

Chapter Six

MODERN TIMES



TOPIC 6.1

Road to Confederation

Did Newfoundland make the right choice when it joined Canada in 1949?

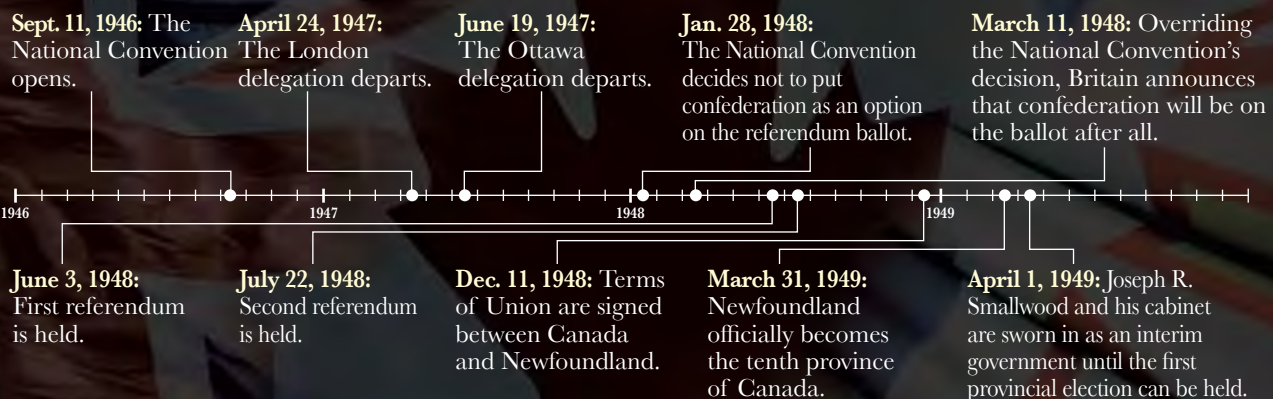
If Newfoundland had remained on its own as a country, what might be different today?



6.1 Smallwood campaigning for Confederation

6.2 Steps in the Confederation process, 1946-1949

THE CONFEDERATION PROCESS



*This date is significant because it suggests that the confederates expected confederation to be on the referendum ballot, although this was not announced until March 11, 1948.

The Referendum Campaigns: The Confederates

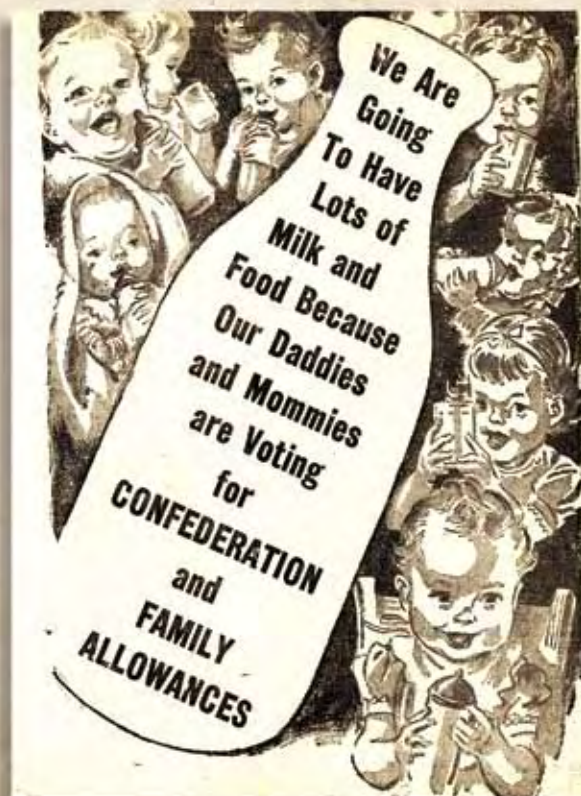
Despite the decision by the National Convention on January 28, 1948 not to include Confederation on the referendum ballot, the British government announced on March 11 that it would be placed on the ballot as an option after all. With the date of the first referendum set for June 3, this seemingly did not give either side of the debate much time to prepare for their campaigns. However, the Confederate Association, formed to advocate that Newfoundland join Canada, had a head start as it was created on February 21, 1948.*

The Confederate Association elected Gordon Bradley as president and Joseph Smallwood as campaign manager. Its campaign was officially launched on April 7, 1948, although it had really begun when the National Convention defeated Smallwood's motion to include confederation on the referendum ballot. Since that time, Bradley and Smallwood had given regular radio addresses over VONF and VOCM, condemning the delegates who had voted down confederation as the "29 dictators."

The Confederate Association was well-funded, well-organized, and had an effective island-wide network. It focused on the material advantages of confederation, especially in terms of improved social services – family allowance (the "baby bonus"), unemployment insurance, better pensions, and a lower cost of living. At the same time, the confederates convinced voters that the anti-confederates represented the mercantile elite. They reminded voters of the corruption and poverty of the 1920s and 1930s, and suggested that a vote for responsible government would signal a return to depression-era poverty. These messages were combined in the confederates' strong appeal to families and the parents of young children. The Association's newspaper, *The Confederate*, described children as the future of Newfoundland, and argued that a brighter future lay with Canada. A vote for confederation was a vote for children.

"Playing on the fears and suspicions that Newfoundlanders associated with Responsible Government, and linking those fears explicitly to the well-being of the country's children, Smallwood and his fellow Confederates utilised ... the notion that a vote against Confederation was an abdication of parental responsibility ..."

– Karen Stanbridge, "Framing Children in the Newfoundland Confederation Debate, 1948," 2007



6.3 From *The Confederate*, June 23, 1948

The confederates used the idea that if one wanted to be a good parent, he or she needed to vote for confederation.



6.4 From *The Confederate*, May 5, 1948

The confederates often depicted anti-confederates as the mercantile elite.

The Referendum Campaigns: The Anti-Confederates



6.5 Chesley Crosbie, leader of the Economic Union Party

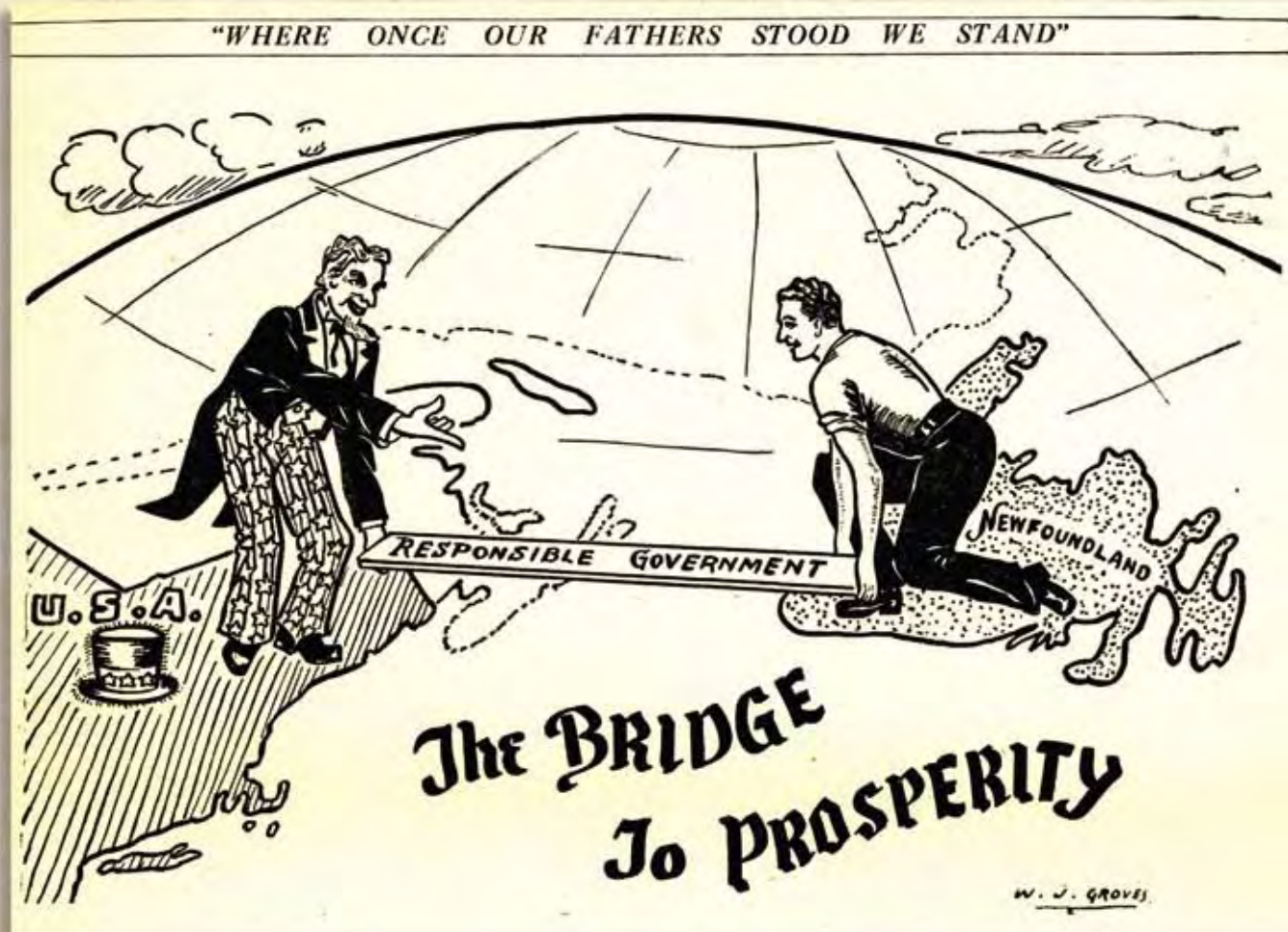
Compared to the Confederate Association, the anti-confederates had less funding, were less organized, and lacked clear leadership. Indeed, the anti-confederates were disunited and consisted of several groups with

differing interests: the Responsible Government League, the Economic Union Party, and the Roman Catholic Archdiocese. However, despite the shortcomings of the anti-confederate campaign, it had widespread support. Its appeal was nationalistic and anti-confederates implored people: "Don't sell your country."

The Responsible Government League (RGL) argued that Newfoundland was economically and financially healthy, with rich natural resources and a strategic location in the North Atlantic. It thought that confederation was unnecessary and that the proposed terms of union posed a threat to the fisheries and the local industries that were protected by Newfoundland tariffs. Its platform was that responsible government should be restored first. Newfoundlanders could then decide whether or not confederation was the best option for the future and only then negotiate terms of union.

The Economic Union Party (EUP) argued for economic union with the United States. It was led by successful businessman Chesley Crosbie,* who believed that if Newfoundland could export its resources to the United States, the economy would be strong enough for responsible government to succeed. However, since that was not an option on the referendum ballot, the Economic Union Party supported responsible

6.6 A cartoon from *The Independent*, March 29, 1948, promoting economic union with the United States



*After confederation won the referendum, Crosbie served on the delegation from Newfoundland that negotiated terms of union. He did not sign these terms because he felt that the financial clauses would not allow Newfoundland's provincial government to balance its books.

*The Roman Catholic Church in eastern Newfoundland was largely the voice of Newfoundlanders of Irish extraction. West coast Roman Catholics seem to have been largely confederate.

government as a step towards that goal.

The Roman Catholic Archdiocese also argued for the restoration of responsible government, which it had been active in attaining in 1855. At the very least, it argued, responsible government should be restored before consideration was given to confederation with Canada. In particular, the Church* was concerned with keeping the denominational school system, which it feared would be destroyed with confederation.

6.7 A letter from the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. John's supporting responsible government, from *The Monitor*, April 1948

6.8 A cartoon from *The Independent*, April 5, 1948, suggesting joining Canada would mean extra taxes for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians

Experiencing The Arts

Wallace Ryan is a local political cartoonist. Read more about him and see his work on page 654.

ONCE



His Grace The Archbishop Speaks To Young Newfoundland

[Extract from letter to St. Bonaventure's Alumni July, 1947]

"There would seem to be ground for the criticism we sometimes hear that our people, our young people especially, are indifferent to matters vitally affecting the welfare of our country. That is due partly to the fact that the present generation of youth has grown up in an undemocratic atmosphere, and with no practical experience of democratic government. It may also be due to some extent to the prosperity which came to us as a result of the war. There is a wealth of wisdom in the well-known lines of the Irish poet Goldsmith:

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

"But whatever the cause, there is a general apathy among the younger generation from which we must awake if we are to avert a national disaster. It is to the younger generation we must look for the leadership of the future. There is no dearth of men in the country eminently qualified for positions of trust and responsibility in any field, but they fail to give the leadership which the country has a right to expect from them.

"I do not think it any exaggeration to say Newfoundland today is stronger than at any period in her history. Her strength is due to circumstances and causes which are not ephemeral or passing but are permanent and lasting. It is for this reason that the decision that Newfoundland will be called upon to make is so vitally important. The present generation are the trustees for posterity in a sense that no previous generation could claim to be. It would surely be the supreme tragedy of our history, if through apathy, indifference, lack of enlightened leadership, or the influence of sinister propaganda, we were to alienate irretrievably an inheritance which was won for us by our patriotic forebears, and which is a sacred heritage from the past. These are serious matters to which we should give grave and anxious thought, and in which the enlightened educated youth of the country should make their influence felt in the times which lie immediately ahead.

I remain,

Sincerely yours,

† E. P. ROCHE,

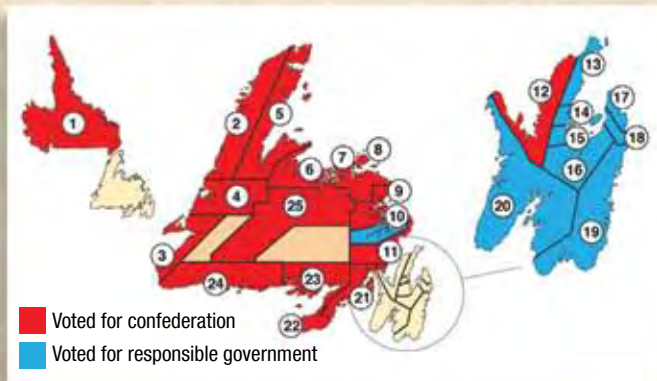
Archbishop of St. John's.

Referendum Results

The first referendum occurred on June 3, 1948. Voters had three options: responsible government, confederation, or continued Commission of Government. In the first referendum, there were more votes against than in favour of responsible government. But in order to definitively settle the matter, a second referendum was scheduled for July, this time with the last-place Commission of Government option removed. The confederates realized that victory was within their reach, and they entered the second campaign with energy and enthusiasm. In the meantime, the anti-confederates remained disorganized and their morale was shaken.

In order to win additional votes, the confederates adopted two new tactics. First, they emphasized the role played by the Roman Catholic Church in the first referendum, which they hoped would swing Protestant votes to confederation. In early July, as a result of confederate pressure, the Provincial Grand Lodge of the Loyal Orange Association issued a circular letter to all members. It cited the role played by the Roman Catholic Church, condemned "such efforts at sectional domination," and warned Orangemen of the dangers of such influence, which they should resist.

Second, the confederates attacked the members of the Economic Union Party for being disloyal, anti-British, and pro-republican. Confederation was presented as pro-British, and "British Union" became a new slogan. An anti-confederate response was to plaster St. John's with posters reading "Confederation Means



6.9 Electoral boundaries and results of the first referendum, 1948
Based on an illustration by Duleepa Wijayawardhana, 1999

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Labrador | 10. Bonavista South | 18. St. John's West |
| 2. St. Barbe | 11. Trinity North | 19. Ferryland |
| 3. St. George's-Port au Port | 12. Trinity South | 20. Placentia-St. Mary's |
| 4. Humber | 13. Carbonear-Bay de Verde | 21. Placentia West |
| 5. White Bay | 14. Harbour Grace | 22. Burin |
| 6. Green Bay | 15. Port de Grave | 23. Fortune Bay-Hermitage |
| 7. Twillingate | 16. Harbour Main-Bell Island | 24. Burgeo-La Poile |
| 8. Fogo | 17. St. John's East | 25. Grand Falls |
| 9. Bonavista North | | N/A Not applicable-no district |

Note: The result shown for each district in the map above is how the majority of that district voted. Information on the percentage vote received by each option is in the tables below.

| | Votes | Percentage |
|------------------------|--------|------------|
| Responsible Government | 69 400 | 44.6% |
| Confederation | 64 066 | 41.1% |
| Commission Government | 22 311 | 14.3% |

| | Commission Government | Responsible Government | Confederation |
|-----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| Avalon | 8% | 67% | 25% |
| Other Districts | 20% | 26% | 54% |

6.10 From The Daily News, June 4, 1948

TWO-WAY STORES
Phone 3335-775
POTATOES, each 3.50
TOMATO JUICE, 30 cts. can 1.50
STRAWBERRY JAM 30c
1 lb. each each 30c

THE WEATHER
Fog, light to heavy, clearing late afternoon and evening.

THE TRAINS
Local express due in the city at 11. Night train leaving.

NATIONAL SAVING CAMPAIGN
Save 10 Your Bank Account
by Saving — The Savings Stamp Way

The Daily News
Newfoundland's Only Morning Newspaper
ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND, FRIDAY, JUNE 4, 1948
PAGE 3

NO DECISION IN REFERENDUM

Heaviest Poll In History Of Island Recorded Yesterday

Responsible Government, Confederation Wage Stiff Battle For Leadership

COMMISSION OF GOVERNMENT REJECTED OVERWHELMINGLY

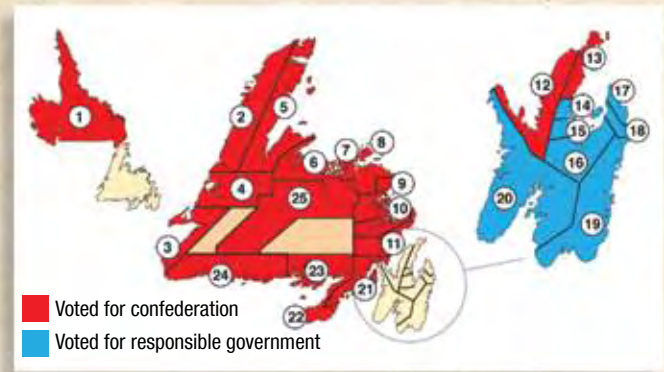
Standing Of Poll At 12.30 a.m.

| | Responsible | Confederation | Commission |
|----------------------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| St. John's (12,571) | 5,081 | 4,401 | 3,089 |
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| St. John's West (1,000) | 407 | 401 | |

British Union with French Canada.”

Between the two referenda, the confederates were able to convince most of the Commission of Government supporters to vote for confederation. As a result, the second referendum, held on July 22, 1948, resulted in a narrow victory for confederation over responsible government. There was a sectarian element to voting patterns – most, but not all, Roman Catholics voted for responsible government while most, but not all, Protestants voted for confederation. However, the greatest division among voters was regional – in both referenda the majority of Avalon Peninsula districts voted for responsible government, while the majority of the other districts voted for confederation.

After the second referendum, the Roman Catholic Church abandoned its opposition to confederation and the Responsible Government League disbanded. However, some of its members did try to stop confederation. They sponsored a petition calling for a return to responsible government, and gathered 50 000 signatures. Peter Cashin and others took it to London, hoping to influence British parliamentarians, but it had little or no effect. They also took court action against the Commission of Government, claiming that the legislation authorizing both the National Convention and the referenda were unconstitutional, and that confederation could only be brought about by an elected legislature. However, the action was thrown out.



6.11 Electoral boundaries and results of the second referendum, 1948
Based on an illustration by Duleepa Wijayawardhana, 1999

- | | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Labrador | 10. Bonavista South | 18. St. John's West |
| 2. St. Barbe | 11. Trinity North | 19. Ferryland |
| 3. St. George's-Port au Port | 12. Trinity South | 20. Placentia-St. Mary's |
| 4. Humber | 13. Carbonear-Bay de Verde | 21. Placentia West |
| 5. White Bay | 14. Harbour Grace | 22. Burin |
| 6. Green Bay | 15. Port de Grave | 23. Fortune Bay-Hermitage |
| 7. Twillingate | 16. Harbour Main-Bell Island | 24. Bourgeo-La Poile |
| 8. Fogo | 17. St. John's East | 25. Grand Falls |
| 9. Bonavista North | | N/A Not applicable-no district |

Note: The result shown for each district in the map above is how the majority of that district voted. Information on the percentage vote received by each option is in the tables below.

| | Votes | Percentage |
|------------------------|--------|------------|
| Confederation | 78 323 | 52.3% |
| Responsible Government | 71 334 | 47.7% |

| | Responsible Government | Confederation |
|-----------------|------------------------|---------------|
| Avalon | 66% | 34% |
| Other Districts | 30% | 70% |

6.12 Group of men reading newspaper headlines announcing the results of Newfoundland's second referendum, Corner Brook, July 1948.
Newspaper headline of *The Evening Telegram* reads, "Mackenzie King Accepts Confederation Decision."

6.13 From *The Daily News*, July 28, 1948



(((DIMENSIONS OF THINKING))) *PERSPECTIVE*

—Was Confederation a conspiracy?—

Did Newfoundlanders and Labradorians freely choose Confederation? Or were they herded through the National Convention and referendum process by Britain and/or Canada to ensure they arrived at a predetermined end? Historians have different views on this.

6.14 Joseph R. Smallwood
Signing Terms of Union



Most historians seem to agree that, from Britain's perspective, it was in their best interests to promote Newfoundland's confederation with Canada. In the postwar period, Britain's own financial situation was weak, which made expenditures on reconstruction in Newfoundland impossible. The British Empire and Commonwealth was also going through its first phase of decolonization (1946-49), in which the empire withdrew from colonial administration and encouraged some colonies to move towards independence. Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada must be understood within these financial and political contexts. From Britain's point of view, as historian Jeff Webb points out, "the best way of ensuring that the Newfoundland government did not look to Britain for further financial aid was therefore to have Canada take responsibility for the island."

The question for you to decide is whether or not Britain simply acted to encourage confederation or if they used inappropriate influence to shape the future for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. For instance, some historians point out that despite the National Convention's recommendation that the referendum ballot include only two options – the restoration of responsible government

versus the continuation of Commission of Government – Britain included confederation on the ballot anyway. Historian James Hiller argues that "it made the Convention seem like a waste of time, and convinced many that the British were more interested in manipulating events than listening to Newfoundlanders." Hiller suggests that the British should have restored responsible government first and then put their faith in the pro-confederates to win a general election and negotiate Newfoundland's union with Canada.

In the 60-plus years since Confederation, there has been much discussion on Britain's and Canada's involvement in these referenda and their legality and results. A few scholars have argued that Britain and Canada conspired secretly to get Newfoundland into confederation and that the outcome was somehow rigged. However, most historians reject the conspiracy theory and claim that there was nothing unlawful about the event. Indeed, some scholars suggest that, through the 1948 referenda, Newfoundlanders and Labradorians had more of a democratic say in their future than the residents of the four original provinces of Canada. What do you think?

"When the colonies of British North America united in 1867 it was primarily through accommodations made by elites, for voters in most colonies did not have the opportunity to accept or reject confederation. In Newfoundland in 1948 not only did voters have the opportunity to vote in a national referendum, but they were fully informed of the specific implications of the terms of union through the broadcasts of the debates."

Jeff Webb, *The Voice of Newfoundland: A Social History of the Broadcasting Corporation of Newfoundland, 1939-1949* (2008)

"When it came to Confederation, the United Kingdom led, Canada followed, and Newfoundland consented."

Peter Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949* (1988)

"The events of the late 1940s were finely orchestrated by the United Kingdom and Canada to produce an outcome that was legally and constitutionally correct and which Newfoundlanders and Labradorians freely voted for in the July 22, 1948 referendum."

Melvin Baker, *Falling into the Canadian Lap: The Confederation of Newfoundland and Canada, 1945-1949* (2003)

Questions:

1. Using the quotes in this dimension of thinking as evidence, whose perspective of Confederation seems most plausible?
2. What is your perspective on the quote from Dr. James Hiller that Britain should have restored responsible government and put their faith in the pro-confederates to win the election?
3. If there was a vote in Newfoundland and Labrador today to leave Confederation, what perspective would you take?

Excerpt from *A Secret Nation*, a screenplay written by Edward Riche

The feature film *A Secret Nation* was released in 1992. The screenplay, written by Edward Riche, follows the fictional story of history student Frieda Vokey, who stumbles upon what appears to be a conspiracy around Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada. A mix of historic facts and fictional twists, the film looks at Confederation in a different light.

6.15

CUT TO:

063 INT. PARKINSON'S OFFICE. DAY.

063

A dark, heavily furnished St. John's lawyer's office. The place looks as though it has escaped passage into the 20th century. From behind his desk the jowled lawyer, PARKINSON scans several letters of reference FRIEDA has presented. Occasionally he breathes with uncommon weight, forcing gales of wind through his hairy nostrils. The breathing actually rustles the papers on his desk. This effect adds to FRIEDA's discomfort as she sits in a chair on the opposite side of the desk. He places the letters on the desk.

PARKINSON

Well you certainly seem to have the credentials.

FRIEDA

Thank you.

PARKINSON

You understand why the Smallwood family has no screen persons such as yourself?

FRIEDA

I know that Mr. Smallwood is not in very good health.

PARKINSON

Exactly. Now then what is this thesis of yours all about?

FRIEDA

Well, the decline of the notion of the sovereign Newfoundland state. I'm investigating how a people

VISION Draft 5-B, August 25, 1990

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FRIEDA (cont'd)

with national status could so quickly be integrated into Canada.

PARKINSON

(laughing - tones of condescension)
It's not another one of these conspiracy theories is it? Another unsubstantiated claim that the confederation referendum was ... rigged ... or ... fixed?

FRIEDA

No. The vote itself is not the focus of my work.

PARKINSON

If not the focus, what then?

FRIEDA

Well, it's significant in that the confederation option received a majority of less than a two percentage points.

PARKINSON

Why now is that significant?

FRIEDA

Isn't it strange that with 48 percent of the population opposed to the idea the voice of dissent was so quickly silenced. Isn't it extremely strange that in the twentieth century ...

PARKINSON

Cutting her off.
... yes, yes, yes, I'm sure I've heard these arguments. I'm sure you see Newfoundlanders as victims awaiting some kind of emancipation, some kind of heroic, revolutionary gesture. But alas, we just weren't made for it. We just weren't made for it. What we have in Canada is far better than our lot. What is it Mr. Smallwood said? "The sport of historic misfortune, the Cinderella of empire".

FRIEDA

And confederation the glass slipper?

PARKINSON

I suppose, yes! Yes, quite clever.

