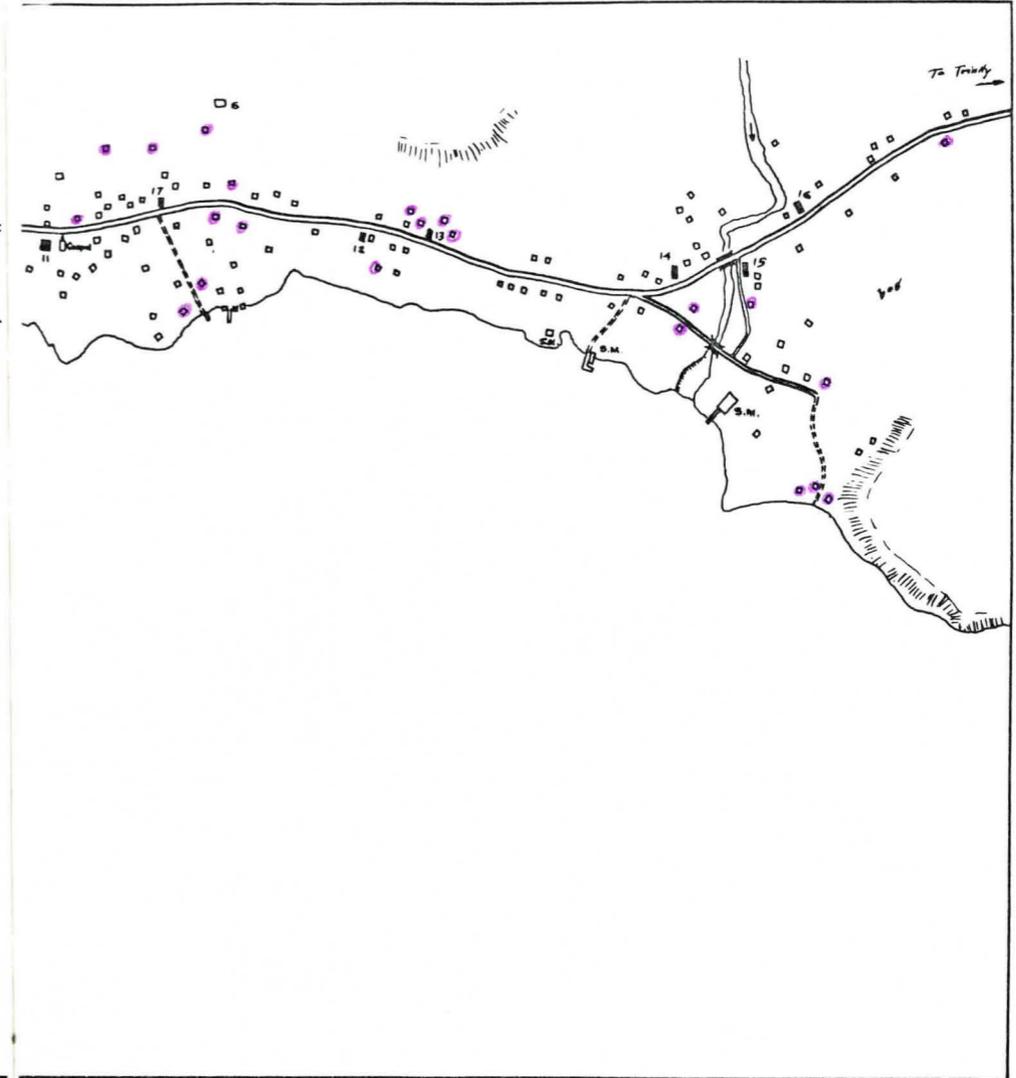
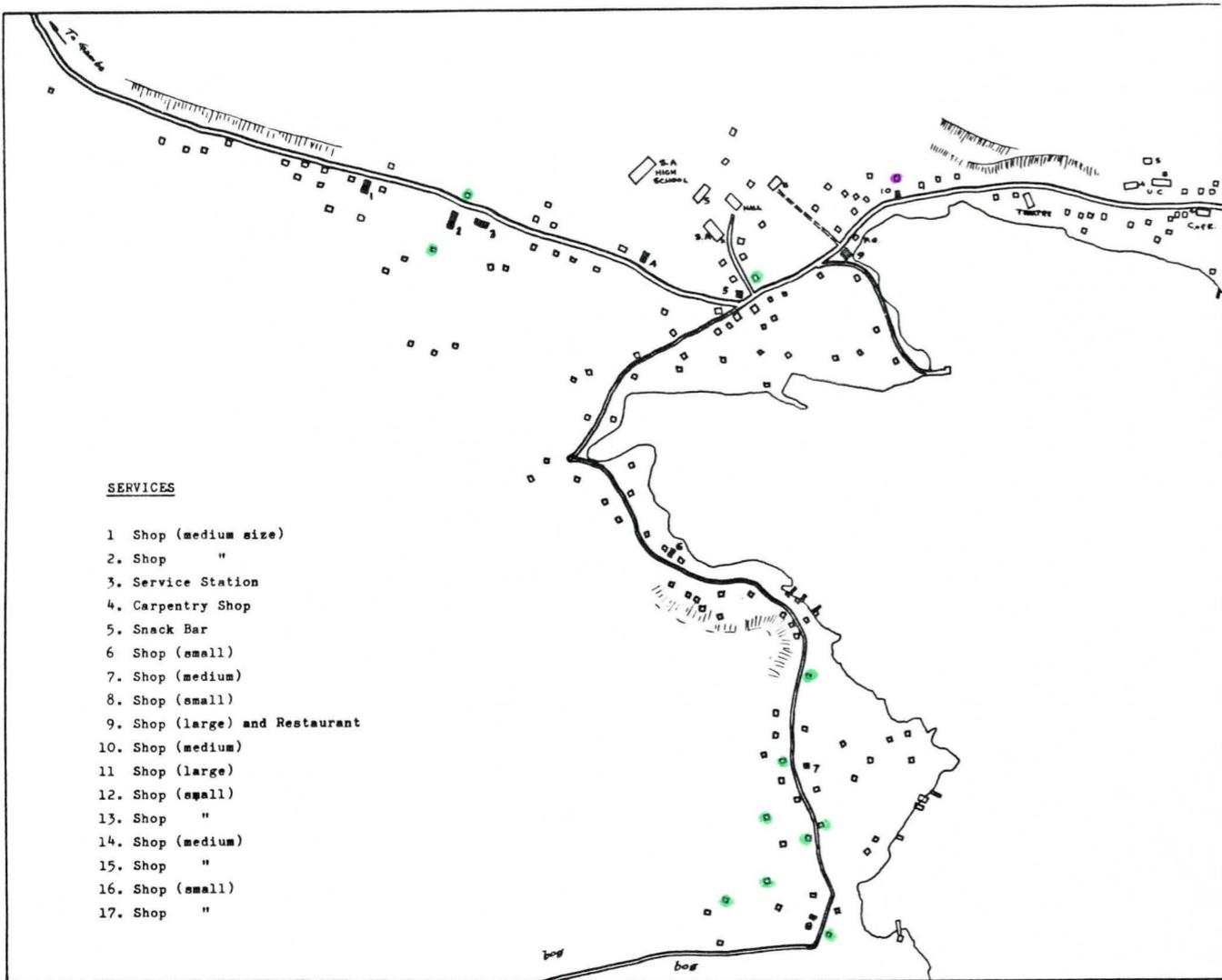
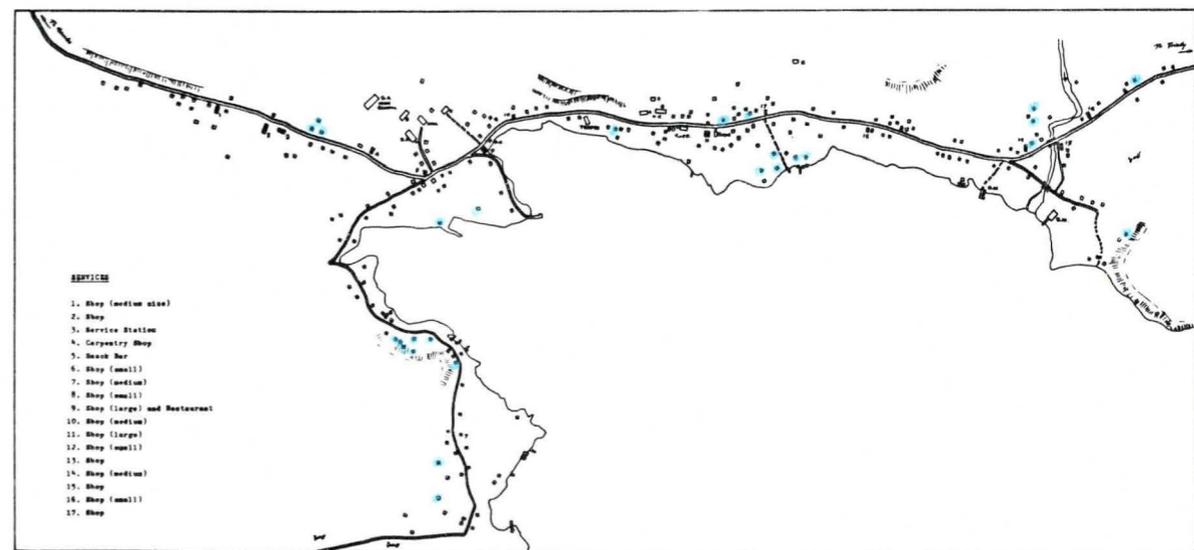
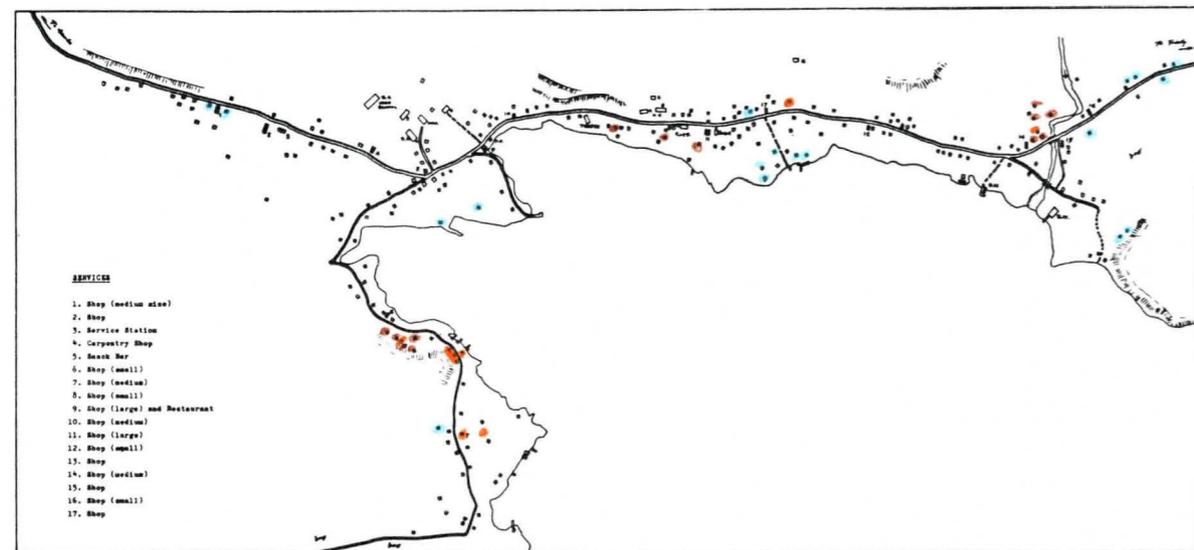


