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Feature Articles

Poetry Section

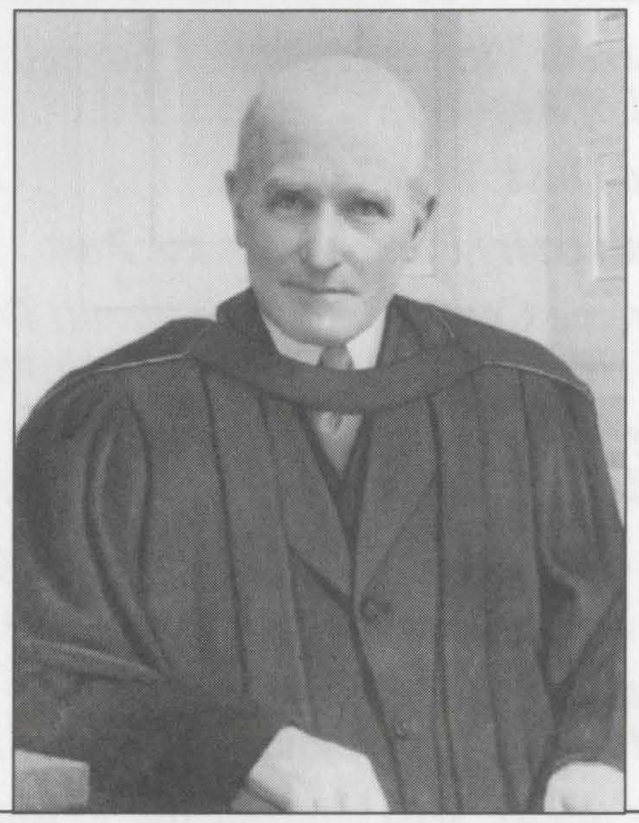
Aspects

Regular Features

Cover Pictures:
Front cover: Memorial University campus, *courtesy Memorial University*
Back Cover: Dr. Axel Meisen, photo by Chris Hammond, *Photo Services MUN*

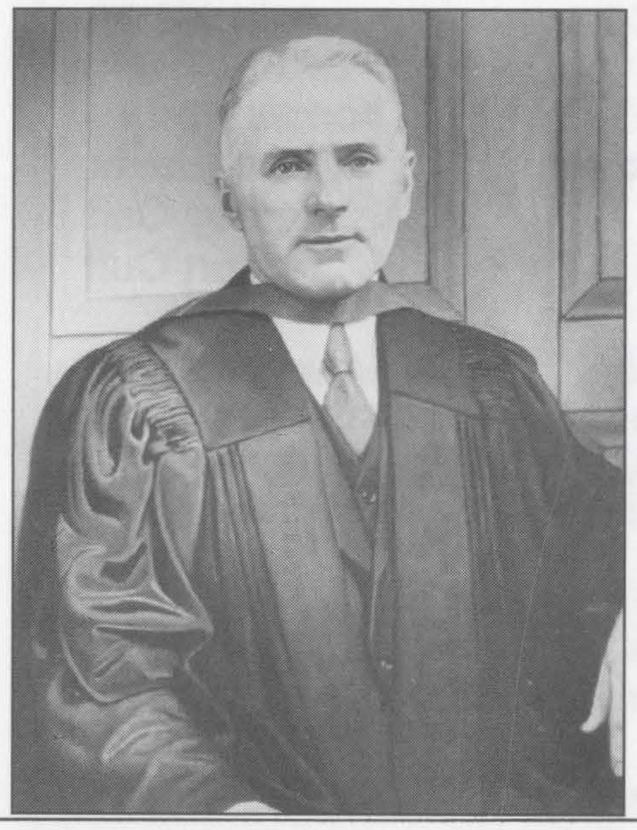
Presidents of Memorial University College and Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1925-1999

Melvin Baker



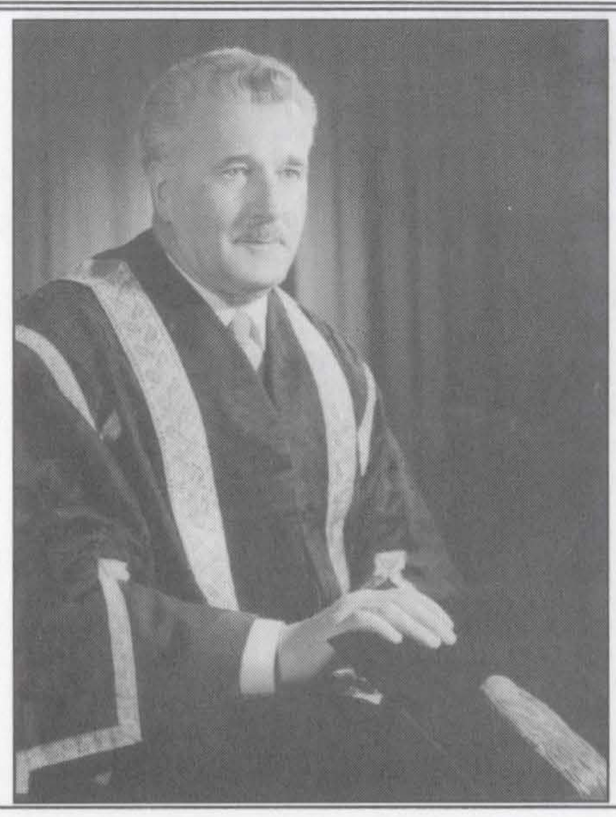
John Lewis Paton
1925-1933

Born on 13 August 1863 in Sheffield, England, Paton graduated in 1886 with a double first from Cambridge University. From 1888 to 1898 he was sixth form master at Rugby, headmaster at University College School from 1898 to 1902, and high master at Manchester Grammar School from 1902 to 1924. In 1925 he was appointed president of Memorial University College, retiring in 1933. Paton died at Beckenham, England, on 28 April 1946.