PARKINSON smiles, then glances at his watch.

A SECRET NATION Draft 5-B, August 25, 1990

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PARKINSON

I'll make arrangements for a ... 7:30 visit?

FRIEDA

Yes, that will be fine. Thank you, Mr. Parkinson.

FRIEDA leaves. PARKINSON calls after her.

PARKINSON

My regards to your father.

▶ REVIEW

Secret Nation/delving into the past

Intimacy Canada

Intimacy, a new Newfoundland film about the 1949 referendum on the very eve of Canada's constitutional conundrum.

Debbie McGee, Canada tour in St. John's at 7:30 p.m. at the land.

along with propriety (from Montreal) men featured in the film and Gail St. sent at this special

is a compelling women with disphysical and attregarding their remarkable canshare their stories-essed issues like eem and stereo-

event heralds the screenings in five Canada, all sponed Women's Net-Canada and the rd of Canada.

Alliance the Ship Alliance of New-rador will host a Wade at The Ship

findings by Joan Bernice Morgan, Gordon Pimentin and tickery Squires print. take place on 30.

It's both ironic and appropriate to be reviewing a film about Newfoundland's 1949 referendum on the very eve of Canada's constitutional conundrum.

Ironic, because Newfoundlanders are now helping to decide Canada's fate instead of just their own. Appropriate, due to the controversy that surrounds the '49 referendum in this movie and the warning it serves of political riptides most people never hear about until it's too late.

In a completely enthralling plot surrounding a young graduate student finishing her thesis on Newfoundland Nationalism, director Michael Jones spins a web of historical and fictional intrigue.

Cathy Jones plays Frieda Vokey, the lead character, with a forceful and compelling urgency. Her desire to uncover the truth about the 1949 referendum leads Frieda away from her comfortable academic world at a Quebec university. She adopts the shady cloak of the journalist/spy to delve into the reality surrounding that vote.

The movie blends historical segments of debates between Smallwood and Cashin, then uses fictional

characters and hypothetical details to mortar the whole thing together. In the midst of this wild mosaic, Frieda uncovers a British plot in which the 1949 political leaders are supposed to have sold Newfoundland to the Dominion of Canada.

The fact that her father is supposed to have been one of the fathers of confederation, complicates the whole mess when she uncovers the truth.

Smallwood's emaciated frame lying in a hospital tent is an excellent analogy for Newfoundland's slow death by asphyxiation after confederation. The music of *Thomas Trio* and *the Red Albino* at a wonderfully weird costume party near the climax of the film serves to heighten the tension to a screaming point.

The subplots surrounding Frieda's serious discoveries are incredibly entertaining. They serve to lighten the load of the message the movie is carrying. Rick Mercer as her brother Chris, a cab dispatcher, makes for a more than hilarious scene when he delivers an incredible advice column spiel over the air for the cabbies.

Secret Nation is — the Top



Rick Mercer and Kay Anonsen, just two of the large cast of Newfoundland stars in *Secret Nation*.



6.16 From *The Express*, Oct. 28, 1992

The Quidi Vidi Canadian Program HALLOWE'EN MASQUE "Masquerade"

A haunting evening with a palm reader hot and cold he Dan

Page 33, The Evening Telegram, Tuesday, November 27, 1990

A Secret Nation "fun look" at history of Newfoundland

The neoclassical facade of the old grey Colonial Building is obscured by a sea of cameras, lights and people talking into portable phones.

Inside the former legislature, a film crew sets the scene: a modern-day graduate student has come to comb the archives — research for her thesis on Newfoundland's vote to join Confederation.

Was the 1948 referendum rigged? Did Confederates tamper with votes to produce a narrow margin of victory?

Paul Pope, producer of *A Secret Nation*, says the film offers no conclusion to the query that has intrigued historians and politicians for over 40 years.

"She finds out stuff but it's not definitive," says Mr. Pope, a small, energetic man with windswept hair. "The film doesn't answer the question."

Besides, this movie from independent film company Black Spot is hardly a stuffy docudrama.

He describes it as an adventure-comedy about the decline of Newfoundland nationalism amid one family's troubles: "It's a fun look at our history."

The National Film Board, Telefilm Canada and the Newfoundland Independent Filmmakers Co-operative all put up money for the project.

RETURNS TO ROCK

The lead character, played by



6.17 From *The Evening Telegram*, Nov. 27, 1990

111 — Classified Display

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Experiencing The Arts

Now is the time to explore film as a medium to create your final artwork for this course. Your assignment in this chapter is to select a theme related to the material you studied in this course and create a short film (four-seven minutes in length) about it. You may choose to do this solo or as part of a small group. Some possible themes include:

- Early peopling of "this place"
- The landscapes of Newfoundland and Labrador

- Your community (past, present, or future)
- Changes in the culture of this province
- A current issue

Once you identify your theme, begin the tasks of pre-production. This should include having your screenplay and storyboard prepared, as well as ensuring your actors, location, and equipment are ready for the production stage.

King's Bridge Rd
M 5097
TAXI
Licensed for Fort Pepperell

THE WEATHER
Clear, occasional clouds,
little change in temperature, light
winds.

The Daily News

Newfoundland's Only Morning Newspaper

THE TRAINS
Foreign express due to the city
at 10:45 a.m. to-day.

NATIONAL SAVINGS CAMPAIGN
Build Up Your Bank Account
by
Saving — The Savings Stamp Way

ST. JOHN'S NEWFOUNDLAND MONDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1948

PAGE 1

Terms Confederation Signed In 36 Minute Ceremony In Ottawa Saturday Afternoon

Ornate Senate Chamber Crowded To Capacity For History-Making Event Which May Change Whole Course Of Newfoundland's Future

(Special to The Daily News)
OTTAWA, Dec. 11.—On Saturday, December 11th, 1948, an historic event in Canada's history unfolded in the ornate Senate Chamber of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. The Newfoundland delegation, led by Sir Albert Walsh, chairman of the delegation, signed the Terms of Union with Canada in a ceremony that lasted only 36 minutes.

The ceremony was presided over by Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. Standing next to him was Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. Standing (left to right): Hon. Milton F. Gregg, Minister of Veterans' Affairs; Hon. J.J. McCann, Minister of National Revenue; Hon. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence; F.G. Bradley; G.A. Winter; Philip Gruchy; J.R. Smallwood; and J.B. McEvoy.

Lowered Freight Rates May Be Extended To Nfld.

Improvement of Railway System Also Called For Under Terms
OTTAWA, Dec. 11, (C.P.)—Lowered freight rates effective in the Maritime and in extended to Newfoundland. It was indicated Sunday in the terms of union agreement for the proposed extension of the railway system. The Maritime Railway Commission was also called upon to study the extension of the railway system to Newfoundland.

Claim Ceiling Price of Salmon Is Too Low

Fish Being Caught North But Grocers Unable To Accept It
FRESH salmon cannot be brought to the city today by ship and truck, according to some grocers, who maintain that the claim ceiling price for the fish is too low. The price of salmon in the city is currently \$1.00 per pound, while the claim ceiling price is only \$0.75 per pound.

Chest X-Rays To Check On TB



All incident aspect of tuberculosis is that it has been shown to be early when it is caught in chest X-ray. These people are taking chest X-rays with TB to prevent their spread. X-rayed. Tuberculosis is a disease which can be cured by early treatment.

Confederation Is Another Step Closer To Newfoundland

Saturday's Ceremony Was A Step Nearer To Realization Of Dream Of Fathers Of Confederation
OTTAWA, Dec. 11 (C.P.)—Canada and Newfoundland on Saturday signed the historic document setting out the terms of union and thus took another step towards full realization of the dream held by the fathers of this great Canadian confederation. The ceremony, simple but pregnant with ramifications embodied in the signing of the Terms of Union, took place on the floor of the Senate Chamber.

Prime Minister St. Laurent presided over the signing of the Terms of Union. He was joined by Sir Albert Walsh, chairman of the Newfoundland delegation. The signing of the Terms of Union was a historic moment in Canadian history, as it marked the first time that a province had joined the Confederation since 1871.

Full Text Of Terms Published In This Issue

The full text of the terms of agreement, setting out the conditions of union, appears in this issue commencing on page 11.

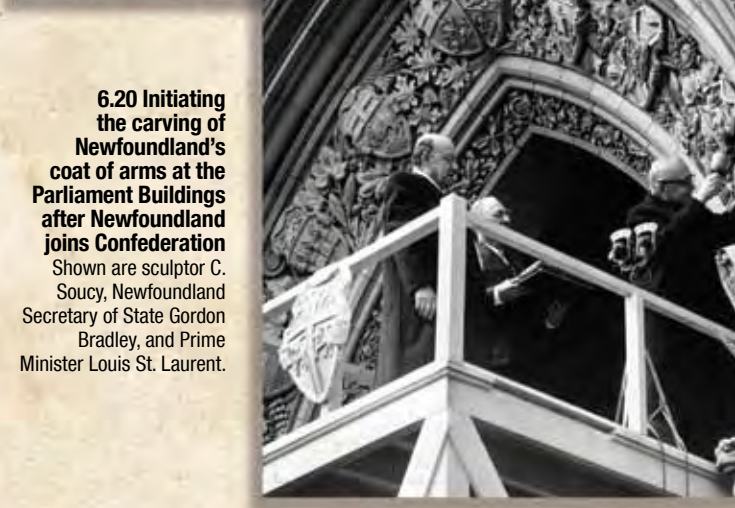


Storm Causes Power Shortage

Electricity supply tonight down a third of normal, and situation in St. John's is a case of dire straits. The power shortage was caused by a storm that hit the area, causing damage to the power lines and equipment.

Visiting Here From Charlottetown

The Prime Minister, Mr. St. Laurent, is in St. John's today on a visit to the city. He will be staying at the Hotel New Brunswick. During his visit, he will be meeting with local officials and members of the Newfoundland delegation.



6.20 Initiating the carving of Newfoundland's coat of arms at the Parliament Buildings after Newfoundland joins Confederation
Shown are sculptor C. Soucy, Newfoundland Secretary of State Gordon Bradley, and Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent.

6.18 From The Daily News, Dec. 13, 1948

6.19 Signing of the Terms of Union between Canada and Newfoundland, Dec. 11, 1948.
Sir Albert Walsh (seated, right), chairman of the Newfoundland delegation, signs the Terms of Union at the Senate Chamber, Parliament Buildings in Ottawa. Seated next to him is Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent. Standing (left to right): Hon. Milton F. Gregg, Minister of Veterans' Affairs; Hon. J.J. McCann, Minister of National Revenue; Hon. Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence; F.G. Bradley; G.A. Winter; Philip Gruchy; J.R. Smallwood; and J.B. McEvoy.



6.21 Not everyone celebrated the result of the second referendum.
Although there was much jubilation on the confederate side after they won the second referendum in 1948, other patriotic Newfoundlanders declared it to be a dark day in Newfoundland's history. In their grief, some anti-confederates flew flags at half-mast outside their homes and businesses to symbolize mourning.

Terms of Union

The Terms of Union between Newfoundland and Canada were signed on December 11, 1948. The document contained 50 terms outlining how Newfoundland would fit into the existing Canadian Confederation. The first 16 of these detailed the shape of the Newfoundland provincial legislature and constitution, its electoral districts, and its representation in the Canadian House of Commons and the Senate. The remainder dealt with issues negotiated during the National Convention in 1947 – that is, the “proposed arrangements” that were offered by Canada. These terms, unique to Newfoundland, included: the protection of the denominational school system (term 17); the continuation of existing laws in Newfoundland after union (term 18); and the maintenance of the Newfoundland Fisheries Board* (term 22).

This was followed by considerable discussion about how the new province should be governed between the date of union – set for March 31 – and the first provincial election. After many consultations, Canadian Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent appointed Sir Albert Walsh,

who had served as a Commissioner for the Commission of Government, as the first lieutenant-governor. It was understood that he would in turn invite Smallwood to form an interim government. Gordon Bradley, who had been President of the Confederation Association, received a position in the federal cabinet.

On April 1, 1949, Walsh swore in Smallwood and his cabinet. On Parliament Hill in Ottawa, Bradley was sworn in as Secretary of State. He said:

This is a day which will live long in North American history ... It is a day of fulfillment – fulfillment of a vision of great men who planned the nation of Canada more than 80 years ago; and as we stand here on this day of destiny, our thoughts fly back through the years to those far-seeing men of the past – Macdonald, Brown and Cartier in Canada and Carter and Shea in Newfoundland ... In fancy we see them now, bending over this scene in silent and profound approval ... Thus we begin life as one people in an atmosphere of unity. We are all Canadians now ...



6.22 The signed Terms of Union of Newfoundland with Canada

Questions:

1. What advantages did the confederate campaign have over the anti-confederate campaign?
2. What was the most significant reason(s) why confederation won a narrow victory over responsible government in the second referendum?
3. Was the decision for Newfoundland to confederate with Canada in 1949 a good decision? Support your answer.

Smallwood's Economic Plan

Is it best to strengthen the economy of the province through the development of small industries or mega-projects?

What do you expect will be Newfoundland and Labrador's next mega-project? Why?



“We must develop or perish. We must develop or our people will go in the thousands to other parts of Canada. We must create new jobs ... Develop, develop, develop – that’s been my slogan and that will remain my slogan.”

- Joseph R. Smallwood, July 1949

6.23 With a policy of “develop, diversify, and modernize,” Smallwood supported new enterprises in a number of ways.

Here Smallwood cuts a length of pulpwood to mark the official opening of Bowater's Loggers' School near Corner Brook in 1967. Subsidized by the provincial government, the school was created to train loggers to work more safely and to increase efficiency and production.

Attracting New Industries

After 1949, Smallwood saw an opportunity to break the cycle of poverty that had plagued Newfoundland and Labrador throughout much of its history. The central theme of his economic agenda was: develop, diversify, and modernize. Although this theme had also been pursued by other leaders, such as Whiteway and Squires, Smallwood had the advantage of starting with an economy that had benefited from the presence of foreign military bases and become more diversified since the war.

Large amounts were spent to build new roads, install water and sewer systems, and finance a major rural electrification program to encourage industrial development. Smallwood's government worked to modernize the fishery and to diversify the economy in two main ways: establishing small-scale industries by attracting European investors through loans and

subsidies, and funding mega-projects to develop the province's natural resources.

Modernization of the Fishery

Smallwood knew the inner workings of the fishery very well, and he believed that modernization was essential for its future. Building upon some of the work begun by the Commission of Government, the provincial government invested heavily in the fresh-frozen industry. Between 1950 and 1967, the government spent close to \$30 million, including loans to fish companies so that they could build, expand, or maintain processing plants and buy trawlers. Individual fishers were also encouraged to acquire longliners and larger boats to enable them to range farther and catch more fish.

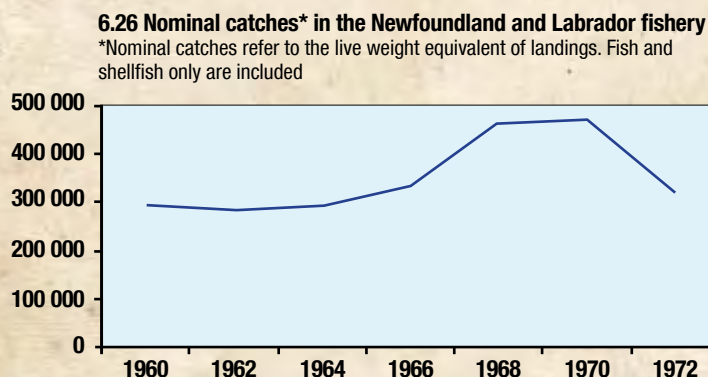
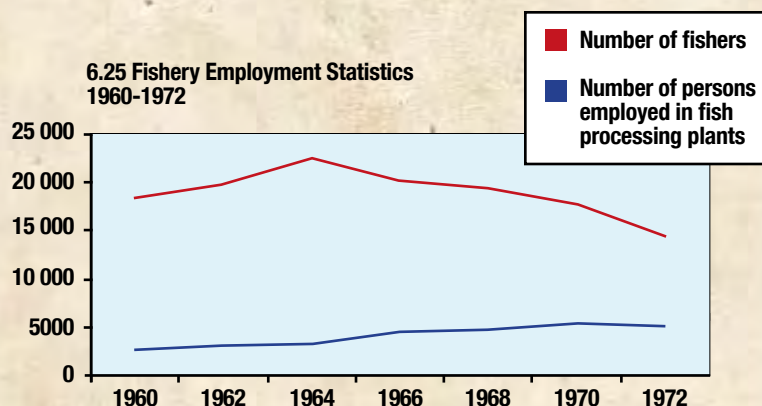
By the 1960s, research by the federal Department of



6.24 A fish plant in Harbour Grace, c. 1966

Fisheries showed that the fresh-frozen sector made better economic sense for a variety of reasons: it was more industrially advanced and less labour intensive; it had easier access to markets; and it would increase Canada's trade capacity. While the economics might have made sense, the fresh-frozen fishery was slow to catch on in the province. It took about 15 years for the value of frozen fish production to surpass that of saltfish. The federal government promoted the development of the fresh-frozen fishery, but also created the **Canadian Saltfish Corporation** in 1971 to maintain that sector of the fishing industry.

Despite the obvious benefits of the fresh-frozen fishery, job reduction occurred in the catching sector. Employment shifted to processing since numerous jobs now became available in the plants. Independent inshore fishers used longliners, bigger boats containing larger holds and work areas, to supply large quantities of fresh fish. These changes impacted the lifestyles of many fishers – some men joined the trawling fleets and worked away from home for long periods and, for the first time in rural communities, some women went outside the home to seek employment.



WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE

Women always played a significant role in the traditional cod fishery, mainly as part of shore crews: splitting and cleaning, salting and drying, and loading and stacking the finished product. With the development of the fresh-frozen fishery, many women found employment in the new fish plants as handlers and packers, working in assembly-line fashion for hourly wages. Initially the more technical and high paying positions, such as cutting and filleting, tended to go to men, though as time went on, more women took on these jobs as well. In 1961, women made up 20 per cent of all fish plant workers; by 1991 this figure was 60 per cent.

Fish plant wages were not the only financial disparity faced by women in the fishery. The federal government extended the unemployment insurance program to all fishers in 1957. The program applied to people who caught fish, but not to those who processed fish on shore. Therefore, plant workers, most of whom were women, were excluded. Also, if a woman did work on a fishing boat and was married to a crew member, she was not eligible for unemployment insurance.



6.27 Fish plant workers, c. 1966

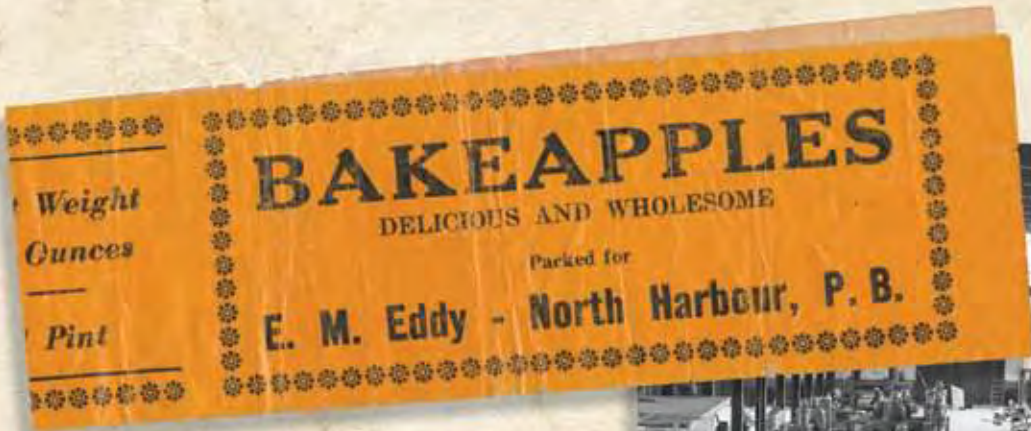
Economic Diversification – Manufacturing

Efforts to develop small-scale manufacturing before 1949 faced several obstacles. Newfoundland and Labrador’s small population meant that the demand for locally manufactured products was not great enough to justify the cost of widespread manufacturing operations. In addition, the international demand for manufactured goods did not greatly support local manufacturing because the costs of shipping to large North American and European cities were too high.

Although there were some manufacturing and processing factories in St. John’s before Confederation that produced goods for the domestic market, less than seven per cent of the labour force was engaged

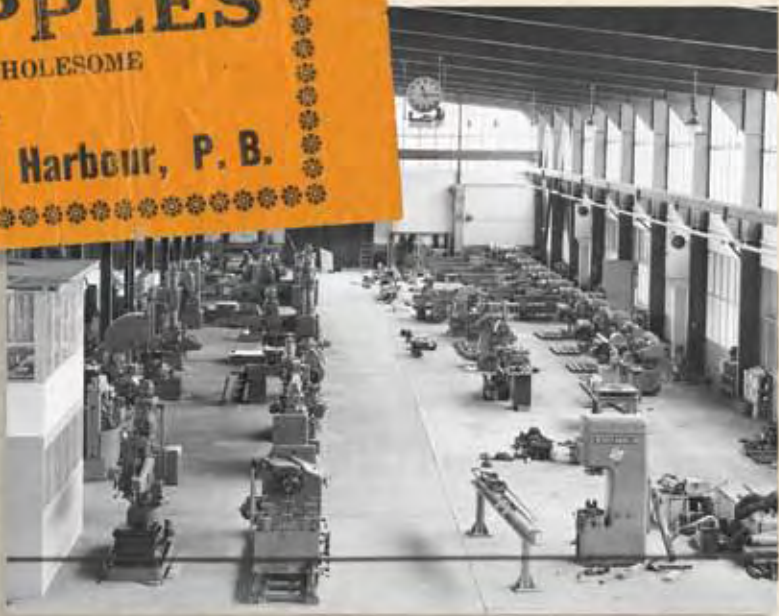
in small-scale manufacturing in the early 1940s. By the late 1940s, some resource-based manufacturing, and services industries had developed, which provided a reasonable cash-based wage for workers. But the majority of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians were still employed in a fishery that gave them a low wage.

Looking for expert direction in industrial development, the provincial government, on the advice of the Canadian government, engaged Alfred Valdmanis as Director of Economic Development. Valdmanis was a Latvian-born economist who had spent considerable time in Germany. He attempted to relocate a number of industries facing production difficulties in Europe



6.28 Despite several obstacles, a few manufacturing and processing factories operated here before Confederation. Goods produced domestically included ropes, nets, twines, stoves, nails, paints, clothing, tobacco products, food and dairy products, margarine, and other commodities. (above) Eddy’s Cannery, North Harbour, Placentia Bay, opened in the mid-1930s and operated for 10-15 years canning lobster in the spring and bakeapples in the summer.

6.29 Interior view of the Canadian Machinery and Industry Construction (machine plant), St. John’s, post 1951



6.30 Industries introduced under economic plan, 1950-1957

| Year | Business Name | Location | Cost | Closure |
|------|--|---------------|---------------|---------|
| 1950 | North Star Cement | Corner Brook | \$3.7 million | 2000 |
| 1950 | Atlantic Gypsum | Corner Brook | \$1.5 million | 2007 |
| 1951 | Canadian Machinery and Industry Construction Limited | Octagon | \$5 million | 1980s |
| 1951 | United Cotton Mills | St. John’s | \$4 million | 1986 |
| 1951 | Atlantic Films & Electronics | St. John’s | \$20 000 | 1980s |
| 1951 | NFLD Hardwoods Ltd. | Donovan’s | \$2 million | 1980s |
| 1952 | Atlantic Hardboard Ind. Ltd. | Donovan’s | \$575 000 | Closed* |
| 1952 | Newfoundland Tanneries | Carbonear | \$750 000 | 1957 |
| 1953 | Atlantic Gloves Limited | Carbonear | \$350 000 | 1957 |
| 1953 | Gold Sail Leather Goods | Harbour Grace | \$200 000 | 1960 |
| 1954 | Hanning Electric Limited | Topsail | \$325 000 | 1958 |
| 1954 | Superior Rubber | Holyrood | \$1 million | 1956 |
| 1954 | Terra Nova Textiles | Harbour Grace | \$500 000 | 1986 |
| 1954 | Koch Shoes | Harbour Grace | \$750 000 | Remains |
| 1956 | A. Adler Company | Bay Roberts | \$550 000 | 1960 |
| 1957 | Eckhardt Knitting Mills | Brigus | \$387 400 | 1960s |

* Date unknown

6.31 Employment by sector in Newfoundland and Labrador, 1945

| Sector | Number of Workers* | % of Workers |
|--|--------------------|--------------|
| Fishing | 31 634 | 28.12 |
| Forestry and logging | 7606 | 6.76 |
| Agriculture | 4179 | 3.71 |
| Mining | 3002 | 2.67 |
| Hunting and trapping | 244 | 0.22 |
| Service | 21 856 | 19.43 |
| Manufacturing (including paper-making) | 10 588 | 9.41 |
| Transportation and communication | 8392 | 7.46 |
| Trade | 7817 | 6.95 |
| Buildings and construction | 6174 | 5.49 |
| Finance | 407 | 0.36 |
| Unspecified | 10 609 | 9.43 |
| Total | 112 508 | |

* Includes gainfully occupied not reporting income
Source: 1945 Census

to Newfoundland. Several industries were opened here, but most ran into difficulties. The local demand for their products was low, and high transportation costs made it impractical to import raw materials and export the finished products. In many cases, competing products could be imported and sold at lower prices than the locally produced goods. The lack of skilled labour was also a problem and kept productivity low.

These conditions led to the eventual closure of most of the new industries. In 2010, only one of these initiatives remains – Koch Shoes (Harbour Grace), which now operates under the name of Terra Nova Shoes. This experiment in small-scale industrial diversification proved costly and cast doubts on its wisdom. More damaging was the scandal that eventually arose from the revelation of corrupt financial dealings with foreign investors.

6.32 A remaining industry

As of 2010, Terra Nova Shoes of Harbour Grace – which began life as Koch Shoes – is the only remaining venture from the 1950s drive for diversification. In this modern factory view, sewn uppers are roughed by robots prior to the application of outsoles. At left is a finished product, the Style 7996 Mercenary.



THE VALDMANIS SCANDAL

On April 23, 1954, Smallwood informed the press that Valdmanis had been arrested and charged with extortion. He had been accused of skimming large amounts of money from German investors and depositing it in the New York City bank account of a relative. The arrest of Valdmanis in New Brunswick and his trial in St. John's touched off a media sensation. The court found Valdmanis guilty and sentenced him to a four-year prison term, of which he served half; Smallwood later described Valdmanis as a brilliant, but tragic, figure.