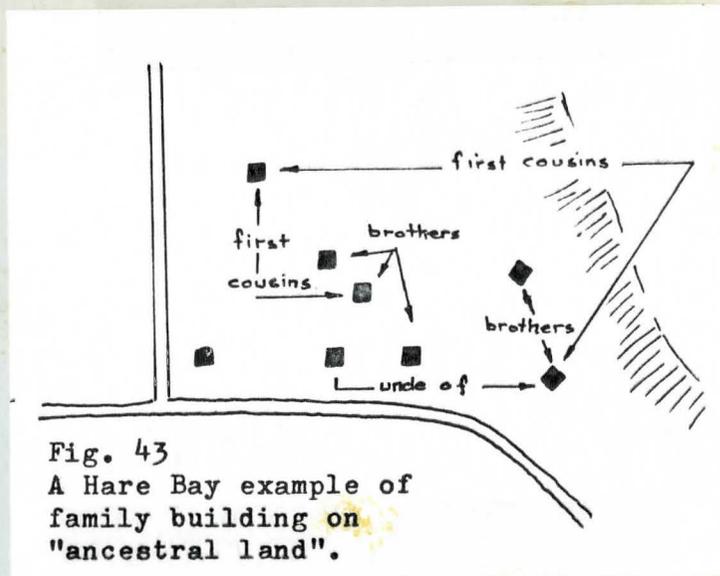
Fig. 42
HARE BAY
1964

(•) = Newporter
(•) = Gooseberry
Islander



(•) = Bragg's Islander (•) = Silver Fox Islander
(•) = Fair Islander

• Fishermen 1964



Hare Bay, looking northeast from cliff beside highroad.

Plate X
HARE BAY

price, spread over a period of years.

If there were difficulties in obtaining land in Hare Bay, then what were its main attractions? At the time of the Bragg's Islanders' move, Hare Bay was the roadhead for the area; it was also offering considerable employment in pulpwood cutting (see Table A). For the resettling fisherman--who, in many cases, was loath to leave the island anyway--Hare Bay was the nearest place on a road (if he had to move from the island, he may as well take advantage of all modern conveniences). Similar thoughts brought the Silver Fox Islanders in 1961, more than half of whom returned to the island to fish each summer(Table A).

OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF FAMILIES

TABLE A

BRAGG'S ISLANDERS in HARE BAY: 17	<u>Labourers</u>	<u>Fishermen</u>	<u>Service & Carpenters</u>	<u>Loggers</u>	<u>Retired</u>
OCCUPATIONS	6%	53%	12%	23%	6%
FAIR ISLANDERS in HARE BAY: 8	13%	50%	12%	13%	12%
SILVER FOX ISLANDERS in HARE BAY: 14		58%	14%	14%	14%
NEWPORTERS in HARE BAY: 17	59%	12%	6%		23%

CHAPTER SEVEN

SETTLEMENTS THAT STAYED

As the archipelago settlements of Bonavista Bay disappeared one by one, the community of Cottel's Island--composed of the settlements of St. Brendan's (Shoal Cove), Hayward's Cove, Dock (or Dog) Cove, and Shalloway Cove--remained unshaken and unconcerned. It was not that this community had economic ties strong enough to bind it to the sea. During the war, its men had turned to land-oriented occupations just as thoroughly as the men of the rest of the area (Table) and its Labrador Fleet was destroyed just as surely as that of Fair Islands. It stands out only in the fact that it is the largest of the islands, and has considerable quantities of good garden land, and--probably the most important--it is the only large Roman Catholic island in the Bay.

ST. BRENDAN'S and COTTEL'S ISLAND

OCCUPATIONS 1955

Labour, Service, and Maint.	73%
Fishing	19%
Retired	8%

The settlements of Cottel's Island then, offer the only remaining examples of a "living" island community in Central Bonavista Bay. For this reason alone, they are worth examining. But they offer too, illustrations of some of the processes that have brought about changes in Bonavista Bay, and some of the effects that the settlement migrations have had upon adjacent islands.

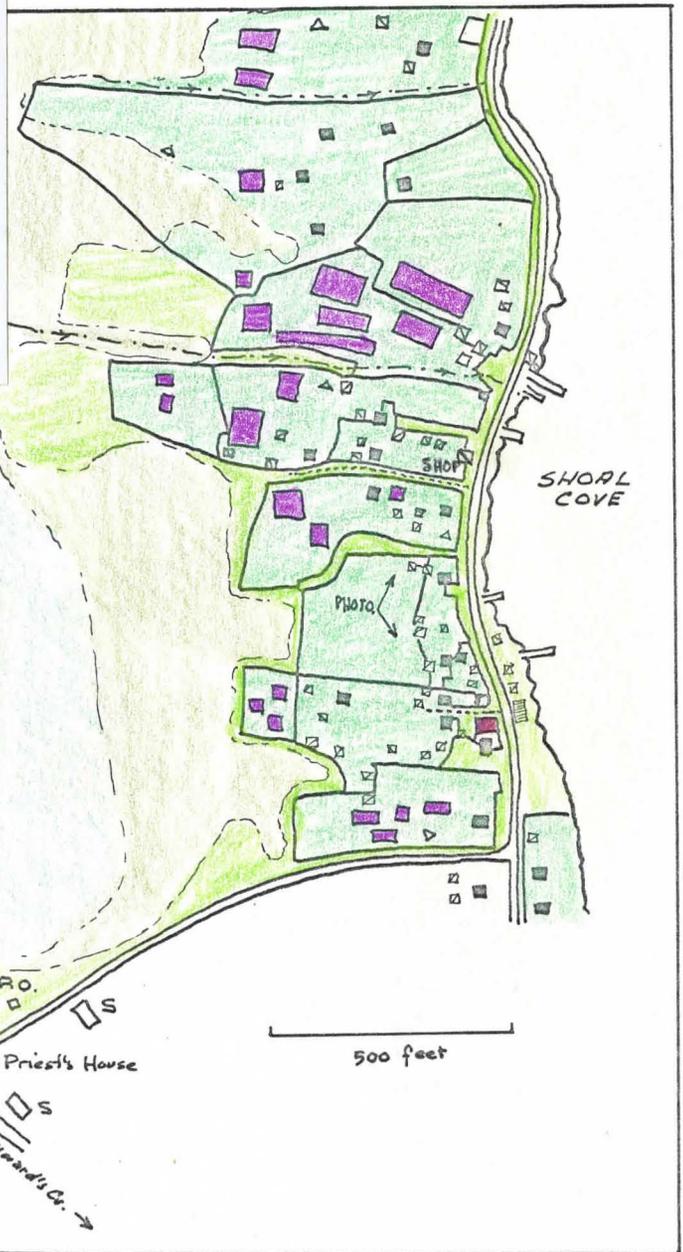
St. Brendan's

St. Brendan's was settled in the mid-nineteenth century by families from the south side of Bonavista Bay, who divided the cove into four parcels, one for each family. Shortly thereafter, the Roman Catholic population moved from Gooseberry Island to settle amongst those first established in St. Brendan's, Roman Catholic population continued to come in from the south, and combined with natural increase to quickly build a large community. (Since the economy was mainly the Labrador Fishery, Shalloway Cove came into prominence as a winter harbour for the fleet of Labrador schooners.)

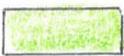
The site of St. Brendan's is a large semi-circular cove at the northeast end of Cottel's Island. The island is a low plateau of slaty rocks; the site of St. Brendan's slopes easily to the water, and has a relatively deep (6-12") mantling of soil, over angular fragments of slate. The settlement site is thus not crowded, and the good land extends very nearly the whole of the way around the cove.

The houses were originally spaced well out along the whole cove. But with the establishment of families of sons, the site became much more closely built up. Each son that stays in the settlement takes a house plot on his father's land; in some cases he may keep his vegetable garden adjacent to his house, or he may cultivate a patch beside those of the rest of the family, removed from his house. Examples of this patrilineal land subdivision and an illustration of the importance of gardens are given in Figure 45.

Fig. 44
A PORTION OF
ST. BRENDAN'S
1964



Legend

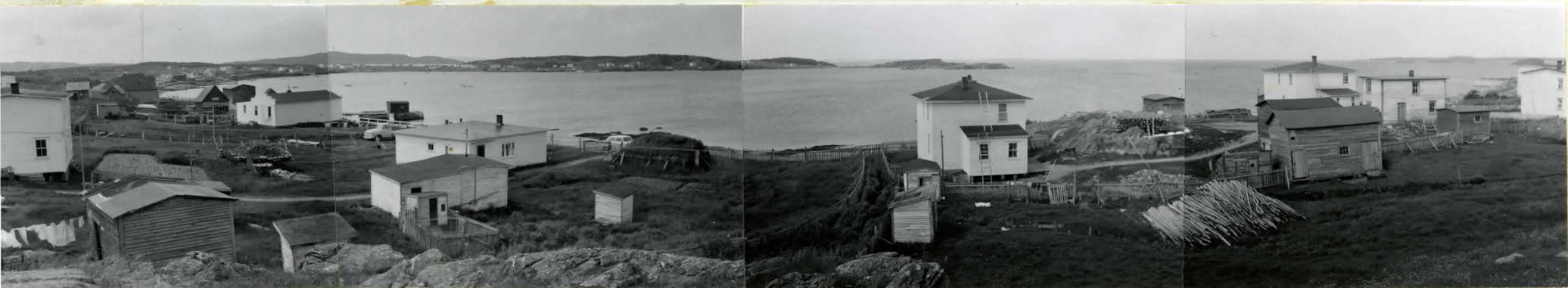
-  Scrub
-  Forest
-  Hay
-  Vegetables
-  Dwelling
-  Other Bldg.
-  Root Cellar
-  Fish Flake
-  Open Grassland

MAPPED BY
PAGE & COMPASS
JULY, 1964.