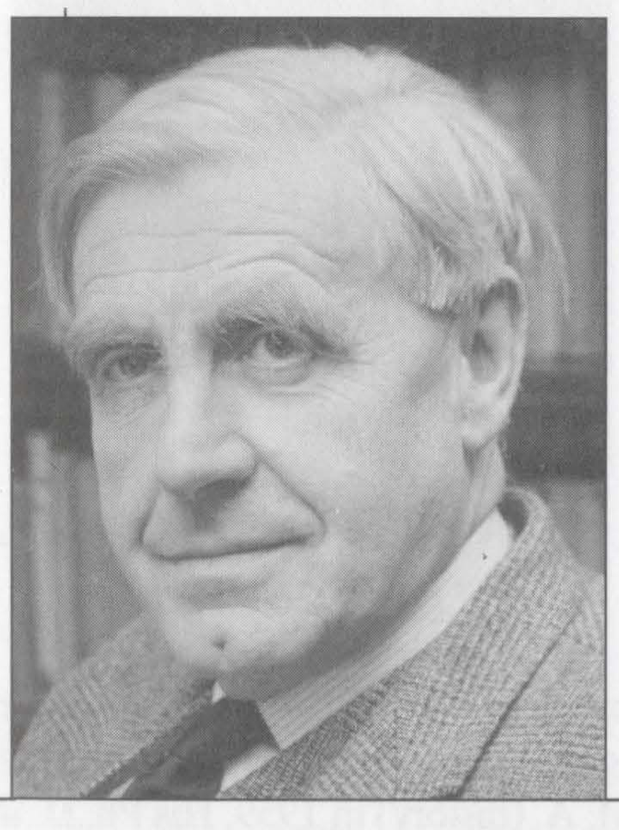
Albert George Hatcher
1933-1952

Albert Hatcher was born on 24 September 1886 in Moreton's Harbour and attended Methodist College, St. John's; McGill University, Montreal; University of Chicago; and Columbia University, New York. During the First World War, Hatcher served as a professor in the Royal Canadian Navy at Royal Roads in British Columbia and at the Naval College, Halifax. He was later a professor of natural science at Bishop's College, Lennoxville, and in 1925 he joined the staff of the newly created Memorial University College to teach mathematics. In 1933 he succeeded John Lewis Paton as president of the college, serving until 1949 when he assumed the presidency of Memorial University. He retired as president in 1952 for health reasons and died at St. John's on 30 October 1954.



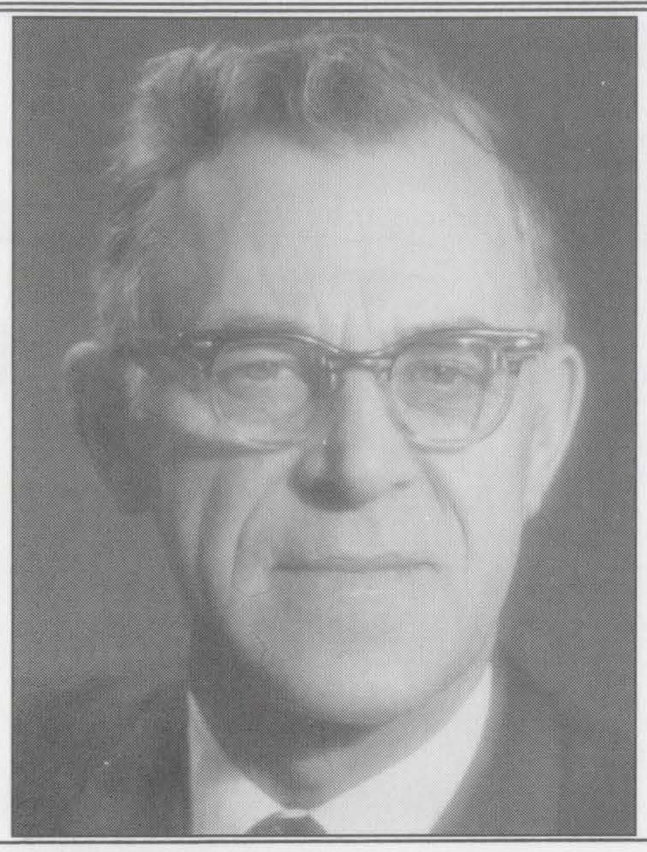
Raymond Gushue
1952-1966

Born in Whitbourne on 20 June 1900, Raymond Gushue earned a law degree from Dalhousie in 1925 and practiced law until his appointment as chairman of the Newfoundland Fisheries Board in 1936. From 1943 to 1945 he was a member of the Fisheries Branch of the Combined Food Board in Washington and of the International Emergency Food Council (Fisheries Branch) from 1945 to 1947. He was chairman of the Newfoundland Woods Labor Board (1947-58) and a member of the Royal Commission on Canada's Economic Prospects (1955-58). On 6 July 1967 he became the first Newfoundlander appointed to the Order of Canada as an officer of the Order. Gushue retired as president on 28 February 1966. He died 18 December 1980.