The Opposition in the House of Assembly and the media demanded an inquiry into the extent of the kickbacks and the nature of the mismanagement of the new industries. The media bombarded Smallwood with questions in an attempt to get to the bottom of rumours and speculations about Valdmanis' financial role in the whole affair. Smallwood denied any knowledge that Valdmanis received commissions when he was attracting foreign business interests to the province or collecting contributions for the Liberal Party.

6.33 From *The Evening Telegram*, April 24, 1954

Valdmanis Held In St. John Jail

Dr. Valdmanis was locked in the County Jail at St. John, New Brunswick last night. The triple doctor from Latvia, has, according to his own story, been in and out of several jails, and even condemned to death on several occasions in the past.

He was locked up by the Russians in 1940, who found him and a handful of others operating a "caretaker Government"—a dictatorship patterned on Hitler's Germany—in Riga, capital of Latvia.

The Russians, according to his story, were shooting all political prisoners, when the Nazi army of liberation arrived. They had gotten down to the last two cell-blocks, in which Dr. Valdmanis, with his companions crouched awaiting

their turn to go before the firing squad, when the Germans marched in and set all prisoners free.

He was restored by Hitler to his place at the head of the Latvian Government. But that didn't last long. He was re-arrested and once more spent long months in jails and concentration camps, enduring unheard-of hardships, until ultimately he was condemned to death (by an SS court, according to one report, though some authorities claim that only SS members could be tried by the SS.)

Again he escaped, according to his own story, by the skin of his teeth. He then vanished into Germany, and there follows a two-year blank in his career, during which he is

Storybook Career Of Dr. Valdmanis

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

This documentary, produced 50 years after Confederation, explores the private and public sides of Joey Smallwood using a mixture of interviews with political observers and colleagues of Smallwood, news clips, propaganda films, and readings from Smallwood's journals. The following excerpt takes a look at some of Smallwood's economic strategies.

6.34

PROGRESS REPORT

SHOT OF A BOOK CALLED THE NEWFOUNDLAND PROGRESS REPORT.

NEWSMAN REPORTS (O.S.)
Here then is another page in the
story of this Island's advancement.

SHOT OF MACHINES WORKING HARD AND INDUSTRY ADVANCEMENT.

MEN WORKING HARD ON HAMMERING HORSE SHOES.

NEWSMAN REPORTS (O.S.)
From the past of despair to a day
of hope when new flourishing
industries will bring to our people
a greater measure of security.

SHOT OF MEN WORKING ON SOLDERING METAL.

SHOT OF MEN WORKING ON WOODEN BARRELS.

A ROOM FULL OF WOMEN IN ROWS, WORKING AT SEWING MACHINES.

NEWSMAN REPORTS (O.S.)
And to its province a rightful
place in the sun.

CUT TO:

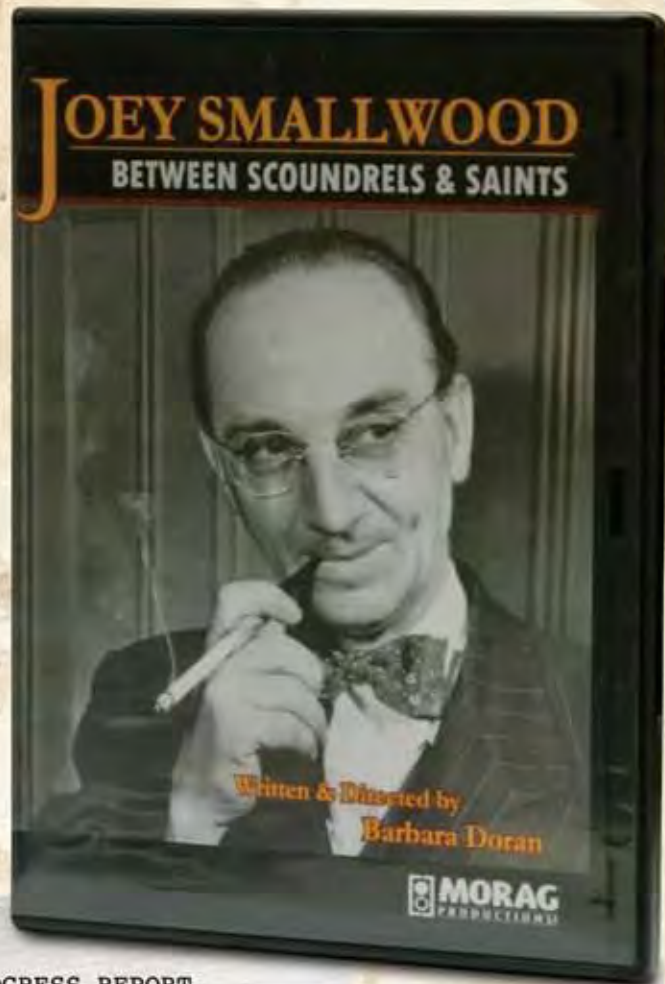
RICHARD GWYN INTERVIEW

FILM FOOTAGE OF CONTRACTORS TAKING MEASUREMENTS IN THE
FIELD. CEMENT AND WOODWORKERS MAKING ADVANCEMENT.

SHOTS OF PLUMBING BEING INSTALLED INTO THE GROUND AT NEW
HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS

RICHARD GWYN (O.S.)
Joey wanted to make dramatic
instant change because he was
terrified that once Newfoundland
(MORE)

(CONTINUED)



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

This stands for "offscreen".

Experiencing The Arts

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

CONTINUED:

4.

RICHARD GWYN (O.S.) (cont'd)
had joined Canada therefore all
barriers to movement of people was
gone.

SHOT OF MEN WORKING IN COAL MINES.

MEN HAMMERING BOARDS TOGETHER. ADVANCEMENT IN HOUSING.

RICHARD GWYN (O.S.)
That Newfoundland's population
would just hemorrhage away because
Newfoundland was so much poorer
than the rest of Canada.

LINEUPS OF PEOPLE

NEWSMAN REPORTS (O.S.)
Yes today and tomorrow Newfoundland
is truly on the march.

SHOT OF THE RED ENSIGN.

SHOT OF UNION JACK FLYING IN THE WIND.

RICHARD GWYN
So he went the route of
industrialization to make
Newfoundland into an industrial
society. Totally crazy, totally
crazy, I mean here we have an
island which had, I think, about 50
miles of paved road. Off shore or
off North America why on earth
would anybody locate a factory in
that island to sell to a market in
the United States or Canada? It was
totally crazy, but he was convinced
he had to do it because it was the
only way he could create jobs fast
enough to stop people from
emigrating. And that's when he blew
it.

JOEY ON THE STAND TALKING TO LABOUR LEADERS

SHOT OF JOEY SMALLWOOD TALKING TO A CROWD OF LABOUR LEADERS
AND BUSINESSMEN. RADIO MICROPHONES ARE PLACED IN FRONT OF
HIS PLATFORM.

(CONTINUED)

CONTINUED:

5.

NEWSMAN REPORTS (O.S.)
As the distinguished business,
government and labour leaders
listened, Premier Smallwood told
them of the progress made by the
economic development program.

SHOT OF MR. HOWE ADDRESSING THE SAME CROWD

NEWSMAN REPORTS (O.S.)
Optimistic too was Mr. Howe as he
told his audience that success for
the new enterprise was assured.

SHOT OF PREMIER SMALLWOOD AND AUDIENCE OF GOVERNMENT
OFFICIALS WATCHING AND LISTENING AS MR. C.D. HOWE ADDRESSES
THEM.

CUT TO:

HAROLD HORWOOD INTERVIEW

HAROLD HORWOOD (O.S.)
Smallwood's first great mistake was
going to C.D. Howe and saying that
I'm looking for a man to run the
economics of our province, and then
his second mistake was accepting
the one that C.D. Howe recommended,
which was Dr. Valdimanis.

6.36 The Atlantic Gypsum Plant
in Corner Brook (shown here c.
1954) was one of Smallwood's
many manufacturing initiatives.



Experiencing The Arts

Now that you have your pre-production tasks completed, it's time to shoot your film. Do a final review of your storyboard, and schedule multiple practices with any

actors **before** you shoot. As you shoot, make sure to log your takes carefully and have fun!

Establishing Mega-Projects

Since attempts at developing new industries ended in failure, the Smallwood government moved on in the mid to late 1960s to another phase of its industrialization plans – **mega-projects**. The chief stumbling block, as always, was financing. Believing that foreign capital could be attracted, the government attempted to entice investors with such incentives as tax breaks, loans, and cheap hydroelectric power. The projects included a phosphorus manufacturing plant in Long Harbour, an oil refinery in Come By Chance, a massive hydroelectric project at Churchill Falls in Labrador, and a linerboard mill in Stephenville.



6.37 From *The Daily News*, Feb. 1, 1973

Suspicion is growing in dead herring issue

OTTAWA (CP)—The "suspicion is growing" that fish are being killed in the Placentia and St. Mary's Bay areas of Newfoundland by waste from a phosphorus plant, the federal Fisheries Department said Thursday.

In an announcement referring to dead herring showing discoloration that have appeared in these bays the department said the problem first showed up after the plant of Electrolytic Reduction Co. of Canada started operations last year.

An "accidental spill" of material from the plant into the ocean took place shortly after the start of operations and it may have been a cause of an initial herring kill, the announcement said.

It added:

"Recently the situation has changed and there is now evidence that some additional fish are dying.

"The suspicion is also growing that these fish kills are in fact being caused by the waste from the phosphorus plant.

The question of taking action against the company has been raised."

But the statement said Fisheries Minister Jack Davis feels that evidence so far is inadequate for such action.

"We do not have enough facts to prove that the fish are being killed by effluent from the phosphorus plant and the burden of proof is on my department in any case," Mr. Davis was quoted as saying.

Long Harbour Phosphorus Plant

In 1966, the Electric Reduction Company of Canada Industries Limited (ERCO) established a phosphorus plant in Long Harbour, Placentia Bay. ERCO considered Newfoundland an attractive location for this development for several reasons. Processing phosphorus consumed large quantities of energy,* and the government promised cheap, long-term power from the Bay d'Espoir hydroelectric development. Moreover,

Long Harbour had a deep, ice-free port that made shipping easy, and it was close to a natural supply of silica (a raw material used in phosphorus production). From the government's point of view, the plant would be an economic boost for a rural area where jobs outside the fishery were scarce.

Long Harbour, formerly a typical inshore fishing

The company manufactured elemental phosphorus, which is commonly found in inorganic phosphate rocks and in all living cells, and used in foods, cleaners, animal feeds, and fertilizers.

*When operating the plant, ERCO consumed 14 per cent of the electricity used on the island.

**The herring turned red because of internal bleeding caused by exposure to wastes from the plant. Cod were afflicted with a form of meningitis, causing erratic behaviour and death.*

community, had little public infrastructure; therefore, in addition to the cheap power and \$10 million in electrical subsidies, the provincial government built roads, schools, and housing in the area. The federal government funded a wharf and a road between the community of Long Harbour and the mill. The silica was also highly subsidized by the province, at 10 cents per ton. The project employed 1300 workers at the peak of construction and about 400 during regular operation. The plant was completed in 1968 at a total cost of \$40 million.

Within months of opening, the phosphorus plant was implicated in environmental and health-related issues. Fishers in Placentia Bay reported finding dead fish, including herring that had turned red. ERCO voluntarily closed the plant to investigate. The reports revealed that untreated waste was damaging the marine ecosystem.* Air pollution also became an issue, as fluoride emissions from smokestacks damaged plants and animals in the area. Deformed moose and rabbits were found near the plant. Snowshoe hares were dissected and tested, and high levels of fluoride were found in their bones.

Furthermore, a by-product of phosphorus production, slag – used locally as a building material – was found to contain uranium and thorium, which emitted carcinogenic radon gas. This gas was particularly

poisonous when contained in enclosed spaces. Although ERCO had to pay for the removal of the material, a provincial health study later found that about 15 per cent of the plant workers suffered from fluorosis – a condition that causes stomach ailments and muscle and joint pain.

In 1980, the Newfoundland government negotiated the sharing of power costs with ERCO to help alleviate the government's huge economic burden of supplying cheap power to new industry. But six years later, financial difficulties ensued for ERCO and the company laid off 80 employees. Finally, in 1993 ERCO closed its doors, claiming it was no longer economically viable to operate the facility. A new method of manufacturing phosphoric acid and other phosphorus chemicals had been invented, which cost 20 to 30 per cent less than the Long Harbour process. About 300 workers were left unemployed and the population of Long Harbour dropped by half. After closing, ERCO spent \$29 million cleaning up the site and paying severance packages and pensions. The shutdown resulted in a loss of \$4 million a year to the local economy.

6.38 Fishers demonstrate against the pollution of their fishing grounds by the waste from the Long Harbour phosphorus plant

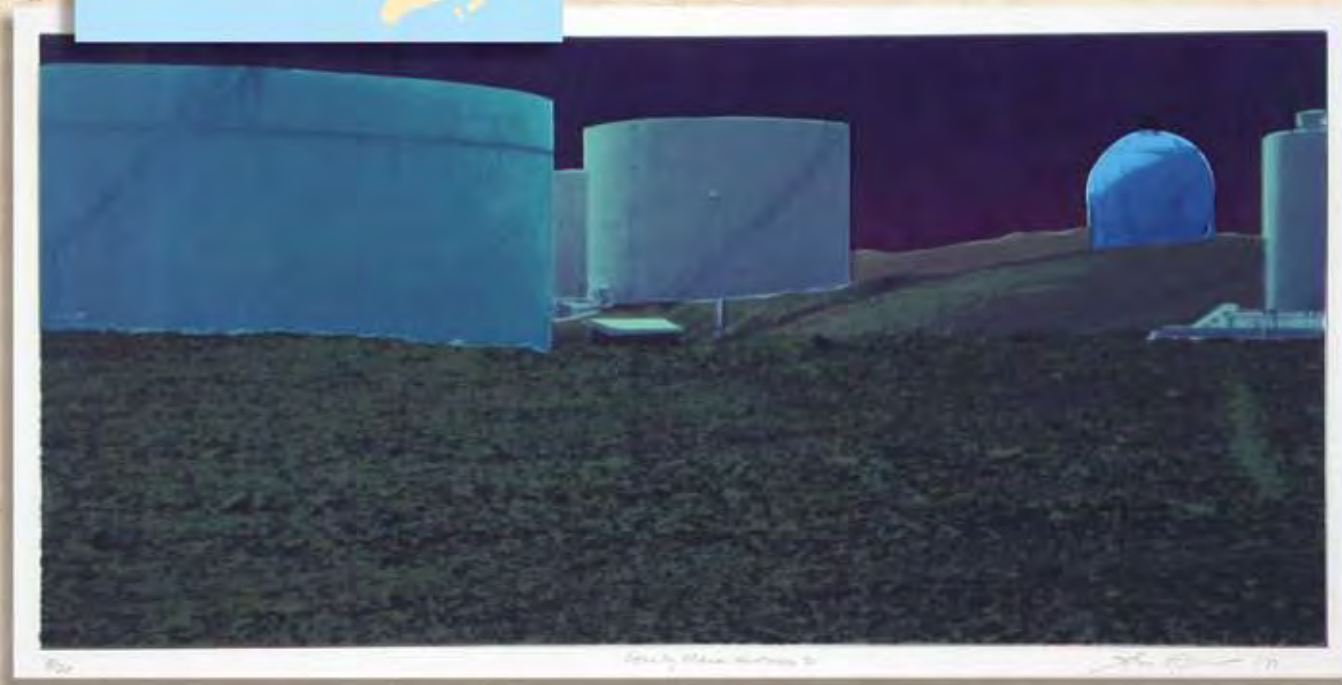


6.39 ERCO Phosphorus Plant, Long Harbour, c. 1974

ERCO was attracted to Newfoundland because of the government's "cheap power" policy, enabling them to receive power at half the cost.



6.40 *Come By Chance Landscape 2*
by John Hofstetter, serigraph, 1977



Come By Chance Oil Refinery

In 1967 an American industrialist, John Shaheen, proposed to build an oil refinery at Come By Chance. Smallwood embraced the job opportunities that the construction and operation of the refinery would create. Since Shaheen had previously established a successful refinery at Holyrood in 1960, his reputation was not in question. His proposal was sound: build the refinery, import crude oil from the Middle East, and produce a range of products that manufacturers could transform into leaded and unleaded gasoline, jet fuel, fuel oil, and asphalt. Come By Chance was a suitable geographic location for the refinery because of its ice-free, deep-water harbour that provided easy access to the world's shipping lanes. The refinery was expected to process approximately 100 000 barrels a day for sale in North America and employ up to 1000 people.

The proposed refinery faced the same obstacle as past projects – financing. This became a divisive issue within the government after Smallwood guaranteed government assistance to finance the construction of the refinery to the tune of \$30 million. When he then gave Shaheen \$5 million in unsecured financing, two members of his cabinet crossed the floor. A British company was awarded the contract to build the facility and, in mid-1972, a crew of 2000 labourers started building office and warehouse space and giant storage tanks able to hold more than 600 000 barrels of crude oil. Workers laid a spur track to the railway and built an access road to the Trans-Canada Highway. Shaheen signed a multi-million dollar deal with a British oil giant and predicted the refinery would pay for itself in six years.

Come By Chance was a suitable geographic location for the refinery because of its ice-free, deep-water harbour that provided easy access to the world's shipping lanes.

Unfortunately Shaheen was wrong and the refinery went bankrupt within three years. During the first three years of production, the operation was plagued with work stoppages and malfunctioning machinery. Other circumstances, such as competition from other refineries in Eastern Canada, caused a significant decline in the price of petroleum products. In addition, Arab oil producers cut exports of petroleum in 1973, driving up the price of crude oil. By 1974, the refinery had lost \$58 million. Several investors called in their loans in 1976 and forced the refinery to close its doors. Local suppliers were left unpaid and hundreds of workers were suddenly unemployed. In all, taxpayers lost about \$42 million on the project.

But Come by Chance got a second chance. The refinery was reopened in 1987 by a new company that turned the operation around with exports of more than \$2 billion a year. Currently owned and operated (since 2009) by Korea National Oil Corporation (KNOC), the refinery is well known for cutting edge technology that produces low-sulphur clean fuel from lower grades of crude.



6.41 In 1972, the Isomax reactor lift, part of the Come By Chance refinery's gasoline-producing unit, was the heaviest single lift in North America at 644 metric tonnes (710 tons).



6.42 The Come By Chance refinery still operates.

6.43 Smallwood at a news conference regarding the opening of Churchill Falls.



***The contract stated 44 years from first power in 1972 or 40 years from project completion in 1976 with automatic renewal for another 25 years.*

**When built, the power facility's height was equivalent to a 13-storey building, and it was the length of three football fields.*

Churchill Falls Hydroelectric Project

The development of hydroelectricity on the Hamilton River (renamed the Churchill River in 1965) in Labrador was a major project undertaken by the Smallwood government. Churchill Falls, at the time of its construction, was the largest underground power station in the world. The power facility* was hollowed out of solid rock nearly 305 metres (1000 feet) beneath the surface.

Many academics suggest that, under the market conditions of the time, the Upper Churchill Falls hydroelectric project was a good idea for the province. The main flaw was the agreement, which did not provide for escalating prices in energy and appropriate revenue sharing. The plan was simple: cheap power would spur new industry in Newfoundland and in Labrador; the sale of electricity would be a source of revenue for the government, and the construction and operation of the facility would create jobs. However, the project was in a remote location 200 kilometres from the Québec border, which meant power would have to be either sold to Québec or transmitted across that province to markets elsewhere.

Talks with Hydro-Québec began in the mid-1950s and, after a complicated and drawn-out process, a contract

was signed between Hydro-Québec and Churchill Falls (Labrador) Corporation (CFLCo) in 1969. The contract provided that Churchill Falls power would be sold to Hydro-Québec at fixed prices until the contract ended in 2041.** Very little power was retained for use on the island and in Labrador.

The surge in energy prices caused by the oil crisis in the 1970s turned this arrangement to Hydro-Québec's advantage. Québec was able to sell its cheaply purchased power at inflated prices and received windfall profits. By the end of that decade, it was calculated that Newfoundland and Labrador was losing \$600 million per year. Attempts to renegotiate the deal with Québec in following years failed, as did court actions to have the contract overturned. However, in 1998 the provincial government and Québec successfully negotiated a revision to the pricing system that would enable Newfoundland and Labrador to net a profit of \$2.6 billion by the year 2041.

The environmental and social effects of the hydroelectric development in Labrador were devastating for the Innu population. The damming of the Churchill River

This is based on the difference between the amount for which Newfoundland and Labrador sold the power to Hydro-Québec and the amount for which Hydro-Québec resold it for.

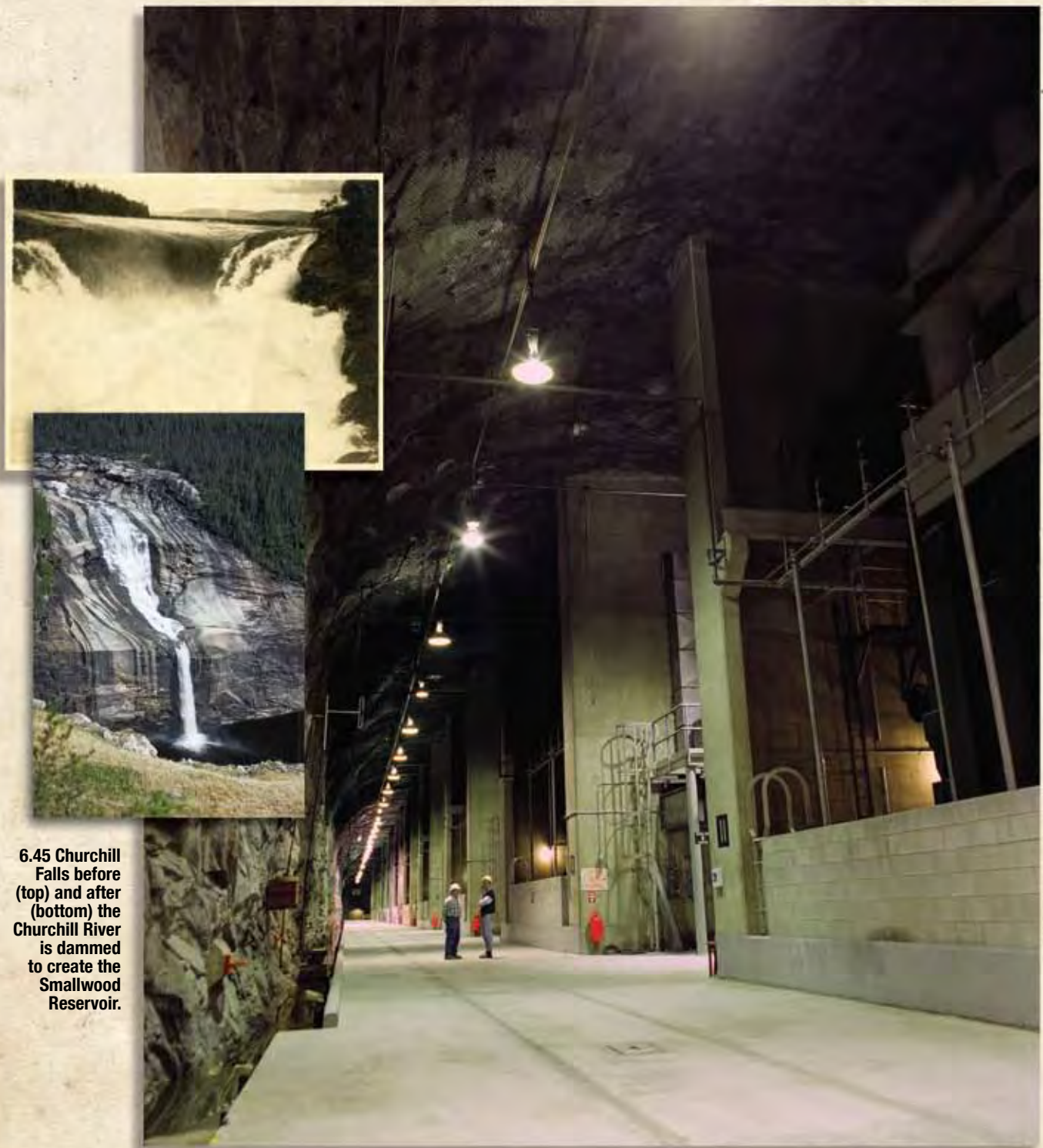
**Metis traplines were also flooded.*

flooded more than 1300 square kilometres (502 square miles) of Innu land. The tremendous waterfall Innu named Patshetshunau ("Grand Falls" in English), once audible and visible 16 kilometres (10 miles) away, was reduced to a mere trickle in order to create the Smallwood Reservoir. The extensive flooding accelerated the erosion of the river banks and destroyed Innu burial grounds to the point of exposing human bones. Innu campsites and belongings were destroyed, as was access to hunting areas.* The flooding also did irreversible environmental damage to wildlife habitats, and methyl mercury produced by the rotting of newly submerged

vegetation affected some fish populations. There is no evidence to suggest the Newfoundland government consulted with Innu, nor was compensation granted even after their losses were understood.

Other residents of Labrador were also unhappy with the Churchill Falls development. Many of the new jobs created went to people from Québec or the island, who went home after the construction phase and took their money with them. This left some Labradorians feeling that their natural resources were being exploited by and for the benefit of others.

6.44 The hydroelectric generation plant, Churchill Falls, 2010



6.45 Churchill Falls before (top) and after (bottom) the Churchill River is dammed to create the Smallwood Reservoir.

Linerboard mill operating on a test basis-Crosbie

The much-maligned Stephenville linerboard mill is in production, at least on a test basis.

Finance minister John Crosbie said Wednesday the first linerboard stock to be made from Labrador wood was expected off the production line about midnight last night. He said the process, carried out as a production test, involves the first reduction of Labrador wood to pulp and its processing into linerboard stock.

In the House of Assembly Wednesday, Mr. Crosbie told

Opposition Leader Edward Roberts that the first products of the mill had already been received. What he was referring to was a test run earlier this week which consisted of re-digesting linerboard made at another plant and then re-processing it into linerboard again.

Forestry minister Ed Maynard said the logs used in the test came from a stock of 150,000 cords of Labrador wood now in a holding boom at Stephenville. He said the supply is enough for about two months continuous operation of the mill.