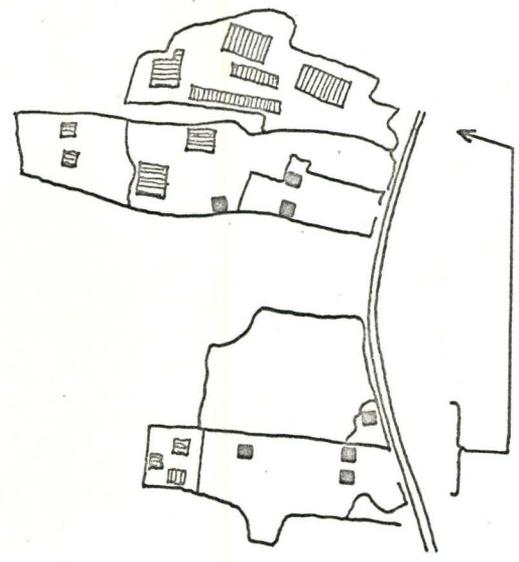
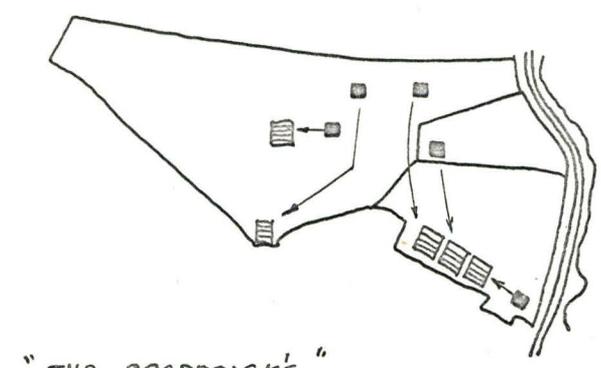
To Sparrow Cove
To Doon Cove
To Hayward's Cr.
P.O.
S
S
Priest's House

SHOAL COVE

500 feet



St. Brendan's, showing the area mapped as Fig. 44 (location of photo is marked on Fig.)
Note particularly the many buildings that each household uses, and the many fences,
protecting anything worth saving from the roaming sheep.

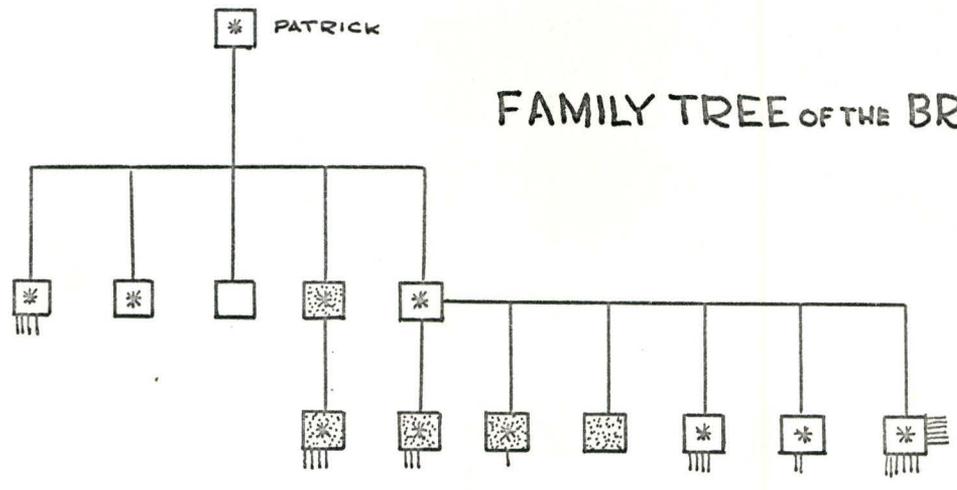


- DWELLING
- ▨ VEGETABLE PATCH
- FENCE

"THE HYNES"

PATRILINEAL DIVISION OF LAND AND VEGETABLES

Fig. 45 FIELD ROOTS and FAMILY ROOTS



FAMILY TREE OF THE BRODERICKS

- HEAD OF FAMILY
- ▨ MAINTAINING HOUSE IN ST. BRENDAN'S
- * MARRIED
- ⏟ NO. OF SONS

In this family then--and this is not an exceptional example--the land needed to maintain households increased six times in two generations; if all eight sons of the second generation marry and establish in St. Brendan's (very unlikely), the land needed will have increased fourteen times. If none of Patrick's sons had moved to other settlements, the land required to maintain the patrilineal descendants of this one man would have increased by forty times in only sixty to seventy-five years!

Here can be seen clearly the force that drove the descendants of those who had settled the archipelago islands (to pursue an uncrowded shore fishery) to the Labrador Fishery; and here can be seen the force that drove even later descendants to the newly-developing lumber woods along the inner reaches of Bonavista Bay.

Dock Cove

This settlement is located on the southern shore of Cattel's Island, about one mile by road from St. Brendan's, with which it has always been closely tied, especially through the Church. Recently, the Dock Cove merchant closed his business to fish full time, throwing the settlement completely upon St. Brendan's, from whence supplies are now delivered by pick-up truck.

Despite the name of Dock Cove (but also known as Dog Cove, pronounced the same), there is no harbour, and all boats must ride at collar (open roadstead). The settlement site is more broken than St. Brendan's, being a mixture of rock, gravel, bog, and vegetable land. Nevertheless, all but two families grow all

their needs in potatoes--something rare in Newfoundland since Confederation. The land use map (Fig. 46) shows that many families have fenced and cultivated vegetable patches back of the settlement, as well as patches near the house. Each household grazes about four sheep, but only three have horses; firewood is hauled from the surrounding woods either with the use of these horses or by hand. Thus, despite the many persons who have worked away, and the many who still do so, Dock Cove preserves much of the traditional life of archipelago Bonavista Bay.

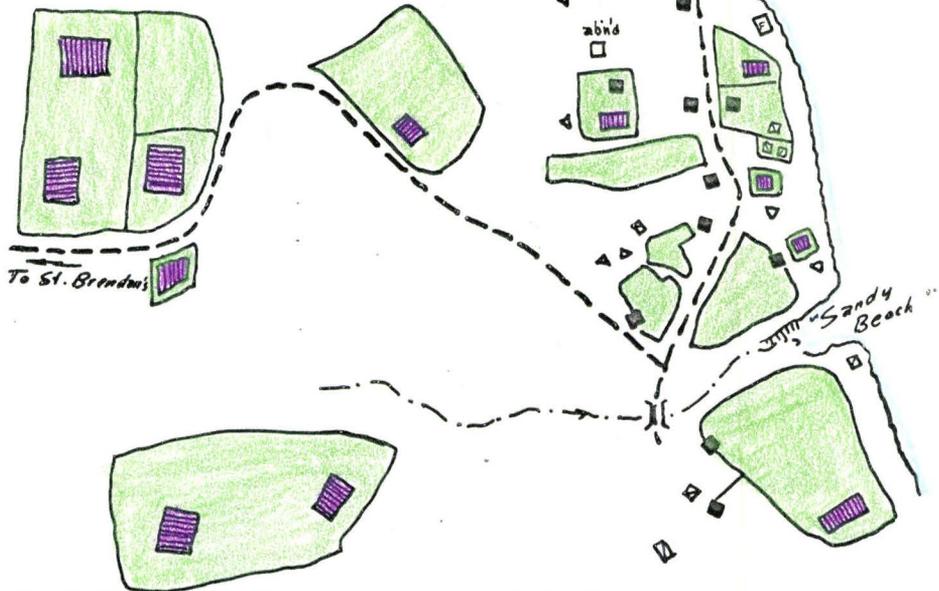
The abandonment of the surrounding islands has given Dock Cove a gift of houses. Of the settlement's 24 occupied houses, 10 are from Gooseberry Island, Flat Island, or Bragg's Island (see Fig. 46). If the emigrant from these islands was moving further than the local mainland, his house was almost a complete loss to him; he would welcome any opportunity to sell it -- at almost any price. Thus, excellent dwellings were purchased at prices ranging from \$100 to \$300, and floated to Dock Cove, where they were easily landed. As is the outport custom when a new house is built (or, in this case, bought), the old dwelling is abandoned or used as a storehouse, adding just one more building to the fascinating clutter.

Fig. 46
DOCK COVE

500 feet

Legend

-  Hay
-  Scrub Forest
-  Grass, gravel, etc.
-  Vegetable Patch
-  Dwelling
-  Other Building
-  Root Cellar
-  Fence
-  Fish Flake
-  Road



BONAVISTA



"The stage", typical of the fishing outport,
where the fish are landed and split.



View down the main road at Dock Cove. The
sheep and other animals wander at will, and
are fenced out of vegetable and hay patches.