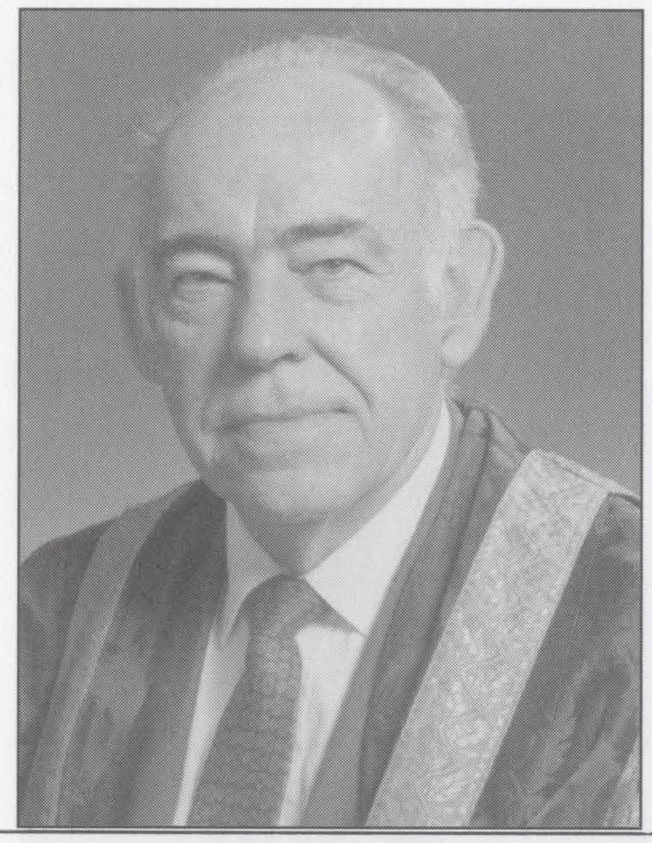
Lord Stephen Taylor of Harlow
1967-1973

Born at Marlow-on-Thames, England, on 30 December 1910, Stephen Taylor was a physician who also served as a Labor MP from 1945 to 1954. After 1954 he was appointed a member of the Harlow Development Corporation. In 1958 he was appointed to the House of Lords as Lord Taylor of Harlow. In 1966 Premier Joseph Smallwood chose him to be president of Memorial. Following his retirement in 1973, he was visiting professor of community medicine at Memorial, and in 1986 the university awarded him an honorary degree. He died in Wales on 1 February 1988.



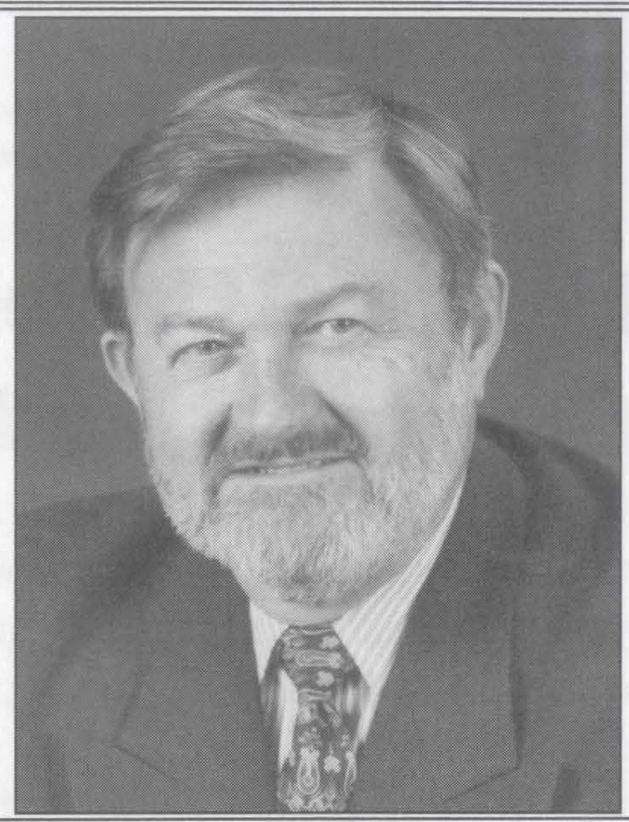
Moses Osbourne Morgan
1973-1981

Born in Blaketown, Trinity Bay, on 28 August 1917, Mose Morgan attended Memorial University College and then Dalhousie University, where he received a bachelor's degree. The Newfoundland Rhodes Scholar for 1938, he delayed graduate study at Oxford University until after the Second World War. From 1940 to 1942 he taught at King's College School in Windsor, Nova Scotia. In 1942 he enlisted in the Canadian Army and saw service in Europe as a platoon commander. After the war he completed a master's degree in classics at Dalhousie followed by further graduate studies at Oxford. He joined the faculty of Dalhousie in 1948 and came to Memorial in 1950 to teach political science. Morgan played a prominent role in the development of academic policy at Memorial, and from the late 1950s his influence as dean of arts and science was second only to that of President Gushue. He was president (*pro tem*) for 1966-67 and president 1973-1981. Morgan was appointed a Companion of the Order of Canada in 1973. He died in St. John's on 24 April 1995.



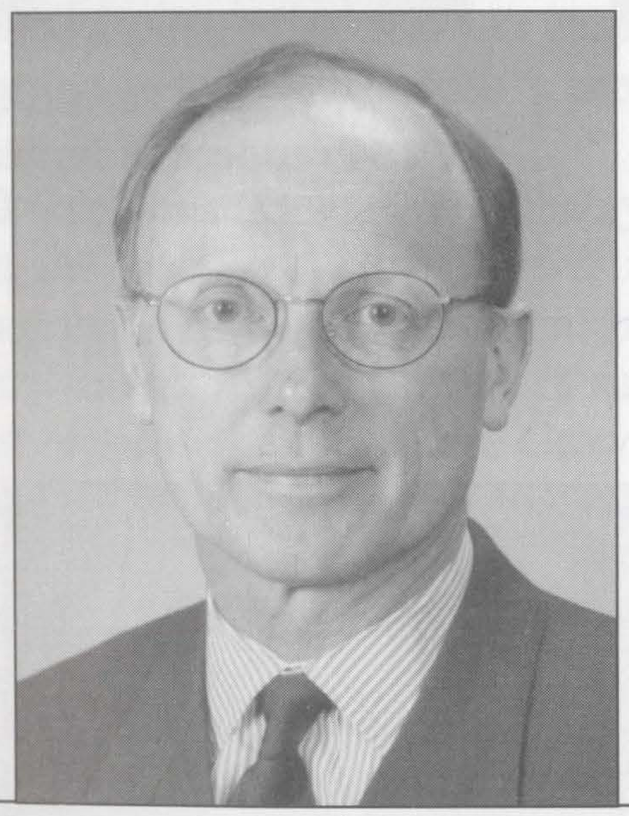
Leslie Harris
(1981-1990)