6.46 From *The Daily News*, Feb. 1, 1973



Labrador Linerboard Ltd. Mill, Stephenville

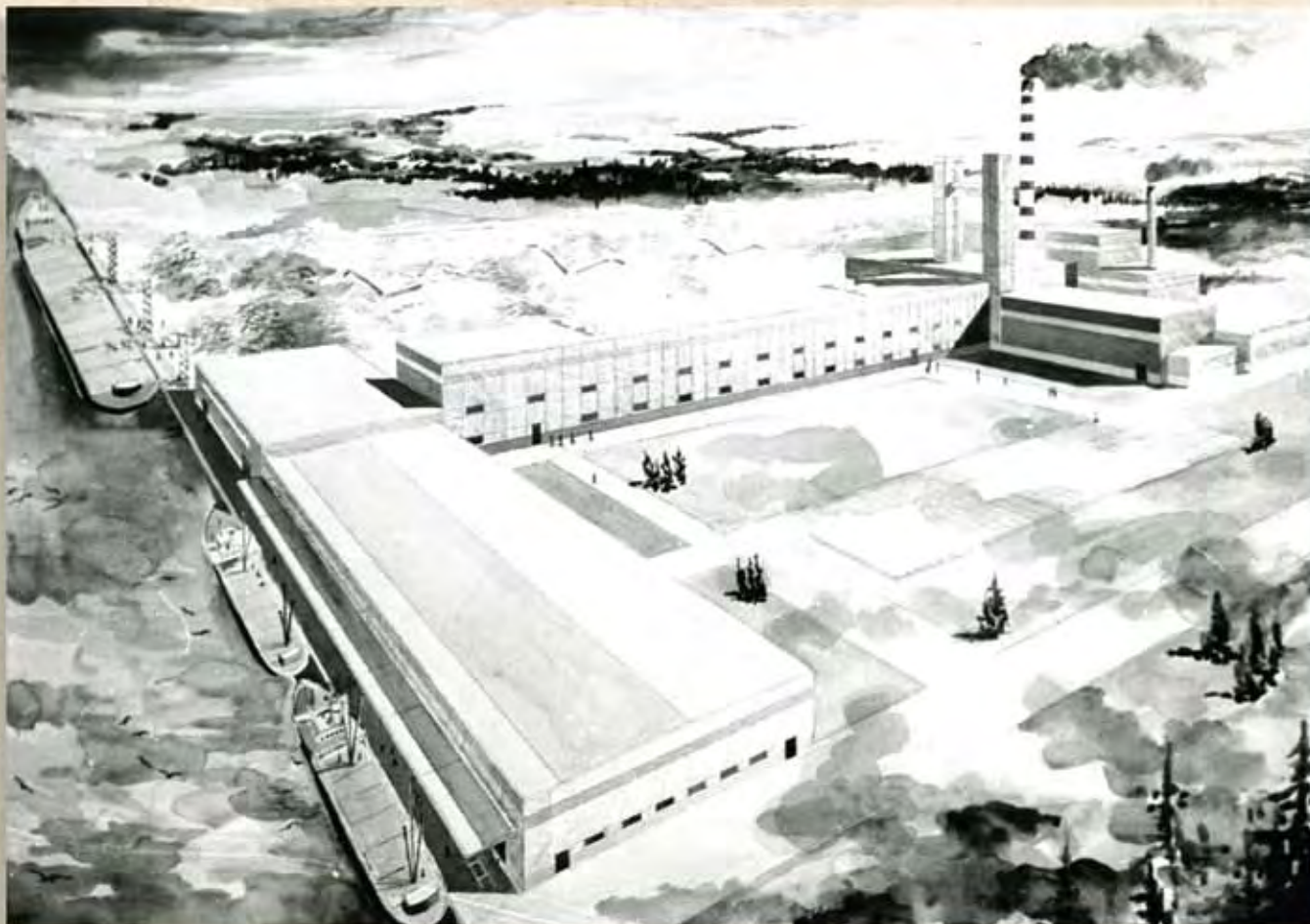
In the mid to late 1960s, the government began exploring options with private companies to build a third mill in the province. This was due in part to the success of the existing pulp and paper mills at Grand Falls and Corner Brook. Impressed with the business sense of American John Doyle, Smallwood's government entered into a joint deal with Doyle to develop a linerboard mill. Linerboard, a flat cardboard surface, was a highly marketable product, fetching close to \$500 per ton in Europe by 1974. Smallwood rationalized that if the other paper companies could economically cut wood and ship it out for processing, it could work for the linerboard mill.

Stephenville* was the chosen location for the new mill. Located on the island's west coast, this community

was in desperate need of employment. The United States military had withdrawn from Harmon Field in December 1966, eliminating 1200 jobs and decreasing Stephenville's population by around 4500 people. While Stephenville's port was deep and ice-free year-round, transporting the wood from Labrador to Stephenville would be costly. Even though Newfoundland was closer to the markets than other North American linerboard facilities, the mill was still a long distance from Europe, North and West Africa, and the Near and Middle East.

The projected cost to build the mill was \$75 million; as this was an expensive venture, the Newfoundland government sought foreign investors and new markets. Doyle's company undertook technical studies to choose

**The original location of the mill was to have been Labrador, which had large supplies of wood. However, the waterway leading to the Labrador Sea was blocked by ice for at least half the year, impeding accessibility to the product.*



6.47 A graphic representation of the linerboard mill in Stephenville

the best method to transport the wood to Stephenville. A combination of these issues created a four-year delay for the project. Construction of the Labrador Linerboard Ltd. Mill finally began in 1971 – the same year Smallwood’s Liberals were defeated. The newly elected Conservatives, led by Frank Moores, took office early in 1972 and purchased the mill. The project was plagued by major cost overruns and large infusions of government cash were necessary to complete the project. By the time construction of the mill was finally complete in 1973, the mill had cost \$155 million.

The government hired an advisory board in 1976 to determine the fate of the mill. It was deemed not viable

in the long term. Interestingly, representatives from the two other paper mills operating on the island were on the advisory board, which could explain why it was proposed that the Stephenville mill should be operated in conjunction with them. The linerboard mill was closed late in 1977, after the government had invested over \$300 million in it. In 1978, the government sold the mill and its shipping and docking facilities to Abitibi Paper Company for just \$43.5 million. The mill was converted for newsprint production and during the 15-month conversion employed 600 people. Regular operations employed 250 workers until the mill finally closed its doors in 2005 because of high electricity costs and adverse market conditions.

Questions:

1. What were the main reasons many industries which opened in Newfoundland and Labrador during the Smallwood years ran into difficulties? What reasons might explain why Koch Shoes survived?
2. Use a graphic organizer to give the main reasons for building a phosphorus plant at Long Harbour, an oil refinery at Come By Chance, a hydroelectric power plant at Churchill Falls, and a linerboard mill at Stephenville. Also, give the main problems associated with each mega-project.
3. Despite the problems noted in question 2, was the building of these mega-projects good for the provincial economy? Support your answer.

TOPIC 6.3

Smallwood's Social Policies

What services do governments provide today?

Are there other areas where government should be more involved?



6.48 The first provincial cabinet, April 1, 1949

Smallwood's government was tasked with fulfilling the promise that Confederation would bring a better standard of living to Newfoundlanders and Labradorians.

6.49 Hoop method of carrying water, Exploits, c. 1943

At the time of Confederation, many outport communities lacked basic amenities such as water and sewer systems.



A Time of Social Change

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

these residents returned to the fishery, which was still the mainstay of the country's economy.

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



6.50 Constructing a sewer pipe

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

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

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

Confederation also meant that Newfoundlanders and Labradorians had access to Canadian social welfare programs and benefits. Residents were eligible to receive family allowances, war veterans' allowances, unemployment insurance, and old age pensions. For



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

many, it was the first time they had supplementary income. These new payments, combined with wage employment in the frozen fish industry, helped families in smaller communities shift to a cash economy. Gone was the complete reliance on credit from merchants, as residents became independent, cash-earning consumers.

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

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

An Improved Infrastructure

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

The availability of electricity to Newfoundlanders and Labradorians also increased dramatically after Confederation. While only half of the country's population was using electricity in 1949, by the time Smallwood left office in 1972, electrical service

was available to most residents. Some of this was achieved through the work of the Newfoundland Power Commission, which was established by the provincial government in 1954 to explore electricity generating options with a view to rural electrification. This included the development of Newfoundland and Labrador's first major publicly owned hydroelectric project in the mid-1960s at Bay d'Espoir. By 1970, the total generating power of Bay d'Espoir was 450 megawatts (one megawatt equals one million watts).

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



6.52 Bay d'Espoir powerhouse

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





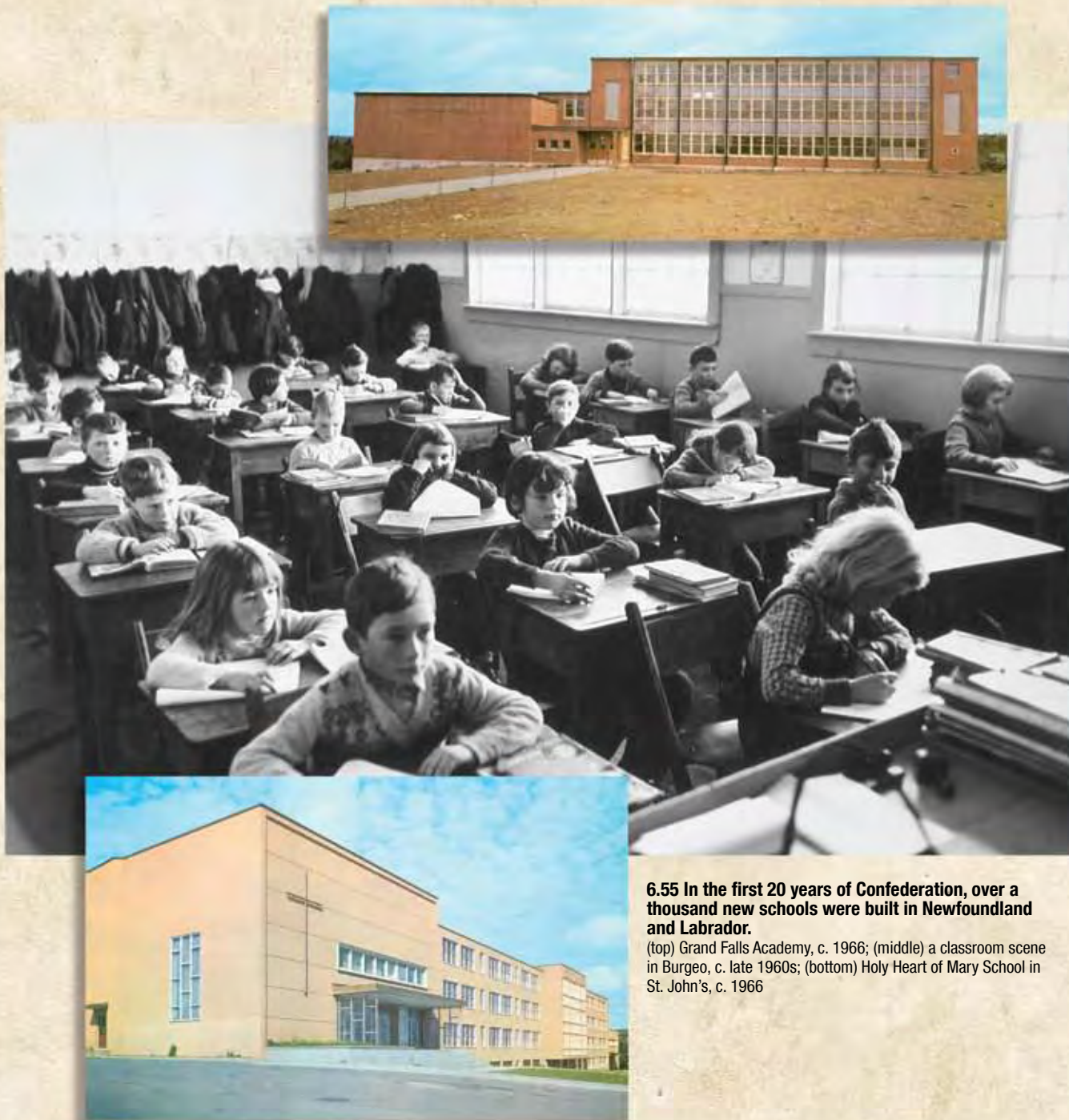
6.54 The Trans-Canada Highway under different phases of construction on the island of Newfoundland, c. 1963-65

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

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

most of the island's older settled communities.

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



6.55 In the first 20 years of Confederation, over a thousand new schools were built in Newfoundland and Labrador.

(top) Grand Falls Academy, c. 1966; (middle) a classroom scene in Burgeo, c. late 1960s; (bottom) Holy Heart of Mary School in St. John's, c. 1966

Changes in Education and Health Care

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

Adult education was also improved. As one of his first acts, Smallwood elevated Memorial University College to the status of a degree-granting university, which soon led to larger enrolments, especially in education. Memorial University's Faculty of Education produced

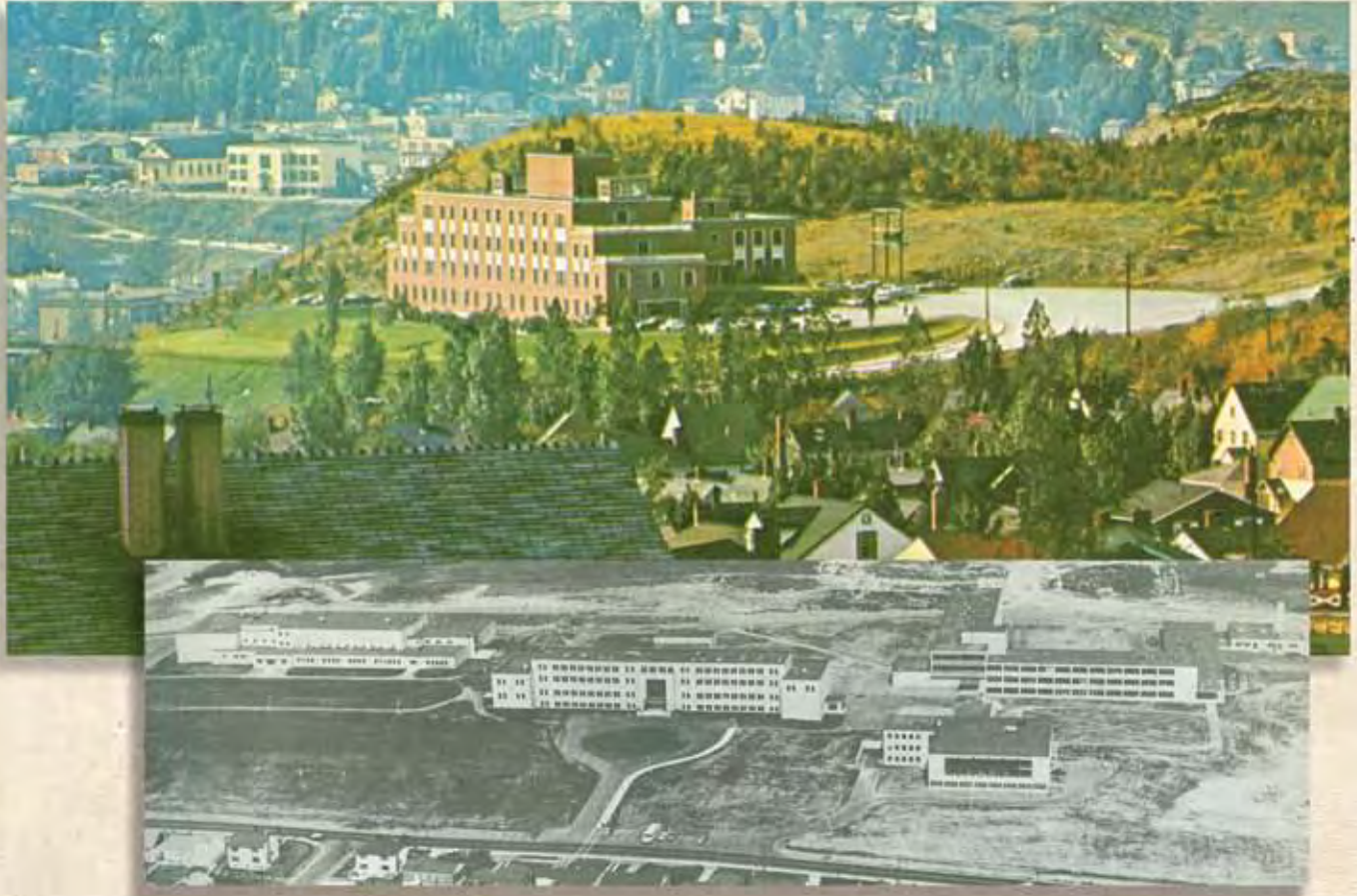
large numbers of qualified teachers to staff the increasing number of schools, and faculty members in general were encouraged to promote the study of all aspects of the province's past, present, and future. In addition to establishing the university, a network of vocational schools was established, as well as the College of Fisheries, Navigation, Marine Engineering and Electronics in St. John's.

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

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

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

6.56 Western Memorial Hospital in Corner Brook, c. 1966



6.57 The campus of the newly opened Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John’s, 1961.

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

1957, which provided free hospital and medical coverage to all children under the age of 16. This was followed by the Hospital Insurance Act in 1958, which made hospital fees, nursing services, and various diagnostic procedures

more affordable. In 1968, another improvement occurred when the province joined the federal Medical Care Plan (MCP), allowing residents to receive a variety of free health care and hospital services.

Questions:

1. How did Confederation help some families in smaller communities shift to a cash economy?
2. Confederation promised a better standard of living for the people of this province. How successful were the Smallwood government’s initiatives to improve the standard of living?
3. What was the most significant improvement the Smallwood government made in each of the following areas? Explain.
 - a. communication, electricity, transportation
 - b. education
 - c. health care

Resettlement

Are there circumstances where forced resettlement is necessary?

Why is there still resettlement today?



6.58 Angela Baker *Ghost Town Reflections – Parsons Harbour*

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

Introduction

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

Reasons to Move

Confederation eventually brought social welfare benefits such as family allowance, old age pensions, and unemployment insurance, which helped families survive. However, not even those benefits could alter the fact that the provincial government was hard pressed financially to maintain and improve education, health, and other

public services to these very small, scattered, and remote communities. Many people in such places found it difficult to secure a livelihood from the fishery and desired to move to larger, better-connected settlements, where they could find other employment and have access to modern amenities. Some, who wished to escape the fishery, find job security, and have access to better services, chose to move permanently to larger centres on the island and, in some cases, to mainland Canada. Resettlement of communities had been occurring naturally in many parts of the province for decades, but it was formalized as a social and economic plan during Smallwood's tenure as Newfoundland's first provincial premier.



6.59 Mission of Mercy by Ed Roche

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

6.60 Leaving Fox Harbour

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



First Official Resettlement Program

The first post-confederation government-sponsored resettlement began in the early 1950s. The residents of three islands in Bonavista Bay asked the government for assistance to move closer to their winter workplace in the logging industry. Whether this request was the catalyst or not, the provincial government introduced the **Centralization Program** in 1954, which offered voluntary resettlers between \$300 and \$600 per household to relocate. To receive these grants, 100 per cent of the residents had to agree to the relocation of an entire community.* Short-haul moves were common

in the early years of resettlement; some families even floated their houses to the new destination. The receiving communities were not isolated and offered better services; resettlers often chose communities based on family ties or religious affiliations. The provincial government helped a few thousand people move into larger service centres under centralization, but there was not enough employment to support those who relocated.

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

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

Handwritten: *Family 2.*

Your Name *Rev. George Brooks,*
Address *Deer Lake*

Position or Appointment *DEER LAKE PARISH.*

| Name of Settlements you think should be vacated. (in order of priority) | No. of families involved. (approximate) | Note the reasons why you think the settlement should be vacated. |
|---|---|--|
| <i>THE BEACHES</i> | <i>15 - 20</i> | <i>No road connecting this Settlement to Haddon. Sea is washing away shoreline.</i> |
| <i>HADDON</i> | <i>1</i> | <i>People must get to Bayville or Haddon for just about everything. There <i>are</i> no schools which is hard to fill with teachers. People must even go church by boat or walk around shore.</i> |
| | | <i>Bayville is the logical place for the people to be moved. Government would be well advised to put road to Beaches.</i> |

Handwritten: *Let. N.*

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

Position or Minister of Appointment *Religion.*

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

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

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

The Second Phase of Resettlement

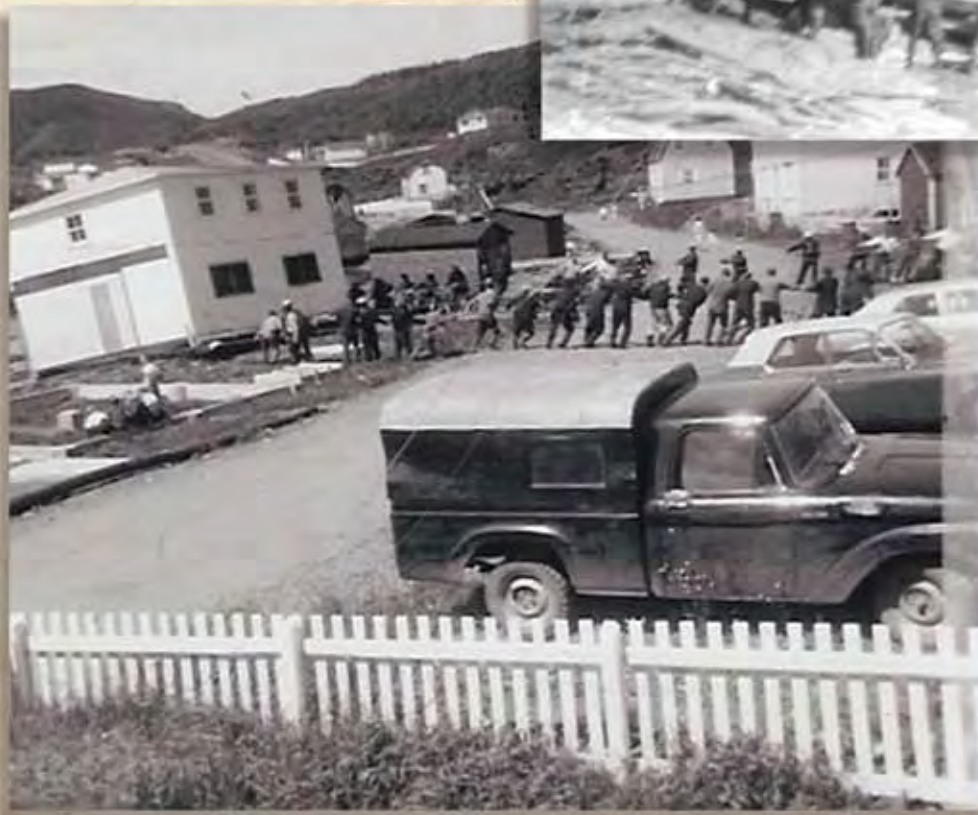
The province now sought federal government participation and in 1965 the second phase of resettlement, the Fisheries Household Resettlement Program, was established. Under this program, families were encouraged to settle in designated "growth centres." These were larger settlements, which usually had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

After the request for relocation was approved, householders had to apply for government assistance. Each household received \$1000 and an additional \$200 for each family member. Moving expenses, up to \$3000, were paid to cover the cost of moving homes, furniture, buildings, boats, and fishing gear. Receipts for the expenditures were

submitted to government and monies were reimbursed to resettlers after the completion of the move.* In the early years of resettlement, some people who could not find suitable employment in their new communities returned to their former homes in the summer to fish and thus maintained two dwellings. The provincial government attempted to discourage this, in some cases, by destroying buildings or seizing property left behind. Under the 1965 program, about 24 communities were resettled, although an additional 262 households were helped to relocate from various communities that had not been completely resettled.

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

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



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

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

(((DIMENSIONS OF THINKING))) EVIDENCE

The Forgotten Coast

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



6.66 Alf Doyle in Parsons Harbour Cemetery by Angela Baker

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

Artist statement: Resettlement was once described as the largest forced mass migration in Canadian history. Some regard Joey Smallwood, who promoted resettlement in the 1960s, as a saviour for bringing the family allowance; others as a devil for uprooting them. Some dismantled and moved their houses. Some towed them by sea to new places. First inspired by the rugged beauty of the coast between

Grey River and Francois, I was moved later by the sadness of lonely graveyards, decaying houses, churches, and overgrown ruins. Curiosity led me to research this area's social history, gathering stories and photographs from "livers" around the province. Their nostalgia about their roots resonated with my experience of leaving Jamaica to resettle in Newfoundland in 1976.



6.67

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

— Angela Baker

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

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



6.68 Collapsing house in Rencontre West by Angela Baker

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

6.69 Collapsing house in Rencontre West – through the window by Angela Baker

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



6.70 Collapsed house Rencontre West by Angela Baker

"When the foundation rotted, the kitchen collapsed exposing the brick chimney. One year later everything had fallen flat to the ground."





6.71 Communities “Livyers” have left

Petites, North Bay

Bear & Deer Islands

Fox Island

Dog’s Cove (Bay de Vieux)

Cul de Sac West

Cape La Hune

Deadman’s Cove

Parsons’ Harbour

Rencontre West

Bob Locke’s Cove

Cul de Sac East

Richard’s Harbour

Muddy Hole

Mosquito

Pushibrough

**Great Jervois
(Jervais or Jarvis)**

Goblin

Grole

Stanley Cove

Stone Valley

Grand Bruit (2010)



6.72 Pushthrough Church and School Ruins by Angela Baker

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

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

Questions:

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



6.73 *Resettlement* by Gerald Squires, 2004

Issues with Resettlement

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

Some academics argued that resettlement destroyed the identity of a whole group of outport dwellers whose way of life had roots in the early resident fishery. Others saw resettlement as an organized response to a migration that was bound to happen as the salt fishery declined

and the fresh-frozen sector, with processing in larger centres, emerged. Ultimately, it was too expensive for the provincial government to provide the level of services that all Newfoundlanders and Labradorians deserved. Only in larger communities, the government argued, could residents have access to adequate schools, medical services, road connections, telecommunications, and frequent postal services.