Plate XII
DOCK COVE

CHAPTER EIGHT

NINETEEN SIXTY-FOUR

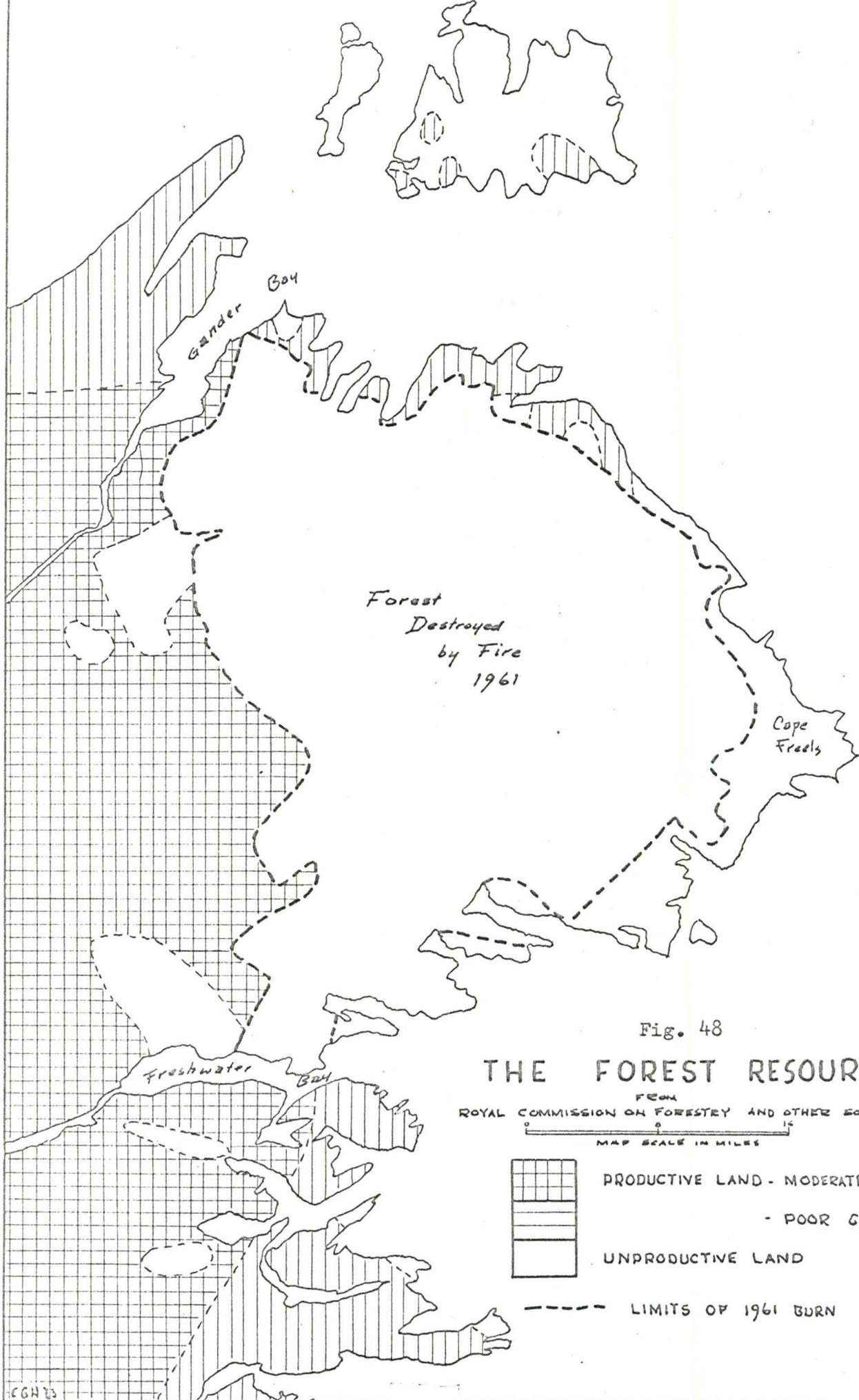
The settlement migrations were completed in 1961, and had brought great changes to the geography of the area. The new settlers met additional changes, brought about by the government's "war on isolation". The Central and Northern Bonavista Bay shore was completely traversed by road in 1958, and within a few years almost all goods were coming in on wholesalers' trucks, instead of by schooner. This had profound effects. No longer did the merchant need large amounts of capital, in order to buy a whole winter's supply of goods, and no longer did the householder need to fill the winter stores. Small shops opened, many of them run only part time; some kept almost no stock, and operated only so that the family could buy wholesale. With this once or twice a week trucking, and the sale of small quantities, prices rose. But few complained, for now it was unnecessary to cultivate vegetable patches--with an assured supply coming in by truck, and Newfoundland now able to use Prince Edward Island's surpluses.

Within a few years of their resettlement too, the islanders gained electric power, brought in from a far-away hydroelectric plant by transmission lines. The oil lamps could be thrown away; even the merchants no longer needed the putt-putting "delco" plant. Television invaded the area, and by 1963 approximately one

quarter of the homes could be entertained by the flickering box. During 1963, modern dial telephones were installed along the coast, and very nearly all homes received service.

But the basic reason for the moves had been economic-- the new employment was on the mainland. The people of the northern islands had been largely labourers and had moved into the Hare Bay and Centreville areas. Those of the southern islands had been carpenters and other maintenance people and had moved to the Glovertown area. Others had been loggers, and took up residence in the Dark Cove or Hare Bay area. From the mid-1950's onward, the labourers of the Hare Bay and Centreville areas found it more profitable to become loggers, for this activity was strong in their area, and the unskilled labour opportunities had been declining.

As resettlement was being completed in the long, hot, dry summer of 1961, a bush fire had a start between Middle Brook and Hare Bay. It smouldered for some days, then exploded and swept quickly northward. The whole of Newfoundland was organized against it, but by the time it had stopped, it had left almost one thousand square miles of timber devastated. In many places, it had burnt all humus to the rock--dry sand and granite remained. This vast area, the timber-cutting area for the loggers of Hare Bay, Trinity, and Indian Bay (shown in Fig. 48), will not produce timber for at least eighty years. The timber had been a large part of the reason for the first migration, and for the second migration as well; after the fire, the dead, but unburned timber could only be salvaged within the following four years--after that it would have rotted on the stump.



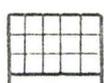
Forest
Destroyed
by Fire
1961

Fig. 48

THE FOREST RESOURCE

FROM
ROYAL COMMISSION ON FORESTRY AND OTHER SOURCES

MAP SCALE IN MILES

-  PRODUCTIVE LAND - MODERATE GROWTH
-  - POOR GROWTH
-  UNPRODUCTIVE LAND
-  LIMITS OF 1961 BURN

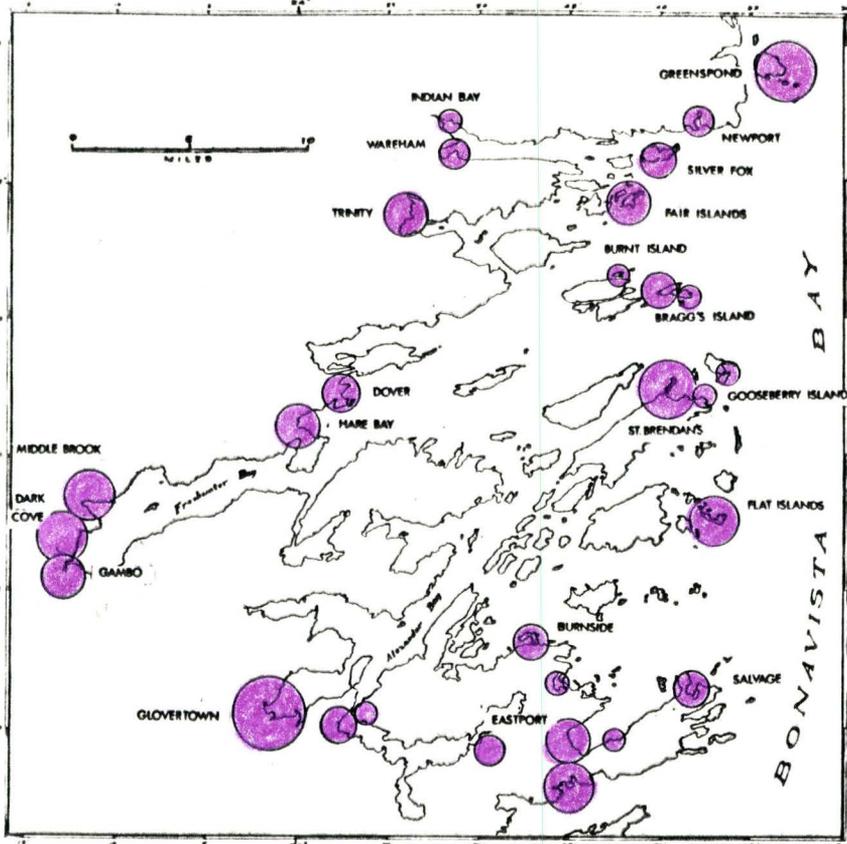
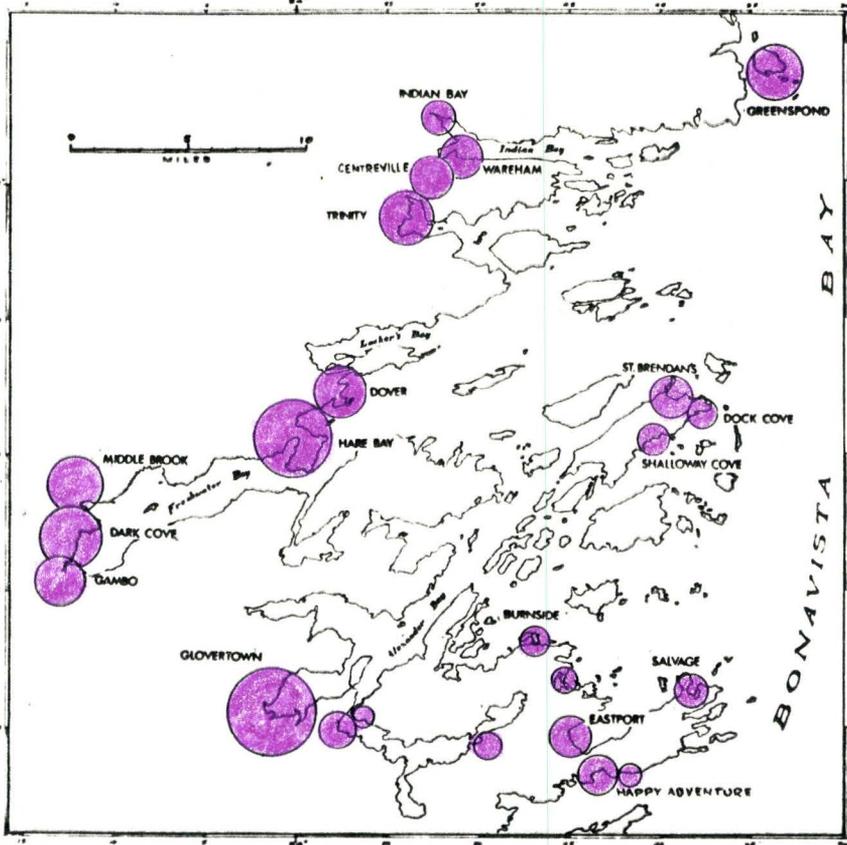


Fig. 49
1945



DISTRIBUTION
of
POPULATION
CENTRAL
BONAVISTA BAY

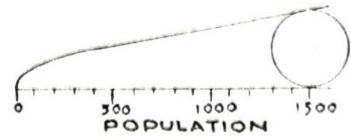


Fig. 50
1961

The fire had no immediate effect upon employment, though it did deaden morale. But by the summer of 1964, the logging of fire-killed timber was virtually complete, and the outlook for future employment in the woods was very bleak. The Gambo and Dark Cove area loggers were not affected by the fire, but their positions were being rapidly threatened by mechanization. The chain saw had come into general use in the latter 1950's, and did the work of five men. In 1964, a "tree farmer" device was introduced by which five men could do the work of a whole logging crew.