Born in St. Joseph's, Placentia Bay, on 24 October 1929, Leslie Harris is a graduate of Memorial, receiving his B. A. (Ed.) in 1956, and his M. A. (history) in 1959. His Ph. D. in Asian history was conferred by the University of London in 1960. From 1960 to 1962 he served as director of the Tri-College Co-operative Program (Asian Studies) at Sweet Briar, Lynchburg College and Randolph-Macon Women's College in Virginia. He also served as director of the Summer Institute (Asian Studies) at the University of Virginia in 1962.In 1963 Dr. Harris joined Memorial as an assistant professor of history. He later became department head, served as dean of arts and science and, in 1974, was named vice-president (academic). Appointed president in 1981, he retired on 31 August 1990. He received a honorary degree from Memorial in 1999. In 1987, he was named an Officer of the Order of Canada.



Arthur William May
1990-1999

Arthur May was born in St. John's on 29 June 1937. He was educated at Memorial University, where he received B. Sc.(Hons.) and M. Sc. degrees, and McGill University, where he received a Ph. D. in marine sciences. He has worked as a fisheries scientist, a fisheries manager and an international negotiator and has been the CEO of several public institutions. He was deputy minister of the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans from 1982 to 1985, president of the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada from 1986-1990, and president of Memorial University 1990-1999. Named Memorial's Alumnus of the Year in 1983, he received a honorary degree from Memorial in 1989. He was appointed an Officer of the Order of Canada in 1995. He retired as president on 31 August 1999.



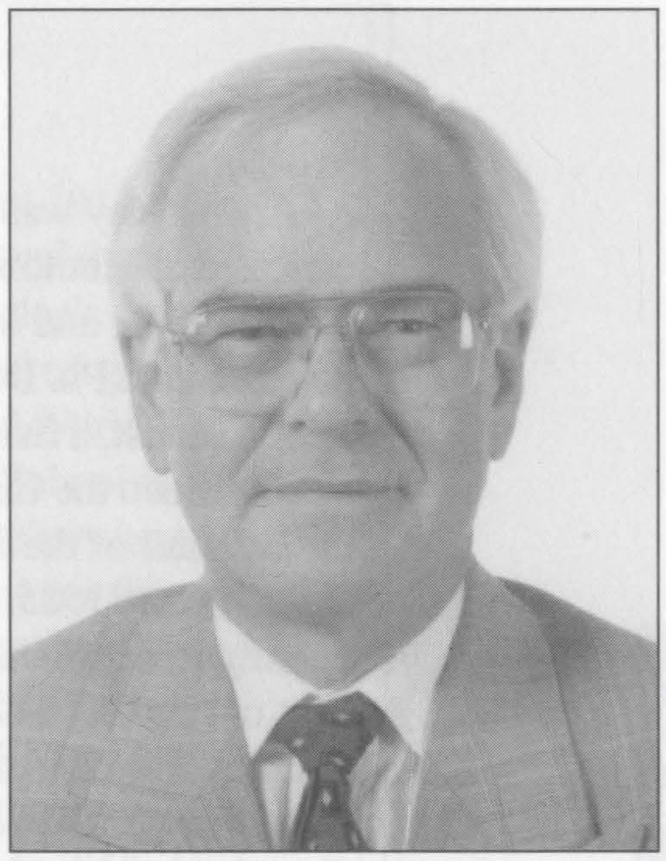
Axel Meisen
1999-

Born in Hamburg, Germany, on 17 October 1943, Axel Meisen received his B. Sc. degree at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, England in 1965, an M. Sc. degree from the California Institute of Technology in 1966, and a Ph. D. in chemical engineering from McGill University in Montreal in 1970. In 1969 he joined the University of British Columbia as an assistant professor of chemistry engineering; from 1977 to 1985 and from 1985 to 1997 he was associate dean and dean respectively of the Faculty of Applied Science at the University of British Columbia. He became president and Vice-Chancellor of Memorial on 1 September 1999.