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

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

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

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

6.74 Newfoundland and Labrador: trends in resettlement

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

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

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

Outport People

Bud Davidge

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

A LETTER ON RESETTLEMENT

Dear Mrs. Stoodley:

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

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

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

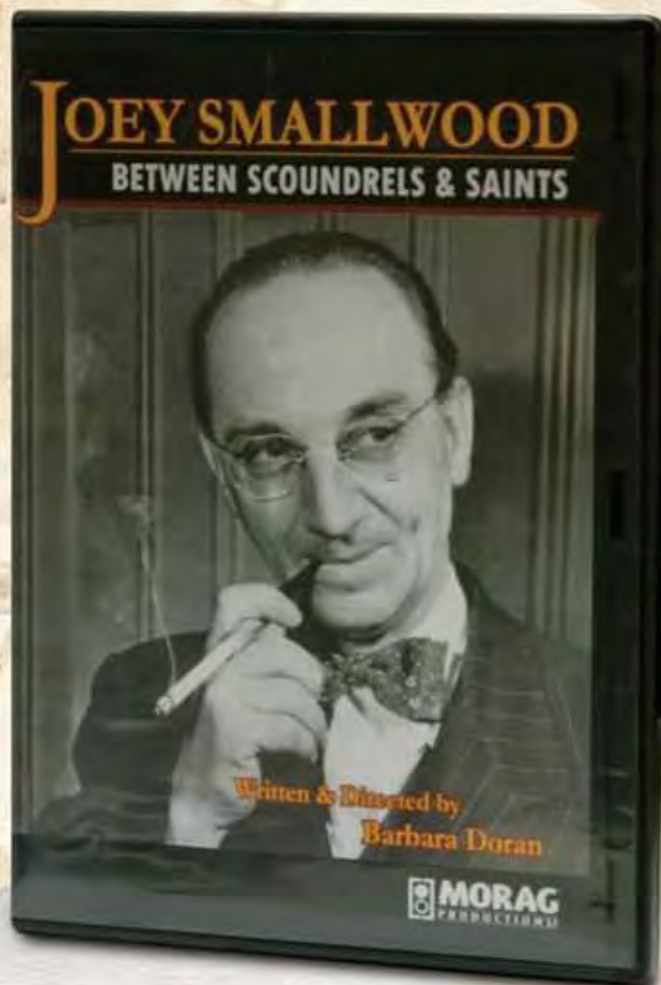
Very sincerely yours,
J. R. SMALLWOOD, Premier.

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

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

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

6.77



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

EXT. OCEAN. DAY

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

FISHERMEN PULLING UP THEIR NETS

HAROLD HORWOOD (O.S)

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

FISHERMAN TYING DOWN LINES FROM THE BOAT.

(CONTINUED)

CONTINUED:

2.

HAROLD HORWOOD

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

CUT TO:

Experiencing The Arts

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



RICHARD GWYN INTERVIEW

RICHARD GWYN

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

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

RICHARD GWYN (O.S.)

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

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

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

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

(CONTINUED)

CONTINUED:

RICHARD GWYN (O.S.)

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

FADE TO BLACK:

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



Experiencing The Arts

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

It is often a good idea to do a first round of edits to

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

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

The Government Game

Pat Byrne & Al Pittman

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Personal Experiences

Jack Holwell, Spotted Island, Labrador

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

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

6.81

Questions:

- 1) What were three main arguments for resettlement?
- 2) What were three main arguments against resettlement?
- 3) Should people be forced to resettle? If you lived in an isolated community, would you resettle? Support your answer.
- 4) What were three significant issues created by resettlement?

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

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

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

6.83

6.82

Deborah Jackman remembers leaving Grole ...

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

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

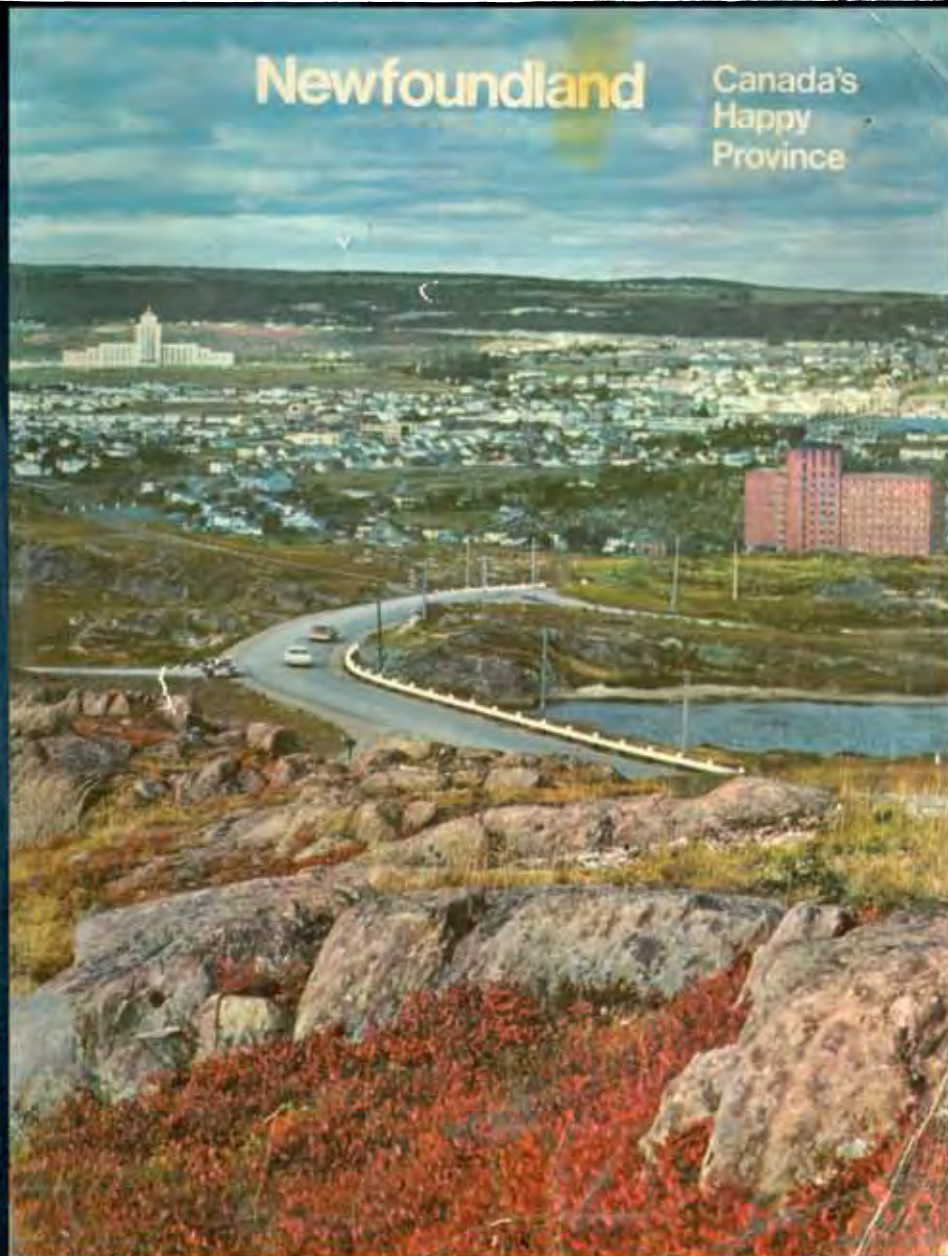
"When we lived in Grole ... we lived off the land. And

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

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

CASE STUDY

Considering Effects



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

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



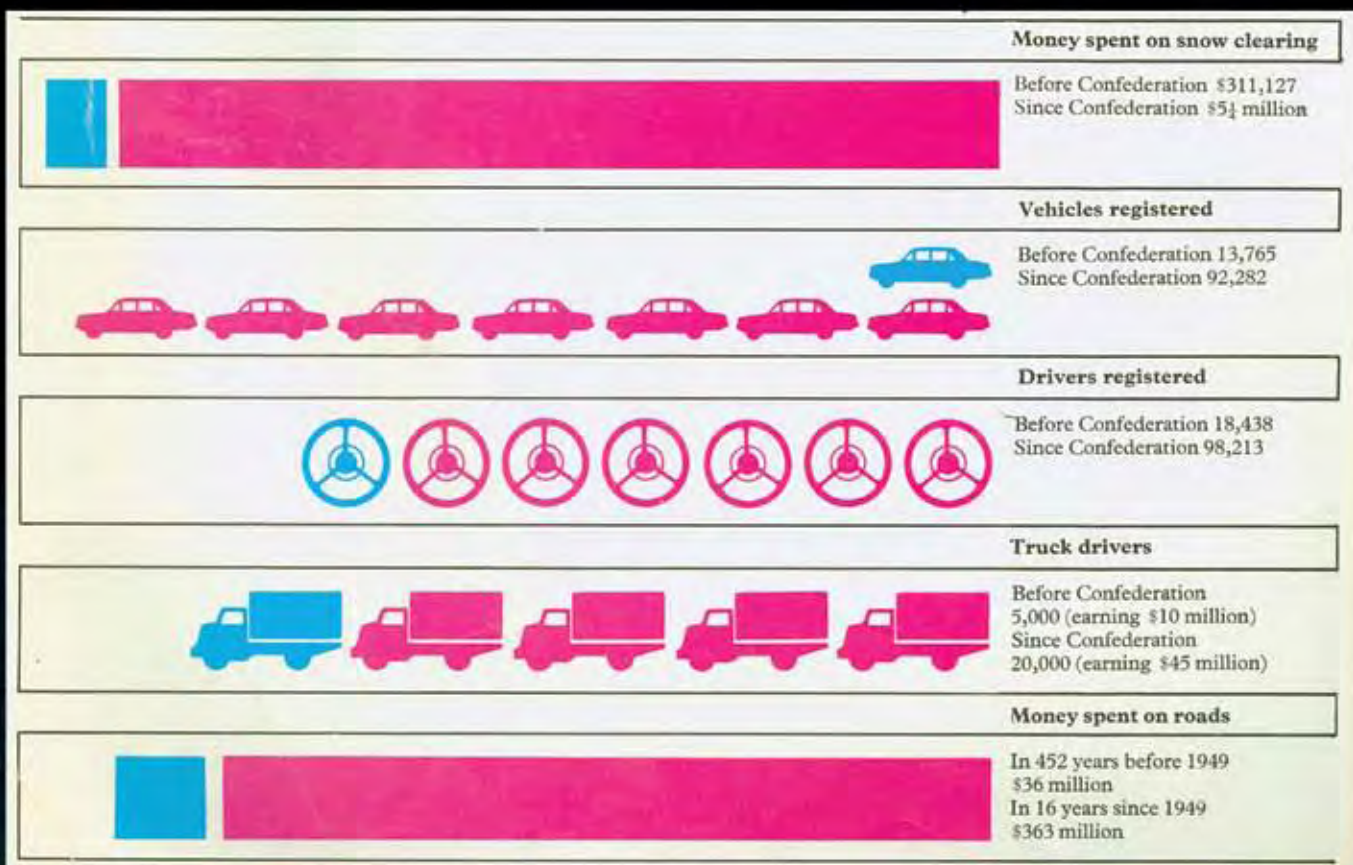
6.85 A symbol of growth

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

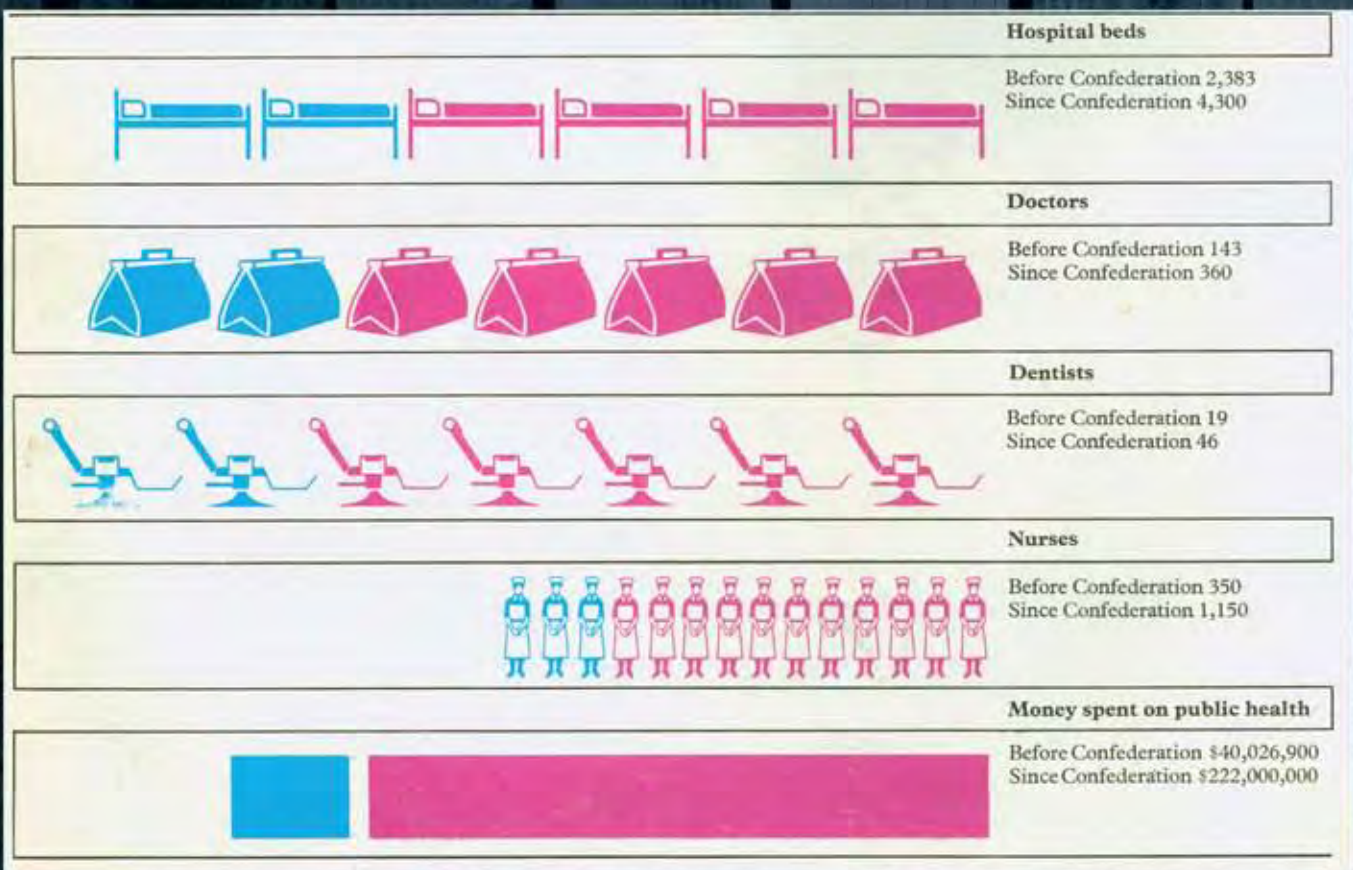
FIFTEEN YEARS AFTER CONFEDERATION, THE SMALLWOOD government produced a book called *Newfoundland: Canada's Happy Province*, which promoted the benefits of the union. What can we learn by reviewing some of this evidence?

By 1966, dramatic economic and social changes had occurred in Newfoundland and Labrador under the Smallwood government. While Smallwood was quick to point this out, he acknowledged that "... with all our pride

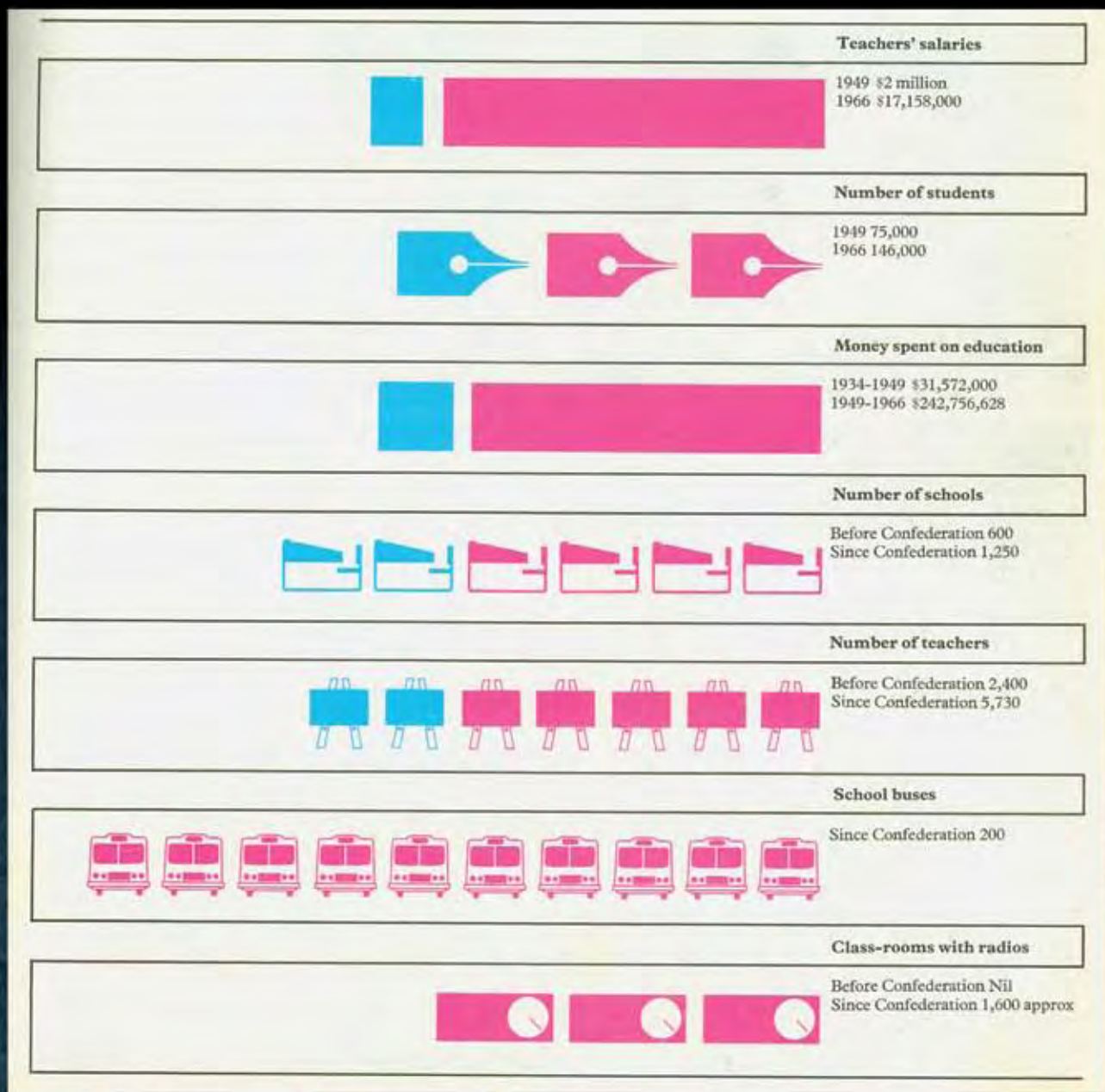
in the miracles that have happened since Confederation, we know that so very much remains to be done!" The following material was printed in 1966 to highlight the government's achievements since Confederation.