In summary, this land of promise offered every modern convenience...but too few jobs. In March, 1962, approximately \$18,000 in welfare assistance was issued to the residents of Hare Bay and Dover alone. The beginnings of a drift away from the area can be seen in boarded homes in Hare Bay.

But as the future began to look very black in 1963, thoughts again turned seaward. The price paid for fish had been climbing quickly and steadily. That for shore-cured dry cod had risen to two or three times its level of the early 1950's, while the prices for heavy-salt bulk fish were at new highs. Lobsters were being collected from along the coast, and flown from Gander to reach mid-western United States tables alive; they were commanding fifty to sixty cents a pound. Salmon prices were similarly high. Fishing had again become well-rewarding.

The archipelago islands are now filling the same function as they did during their first settlement in the early 1800's--uncrowded fishing from summer settlements. Bragg's Islands had become

the main summer fishing settlement. Fifteen men, many of them with all their family, were fishing from here--mainly for cod--during the season of 1964. At Silver Fox Island, there were eight families fishing, mainly for salmon and lobster, but taking cod as well. On Fair Islands, six were fishing for lobster and salmon, and on Flat Islands there were ten fishing for lobster, salmon and some cod.

Though difficulties have been experienced in getting wood for repairs to wharfs and flakes since "the big fire" of 1961, old stores and abandoned houses have been rebuilt to serve as living and working quarters. Boats are now built on the mainland during the winter, many of these with the use of power tools. Outboard motor boats have come into common use in the lobster and salmon fishery, for which they are well suited. The trap skiffs are large, and well maintained. A clean, fast, modern fishery seems to have been born.

Even the old turf-walled root cellars have again been put to use. But not for storing vegetables--they are a source of excellent soil, something very scarce on the granite islands in the north of the area. So they are being demolished and spread out as vegetable patches. The women and children who have returned to the islands for the summer have done so of their own will; they do not have to work, so they do. They split and salt fish, and later work on the flakes. They tend vegetable patches as few have done since Confederation with Canada. "It is like a summer vacation", some have said, "for a change is as good as a rest". The winters



Many families are spending their summers fishing from the old settlements on the islands. Here, at Bragg's Island, large new trap boats, many with houses, are being used for the codfishery; outboards are much used in the salmon and lobster fisheries.

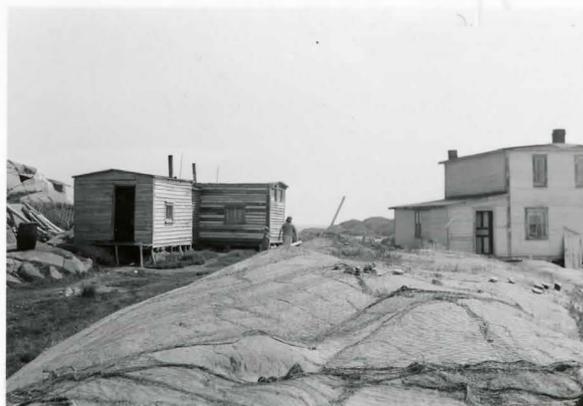
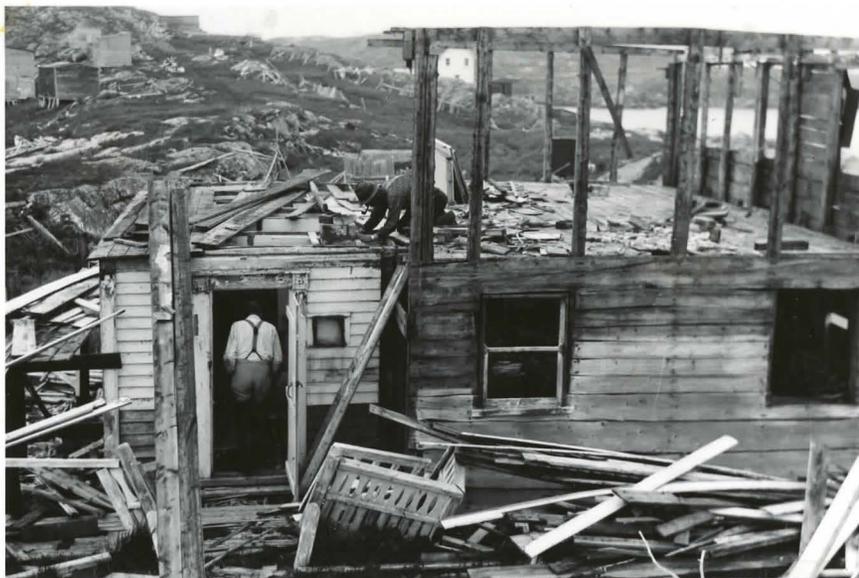


Plate XIII

THE SUMMER FISHERY
BRAGG'S ISLAND

Old stores and abandoned houses have been rebuilt to serve as summer quarters. Bragg's Island.



The back kitchen of an abandoned and half-demolished house on Flat Island is patched up to serve as a summer camp for fishermen.



The valuable turf and soil that once provided the insulation for the root cellars is being spread out and used for the growing of potatoes. Fair Is.

are spent on the mainland with all the comforts of an open road, electric power, and the telephone nearby in case of emergency. With the increased price for fish, and the less crowded, but modernized, fishery, the summers are spent in the invigorating air of the islands.

But this is not all. During the season of 1963, two schooners cast off for The Labrador from Wareham, and one left from Glovertown. Field investigations along the Bonavista Bay coast in 1963 revealed that perhaps one or two schooners more might go to The Labrador in 1964, but few people had really thought seriously about the venture. The winter of 1963/64 gave an opportunity for thought, and soon a fever of schooner-building was underway. Horses and trucks began hauling schooner timbers from wherever they could be obtained. Established sawmills and push-benches alike were busy with boat materials. By June of 1964 then, there were four schooners moored at Wareham, three at Hare Bay, and one at Glovertown. One large schooner (130 tons) was a-building at Trinity, and a sister ship had her timbers ready at Hare Bay. The swing back to The Labrador had really begun.

The rapidity with which this change of focus came to the area is illustrated by the following table, calculated for the people of Centreville only:

OCCUPATIONS of
HEADS of FAMILIES

Centreville, B.B.

Source:
Field enquiry
and Head,
Community Geogr.
Surveys, p.58

	<u>Aug. 1963</u>	<u>July 1964</u>	<u>Change</u>
Work in Centreville	12%	14%	+ 2%
Fishing from Fair Islands	8%	8%	0
Labouring away	12%	9%	-3%
Sick or ret'd.	18%	23%	+ 5%
Bowater's Indian Bay (pulpwood)	39%	19%	-20%
Fishing on Labrador	11%	27%	+16%

The point to note, of course, is that Centreville people working on pulpwood cutting and loading at nearby Indian Bay had decreased by 20%, but that those on Labrador schooners had increased by 16%, this change having occurred in only one year. The people of Fair Islands, and they are largely concentrated in Centreville, exhibited this quick swing back to the Labrador Fishery most strongly, but it is a trend that is swelling in many other communities along the Bonavista Bay coast.

A similar change from landward jobs to Labrador Fishing has occurred at St. Brendan's and its associated Cottel's Island settlements. This, however, has not been associated with schooner building activity, for the men here have gone as "stationers"--taking their shore fishing gear with them to the Labrador Coast via the Canadian National Railways' regular steamer runs. The employment shift for this community can be illustrated:

OCCUPATIONS of
HEADS of FAMILIES

		<u>1955</u>	<u>1964</u>	<u>Change</u>
St. Brendan's Hayward's Cove Dock Cove Shalloway Cove	Labour, Service and Mainten.	73%	42%	-31%
Source: 1955 Electors' Lists, and field enquiry.	Fishing	19%	40%	+21%
	Retired	8%	18%	+10%

The above tables for Centreville and the Cottel's Island community were designed to show the recent shift back to the fishery. But they show too, an increasing percentage of persons retired. This has been a factor associated with the increased payments available under the Canadian social welfare scale. More and more, the older men are not staying in the fishery until their death, as it was necessary to do in "the old days". Pensions and other payments give an income equal to--and in many cases more than--the fishery, especially for the older man who follows the traditional shore fishery. The inter-relations of increased social payments and settlement migration have been only lightly touched in this study, but they should be a fruitful field for further enquiry.

The "Clara Hallet"
 was not left long
 to rot; she was
 rebuilt and sails
 again for The Labrador.

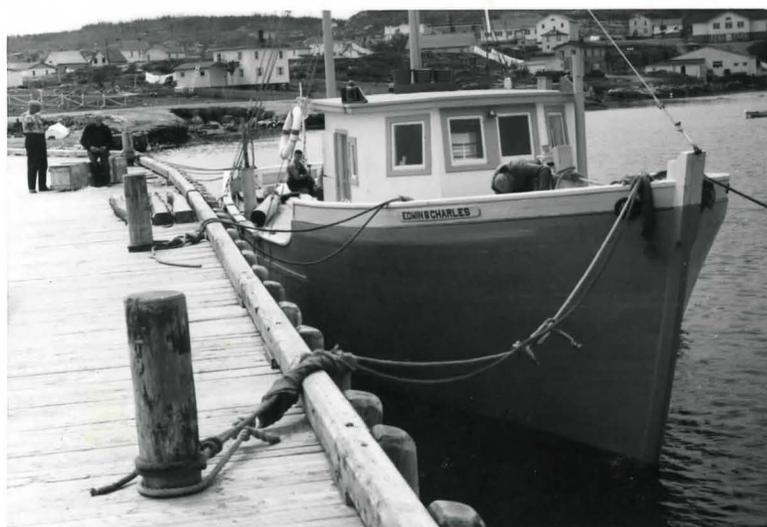
Wareham, 1964



Plate XV THE REBIRTH OF THE LABRADOR FISHERY: THE OLD LINES

The Labrador Fishery
 in all its glory:
 one of the big old
 schooners prepares
 at Glovertown, 1964.