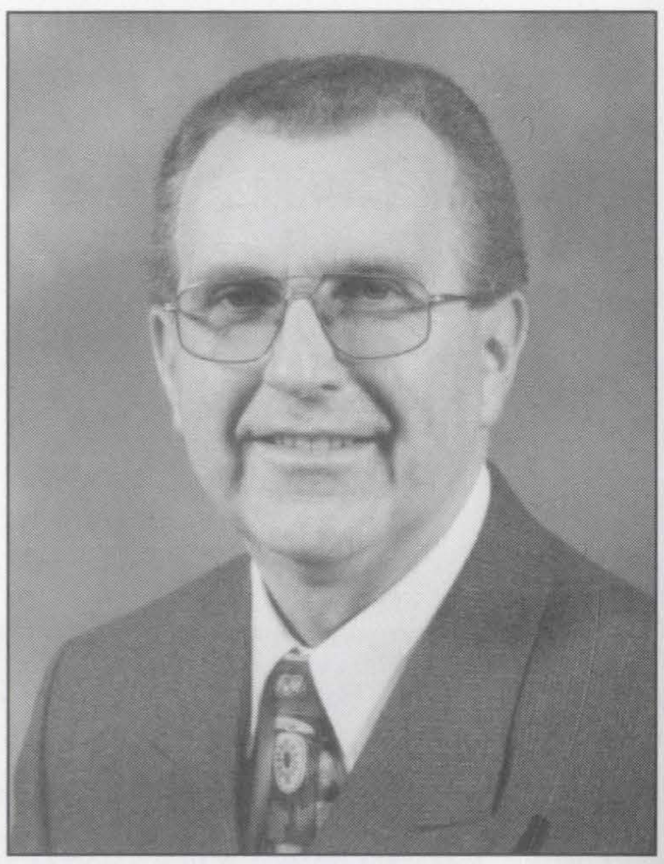
Photos courtesy of Memorial University of Newfoundland

Memorial University's current Vice-presidents, Chancellor, and Chair of the Board of Regents

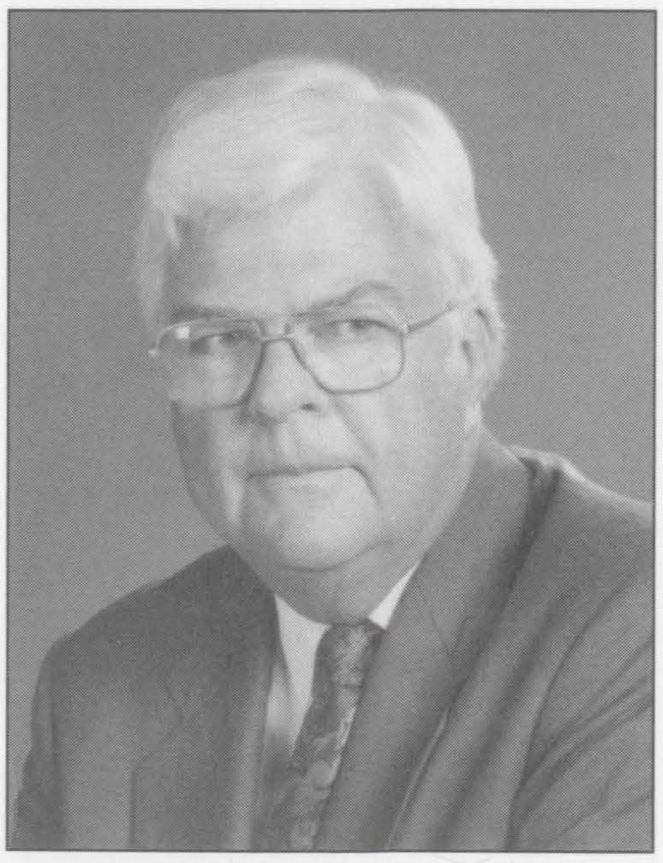
Dr. Evan Simpson
Vice-President (Academic) and
Pro Vice-Chancellor



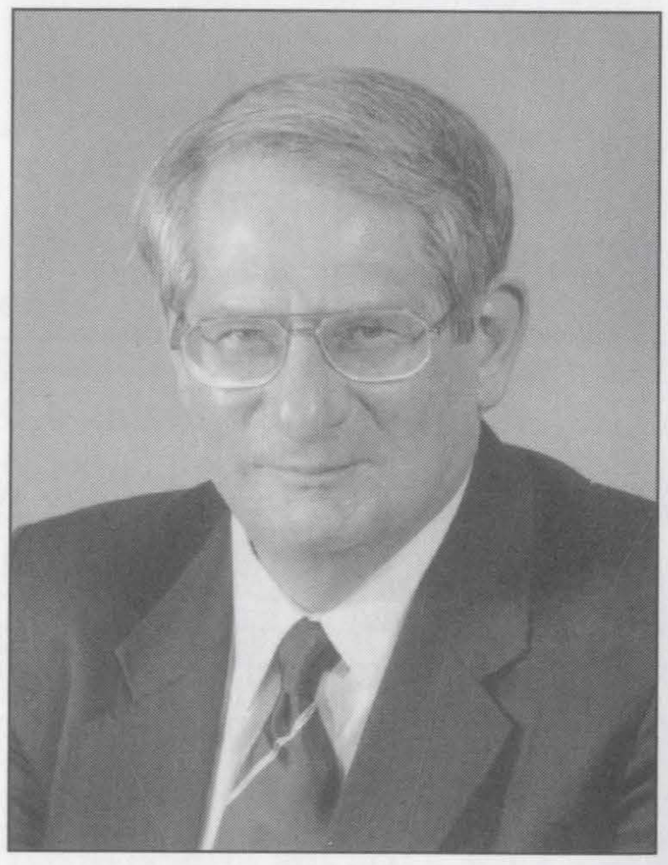
Dr. Kevin Keough
Vice-President (Research)



W. Wayne Thistle, Q.C.
Vice-President (Administration
& Finance) and Legal Counsel



The Hon. Dr. John C. Crosbie,
O. C., P. C. Q. C.
Chancellor, 1994 -



Edward Roberts, Q.C.
Chair of the Board of Regents,
1997 -

Photos courtesy of Memorial University of Newfoundland

Recycling in the Good Old Days

Fay Herridge

Were they really "good old days"? Or is it just a nostalgic longing for our lost youth? A time when we thought life was better, or easier, because we didn't have the responsibilities that come with age and maturity?

Two things are certain: (1) everyone remembers the "good old days" in a different way, and (2) not everything has changed. Lifestyles and technology have altered, of course, and the world is becoming more and more computerized.