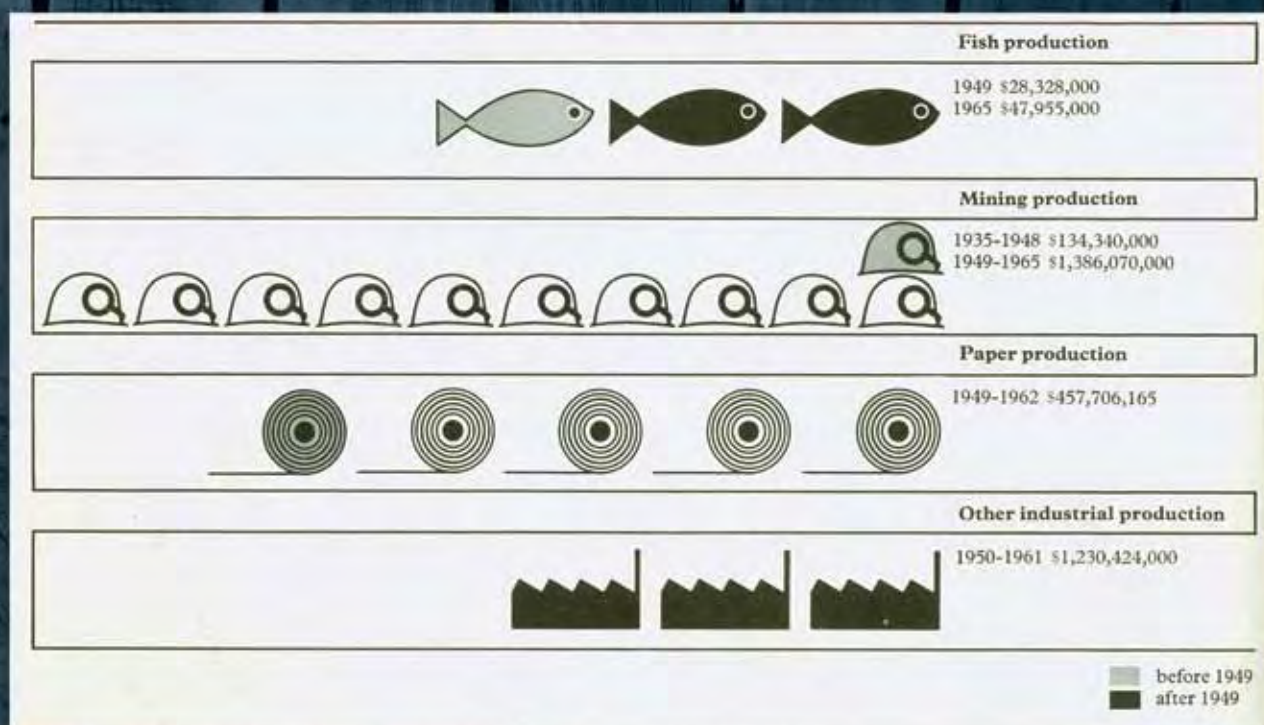
6.86 Highway statistics, 1966



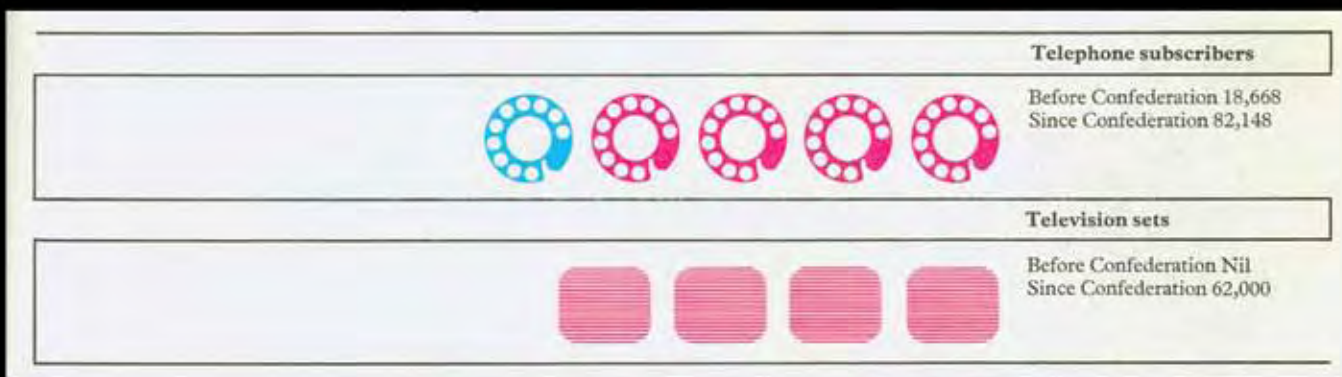
6.87 Public health statistics, 1966



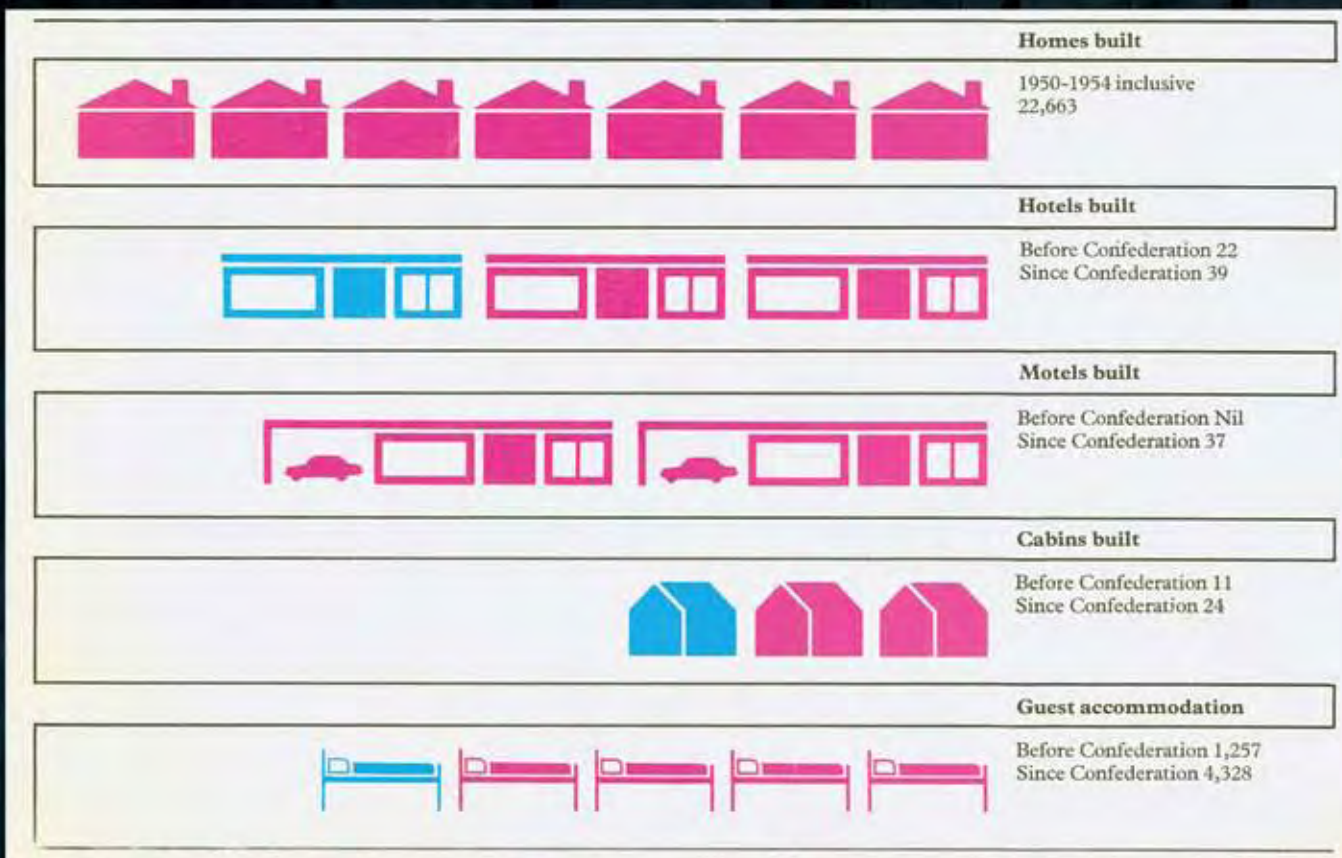
6.88 Education statistics, 1966



6.89 Industry and commerce statistics, 1966

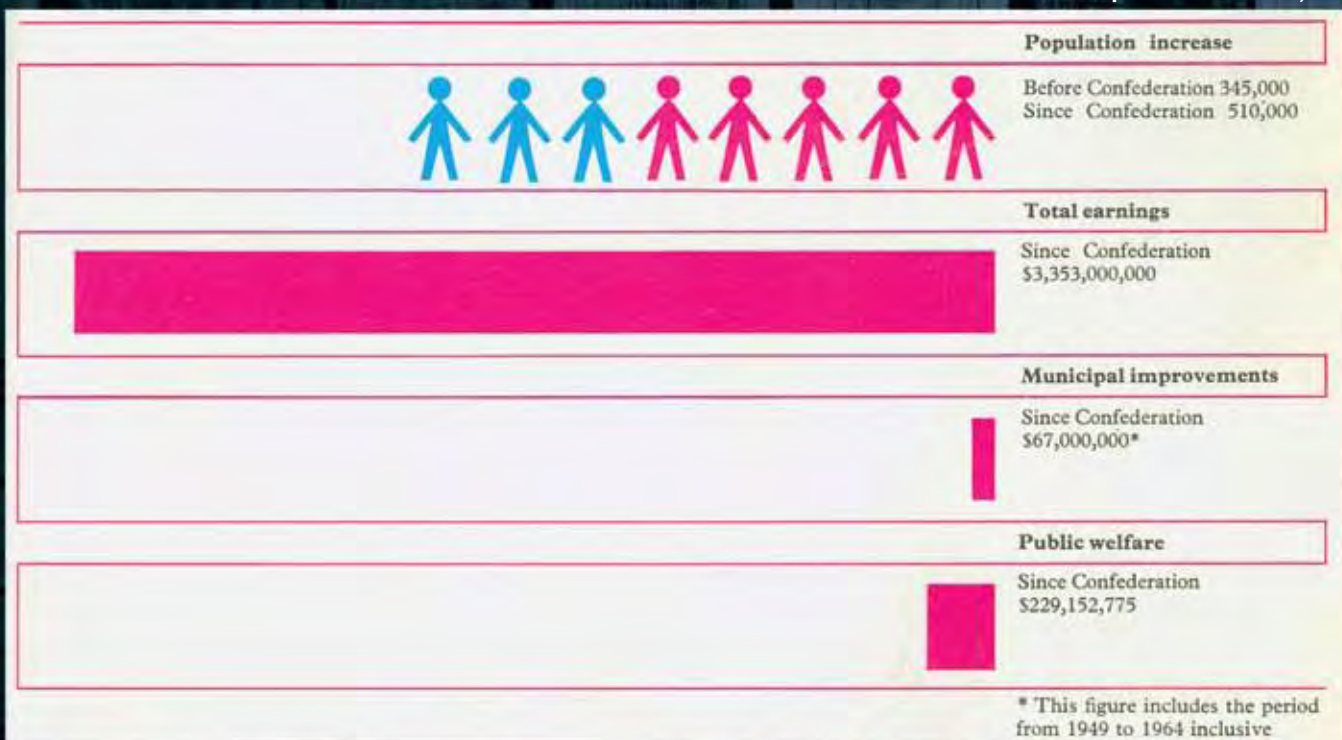


6.90 Communication statistics, 1966



6.91 Housing and accommodation statistics, 1966

6.92 Provincial and municipal works statistics, 1966



The goose that lays the golden egg

It has cost us a vast sum of money to give our people the facilities they need for better education, health, roads, and a hundred other public services and conveniences. It is going to cost vastly more in the future, because our people demand vastly more of these services and conveniences. It is abundantly clear that we need far more money than will ever be forthcoming from the national Capital or the national Treasury. The Federal system in Canada is very good in that respect, for it does contrive to redistribute much of the national wealth. Our remarkable progress in the post-Confederation years would have been out of the question but for the help we

have received from Ottawa. But the one thing we do not and will not tolerate is that we should become a sort of ward of Ottawa, still less a dependent. We are determined to be self-supporting. More even than that, we are determined to be one of the "have" Provinces. This means the ever-increasing effort to widen, broaden, deepen and strengthen our own Newfoundland economy. I think of the line that Billy Sunday's singer used to utter: "Brighten the corner where you are." It is a very good motto for any Canadian Province. The strength of Canada is the combined individual strengths of the ten Provinces.

In the pages that follow many of the fine industrial, commercial and financial concerns that are developing our economy are represented, and they share the Government's pride in the developments of the post-Confederation era. It is a notable roster indeed, for it includes names of firms that are well known throughout the English-speaking world. Newfoundland is proud to have them here, and would be proud to have more like them. And we will!



Questions:

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

Aboriginal Lifestyles

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

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



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

Introduction

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

Inuit

At the time of Confederation, at least 700 Inuit lived in Labrador. Aside from their widespread conversion to Christianity, many aspects of Inuit culture were intact – many Inuit still spoke Inuktitut, lived on their traditional lands, and maintained a seasonal subsistence economy that consisted largely of hunting and fishing. After Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949, provincial and federal government agencies began to deliver some health, education,

and other services to Inuit communities. But unlike the Moravians, who tried to preserve Inuit language and culture, early government programs were not concerned with these matters. Teachers, for example, delivered lessons in English, and most health and other workers could not speak Inuktitut.

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

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

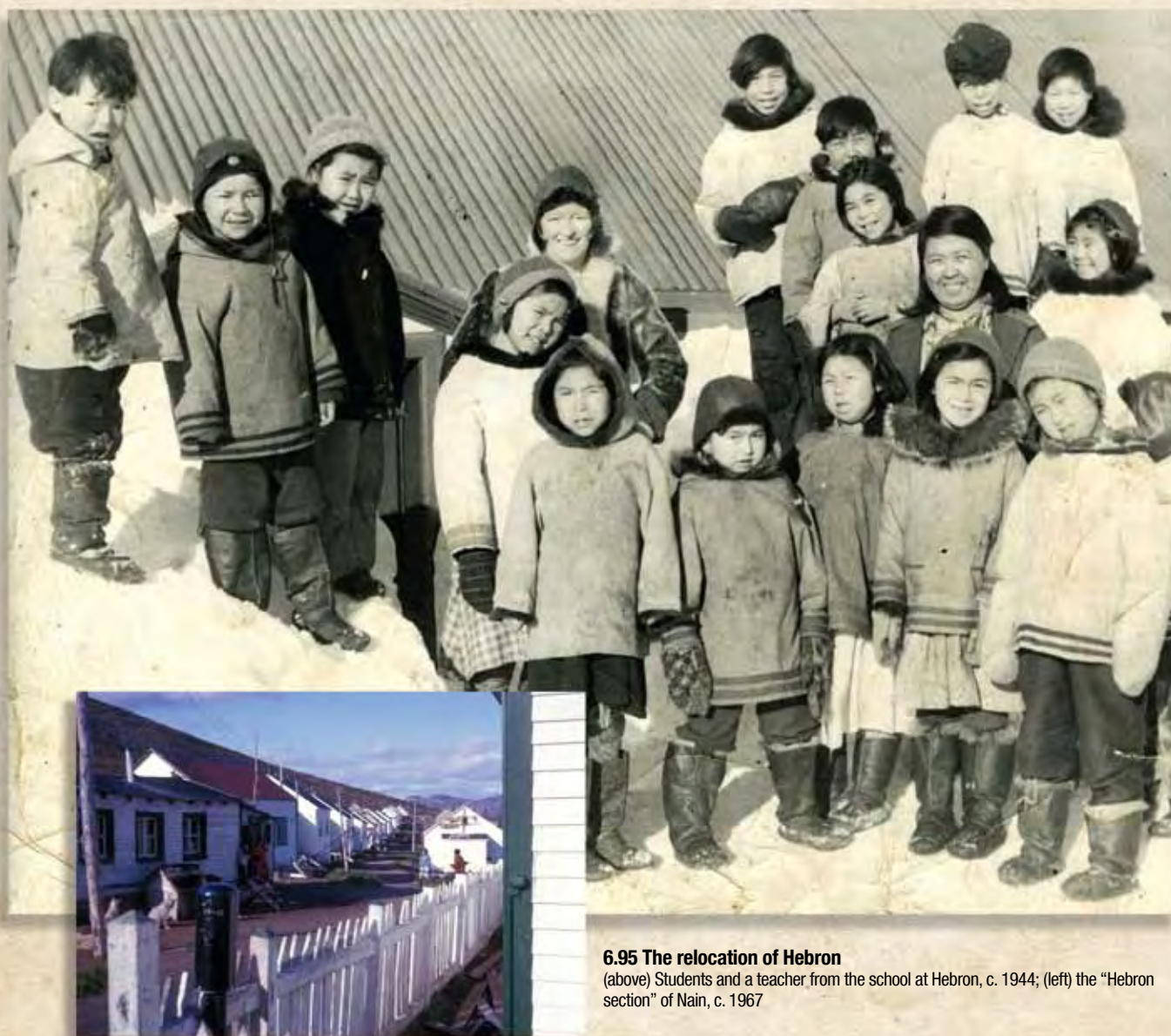
A further disruption of traditional lifestyle occurred when the provincial government, the Grenfell Association, and Moravian officials decided to close the Inuit communities of Nutak and Hebron in the 1950s and relocate residents to Nain, Hopedale, and Makkovik. This was prompted by visits to some northern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

In 1955, Nutak was closed and the people were scattered to a variety of communities. The people of Hebron,

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

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

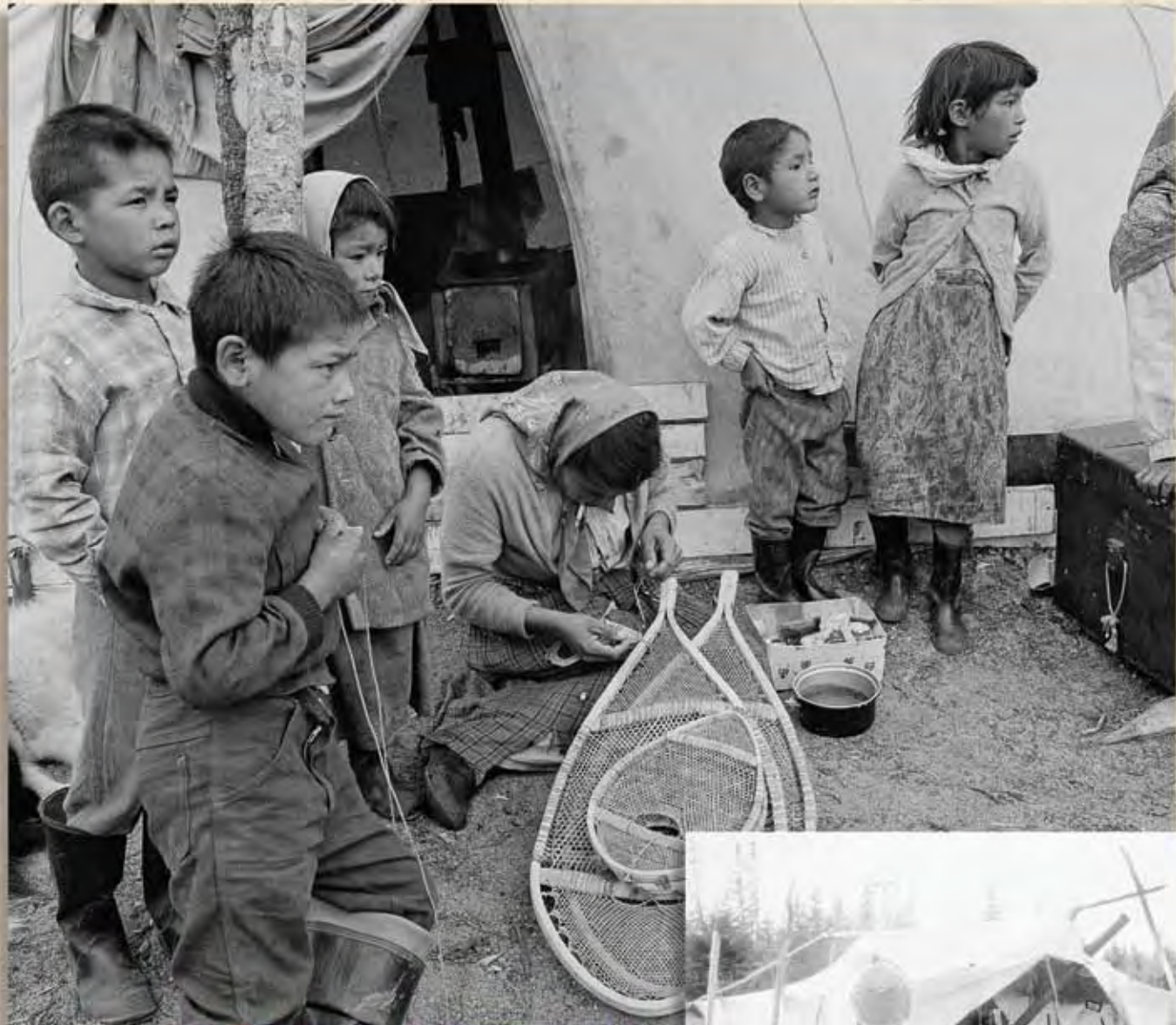
**In 2005 Premier Williams apologized to relocated Hebron residents and in 2009 he unveiled a memorial erected for former residents.*



6.95 The relocation of Hebron

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

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



6.98 Innu tent in Sheshatshiu, c. 1945

6.97 Repairing a tent, 1963

Innu

As with other people in Labrador, Confederation made new provincial and federal services and benefits available to Innu. As traditional resources such as the caribou stock dwindled, this led to a growing dependence on government services and social assistance for Innu. This further restricted Innu from maintaining their traditional seasonal round by keeping them close to the areas where these services were offered. As well, restrictive game laws

were introduced, which many felt were of more benefit to newly arrived non-Innu sports hunters than to those who hunted for subsistence.

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

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

Some Innu suggested their settlement into villages was part of a concerted attempt to separate them from their land, which at the time was becoming transformed for industrial purposes. The most dramatic example of this occurred in the 1960s, when the Smallwood government decided to develop the hydroelectric power potential of the Grand Falls (later Churchill Falls). The damming of the Churchill River for this project diverted hundreds of

waterways and flooded more than 1300 square kilometres (over 500 square miles) of land in central Labrador – much of which Innu had used for generations. Innu cultural sites such as Kanekuanegau and Meshikamau were destroyed along with Innu hunting territory and traplines, fishing gear, and campsites. The flooding also meant that caribou, waterfowl, and other wildlife species lost their habitat, while the water's increased methylmercury levels – produced by the rotting of newly submerged vegetation – affected some fish populations. Accelerated erosion affected the river's banks as well as several Innu burial grounds, leaving some human bones exposed. Innu were neither consulted nor compensated throughout the whole process.

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



6.99 An Elder remains close to his culture

Experiencing The Arts

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



6.100 A classroom in Cartwright, 1960

Metis

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

The provincial government’s resettlement policy of the 1960s seriously impacted their lifestyle. Families were pressured to leave their traditional homes, many of which were occupied long before the European “Age of Discovery.” They were moved to more centralized administration centres, towns which promised improved medical services and educational facilities. However, this added more economic hardships, as they were moved to areas that offered little employment and were

located further away from their traditional fishing berths. This often meant that fishermen from Newfoundland arrived on a coastal boat and occupied Metis traditional fishing berths before they could arrive from the resettled communities. Education also suffered as students lost as many as three months of school during the fishing season.

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

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

Technological advances, however, did lead to some improvements in lifestyle for those in southern Labrador. The establishment of the air base in Goose Bay, for example, brought better communication, and the port at Goose Bay served as a distribution centre for freight and mail going to the coast.

Also a road and cable car linked North West River and Goose Bay. In 1949, the federal Department of Transportation and Communications replaced the Marconi wireless stations with radio-telephone stations. This allowed residents to make phone calls through an operator. In 1966, a ferry service across the Strait of Belle Isle linked the south coast of Labrador with the island of Newfoundland.*

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

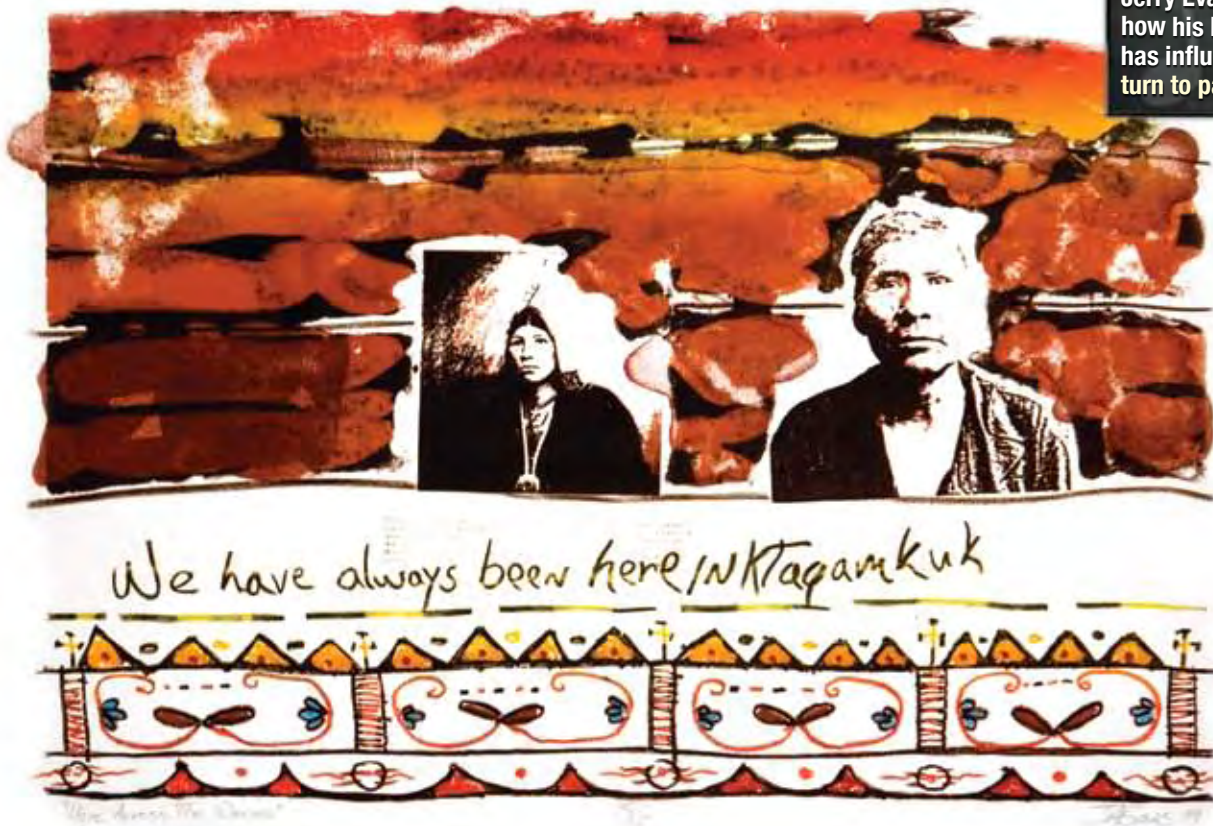
**There was still no road to connect most of Labrador beyond the Straits.*

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



6.101 Shovelling snow in Cartwright, c.1948-49





6.103 Here Across The Waves, lithograph by Jerry Evans (1999)

A rekindled sense of pride in Mi'kmaq culture has inspired work by artists such as Jerry Evans.

Mi'kmaq

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

This and other factors contributed to a lower standard of living in Conne River than that of many of its neighbours in the 1950s and 1960s. For instance, prior to 1960, there were no telephone or electrical services in the area, and there were no roads in Conne River until the early 1970s. While no one actually starved, as one authority noted in 1958, "only 30 per cent [of Conne River's people] were functionally literate." During this period, Newfoundland's

Mi'kmaq did not receive any federal benefits because Mi'kmaq were not recognized as "status" Indians.

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



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

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

Questions:

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

Modern Times

What are two recent events that have impacted your life?
How do international events affect our province?

Introduction

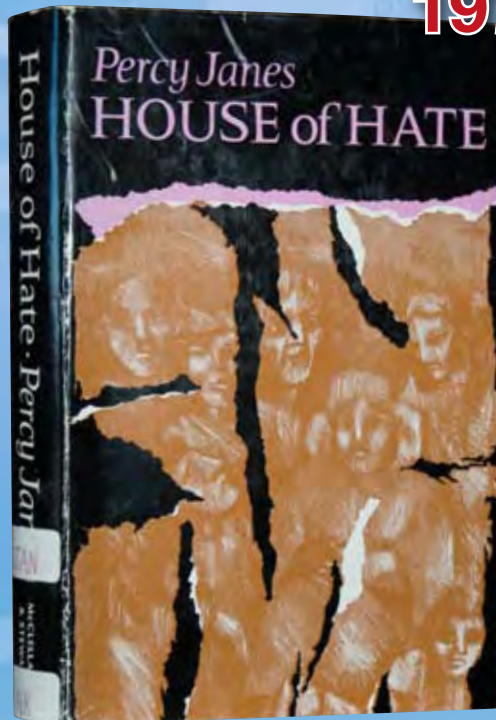
The years after the Smallwood era saw continued change as eight new premiers led Newfoundland and Labrador from the 1970s through the first decade of the 2000s. Some of the changes that have occurred over the last 40 years have their roots in the last 500 years of our history and continue to play out today. Other changes have occurred because of new developments, such as the discovery of oil off our coast.

The following timelines reflect some of the cultural, social, political, and economic events that have occurred in the last 40 years. While not all-encompassing, they indicate some of the milestones that have shaped who we are today. As you review them, think about what other items you would add to the timeline to help tell the story of our province.

The 1970s

The beginning of the 1970s saw the fall of the Liberal government led by J.R. Smallwood, which had held power since 1949. A change in government brought new ideas and renewed optimism for the future with a greater government emphasis on rural development. Like the 1960s, the 1970s were prosperous times for many rural areas as the inshore fishery was modernized by the introduction of larger boats and the exploitation of new marine species. Although the first hints of trouble in the cod stocks appeared during this decade, there was still optimism about the fishery's future. This confidence was reflected in a cultural revival that began during this period in Newfoundland and Labrador.

1970



6.105 *House of Hate* by Percy Janes

- Percy Janes' novel *House of Hate* is released by Toronto publishers McClelland and Stewart. The book is praised for its gritty, realistic portrayal of a dysfunctional Corner Brook family.
- The MV *Christmas Seal*, a floating tuberculosis clinic that operated in hundreds of remote communities along Newfoundland's coast since 1947, completes its last trip.

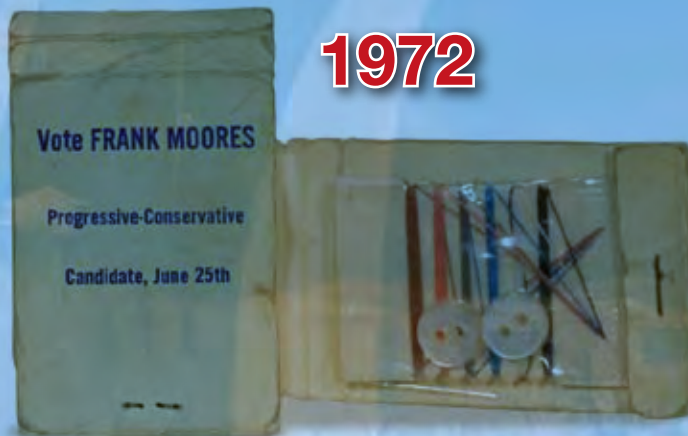


1971

6.106 Burgeo Strike

The strike centred on the plant owner's opposition to workers joining the NFFAWU (Newfoundland Fishermen Food and Allied Workers Union). The provincial government eventually settled the dispute by buying the plant. The outcome was seen as a victory for NFFAWU.

- A strike by fish plant workers in Burgeo is instrumental in the formation of the Fishermen Food and Allied Workers Union, the first province-wide labour union for workers in the fishery.
- A hard-fought provincial election pits Smallwood's Liberals against the Progressive Conservatives. The result is a near-tie: 21 Conservatives, 20 Liberals, and 1 independent (Burgess of the New Labrador Party). Smallwood refuses to resign as premier.
- The Liberal government establishes the Newfoundland Human Rights Commission, with Gertrude Keough as its first commissioner.



1972

6.107 Frank Moores campaign sewing kit

Small campaign items such as badges, fans, and even sewing kits were quite common during this period.

- After the Supreme Court confirms a Conservative victory in St. Barbe District, Smallwood resigns as premier on Jan. 18, 1972 and the Progressive Conservatives under Frank Moores form the new government. Moores wins a general election held on March 24, 1972, defeating a Liberal Party led by Edward Roberts. The Conservatives remain in power for the next 17 years.
- The Mummers' Troupe is founded by Chris Brookes and Lynn Lunde, and becomes one of the most active theatre companies in Newfoundland over the next 10 years. Their plays often deal with politically and socially controversial topics.
- The Newfoundland and Labrador Craft Development Association (later to become the Craft Council of Newfoundland and Labrador) is formed to support and promote a high standard of excellence in craft production.
- Don Wright, Heidi Oberheide, and Frank Lapointe establish St. Michael's Printshop on the southern shore of the Avalon Peninsula to provide fine art printmaking facilities to provincial and visiting artists.
- Cassie Brown's non-fiction book *Death on the Ice* is released, telling the story of the 1914 sealing disaster in which 78 men died at the ice.
- The Newfoundland Status of Women Council is formed.
- Several Aboriginal groups unite to form the Native Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, later known as the Federation of Newfoundland Indians (FNI).

6.108 Cod on a Stick

This theatrical show took a comedic look at stereotypes of Newfoundlanders.

- The show *Cod on a Stick* premieres in Toronto, the first performance by the satirical Newfoundland comedy troupe CODCO.
- An oil refinery at Come By Chance begins production, but is unprofitable from the start.
- Construction of a linerboard mill at Stephenville is completed. The project, begun by the Smallwood government, was intended to boost the Stephenville economy, which had been struggling since the closure of the U.S. military base in 1966.
- After a lifetime of playing at weddings, dances and other community events, French-speaking fiddler Émile Benoit gains province-wide attention at age 60 after he places second in a violin contest in Stephenville.
- Newfoundland visual artist Christopher Pratt is named an Officer of the Order of Canada.
- The Labrador Inuit Association is formed.
- Women are eligible for jury duty for the first time.