The "Edwin & Charles", one of the new
Labrador vessels built during the past
winter at Hare Bay.

Plate XVI

THE REBIRTH OF
THE LABRADOR FISHERY

THE NEW LINES



Prospective skippers discuss the
plans for their 130 ton schooner
now under construction at Trinity.

THE PAST



In the year 1964, with a small amount of hindsight, we can ask if the settlement migrations have been good. We can examine the general conditions that brought about the moves, and record their change, and perhaps we can look at St. Brendan's as an example of an island settlement functioning under today's conditions.

Two main and two secondary factors underlay the moves:

- (1) Considerable work was being offered on the local mainland:
 - (a) at construction and maintenance on air bases
 - (b) at logging for pit props and for pulpwood
 - (c) at construction and labour work at Labrador iron ore developments;
- (2) Markets for salt fish were poor, and the Labrador Fishery had died, thus forcing many of the islanders to turn to the work offered in (1) above;
- (3) The islands were "inconvenient"--during a period of a week or a month each year, the islands were completely severed from the rest of the world; with the coming of the North Shore Highway and telephones to the local mainland coast, the isolation of the islands became relatively greater.
- (4) The small, isolated outpost could not get qualified teachers, and parents began increasingly to realize the value of a formal education in the rapidly changing world into which they were being quickly drawn.

How do all these factors stand today?

- (1) Construction and maintenance work on the air bases has decreased to almost nothing; work in the woods in the Bonavista Bay area has been vastly decreased due to the fire of 1961 and to tremendous strides in mechanization; work on the Labrador Iron developments has at best remained static, and has decreased in the popular mind.
- (2) Fish prices have increased to the greatest heights yet, and the rebirth of the Labrador Fishery is underway.
- (3) The islands would still be "inconvenient", for the North Shore Highway--though still a very rough, winding, and narrow road in many places--has become a lifeline that cannot be extended to the islands. But the islanders were never really wildly enthusiastic about road communications for its own sake--it was for emergency transport to medical facilities that was its greatest offering. The road is not so important in this regard today; St. Brendan's is an example. This spring, through Canadian National Telecommunications, the community entered the world's telephone network. In cases of medical emergency, an aircraft can be summoned either by telephone or by the newly-installed direct radio-telephone connection with a charter aircraft service less than fifty miles away at Gander. Critically ill persons can thus be flown to the new and fully equipped hospital at Gander in a matter of minutes. And where dog-team, oxen, or row boat delivered the winter mail a few years ago, aircraft are used on regular schedule today.
- (4) St. Brendan's is having no trouble getting qualified teachers

today. This is due to an increase in teachers over the last few years, and to the fact that Cottel's Island has a large population, and that it is all of the Roman Catholic faith. For the other islands of the archipelago, the education problem would still exist. The local mainland settlements have been able to change their educational system radically due to the road; regional high schools are now operating, to which students are delivered by bus each day.

The point to note in all of the above, is that the main factors which gave a basis for the settlement migrations--employment on the mainland, and none on the islands--have been strongly altered, so that the pendulum of advantage has swung at least partly back to the islands. The secondary factors, which helped to spark the moves, have in some cases also been altered, but not, perhaps, as strongly.

As a settlement that stayed, then, does St. Brendan's show a new vitality, Most evidence indicates that it does not. It is true that occupations have swung back definitively to the sea; but the population has remained static. Certainly the birth rate has not fallen; rather, the young people are not staying. Any person who gains Grade Eleven--the highest grade in Newfoundland--does not stay in the outport; the boys enter teacher training or vocational school, and the girls become nurses, teachers, or snare one of the educated young men. St. Brendan's is not an extreme example of the out-migration of young people, for the rising

quality and availability of formal education is affecting the settlements of the local mainland just as strongly.

With most of the basic reasons for the settlement migrations now changed, can it be said that they have been good? Perhaps the question can be attacked from a consideration of what would have happened if they had not occurred. With high incomes during the times of much employment, aided by state benefits, the island settlements would have increased greatly in population, causing considerable crowding. With the falling off of employment, these islands would have become settlements of great distress. Their island location would not prevent the provision today of most of the services offered on the local mainland, for St. Brendan's is an example of what is being done in these matters. But the small settlements of the archipelago would still not be able to provide the educational facilities that the system of regional high schools are offering on the local mainland. These are the outports' hope for the future. Their populations have far surpassed those that can be supported by their resource base, especially as technology is daily making it possible for fewer men to accomplish the same work. There is little hope of greatly increasing the useable resources; rather, population must be reduced. Only through the export of persons with a sound education can this be done. The regional high schools are the key, and one that could not be fully used by the isolated island communities.

In summary then, the moves must be counted as advantageous, because they are allowing more people to gain a better education. They have not drastically affected the opportunities of others, for summer fishing from the islands or on The Labrador is still possible.

CONCLUSIONS

For it is certain, the fewer boats are kept in a place, the better the fishing.

Increasing pressure of population upon the cod resource led to a move of the West of England fishing ships out of the original British fishing areas, and into Bonavista Bay during the course of the eighteenth century, and led to the establishment of a permanent population there in the last years of that century. Growth of that population forced an embracing of a new cod resource in the form of the Labrador Fishery during the nineteenth century. Continued population increase in the fishing areas of Newfoundland led the colony to a conscious attempt to diversify the economy-- to find new resources. Roads and railways opened an area slightly inland from the sea, and expanding world and home markets for timber led to a dualism in the economy of Bonavista Bay.

This reliance upon two separate and distinct primary resources developed because each resource was sparse, and was mutually exclusive. The forest did not thrive in a seaward environment, nor did the fish abound in the landward environment. There was almost no zone of transition between the areas occupied by the population who looked to the sea and those who looked to the land. And the reliance upon a sparse primary resource was perpetuated because the resource was, in fact, sparse; the population--widely distributed in rather isolated small settlements--was held below the necessary threshold for the development of any notable amounts

of secondary employment.

World War II, however, brought a new way of life to Newfoundland. Military bases injected secondary employment into the economy, and the need for timber kept the exploitation of the forest at a high--even excessively high--level. Confederation with Canada brought a partial destruction of fish markets, further devaluing the sea. Continued demand for workers in the land-oriented occupations and benefits of unemployment insurance for non-fishermen intensified the pull to the land. And vastly increased social payments made it unnecessary for anyone to rely for their livelihood upon the often-fickle sea.

When the provincial government declared war on isolation with road-building programmes, and community leaders found personal advantages in moving to the local mainland, the previously accomplished shift in place of employment gained accompaniment by the house and family. All the islands except one were abandoned.

Because the Newfoundland outport looks so completely to its merchant and/or leader for guidance and organization, when these were removed, the settlement could no longer function. Thus, the migrations of the last decade have been settlement migrations, rather than mere population migrations. The time lapse between the first and the last to leave a settlement was narrowed by the government's insistence that financial assistance would not be given for anyone unless total abandonment was effected within two years. The community leaders sparked the potential for migration into actual movement, and the government policy hastened it.

In most cases, the move meant a breaking away from the sea for a livelihood; but in most cases it did not mean a break from the sea for a house site. Tradition accounted in large part for this--salt water is in the Newfoundlander's blood. But there were practical reasons too. If the house was floated in, a site close to the water would reduce costs of skidding over land, and probably reduce damage. Further, the Newfoundland shoreline at the heads of bays is most often backed by one or more abandoned shore cliffs; some of these were rough and rocky, making house moving and construction difficult.

Perhaps the most important reason to stay beside the sea was that the sea had provided an easy road for the earliest settlers, who crowded fully along it; the islanders who came late found few ways of access--either physical or legal--through the shoreline strip. But some examples of new house clusters behind the shore settlements did occur. Where woods trails existed as at Glovertown and Dark Cove, small groups of houses established on the second bench; at Centreville, the new North Shore Highway led the Fair Islanders well inland to a completely new town. The importance of access is strongly demonstrated.

Both the early population migrations and the recent settlement migration have shown that most Newfoundlanders are capable of adjusting to considerable social and economic change. But in the most profound moves, those of the last decade, it should be noted that:

- (1) Mass movement was almost always made within the area of familiarity of the community, familiarity gained through:
 - (a) earlier migrations of relatives, or
 - (b) communication or transportation ties, or
 - (c) traditional activities such as wood gathering, or
 - (d) employment;
- (2) the moves would probably not have been migrations of complete settlements without government insistence that every family move within two years in order for anyone to receive grants;
- (3) there was in each community at least one dynamic individual who very much wished to move for reasons of personal importance (e.g. to establish new business; to assure better education for his sons);
- (4) the people of the outports did not wish to move merely for the sake of "centralization"; they went to areas of--or to areas in easy touch with--a much more rewarding employment.

That a major area of unemployment on a portion of the Northeast Coast today (Fig. 1) closely conforms to the area of population increase by migration, is not due to persons moving to the mainland without employment. They had jobs when they came, but changes in technical (e.g. introduction of the chain saw), political (e.g. the phasing-out of the air bases), and physical (e.g. the fire of 1961) conditions deleted or vastly decreased the employment.

The migrations have meant a great financial loss in boats, gear and buildings, left to rot in the near-decade since their abandonment. It has further meant the payment of considerable sums in social assistance benefits since the land-oriented employment has fallen away. It is unfortunately true that money easily received

as welfare payments has begun to rot the moral fibre of many of the populace. But it is significant that the more energetic people have moved over the last winter to create new employment for themselves. The revival of the Labrador Fishery is important both economically and socially.

Perhaps the greatest benefits have come in the field of education, for the young people now have the opportunity of attending regional high schools. All but a very few of those who attain Grade Eleven leave the outports for positions in the larger urban areas, or to continue their training as teachers, nurses or technicians. The outports are beginning to export many more soundly-educated young people.