Like all progress and development, there are both positive and negative sides. One current trend, which is very positive, goes back to the so-called good old days. While an actual concern for the environment may be new, recycling is not.

Recycling Ancestors

This does not mean the recycling of people, but people who recycled things. And they did recycle—whatever they possibly could.

How often do we hear people talk about the good old days? Life was simple, uncluttered, and unhurried. People made do with what they had, which sometimes wasn't much.

Although the word "recycle" was probably unknown to most of them, the practice of recycling was a way of life, just something they did without question. Indeed, it was often necessary and sometimes a matter of survival.

My parents witnessed a lot of this. Growing up in the late 1920s and 1930s, they observed what their parents and grandparents did. And they did it themselves. You had to: no one could afford to throw anything away.

They reused things because it was cheaper. Besides, throwing away anything which could be reused was considered wasteful and, therefore, sinful. It simply wasn't done. "Waste not, want not," they said.

Everyone wore lots of hand-me-downs. Outgrown clothing was always passed on to the next in line, according to age, size, and gender. Sometimes items would be patched or "made over." When clothing or bed sheets were worn out they were put aside and used as patches for making quilts, or cut into strips to make "poked", hooked, or braided floor mats.

Of course, some of the things our ancestors recycled are no longer available. Still, I have no doubt that they would have found practical uses for many of today's products which are usually thrown in the garbage.

Necessity is the mother of invention. Most of us have heard that saying but don't fully appreciate its real meaning. Some clever person came up with a new way of using something. Before long, others were copying the idea.

Years ago, people often created many of the things they needed. The reason might be that money was scarce. Or perhaps they lived too far from a major centre and some things weren't readily available. Then again, as I've often heard, "Why spend good money on something if you don't have to?" Or, "Why buy it if you can make it?"

Boxes, Barrels and Drums

Such things as biscuit boxes, orange crates, apple and flour barrels, pork or beef barrels, and molasses puncheons were often put to good use. They were recreated, transformed, or used in ways that were very different from their original purposes.

Biscuit boxes were strong, measuring about 18 by 24 inches, and 8 inches deep. Loose biscuits were shipped in them to small shops. If you collected several of these boxes you were all set.

They made excellent "grub boxes". All you had to do was get part of a second box to make the cover. Sometimes these boxes were taken apart and used to build pieces of furniture.

My parents had a little cabin at Dog Cove, up in Long Harbour River (located in Fortune Bay, on the south coast). Our cupboard was a biscuit box nailed on the wall. Dad used boards from a second box to put in a couple of shelves so mom could store the dishes, etc. You'd be surprised at how much we could get in that little cupboard.

Orange crates were a little bigger, about 12 inches square and 24 to 26 inches high when stood on one end, but they weren't as strong. However, the centre partition provided some extra strength and stability. They made excellent storage bins for separating and storing the vegetables in the fall.

Now these orange crates were very popular, especially with the ladies. A single crate became a lovely night table, while two crates together were transformed into a small dresser. Plastic covers with ruffled top edges were available, in single or double-crate size, from Eaton's mail order catalogue.

Apple barrels were also great things and, when recycled, could be found in the parlour. Half the barrel's staves, or curved boards, were cut down to about half the

original height, leaving the other half as they were. A seat was then installed, level with the cut staves, forming a chair with a comfortable curved back. The seats were usually removable to facilitate use of the storage space beneath.

"A great place to store your knitting or sewing," my mother would say. Many times these chairs were covered with fabric and looked very elegant. There was always a cushion on the seat which probably explains why my father knew them as "cush boxes." In other places they were known simply as "chair boxes." Sometimes the chair would have rockers added to it. It is easy to imagine Granny knitting socks as she rocked in the cush box.

On a lighter note, even mummers used apple and flour barrels occasionally. A hole was cut in the end so the barrel would fit over your head and rest on your shoulders. My father remembers doing this. "I couldn't get into some houses," he related. "Some people's porch doors were a little bit narrow and the barrel wouldn't go through the doorway."

Pork and beef barrels did not get such royal treatment and were often just reused to salt and store meat for the winter. But they too often found new purposes. Some were sawed in half to use as wash tubs. Two staves on opposite sides of the barrel were left longer than the rest, to form the handles.

They were often used to store partridgeberries for the winter. The barrel was thoroughly washed out first, to remove all traces of pickle from the inside. When the berries were put in, enough water was added to just cover them. All you had to do was chop out a chunk of ice and berries. When the ice melted, you had your berries for making jam or pies.

Other washed-out barrels were used as water barrels and kept in the porch during winter. They held about three days' supply of water for an average family of four or five. A cover was made from the barrel-head to prevent dirt from getting into the water.

Some barrels were taken apart to make sleds for children. Mom knew them as "stave slides" while dad called them "flat-bottomed slides", but they were the same thing. Two staves made a slide big enough for one person and they could really go!

If you had a molasses puncheon you could make a bigger slide. A molasses puncheon was larger than a barrel, about three feet in diameter and approximately 30 inches high. Both barrels and puncheons made good doghouses. They were laid on their sides, with a few rocks placed alongside to keep them from rolling.

Recycled barrels were used by all fishermen. Pork and beef barrels, sawed in half, became "half-barrel measure tubs", used on board the herring collectors. The staves of dismantled barrels were also used to make " killicks".

Sometimes a pork or beef barrel had holes cut in the centre of both ends. A pole was pushed through these holes, allowing the barrel to be used as a sort of capstan for pulling dories up on slipways. Half of an apple or flour barrel was turned into a "bait tub" or a "trawl tub". Half a puncheon was used for salting, washing, and storing dry salted codfish.