1973



1974

6.109 Souvenir hard hat from opening of Churchill Falls Hydroelectric project

- The hydroelectric project at Churchill Falls is completed.
- Dorothy Wyatt is the first woman to become mayor of St. John's.

1975



6.110 Smallwood Liberal Reform Badge

The Liberal Reform Party eventually rejoined the Liberal Party.

- Former Premier Joseph Smallwood attempts a political comeback by forming the Liberal Reform Party. However, Frank Moores and the Conservatives win a second term in the general election. Smallwood's Liberal Reform Party elects four members, including Smallwood, who retires from politics soon afterwards.
- Hazel McIsaac is the first woman elected to the Newfoundland House of Assembly since Confederation.
- Teenage fiddler Kelly Russell begins playing with, and learning from, Rufus Guinchard and other traditional musicians.
- NIFCO, the Newfoundland Independent Filmmakers' Co-operative, is formed.
- The Western Regional College of Memorial University, later named Grenfell College, opens at Corner Brook.

1977



6.112 Commemorative Canada Games Coin

The Canada Summer Games left infrastructure behind that is still used.

- Canada declares a 200-mile offshore Exclusive Economic Zone. This initiative contributes to optimism about the future of Newfoundland's fisheries.
- Newfoundland's first McDonald's restaurant opens in St. John's.
- The Avalon Mall in St. John's undergoes a major expansion. First opened in 1967, the Avalon Mall is the largest shopping centre in the province.
- The Innu Nation files its first land claim with the federal government, concerning land in central Labrador. The federal government decides there is not enough evidence supporting the claim, but gives the Innu Nation money to conduct further research.
- The Labrador Inuit Association files a land claim with provincial and federal governments for land on coastal Labrador, which after 2002 becomes known as Nunatsiavut.
- Seal hunt protests reach a peak as French actress Brigitte Bardot joins protesters at the ice, stirring up anti-sealing sentiment. The Newfoundland government responds by launching a campaign defending the hunt.
- The Canada Summer Games are held in St. John's.

1976



6.111 Figgy Duff

The group disbanded shortly after the death of founder Noel Dinn in 1993.

- Noel Dinn forms the band Figgy Duff. They travel across Newfoundland, learning traditional songs, which they bring to new audiences.
- The Come By Chance oil refinery becomes bankrupt and is closed for the next decade.
- The Stephenville linerboard mill, plagued by cost over-runs and timber shortages, closes.
- Greenpeace joins the International Fund for Animal Welfare in protesting the seal hunt off the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. Protesters claim the hunt is inhumane and non-sustainable.

1978



6.113 L'Anse aux Meadows

The only verified Norse site in North America outside of Greenland

- The medieval Norse site at L'Anse aux Meadows is declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site.
- The Rising Tide Theatre Company is formed. One of the province's longest-running theatre companies, Rising Tide continues performing into the 2000s. It is best known for its *Revue*.

1979



6.114 Newhook Badge

Hazel R. Newhook was twice elected as MHA for Gander – first in 1979 and again in 1982. Prior to her election (and Lynn Verge's, also in 1979) only two women had been elected Members of the House of Assembly: Lady Helena Squires in 1930 and Hazel A. McIsaac in 1975.

- Hazel Newhook and Lynn Verge become the first women appointed to the provincial cabinet.
- Brian Peckford replaces Frank Moores as premier and wins a general election on June 18.
- The first major oil discovery (Hibernia) off Newfoundland and Labrador is made.
- The Stephenville Theatre Festival begins.
- Kelly Russell founds Pigeon Inlet Productions, an independent record label dedicated to promoting and preserving traditional Newfoundland music.
- The Association for New Canadians is founded in St. John's, offering programs and services for the growing immigrant community.
- The Canadian Forces air base at Goose Bay becomes a site for NATO low-level flight training.

A GLIMPSE INTO THE CULTURAL RENEWAL OF THE 1970s

Starting in the 1970s, Newfoundlanders and Labradorians experienced a renewed interest in our traditional culture. Musicians travelled around the province learning traditional songs from older performers, and writers, actors, artists, and filmmakers used their skills to capture aspects of traditional culture that might otherwise have been forgotten or lost. Likewise, the Folklore Department at Memorial University of Newfoundland, which was founded in 1968, began collecting and recording some of the sociofacts and mentifacts unique to Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. Here's what some of the individuals involved in this cultural renewal had to say about this important mission:

"The people of Newfoundland have been settled in a comparatively isolated area for a long period of time and have developed a unique cultural response to their environment ... We have in this province one of the last areas in the English-speaking world where customs and practices survived long after they died out elsewhere. The folklorist can still learn from people who observed these customs, how they were performed and what they meant."

– Herbert Halpert, folklorist and founder of the Department of Folklore at Memorial University of Newfoundland

"I've always been driven by a love of Newfoundland and Labrador, capturing the stories of this place where struggles have been great and challenges many."

– Donna Butt, one of the founders of Rising Tide Theatre



6.115 Newfoundlanders and Labradorians have shared their artistic talents well beyond this province. Here, Kelly Russell performs with Figgy Duff in Montréal in 1977.

The 1980s

Newfoundland's cultural revival and renewed sense of pride continued into the 1980s under the Progressive Conservative government of Brian Peckford. It was also a time when major strides were made in promoting the rights of women and Aboriginal peoples. While the fishing industry was troubled by the closure of fish plants and the reorganization of the major fishing companies, hopes for the future began to turn to the offshore oil industry. Although deeply saddened by the

province's first great offshore tragedy – the sinking of the Ocean Ranger in 1982 – there was optimism as the government's struggle for greater ownership of this industry resulted in the 1985 **Atlantic Accord**. However, other new business ventures failed to stimulate the economy. The most famous example of this was the ill-fated greenhouse project that contributed to widespread political unpopularity for the Peckford Conservative government at the end of the decade.

1980

6.116 The Union Jack is Replaced

The new Newfoundland flag is raised for the first time in simultaneous ceremonies around the province on June 24, 1980.

- Newfoundland adopts a new provincial flag, designed by artist Christopher Pratt, to replace the Union Jack.
- The Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council is formed. Its role is to provide funding for visual, literary, and performing arts, as well as folk arts and crafts.
- The play *West Moon*, by Newfoundland poet and playwright Al Pittman, is performed for the first time on Halloween night in St. John's. In the play, the dead in a Newfoundland graveyard come alive to tell the story of an abandoned rural community.
- Terry Fox begins his cross-country "Marathon of Hope" in St. John's, making it as far as Thunder Bay, Ontario before recurring cancer forced him to quit his run.
- The Matrimonial Property Act gives divorced women the right to receive a share of property assets acquired by themselves and their former husbands during the marriage.
- The Conne River Band Council files a land claim on behalf of 1400 Mi'kmaq for land in southern and central Newfoundland. The federal government later rejects the claim, though it gives the Mi'kmaq funding for further research.



1981



6.117 *Living in a Fog*, the Wonderful Grand Band's first album, was released in 1981.

Shown are the front cover and a picture of the band from the back cover.

- The Wonderful Grand Band, a music and comedy group featuring Ron Hynes, Sandy Morris, and others, release their popular album *Living in a Fog*. The group, with the addition of CODCO comedians Tommy Sexton and Greg Malone, are already local stars due to their half-hour TV show, which runs from 1980-1983.
- Though groundfish landings are still increasing, fish processing companies are forced to close many plants due to weak markets and debt.



1982

6.118 Article on the Ocean Ranger tragedy, *The Evening Telegram*, Feb. 15, 1982

This tragedy occurred 315 kilometres (196 miles) east of St. John's.

- The oil rig Ocean Ranger sinks, causing the death of all 84 people on board – the first loss of life in the new offshore oil industry.
- Premier Brian Peckford and the Progressive Conservatives win a second election.
- *The Dictionary of Newfoundland English* is published.



Damsi Chandrasekara

1983

- *Pigeon Inlet*, a locally produced TV series based on Ted Russell's short stories about life in outport Newfoundland, airs on CBC.
- The federal government intervenes in the fishing industry, reorganizing the offshore fishing companies into two large companies – one known as Fisheries Products International, based in Newfoundland and owned by the federal and provincial governments, and a privately owned one in Nova Scotia.
- Margaret Cameron becomes the first woman in Newfoundland and Labrador to be appointed a Supreme Court justice.
- Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales, attract huge crowds on an official visit to the province.

6.119 *Pigeon Inlet* publicity photo, c. 1983

Pigeon Inlet was a popular Newfoundland television program in the 1980s.



1984

- Pope John Paul II visits Newfoundland as part of a tour of Canada. This is the first papal visit to the province.
- The Supreme Court of Canada rules that the federal government, not Newfoundland, has jurisdiction over offshore mineral resources.
- David Blackwood: Prints 1962-1984 tours public galleries in Canada, the United States, and Europe.
- The Mi'kmaq of Conne River are recognized as status Indians by the federal government.

6.120 Medallion commemorating the visit of Pope John Paul II to Newfoundland and Labrador.

On behalf of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, the Royal Canadian Mint created a special medallion for each location visited by the Pope.



1985



6.121 Labrador Metis Nation logo.

- The Labrador Metis Association is formed, later changing its name to the Labrador Metis Nation. In 2010, the Labrador Metis Nation changes its name once more, becoming "Nunatukavut" to reflect its members' Inuit heritage. Nunatukavut means "our ancient land."
- Premier Brian Peckford returns to power, but his Progressive Conservatives lose eight seats in the House of Assembly.
- The governments of Newfoundland and Canada sign the first Atlantic Accord, an agreement on sharing revenues from, and management of, offshore mineral resources. Pat Carney, Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, states that one of the

fundamental principles of the Accord is that "the principal beneficiary of these resources should be Newfoundland and Labrador because that is in the national interest."

- The copper and zinc mines at Buchans close.
- The Rising Tide Theatre troupe performs its first annual *Revue* program.
- An Arrow Airlines plane crashes at Gander, killing 248 American servicemen and crew members.

6.122 Tamils found off the coast of Newfoundland, from *The Evening Telegram*, Aug. 12, 1986.

All Tamil refugees were brought to central Canada and eventually attained citizenship.

- 150 Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka are found in two overcrowded lifeboats in the waters of St. Mary's Bay and are rescued by local fishermen.
- Ethel Cochrane becomes the first female senator from Newfoundland.
- *The Adventure of Faustus Bidgood*, the first feature-length film produced in Newfoundland, is released. The film took 10 years to complete.
- Provincial civil servants working in transportation, public works, and general service sectors go on strike.

1986



6.123 Development begins on Sprung Greenhouse, Newfoundland Hydroponics—popularly known as "Sprung"—received significant financial support from the provincial government, which thought it would help diversify the local economy. From *The Evening Telegram*, June 26, 1987

- The provincial government enters a joint venture project to develop a hydroponic greenhouse to grow cucumbers – better known as the Sprung Greenhouse Project – in Mount Pearl.
- The Come By Chance oil refinery re-opens.
- *CODCO*, a half-hour sketch comedy featuring Mary Walsh, Tommy Sexton, Greg Malone, Cathy Jones, and Andy Jones, debuts on national CBC television, beginning a four-year run.
- Gros Morne National Park is declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site.
- The Mi'kmaw community at Conne River is recognized as an official reserve, the Samiajij Miawpukek Indian Reserve.
- Fishery Products International is privatized.

1987





1988

6.124 An Innu demonstration at the Canadian Forces Base in Goose Bay

- Labrador Innu invaded the Goose Bay air base to protest low-level flying, which they claim harms animal populations and threatens Innu hunting culture.
- The Newfoundland Railway closes after over 100 years of service. (Construction of the railway began in 1881 and was completed across the island in 1897-98.) Although passenger service ended in 1969, freight trains continued to run until June 1988.
- Negotiations begin over the Labrador Inuit Association's claim for 116 000 square kilometres (44 787 square miles) of land and sea in northern Labrador.

6.125 A change in leadership

1989 sees three premiers hold office in a three-month period.

- The Sprung Greenhouse Project is abandoned as provincial government losses in the venture are well over \$20 million. The project is widely criticized and contributes to the decline in Premier Peckford's popularity.
- Premier Brian Peckford resigns from politics. He is replaced as leader by Tom Rideout, who is premier for one month before being defeated by Liberal Clyde Wells in a general election.
- Visual artist Rae Perlin receives a Life Achievement Award at the annual arts awards of the Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council for her prolific drawings and paintings.



1989

A GLIMPSE INTO THE JOURNEY FOR ABORIGINAL SELF-DETERMINATION IN THE '80s



6.126 Mi'kmaw Chief Misel Joe, leader of the Miawpukek First Nation (Conne River)

Many of the efforts begun in the 1960s and 1970s by Aboriginal groups to move toward self-determination were beginning to achieve results by the 1980s. This decade saw the Mi'kmaq Conne River Band begin their legal battle for a land claim and be recognized as status Indians by the federal government. In 1987, The Mi'kmaw community at Conne River was recognized as an official reserve. The '80s also witnessed the establishment of the Labrador Metis Association (later the Labrador Metis Nation and today known as Nunatukavut). Labrador Innu gained worldwide attention for their efforts to fight low-level flying over their traditional grounds and negotiations began over the Labrador Inuit Association's claim for land and sea in northern Labrador. Here's what some of the individuals involved in this movement for self-determination had to say:

"[Self-government] means that we can put together a traditional form of our own laws, looking at our own judicial systems of how it used to work in the past and how we can mold those two together, the new and the old, and make them work for us ..."

— Chief Misel Joe, leader of the Miawpukek First Nation (Conne River)

"When I went in there, the airport runway, it was just women first. So I put my tent outside ... Now I'm thinking that's my own ... This belongs to Innu land, and I wasn't scared ... just before six o'clock, the military police, RCMP, came and then he took me in jail ... (I thought) I'm going to speak because I am not doing something bad. I'm doing this to help my people, to help the children, to protect the land, to protect the animals."

—Elizabeth Penashue, Innu Elder speaking on her involvement with the protests in the '80s against low-level flying over Innu traditional lands

The 1990s

The early 1990s saw what may have been the greatest change ever to Newfoundland and Labrador's economy – the closure of the cod fishery. Although cod stocks had been declining for many years, few were prepared for this major industry to be shut down altogether. With thousands of people thrown out of work, many Newfoundlanders and Labradorians had to adjust

to a different way of life. Rural communities were hit the hardest as many of their residents left to find work elsewhere in the province or left Newfoundland and Labrador altogether. As the fishery continued to decline, the future promise of offshore oil with the development of the Hibernia and Terra Nova oil fields gained new importance.



6.127 Article from *The Evening Telegram*, June 23, 1990

- The Government of Newfoundland votes to rescind approval for the federal government's Meech Lake Accord, which it had approved in 1988. The new premier, Clyde Wells, draws national attention for his opposition to the Accord.
- The Independent Review of the State of the Northern Cod Stock, chaired by Dr. Leslie Harris, releases its report. The report concludes that the cod stock is in crisis.
- The Government of Canada, the Government of Newfoundland, and four oil companies sign an agreement to develop the Hibernia oil field.
- The Naskapi Montagnais Innu Association, representing the Innu of Labrador, changes its name to the Innu Nation. With Daniel Ashini as its chief negotiator, this group files a new land claim with the federal government.
- Mount Cashel Orphanage in St. John's closes, after allegations of sexual abuse against children by priests and Christian Brothers. A commission of inquiry set up to deal with the issue finds that the Roman Catholic Church failed to provide adequate leadership in dealing with the charges of abuse.

1991

6.128 Bust of Joseph Smallwood. Sculpted by Hans Melis, the bust was officially unveiled in the Confederation Building on July 1, 1987.

- Former Premier Joseph Smallwood dies at age 90.
- The Labrador Metis Association files a claim with the federal government for land in central and southeastern Labrador.



Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells opposed the Meech Lake Accord on the grounds that, by giving Québec special powers, it went against the constitutional equality of the provinces. Events in the Newfoundland and Manitoba legislatures spelled the death of the Accord. A revised plan also failed in a national plebiscite in 1992.

1992

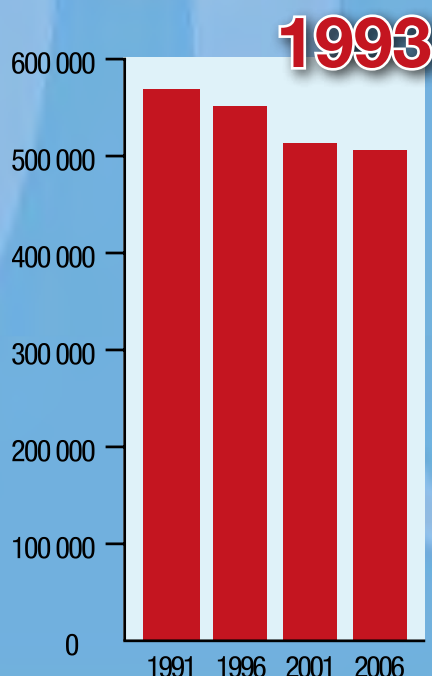


6.129 A cod in a coffin

A piece of folk art made in response to the cod moratorium, by Daniel J. Murphy of Dunville, c. 1993

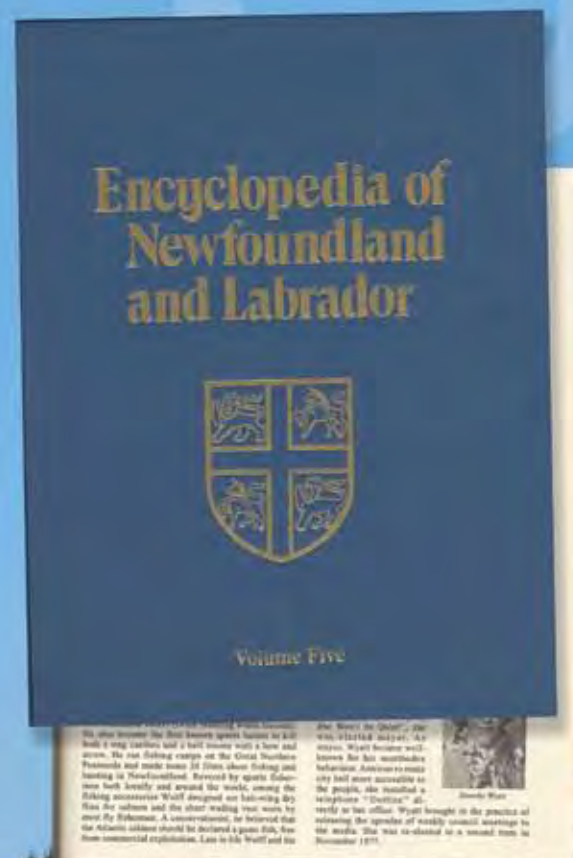
- The federal government announces a moratorium on the northern cod stocks. Initially, the moratorium is supposed to last for two years, although the closure continues indefinitely. The government also announces a compensation package for fishers and plant workers left without work.
- The federal government's new plan for constitutional change, the Charlottetown Accord, wins the support of the Wells government and of a majority of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, but is defeated in a national referendum.
- A Royal Commission on Education recommends that Newfoundland's system of denominational schools should be dismantled.
- Bernice Morgan's first novel, *Random Passage*, is published. It tells the story of early settlement in a Bonavista Bay outpost.
- The feature film *Secret Nation* is released. The movie suggests there may have been a conspiracy to rig the results of the 1949 referendum.

6.130 Newfoundland and Labrador population, 1991-2006



- For the first time, the population of Newfoundland declines from the previous year. This trend continues steadily for the next 15 years, mainly due to people leaving the province after the collapse of the cod fishery.
- The Liberal government led by Clyde Wells wins a second term in office.
- The Rising Tide theatre troupe begins a summer festival at Trinity, which becomes an annual event.
- The band Great Big Sea performs its first official gig and releases a self-titled album. Their blend of traditional folk sounds with a lively rock style makes them an instant hit locally.
- *This Hour Has 22 Minutes*, a satirical comedy based on a newscast, begins airing on national CBC television. It features Newfoundland and Labrador comedians Mary Walsh, Cathy Jones, Greg Thomey, and Rick Mercer.

6.131 Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador covers all aspects of the province's history and culture in five volumes, which were completed between 1981 and 1994.



1994

- The fifth and final volume of the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, a project originally conceived by former premier Joseph Smallwood, is published.
- The government attempts to privatize Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro, but public opposition forces it to abandon the plan.
- The federal government puts a stop to the recreational food fishery, which had allowed limited amounts of cod fishing after the closure of the commercial fishery.
- The American naval base at Argentia, which began operation in 1941 during the Second World War, closes.
- The American department store giant Walmart comes to Canada, acquiring the 122 Woolco stores across Canada. Woolco stores in Newfoundland become Walmarts.
- VANL (Visual Artists Newfoundland and Labrador) is formed to represent the concerns of visual artists.
- Mushuau Innu (from Davis Inlet) force RCMP and a judge out of the community, claiming they want control of their own destiny and they find sentences too harsh. The RCMP closes its detachment, but promises police services from a community to the south whenever the residents of Davis Inlet request it. Chief Katie Rich and another woman from the community, Nympha Byrne, are jailed for their part in the incident.



1995



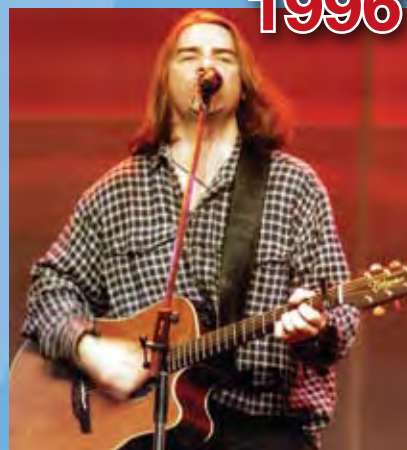
- Two Newfoundland prospectors, Albert Chislett and Chris Verbiski, discover deposits of nickel at Voisey's Bay, Labrador.
- Lynn Verge becomes leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, making her the first woman to lead a political party in Newfoundland.
- Petro-Canada announces plans to develop the Terra Nova oil field, the second largest on the Grand Banks.
- Despite the closure of the cod fishery, the value of the fishery as a whole increases (although still employing fewer people than previously) because of a growing shellfish industry.
- The federal government acknowledges that Aboriginal groups have an inherent right to self-government.

6.132 Prospectors Albert Chislett and Chris Verbiski at an exploratory drilling site in the early days of their Voisey's Bay explorations

In 2003, Inco released mining figures indicating that Voisey's Bay is the sixth largest nickel magmatic sulphide deposit in the world and also contains copper and cobalt.

6.133 Alan Doyle singing at the 1996 East Coast Music Awards

- Clyde Wells resigns as premier. He is replaced by Brian Tobin, a federal cabinet minister. The Liberals win a strong majority in the February general election.
- INCO (International Nickel Company) acquires ownership of the Voisey's Bay development.
- The Hibernia platform is towed to its permanent site on the Grand Banks.
- Great Big Sea wins "Entertainer of the Year" at the East Coast Music Awards, an honour they continue to win every year until 2001.
- The Innu Nation signs a Framework Agreement with the federal government regarding their land claim.



1996

1997



6.134 Hibernia's first oil

This oil, drawn on November 17, 1997, was the first from the Hibernia oil project. Then premier Brian Tobin noted that, "November 17, 1997 marked the birth of an industry in this province."

- The Hibernia oil field produces its first oil.
- The government holds a referendum on the controversial issue of denominational education: 73 per cent of voters vote to replace the denominational school system with a single government-run system of public schools.
- Cabot 500, a cultural event, focuses on the 500th anniversary of John Cabot's voyage to Newfoundland. The celebrations include a royal visit and the arrival of a replica of Cabot's ship *Matthew* at Bonavista.
- The Newfoundland T'Railway, a network of hiking and recreational trails built along the old rail beds, is established as a provincial park.
- Innu and Inuit protesters block construction of a road and airstrip designed to serve the proposed Voisey's Bay mining development. The Voisey's Bay Nickel Company suspends construction to enter negotiations with the Innu and Inuit.

6.135 Cover from Gerald Squires' 1998 exhibition

- The exhibit "Gerald Squires: Journey" at the Art Gallery of Newfoundland and Labrador highlights the 40-year career of visual artist Gerald Squires.
- The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador signs an agreement with the Government of Québec concerning the recall of Churchill Falls hydroelectric power for sale outside the province.
- Wayne Johnston's *The Colony of Unrequited Dreams*, a fictional account of the life of Joseph Smallwood, becomes the first Newfoundland novel to be shortlisted for the national Giller Prize.

1998

Gerald Squires Journey

selections from four decades' work





1999

6.136 From *The Evening Telegram*, Feb. 21, 1999

- Corner Brook, Deer Lake, Pasadena, and Stephenville jointly become the first communities in Newfoundland and Labrador to play host to the Canada Winter Games.
- The Liberal government of Premier Brian Tobin wins re-election.
- Newfoundland and Labrador celebrates its 50th anniversary as a province of Canada.

A GLIMPSE INTO THE EFFECTS OF THE COD MORATORIUM IN THE '90s



6.137 From *The Evening Telegram*, July 3, 1992

The closure of the Newfoundland cod fishery has sometimes been referred to as the largest layoff in Canadian history. About 30 000 fishers and plant workers – 12 per cent of the province's labour force – were put out of work by the closure of the fishery. To aid these former fishers and plant workers, the government created the Northern Cod Adjustment and Rehabilitation Program (NCARP) to provide income support to approximately 28 000 people for the two years following the moratorium.

In 1994, NCARP was replaced by The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS), when it became apparent that the two-year moratorium had turned into an indefinite closure of the fishery. The purpose of TAGS was to encourage fishers to leave the fishing industry and retrain for other jobs. However, these programs met with limited success. Not only was retraining and re-education difficult for many people who had spent their lives in the fishery, but those who completed the programs did not necessarily end up with jobs due to the province's high unemployment rate.

The following quotes are from interviews conducted with fishers in 1998, six years after the moratorium:

"I went to school, I took a couple of different courses since '92. I took a pre-sea deckhand course that was ... a six- or seven-month course. I thought I might get something out of that, but no. I have resumes in everywhere, all over the place, the Coast Guard, different shipping companies, tug boats, contractors, just can't get nothing to do, that's it."

"Everybody knew these TAGS weren't going to last forever, it just couldn't last, and the fish never come back. That's the bottom line. Now the fish never come back and they not going to be back for next year and the TAGS is gone."