For the man who wishes to remain in the area, there will be limited amounts of employment offered in logging; and the modernized, relatively uncrowded fishery from the islands will also be rewarding. The period of greatest difficulty would appear to be the present time, while the young people are still at school, and while those who have recently been left unemployed by the cut-back in woods work and construction move to supply themselves with employment in such fields as fishing from the islands and on The Labrador, taking advantage of the new high prices for fish. There will, for some time, be a noticeable residue of employable unemployed, who will only too happily take state benefits. But for a man with any initiative and decent health, there is little fear of starvation; there is food in the sea and in the woods; it need merely be taken. Some of the wiser men of Bonavista Bay are saying: "a man works too

much for a company and not enough for himself". This has never been truer than today.

There is, of course, the old-timer, who is no longer capable of the rigours of taking part fully in the fast moving modern fishery. But he can still pursue the lobster fishery, each at his own speed (some are even hurtling about in their powerful outboards like eager teenagers). There is no need now though, for the older folks to work out their last days at a demanding fishery, for social payments alone make it possible to live quite comfortably.

What of the future? We may venture to predict a decreasing population along most of the Bonavista Bay coast (it is increasing now), as the young people gain a better education and move out. The islands will support an increasingly modern, uncrowded fishery as long as the prices for fish remain high. As the population of most of the coastal settlements dwindles, Glovertown may be expected to gain population--of fishermen, loggers, and service personnel. As transportation and communications continue to improve, it will be ever less necessary for the logger to live near to the forest, or the fisherman directly beside his grounds. The Labrador Fishery can be carried on from almost any good harbour in Newfoundland, and the new fishermen of the archipelago are demonstrating the possibilities of fishing in one place, and living in another.

In specific answer to the problems stated as the purpose of this study, then, people came to Central Bonavista Bay to pursue uncrowded fishing from the island of Greenspond in the last years of the seventeenth century. One century later they spread from there, and from southern Bonavista Bay, to the archipelago islands along the outside of the bay, again to work less crowded grounds. Some time later the basis of the economy became the Labrador Floater Fishery.

Pressures of increasing population upon the fish resource, combined with a government policy of opening the Newfoundland interior, and a growing demand for timber, led to a migration of islanders to the new settlements at the heads of bays. This early migration established island names on the mainland, and established transportation ties between mainland and the islands.

The way of life of the outer settlements of the Bay --outlined in the body of this study--was disrupted by World War II and later by Confederation with Canada. Large amounts of employment were created, away from the sea. Low prices for fish turned the fisherman to the land. But inertia kept the archipelago settlements alive, until merchants and community leaders, one by one, decided to move to the mainland, for reasons such as buying a new store, or for better education for their children, thus dooming the settlements which relied upon them. Government policy of granting assistance for the moves only if complete abandonment was effected within two years, assured that a full settlement migration occurred over a short

time period. The migrations were usually made within the area known by the islanders, an area determined by the extent and direction of the earlier migrations which created the inland settlements, and by the direction of transportation ties.

The unemployment on the Central Bonavista Bay coast did not exist at the time of the settlement migrations. It was created when the post-war and post-Confederation employment boom moderated, when mechanization in the forest industries reduced employment needs, and when fire destroyed a large part of the timber-cutting area of the region.

As well as answering questions, this study leads to further enquiries. What is the relationship of welfare payments and unemployment insurance to settlement migration, and to the Newfoundland economy generally? How did settlement spread in the Southern Bonavista Bay area, from whence Central Bonavista Bay gained many of its settlers; its western bays, which showed considerable agricultural development in the last years of the nineteenth century are worthy of investigation too. The Northern Bonavista Bay area was the most important home of the Labrador Floaters early in the present century, and this, combined with its early sealing activity, would seem to account for the present large population there; how does the historical geography of that region relate to that of the Central Bonavista Bay area?

All these questions would yield fascinating answers -- if only to satisfy man's incessant curiosity. But Newfoundland can put the answers to practical use as well. A great

wave of planning has swept over the province, and many of the clues to the future lie in the past. For the tourism that promises to come soon to the island, Newfoundland's greatest offering can be a feeling of history. In both cases, it is the geographic approach that can make the greatest contribution. But few Newfoundland documents are kept in fire-proof buildings, and the people who helped to build the past are fewer each day.

The rich grounds of Newfoundland beg the nets of the historical geographer.

GLOSSARY

- FLAKE:** A large, wooden, platform-like structure, constructed of poles; used as a surface upon which to spread the split salted fish to dry in the sun.
- HANDLINE:** A type of fishing gear, consisting of a baited hook on end of a stout line of twine; **HANDLINING** is the operation of the handline, by fastening it to the boat, and lowering it into the water.
- HEAVY SALT BULK:** A type of partial cure of codfish; relatively large amounts of salt are used on the split fish, which are stored thus in large piles for long periods of time; they may be later washed out and partially dried.
- JIGGER:** A type of fishing gear, consisting of a hook protruding from a cast lead model of a caplin; **JIGGING** is the operation of lowering the gear into the water on the end of a stout line, and rhythmically jerking it up and down; the cod are attracted to the movement of the artificial fish, and are hooked on the mouth.
- LIGHT SALT DRY:** A type of cure of codfish; relatively small amounts of salt are used on the split fish, which are stored for a period of approximately ten days; they are then washed out, and put on the flakes to dry in the sun; this is the traditional Newfoundland "Shore Cure".
- LOBSTER POT:** A wooden trap for the catching of lobsters, built of wooden laths, and fish netting. The pot is baited with squid, herring or cod's heads.
- MAKE FISH (to) :** The operation of washing out the salted fish that has been stored in piles, and the spreading of this fish on the flakes to dry in the sun; the fish is periodically turned to prevent "burning", and overdose of sun.
- OUTPORT:** A relatively small (population 5 - 3000) settlement located along the shore of Newfoundland; the population of these were traditionally engaged in fishing and/or logging.
- STAGE:** A wharf, or landing, sometimes understood to include a shelter for the splitting tables, and for the storage of gear.

THE LABRADOR: The Newfoundland abbreviation of the name of the area "The Labrador Coast"; it was really only the coast of Labrador that was used by, or known by, the Newfoundlanders; the boundary dispute of the 1920's clarified the matter, and assigned to Newfoundland all of Labrador which drained to the Atlantic Ocean.

TICKLE: A small strait, usually a fault line channel, and usually providing a good harbour.

TRAP: A type of codfishing gear invented in the latter nineteenth century; it is a large (about 200' x 200' x 100'), room-shaped piece of netting, with a narrow vertical door on the landward side; a leader of netting extends from the door to the shore, and serves to intercept the schools of fish passing between the trap and the shore. Trap "berths", or locations, are very carefully chosen, and are fixed by tradition.

TRAP SKIFF: The most common wooden fishing boat, used for the journey out to the traps; they are usually about 30' in length, about 7' in beam, and are fitted with single cylinder gasoline engines of 5 or 8 h.p.

TRAWL: A type of fishing gear, consisting of a long, stout line, to which is attached many (hundreds) secondary lines with baited hooks; (the gear is called a "trott" in Europe.) TO SET TRAWLS is to set the gear in the water at specific depths by means of buoys and weights.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In addition to the important sources cited below, scores--perhaps hundreds--of documents and publications gave supplementary evidence, or supplied background material. For a more complete Newfoundland bibliography, see that of Miss O'Dea, cited below.

1. Biays, Pierre. Les Marges de l'Oekoumene dans l'est du Canada. Les Presses de l'Universite Laval, Quebec, 1964. (Travaux et Documents du Centre d' Etudes Nordiques, No. 2.)
2. Black, W.A. "The Labrador Floater Codfishery." Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 50, 1960, No. 3, p. 267-293.
3. Bonnycastle, . Newfoundland in 1842.
Canada Census 1851
4. Canada; Hydrographic Service of the Surveys and Mapping Branch, Dept. of Mines and Tech. Surveys, The Newfoundland Pilot. Ottawa, 1960.
5. Chafe, Levi George. Chafe's Sealing Book. St John's, c. 1923.
6. Colonial Office. Manuscript Group 199,
volume 16 (An Account of Nfld. in 1677)
volume 17 (Answers to questions, 1772-1773)
vol. 20 - 98 (Blue Books of Statistics, 1820-1903)
(all to be found on microfilm at the Dominion Archives,
Ottawa.)
7. Cormack, W.E. Narrative of a Journey across the Island of Newfoundland in 1822.
8. Dean, V.K. Newfoundland--a Study in Political Geography. Rochester, 1954. (Ph.D. thesis at Clark University.)
9. "Government plan will assist centralization..." Newfoundland Journal of Commerce, 24:43-44, July 1957.

10. Head, C.G. Community Geographical Surveys. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, 1963. (prepared as a report of ARDA scheme No. 14030.)
11. Hunting Survey Corporation Ltd. A Report on the ARDA Study Region in Northeastern Newfoundland. Toronto, 1964. (prepared as a report for ARDA.)
12. Hutchinson, . Newfoundland Directory, 1936, St. John's.
13. Kimble, G.H.T., and Good, D. Geography of the Northlands.
14. Innis, H.A. The Cod Fisheries. The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1940.
15. Lench, Charles. The Story of Methodism in Bonavista Bay.... Robinson & Co. Ltd., St. John's, 1919.
16. Lists of Electors, Bonavista 1900, and 1908. Manuscript lists filed in the Newfoundland Archives, St. John's.
17. Lounsbury, R.G. The British Fishery at Newfoundland, 1634-1763. New Haven, 1934. (Yale Historical Public.)
18. MacKay, ed. Newfoundland; Economic, Diplomatic, and Strategic Studies. Oxford and Toronto, 1946.
19. Martin, A. The Economic Geography of Newfoundland. Thesis (Ph.D.), Oxford, 1938.
20. Martin, R.M. History of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, P.E.I....Nfld.... 1837.
21. McAlpine. Newfoundland Directory, 1898. St. John's.
22. Murray, Hugh. "Newfoundland" (in his An History and Descriptive Account of British America, 1839, Vol. 2, p. 275-328.)
23. Newfoundland Census, 1836.
24. Newfoundland Census, 1857.
25. Newfoundland Census, 1869.
26. Newfoundland Census, 1874.
27. Newfoundland Census, 1884.