Drums that originally held kerosene or gasoline were often used as "tanning drums." Many fishermen knitted their own nets, and made their sails, then tanned them. Their method was unique. Strips of bark from fir or spruce trees were first boiled in a drum of water. Then the bark was removed and the nets were soaked in the hot liquid.

Stoves for sheds and cabins were also made from drums. All you had to do was fill a drum half full of gravel, attach a stovepipe, and you were all set. Indeed, I remember having an outdoor stove made from a drum at our campsite not so long ago.

The Versatile Flour Sack

Probably the single most recycled item in the good old days was the humble flour sack. The 98-pound Robin Hood flour sack was made of very sturdy, durable cotton. Therefore it had a wide variety of uses, especially for the poorer people.

First the sacks were boiled in lye, usually homemade from wood ashes, to remove the lettering. The result was a very white, strong fabric. When the seams were opened up, the piece of cotton measured about one yard square.

In the home these sacks were turned into many useful things. Embroidery and lace trim were all you needed to transform them into beautiful pillow cases. Four sewed together became a bed sheet. Some were cut to size and trimmed with lace to make dresser scarves.

Some people made bedspreads from the sacks. They would put borders around them if they could get coloured cloth. Curtains and even window blinds were made from the cotton. One end of the opened sack was nailed to a stick for rolling up on.

They were very popular for making tablecloths. The number of sacks used depended on the size of your table. Some had coloured corners, borders, or strips, depending on the creativity of the seamstress. You might see half a dozen of them on the clothesline and they'd all be in different patterns.

Flour sack cotton was often used for clothing. It was dyed different colours to make dresses or skirts for the women and shirts for the men. Aprons were always white with a pocket or border in colour. There were white sunbonnets to wear while working in the hay garden or on the fish flakes. Some also made work gloves with the wrists made from pieces of girls' "long stockings."

White sunhats for little girls were starched stiff with homemade flour starch. So were the collars of men's Sunday shirts. No man would go to church wearing anything but a white shirt with a very stiff collar.

A more practical use was making "oil clothes." When the pants and jacket were made, they were soaked in very hot linseed oil and hung to dry. This process was repeated three or four times until you had a suit of completely waterproof oil clothes. Sails were also made from flour sacks. The cloth was joined together and the sails cut to required size and shape. Then they were "tanned" by boiling in pitch.

My mother recalls one person making "cotton wool", which was hard to get at the time. The edges of an opened seam were frayed. If two people held the fabric very tightly and scraped along the edge with a very sharp knife, they got a very soft material, very similar to cotton wool.

Flour sack cotton was also used to make many undergarments. Sometimes it was hard to get the imprinted lettering out by boiling and you often heard comments like, "so-and-so's got Robin Hood on her behind!"

One of the more unusual items was an undergarment called "splits", often worn by older women. They were simply two side legs, reaching from knee to waist, held in place with a buttoned waistband.

It may be nostalgia, but the good old days did have their benefits. We could learn a lot by studying and practicing some of the ways of our parents and grandparents.

Many of the objects our ancestors made out of necessity are classified as handicrafts today. Such products as the lovely hooked rugs are part of our cultural heritage as well as our history.