"Well, someone said to me the other day (about this young fellow whose wife had a baby about a month ago) ... Edmond has got to go today, he is going to Toronto.' I said, 'That must be some hard for that man ... And this young fella ... said, 'It is hard for anyone to go away. Nobody really wants to go away.'"

Source: Wall, Marie. "The lived experience of fishers through the cod moratorium in Newfoundland." M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1999.



The 2000s

As a new millennium opened, Newfoundlanders and Labradorians were still struggling to come to terms with changes resulting from the closure of the cod fishery eight years earlier. Although the province's population continued to decline for most of the decade, especially in rural areas as people were forced to search for work elsewhere, this trend halted in 2009. Another positive

note near the end of the decade was Newfoundland and Labrador became a "have" province for the first time. This new prosperity came mostly from offshore oil revenue. As oil is a non-renewable resource, this raises the question of what we can do to diversify and strengthen our province's economy so we will prosper when this resource is gone.



2000

6.138 Article from *The Telegram*, Oct. 17, 2000

- Premier Brian Tobin resigns and returns to federal politics. He is replaced by interim leader Beaton Tulk, who serves as premier until the Liberal Party meets to choose a new leader in early 2001.
- The provincial government announces the construction of The Rooms in St. John's, a \$40 million complex that will house the provincial art gallery, archives, and museum.

2001

6.139 Premier Roger Grimes

- Roger Grimes is chosen as leader of the Liberal Party and becomes the province's new premier.
- The Labrador Inuit Association signs a land claims Agreement in Principle with the federal and provincial governments.
- The name of the province is officially changed from "Newfoundland" to "Newfoundland and Labrador."
- The 9/11 terrorist attacks on the United States impact Newfoundland and Labrador when dozens of planes, unable to continue on to America, are diverted to airports here. Thousands of stranded passengers arrive in Gander, St. John's, Stephenville, and Goose Bay, where they receive a warm welcome from local people and respond with gratitude.



2002

6.140 Actor Colm Meaney on the set of *Random Passage*

- The eight-hour miniseries *Random Passage* airs nationally on CBC television. Based on Bernice Morgan's novels, the miniseries is one of the largest dramatic productions in Canadian television up to its time.
- Newfoundland and Labrador wins an offshore boundary dispute with Nova Scotia. A maritime boundary is established to separate the offshore areas of the two provinces, leaving Newfoundland and Labrador with almost 70 per cent of the area that was in dispute.
- Inco signs an agreement with the province to develop the Voisey's Bay nickel mine.
- The Terra Nova oil field begins production.
- Because of inadequate housing and services, and numerous social problems, Innu of Davis Inlet are moved to the new community of Natuashish, built by the federal government. The new community was set apart as reserve land on Dec. 11, 2003.
- Residents of Great Harbour Deep agree to have the provincial government resettle them.

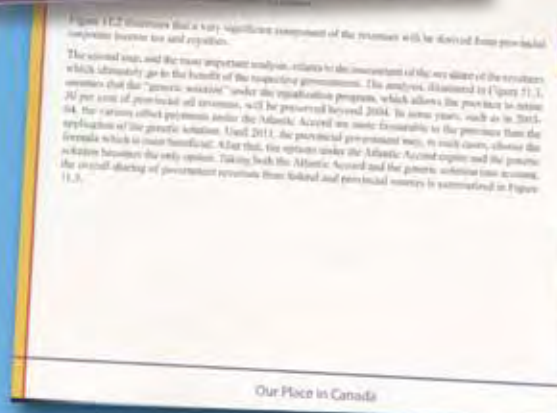


2003



6.141 Cover and inside page from the report of the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada

- A Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada releases its report.
- The Provincial Advisory Council on Foreign Overfishing recommends that the province push for Canadian custodial management of the nose and tail of the Grand Banks.
- Premier Grimes pushes the federal government for a joint management regime over the fisheries adjacent to Newfoundland and Labrador.
- The Progressive Conservative Party wins a majority in the general election. Danny Williams becomes the new premier of Newfoundland and Labrador.
- *Down to the Dirt* by Joel Thomas Hynes is published. Also later adapted as a stage play and movie, the novel earns wide acclaim for its gritty depiction of urban Newfoundland life.



2004

6.142 Corporal Jamie Murphy

- Corporal Jamie Murphy becomes the first person from Newfoundland and Labrador to be killed in the Canadian Forces mission in Afghanistan.
- During a dispute with Prime Minister Paul Martin over oil revenues, Premier Danny Williams orders Canadian flags removed from all public buildings.
- The provincial government launches a fiscal restraint program, following an independent review of the province's finances and debt situation. Public sector employees go on a month-long strike to protest a wage freeze; the dispute is settled by back-to-work legislation.
- The fast-growing offshore oil industry accounts for the construction of 119 new homes and \$370 million in retail sales, boosting the provincial economy.



2005



6.143 The Rooms

- The Rooms, housing the provincial art gallery, archives, and museum, opens in St. John's.
- The province signs the second Atlantic Accord with the federal government, which allows Newfoundland and Labrador to keep revenues from offshore oil and gas without reducing the province's equalization payments, until Newfoundland and Labrador achieves the status of a "have" province.
- The White Rose offshore oil field begins production.
- As a result of their land claim, the Inuit of Labrador become a self-governing people and form the Nunatsiavut Government, representing about 5000 Inuit. The agreement is signed in January and comes into effect in December. This is the first modern land claims agreement in Atlantic Canada. The Nunatsiavut Government has the power to establish its own justice system and pass its own laws regarding resource management, education, health, culture, and language.
- Premier Williams delivers a statement of apology to the Inuit of the former communities of Nutak and Hebron.

6.144 Brad Gushue

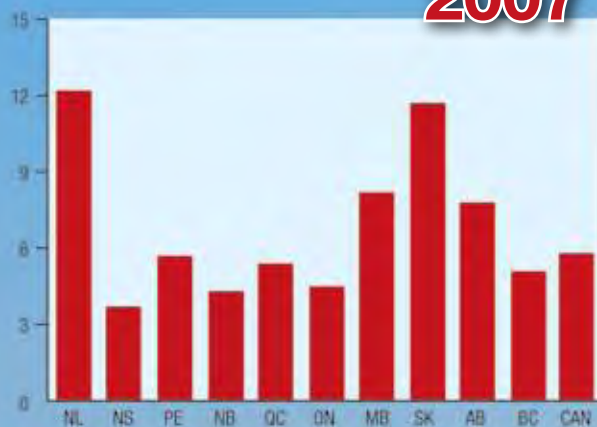
- The Canadian Men's Curling team wins an Olympic gold medal at the Winter Olympics in Turin, Italy. Skip Brad Gushue and team members Mark Nichols, Jamie Korab, and Michael Adam become the first Newfoundlanders ever to win an Olympic gold medal. (Russ Howard of New Brunswick is also a member of the team.)
- The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador announces that it will take the lead, through Newfoundland Hydro, to develop the proposed Lower Churchill hydroelectric power project.
- Premier Danny Williams apologizes for the head tax Newfoundland imposed on Chinese immigrants before it became part of Canada in 1949.
- Auditor General John Noseworthy releases the first of a series of reports revealing a spending scandal that eventually implicates four current or former Members of the House of Assembly.

2006



6.145 Provincial and National Gross Domestic Product – 2007 (Shown as per cent change from previous year)

2007



- Newfoundland and Labrador experiences greater economic growth in this year than any other Canadian province. This is largely due to growth in the offshore oil industry, which now accounts for 35 per cent of the province's Gross Domestic Product, and in the mining industry.
- Premier Danny Williams calls a general election in which his Progressive Conservatives are returned to power with a large majority government. The Opposition is made up of three Liberal MHAs and one New Democrat.
- The federal Conservative government of Prime Minister Stephen Harper changes the formula for equalization payments to provinces, which means a significant loss of revenue for Newfoundland and Labrador.
- Canada Post issues stamps honouring Newfoundland and Labrador artist Mary Pratt as part of its "Art in Canada" series.
- The Cameron Inquiry begins an investigation into the case of hundreds of breast cancer patients who were given inaccurate test results by Eastern Health.

2008

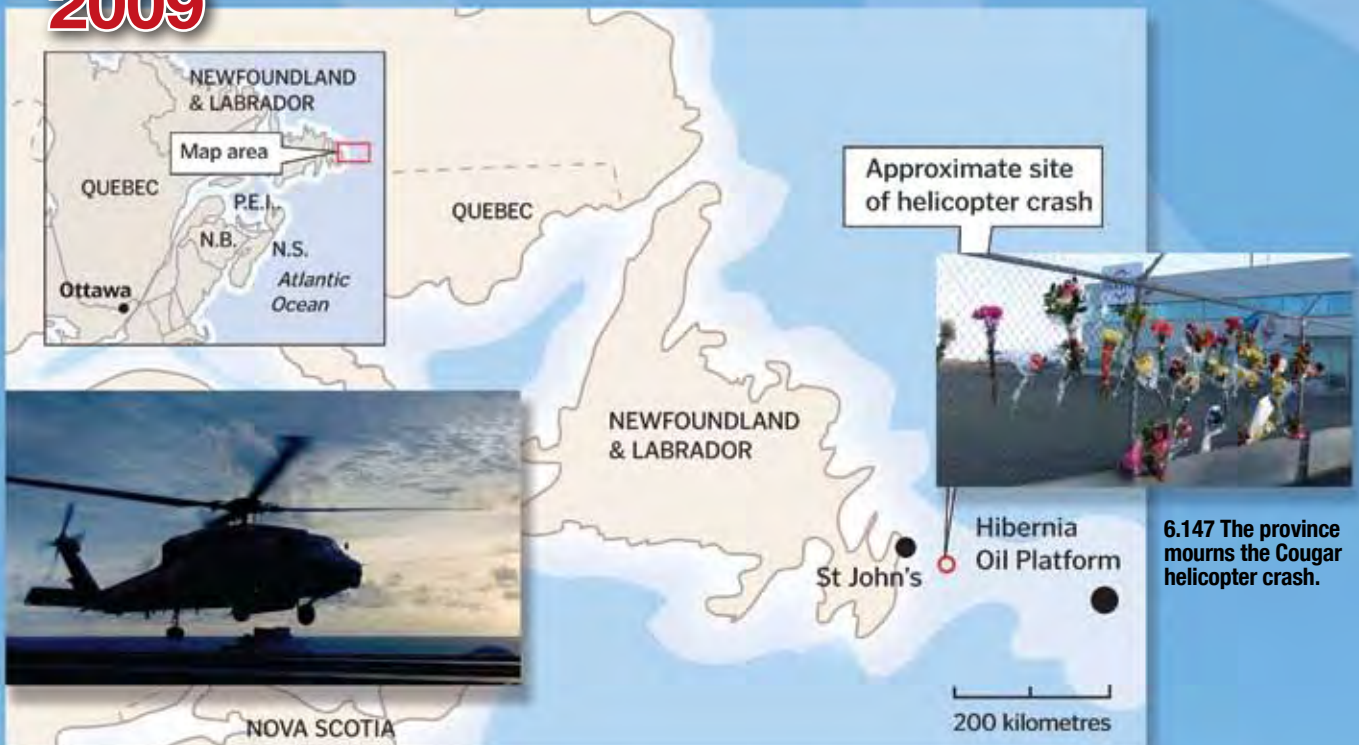


6.146 *Mishta-Shipua*, Angela Antle (Neon)

Artist Angela Antle's comment on our province's changing status.

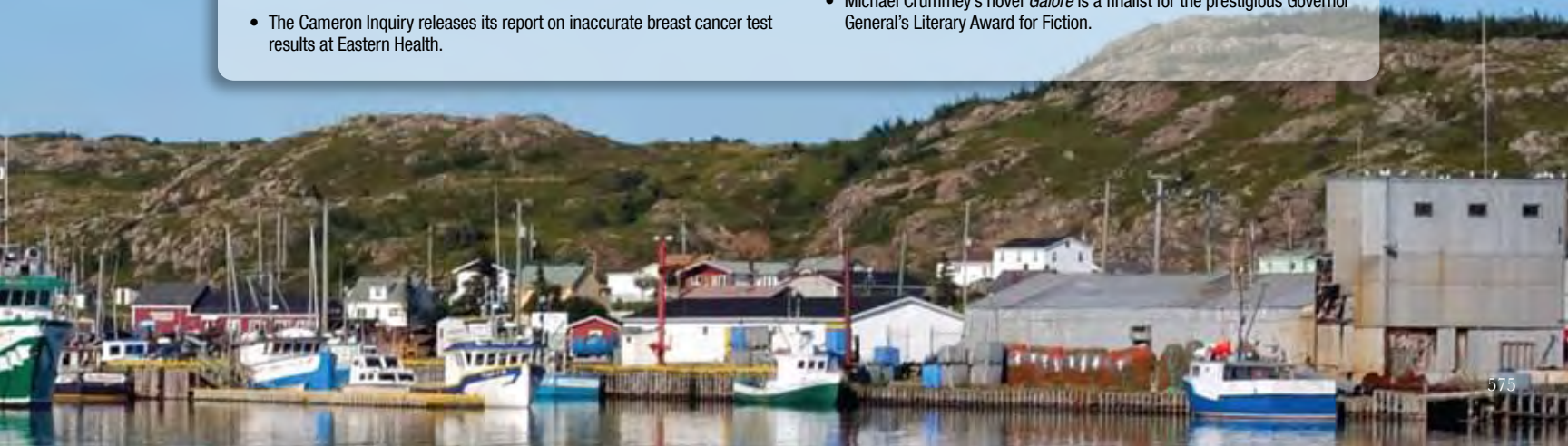
- For the first time since entering Confederation in 1949, Newfoundland and Labrador achieves the status of a "have" province.
- During the federal election, Premier Danny Williams actively campaigns against the federal Conservative party led by Stephen Harper. The federal Conservatives win a minority government, but no seats in Newfoundland and Labrador.
- World oil prices reach a record-setting \$147.27 a barrel in July, but tumble in the fall due to a recession in the United States. Falling oil prices cut into profits in the offshore oil industry.
- Thousands of Mi'kmaw members of the Federation of Newfoundland Indians living outside of the Conne River Reserve accept an Agreement in Principle with the federal government to form a landless band under the *Indian Act*. This establishes the Qalipu Band as the first landless band in Canada.

2009



6.147 The province mourns the Cougar helicopter crash.

- A Cougar helicopter travelling to offshore oil platforms crashes, killing 17 of the 18 people on board.
- A deal is announced for the construction of a commercial processing facility at Long Harbour to process nickel from the mine at Voisey's Bay.
- The pulp and paper mill at Grand Falls-Windsor closes.
- The Cameron Inquiry releases its report on inaccurate breast cancer test results at Eastern Health.
- The population of Newfoundland and Labrador, which has decreased by over 10 per cent since 1993, shows an increase for the first time in 15 years.
- A series of tourism and cultural events celebrates Newfoundland Captain Bob Bartlett's role in the first successful expedition to the North Pole, 100 years ago.
- Michael Crummey's novel *Galore* is a finalist for the prestigious Governor General's Literary Award for Fiction.



A GLIMPSE INTO WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS FOR THE OIL INDUSTRY IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

The story of oil in Newfoundland and Labrador actually goes back to 1812, when a man named Parsons skimmed oil from the surface of Parsons Pond in western Newfoundland to use as a treatment for rheumatism. A small oil refinery later operated there in the early 1900s. However, hopes for a major offshore oil industry here didn't begin until the 1950s when seismic studies suggested there were significant oil reserves offshore. Major oil discoveries continued throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. By 2009, the gross value of oil production was \$12.7 billion and the oil industry accounted for about 26 per cent of the province's Gross Domestic Product. However, in that same year, oil production was down at all three producing oil fields – a reminder that the oil reserves will not last forever. Ultimately, how will oil impact our province? Here are some comments:

“One area of concern is the co-existence of the oil and gas industry and the fishery, and their mutual dependence on the ocean ... Every precaution must be taken to ensure that these industries operate parallel to each other and that safety and preservation are paramount ... We cannot compromise one industry at the expense of another ... It is critical that we find the right balance between development and the environment.”

– Excerpt from *Developing a Provincial Energy Strategy For Newfoundland and Labrador* (2006) by the Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour (NLFL)

“We have a sustainable industry going forward for the next 30 years or so with what we have already found, but if we're going to grow this industry, we have to have new discoveries.”

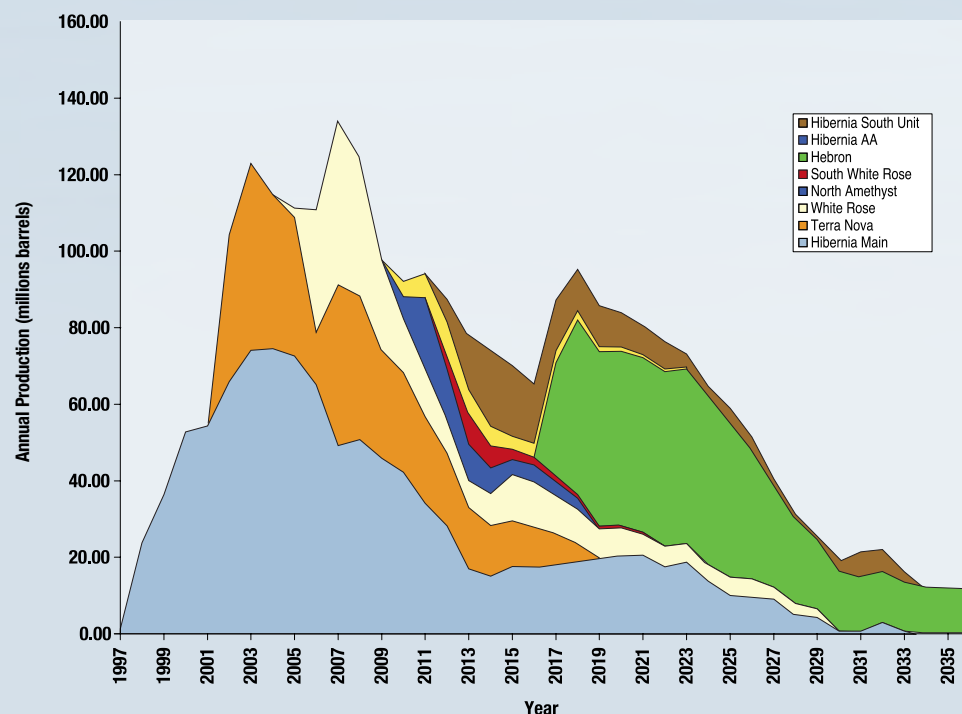
– Max Ruelokke, Chairman and CEO of the Canadian-Newfoundland and Labrador Offshore Petroleum Board

“The discovery of oil and gas resources off the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador several decades ago set our province on a whole new course. Our future changed in an instant, with the first discovery of black gold.”

– Danny Williams speaking to the Atlantic Canada Oil and Gas Summit, May 30, 2005

6.148 Offshore oil production forecast for Newfoundland and Labrador to 2035

Based on information from Canadian-Newfoundland and Labrador Offshore Petroleum Board





Exercise:

Create a timeline for the next five years identifying several main social, political, economic, and cultural

events for each of the five years.

Questions:

1. Select two events in this timeline that have affected you/your family. Explain why.
2. Select two events in this timeline that have affected your community/area. Explain why.
3. Given the data provided on oil production,
4. Based on present research and technology, how will the oil industry affect Newfoundland and Labrador's economy in the future?
5. Will the fishery become as significant in Newfoundland and Labrador's future as it was in its past?



AT ISSUE

Providing Government Services Today

6.149 Examples of services provided by government



We have seen in this chapter that access to government services can improve the standard of living for local residents. Consider, for example, how much more difficult life was for people in the 1920s and 1930s than it was in later decades, when the Commission and provincial governments made a wider range of social services available to the public. Health care improved and became more affordable. So did education.

After Confederation, people in this province became eligible for federal and provincial social assistance programs. These included family allowances, war veteran allowances, unemployment insurance, and old age pensions. By the end of the 1960s, paved roads were commonplace on the island and many homes had access to electricity, running water, and sewage systems.

Today, we continue to benefit from services and programs delivered by the federal, provincial, and

municipal governments. Governments provide citizens with clean running water, paved roads, public transit systems, ferry services, schools, textbooks*, pensions, employment insurance, hospitals, subsidized medical services, garbage collection, recycling programs, snow clearing, parklands, fire departments, museums, galleries, archives, and many other valuable resources.

Services such as these enrich our lives, but they are also very costly. Governments generally pay for them

**Including the textbook you are reading right now!*

6.150 Some of the services provided by each level of government

| MUNICIPAL | PROVINCIAL | FEDERAL |
|---|--|---|
| Garbage collection | Hospitals | Employment Insurance program |
| Snow clearing | Education | Canada Pension Plan program |
| Fire fighting | Policing (RNC) | Policing (RCMP) |
| Water purification | Ferry services | Justice |
| Road and sidewalk maintenance (including signs and traffic signals) | Provincial airstrips operation and maintenance | Airport control (airport authorities) |
| Recreation facilities operation and maintenance (eg, parks and playgrounds) | Provincial parks operation and maintenance | Ports control (port authorities) |
| | Highway construction | Food inspection |
| | | Public sites operation (eg, historic sites, national museums, national parks, national galleries) |

with the tax dollars they collect from local residents and businesses. However, the tremendous expense of maintaining multiple programs means that governments cannot afford to deliver an equal number of services to all communities. Often, cities and towns with the largest populations receive the most services because they have the largest tax bases.

In rural areas, people pay less property and other taxes than they do in urban areas. This means that municipal governments in small communities have relatively little

money to spend on new roads, bridges, electricity lines, and other public services. It is also less economical for the provincial and federal governments to maintain schools, health-care facilities, and other resources in places with small and scattered populations. Generally, the lower the population density, the higher the per capita cost of delivering public services. Retaining adequate numbers of teachers, doctors, nurses, and other professionals in remote settlements is another challenge.



Administering hundreds of sparsely populated settlements dispersed over a wide area has been a recurring problem for Newfoundland and Labrador governments. Different solutions have been tried over the decades with varying degrees of success. In 1935, for example, the Commission of Government created the Newfoundland Ranger Force to provide government services in isolated and northern areas.

After Confederation, the government sponsored resettlement programs to encourage rural residents to move to larger growth centres. By bringing the population together, government officials hoped to deliver better public services more affordably. However, many of the people who resettled were disappointed by their economic and social circumstances after

the move and struggled to adjust to life in their new communities. Others were angry that hundreds of settlements disappeared under the programs; they felt that resettlement was a betrayal of the culture and traditions that made Newfoundland and Labrador distinct.

Today, many rural communities are faced with the problem of maintaining tax bases that are large enough to afford necessary public services. Communities that are able to do so are referred to as economically sustainable. Often, small communities must decide to go without certain services so that they can afford other, more essential ones. Neighbouring municipalities may also decide to jointly pay for services they can then share – such as regional water systems or garbage

... they felt that resettlement was a betrayal of the culture and traditions that made Newfoundland and Labrador distinct.



collection. Cooperation between the various levels of government can also help communities remain economically sustainable. Cost-sharing with the provincial and federal governments, for example, makes it easier for some municipalities to afford a

wider range of programs and services, such as water treatment, solid waste management, road building, and public transit. Government officials may also introduce salary increases and other incentives to attract doctors, teachers, and other professionals to rural areas.

For Discussion:

1. People in Newfoundland and Labrador have access to a greater range of government services today than they did in the 1930s. Would this make it easier for local families to withstand another Great Depression? Explain your answer.
2. List some of the public services to which your community has access. Rank them by what you consider to be their order of importance. Discuss why you believe some services are more or less important than others.
3. Why do larger towns and cities often have a greater number of public services and programs than smaller communities? Do you believe this makes sense? Explain your answer.
4. Would you want to move to a larger centre where more government services and programs existed? Would you want to move to a smaller community where fewer services existed? Why or why not?
5. If you were a member of the provincial government, how would you try to give rural residents greater access to public services?

Questions:

1. Consider your daily routine (brushing your teeth, driving to school, etc.). How many of your activities are made easier by public services such as municipal water supplies and paved roads?
2. How would your life change if the government stopped providing public services?
3. How has greater access to public services made your life different from your parents' lives when they were your age? Your grandparents?
4. Why is it difficult for some rural communities to maintain tax bases that are large enough to pay for essential services?



Chapter Six Review

Summary

In this chapter we studied main events in Newfoundland and Labrador from 1948 to the present. We began by examining the referendums of 1948 and Confederation with Canada in 1949. We studied Smallwood's economic plan for the new province, and his social policies. We focused specifically on resettlement, and the issues associated with this policy. Changes in Aboriginal lifestyles during this time period were examined. The chapter concluded by presenting, in timeline format, some of the major social, political, economic, and cultural events in Newfoundland and Labrador from the 1970s to the 2000s.

Key Ideas

Specifically, we examined the following key ideas:

- In 1948 two referendums were held in Newfoundland to determine the future status of the colony.
- After a hard-fought campaign, Confederation with Canada won a narrow victory over responsible government.
- Smallwood's government worked to diversify the economy from 1949 to 1972 through the establishment of small-scale industries and the funding of mega-projects.
- Social policies were introduced to provide a better standard of living for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians.
- Providing essential services throughout the province was a challenge for Smallwood's government. This led to new policies such as resettlement of communities.
- Aboriginal groups in the province continued to experience changes in lifestyle after Confederation with Canada in 1949.
- Many social, political, economic, and cultural events impacted the province from the 1970s to the present.
- The Longshoremen's Protective Union and the Fishermen's Protective Union were two of the larger early unions in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Key Terms

Centralization Program
Confederate Association
Confederation
Federation of
Newfoundland Indians
Fisheries

Household Resettlement Program
Innu Nation
Labrador Metis Nation
Mega-project
Nunatsiavut
NunatuKavut

Resettlement
Responsible Government League
Social welfare programs
Status Indians
Terms of Union

Questions

1. What were the main reasons why Confederation with Canada won a victory over the responsible government option in the second 1948 referendum?
2. How successful were the Smallwood government's efforts to diversify the economy of Newfoundland and Labrador from 1949 to 1972? Support your answer with three examples or arguments.
3. Was the Smallwood government successful in significantly improving the standard of living for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians? Support your answer with three examples or arguments.
4. Use a graphic organizer to give the main arguments for and against resettlement of isolated communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. Using this information, should resettlement have become a government program?
5. How did Confederation with Canada make Aboriginal people vulnerable to outside forces over which they had no control? What was the most significant change for Aboriginal groups?
6. From the timeline, select an event from each of the following areas which has had the greatest impact on Newfoundland and Labrador. Explain your choices.
 - a. Political
 - b. Social
 - c. Economic
 - d. Cultural