28. Newfoundland Census, 1891.
29. Newfoundland Census, 1901.
30. Newfoundland Census, 1911.
31. Newfoundland Census, 1921.
32. Newfoundland Census, 1935.
33. Newfoundland Census, 1945.
34. Newfoundland; Dept, of Fisheries. Newfoundland Fisheries Conference, 1962, unedited transcriptions.
35. Newfoundland; Dept, of Economic Development. What you Need to Know about the Government's Policy on Centralizing Population. by Robert Wells. 1959.
36. Newfoundland Fisheries Board. Reports, 1937-1948.
37. Newfoundland Fisheries Development Authority. An Assessment of the Resource Inventory in Newfoundland Waters, ~~xxxxxx1963~~ by C.R. Molson, 1963.
38. Newfoundland; Dept. of Public Welfare. Annual Reports, various years, 1951-1963.
39. Newfoundland Royal Commission. Report. 1933.
40. O'Dea, A.C. A Newfoundland Bibliography, St. John's, 1960.
41. Official List of Electors, 1955. (for Bonavista North and South)
42. Official List of Electors, 1963. (" " " " ")
43. Prowse, D.W. A History of Newfoundland. MacMillan and Co., London, 1895 (First Edition); Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1896 (Second Edition); page references in this thesis are to the second edition).
44. "Register of Fishing Rooms in Bonavista Bay, 1805-06". Catalogue No. 639.2/R26/NR in the Gosling Library.
45. Rogers, J.D. Historical Geography of Newfoundland, 1911 (Vol. 5. Pt.4 of Lucas, C. P. A Historical Geography of the British Colonies, ~~xxxxxx~~ Oxford, 1911.) ✓
46. Shaw . "Population Distribution in Newfoundland", Economic Geography, July, 1938 (Vol.14, No. 3), p.239-254. ✓
47. Smallwood, J.R. ed. The Book of Newfoundland. Nfld. Book Publishers, St. John's, 1937.

48. Thompson, F.F. The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland.
The University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1961.
49. Summers, W.F. A Geographical Analysis of Population Trends
in Newfoundland. Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1956. ✓
50. Wells, Robert. A Report on ~~xxxxxxx~~ Resettlement. 1960.
Newfoundland Dept. of Economic Development.
51. Wood. H.A. The Bonavista Peninsula, Nfld. Dept. of Mines
and Tech. Surveys, Geographical Branch, Ottawa, 1952.
(A study in the programme of research in Canadian geography.)

FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER ONE

1. Most of the material on the marine environment is from Newfoundland Fisheries Development Committee Report, 1953, p. 25-27.
2. Robert Morgan, World Sea Fisheries, p. 3-13.
3. After Pierre Biays, Les Marges de l'Écrouène dans l'Est du Canada, p. 25, but using temperatures supplied by Newfoundland Fisheries Development Committee Report, 1953, p. 26-27.
4. Geological data by reconnaissance field investigation; no reports have been published on this area.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER TWO

1. C.O. 199/16; see also Rogers, Historical Geography of Newfoundland, p. 82-84.
2. C.O. 199/16.
3. Ibid, p. 26
4. Rogers, Newfoundland, p. 117-118; see also Prowse, A History of Newfoundland, p. 280; and Innis, The Cod Fisheries, p. 156.
5. Prowse, Newfoundland, p. 280.
6. for the place was noted as "14 leagues N Wc N " from Bonavista.
7. Lounsbury, The British Fishery at Newfoundland 1634-1763, p. 320-321.
8. Prowse, Newfoundland, p. 280.
9. C.O. 199/17, p. 48.
10. Ibid, p. 31.
11. Lounsbury, The British Fishery....., p. 310.
12. Rogers, Newfoundland, p. 129.
13. Ibid, p. 143-144.

14. "Register of Fishing Rooms in Bonavista Bay, 1805-06"; Innis, The Cod Fishery, p. 110, also gives some census material which seems to relate to the early 18th C., but he does not give a date or a reference.
15. Thompson, The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland, p. 21-23.
16. Martin, R.M., History of Nova Scotia, etc...., p. 316.
17. Smallwood, The Book of Newfoundland, Vol. 1, p. 73-75.
18. Oral tradition from local residents.
19. It should be noted that the two necessities are (1) a good fishing ground, and (2) a harbour for small boats. The other "needs"--in the writer's opinion--are barely considered when a settlement site is chosen. It would be nice if the site offered a good building site, much firewood, a clean and reliable water supply, and good gardening land. But for only one or two families, these could be obtained in sufficient quantities almost anywhere. Thought was never given to the fact that these one or two families might, in the course of a century, be a rather large community. See, for example, the twentieth century settlement of Butler's Cove, page .
20. Calculated from Newfoundland Census.
21. Enquiries were made in various areas of Bonavista Bay as to how many barrels of potatoes were grown by families of various sizes, and the per capita consumption was calculated. The average varied little from the figure of 2 bbl. per head.
22. Prowse, Newfoundland, p. 280.
23. C.O. 199/63, p. 255.
24. For the most concise account of this fishery see Black, "The Labrador Floater Codfishery", Annals of the Assoc. of American Geographers, Vol. 50, 1960, No. 3, p. 267-293.
25. Newfoundland Census.

FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER THREE

1. Much of the data of this chapter is drawn from Colonial Office records now on microfilm at the Dominion Archives, Ottawa. The sawmill statistics used here are from C.O. 199/54, 199/71, 199/80, 199/87.
2. C.O. 199/82, p. 3 (paging refers to original document).
3. Ibid, p. 5.
5. C.O. 199/83: Report on the Blue Book for 1887; No. 46: Newfoundland, H.M.S.O., London, 1889, p. 4.
4. C.O. 199/82: Report on the Blue Book for 1886; No. 14: Newfoundland, H.M.S.O., London, 1888, p. 5.
6. C.O. 199/82: Blue Book of Statistics, 1886, p. 21.
7. C.O. 199/83: Report (as in note 5), p. 3.
8. C.O. 199/88; railway had reached Gambo, but was not yet in operation.
9. C.O. 199/90: Blue Book of Statistics, 1894, p. 48.
10. C.O. 199/90: Annual Report for 1894; No. 164: Newfoundland, H.M.S.O. London, 1896, p. 4.
11. Ibid, p. 10.

12. C.O. 199/93: Annual Report for 1897-8; p. 5.
13. C.O. 199/96: Annual Report for 1901; p. 9.
14. Ibid, p. 9-10.
15. Report of the Newfoundland Royal Commission on Forestry, 1955, Queen's Printer, Newfoundland, 1955; see Historical Appendix, p. 187 ff.
16. From this point onwards, much of the source material was gathered from residents of the areas concerned. Every attempt was made to obtain the material from those residents most directly concerned with the subject, and to cross-check the information wherever possible with other residents, or with published statistics. Thus, unless footnoted otherwise, the basis of this chapter is field enquiry. Census statistics may be recognized by the dates: 1857, 1869, 1874, 1884, 1891, 1901, etc.
17. The year 1913 saw the introduction of internal combustion engines in trap boats, making work easier; but there is no evidence that this changed the orientation of fishing grounds, by then firmly fixed by tradition.
18. By 1901, Mint Brook claimed a population of 125, had 100 acres of cleared land, and was growing 250 bbls. of potatoes each year.
19. A.N.D., Facts and Figures, Grand Falls, Nfld. No. 5, 1962 (a pamphlet issued by the Anco-Nfld. Development Co.)
20. The mill site was excellently located near to sea and rail transportation, and at the mouth of the large water-shed of the Terra Nova River. But the company, a Norwegian firm, went bankrupt during construction.

21. W.A. Black, "The Labrador Floater Cod Fishery", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 50, 1960, No. 3, p. 267-293, gives the full story of the decline and fall of this fishery.
22. Newfoundland Railway and Steamship Service, Timetable, May-December 1948.
23. The Flat Island boats did not begin runs until 1950, according to residents. Prior to this, one left the islands only by arrangement with a fisherman and his trap boat, or by the coastal boat. Mail, in the winter, was collected by row boat from Burnside or Salvage.

FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER FOUR

1. A.B. Perlin, The Story of Newfoundland, St. John's, 1959, p. 50-52.
2. Loc. cit.
3. Loc. cit.
4. Loc. cit.
5. Loc. cit.
6. Loc. cit.
7. J. Wentworth Day, Newfoundland "The Fortress Isle", The Government of Newfoundland, by the Brunswick Press, no date (about 1959), no paging.
8. Newfoundland Census and Canada Census; the area used for 1945 includes a one-mile strip around the incorporated city, and the figure for 1961 is for the Metro. Area; this is believed to be the best means of comparison.
9. Personal Communication from Deputy Minister of Highways, Province of Newfoundland; expenditure statistics were made available by Chief Accountant; June 9, 1964.
10. A.B. Perlin, op. cit., p. 59; also W.A. Black, "The Labrador Floater Codfishery", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 50, 1960, No. 3, p. 295.
11. Personal Communication, Newfoundland Dept. of Highways.

FOOTNOTES
CHAPTER FIVE

1. Bragg's Islands did have Labrador Schooners, but not proportionally as many as, for example, Fair Islands or Flat Islnads.
2. The work at Terra Nova and Gambo would properly be termed "in the pulpwoods", but the lumbering tradition carried on in this common expression.
3. This was more likely to happen when the house was being rafted in, rather than floated with drums, for it was difficult to manage the stove amongst all the oil drums.
4. The older house of the islands had a very steep roof, which helped to shed the water from wooden shingles. About World War II, tar and felt was introduced, and the pitch of the roof flattened out, so that a man could walk upon the roof to tar it, and because a steep pitch was no longer really needed.
5. The closed season has varied, and, in fact, is relatively recent in its application.
6. Electors' Lists, 1955.
7. Data supplied to the writer by Province of Newfoundland, Dept. of Public Welfare.
8. The major fish merchants lined the wharf-side of Water Street, in St. John's.

9. Electors' Lists, 1955; field enquiry.
10. Personal Communication, Province of Newfoundland, Dept. of Highways.
11. Personal Communication, Province of Newfoundland, Dept. of Municipal Affairs, Provincial Planning Office.
12. Loc. cit.
13. Printed on both sides of one sheet, outlining what the government was offering, and explaining the procedure to be followed. A copy is on file at the Provincial Planning Office, Confederation Building, St. John's.
14. As in note (11) above.
15. Loc. cit.
16. That is, in this last decade of migrations. The Commission of Government (1933-1949) developed a small number of extremely interesting agricultural settlements throughout Newfoundland.
17. Each building lot was purchased from the previous occupant for about \$150.
18. The non-fishermen moved to Cull's Harbour, a small Roman Catholic settlement near Glovertown.