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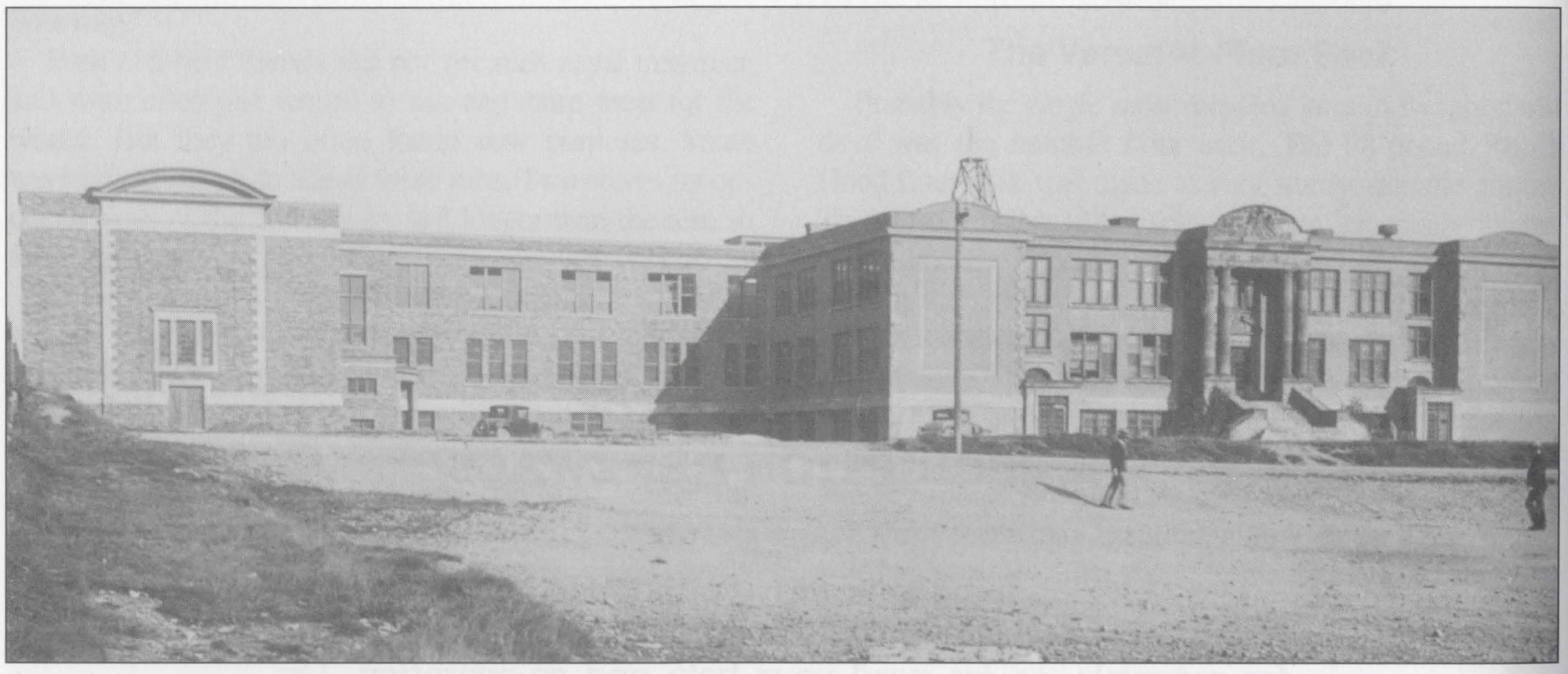
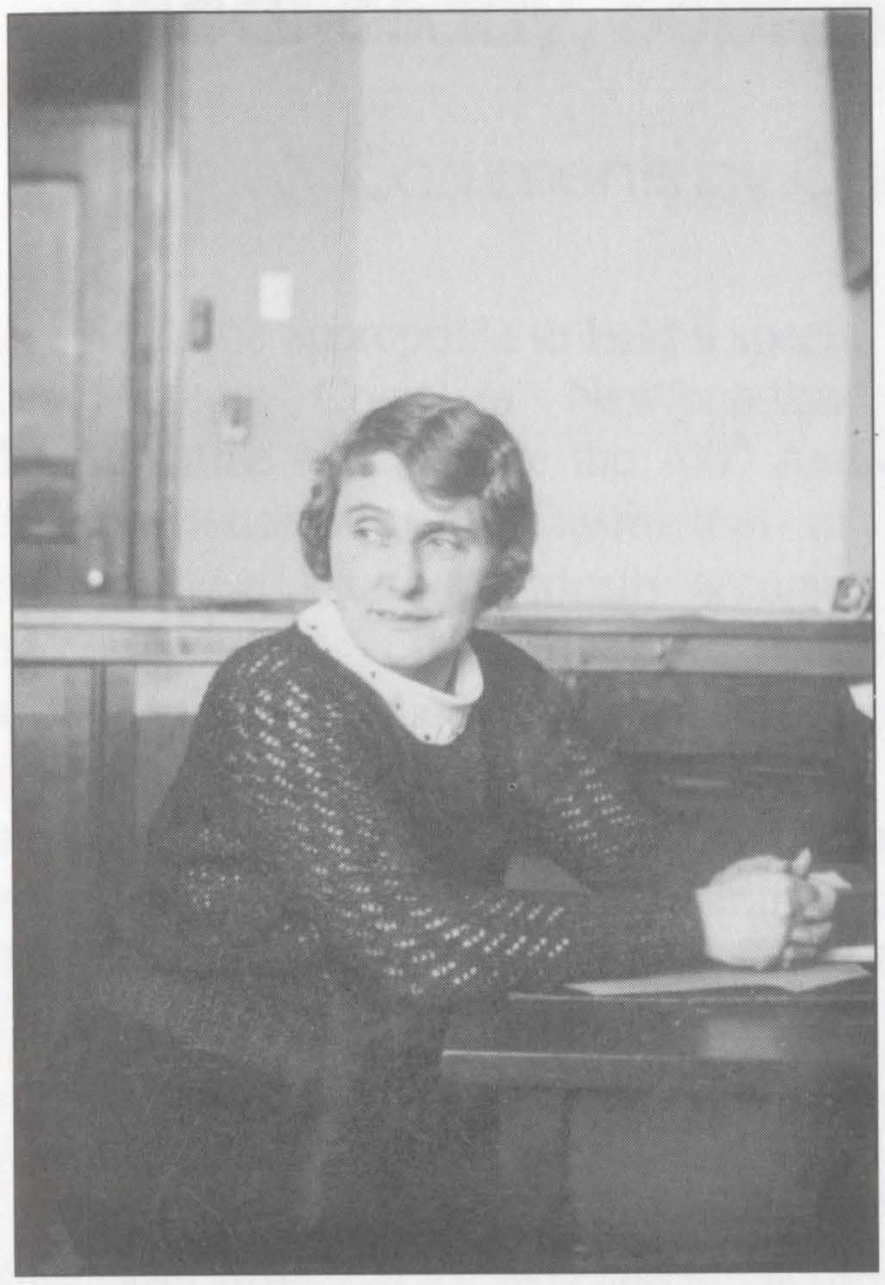
Memorial College and University
Photos from the Past



Memorial University College in 1933. The campus was located at the intersection of Merrymeeting Road and Parade Street in St. John's. The college officially opened on 15 September 1925 as a two-year junior college, preparing students for admission into universities outside Newfoundland. The college was established as a memorial to Newfoundlanders who lost their lives in service during the First World War. In 1925 the college had an initial enrolment of 57 students. One of the acts of the new provincial government in August 1949 was to make the college a degree-granting university. Now the largest university in Atlantic Canada, Memorial in 1999 has approximately 16,000 students, consisting of 14,200 undergraduates and 1600 graduates. The university has lived up to the promise of 1949 with its profound impact on the cultural, economic, and social life of Newfoundland and Labrador. It has awarded more than 50,000 degrees, most to residents of the province.



Monnie Mansfield, registrar 1929-1959

Sadie Organ, librarian 1934-1958

The engineers' banquet, 27 April 1937

Students at the main entrance at the Parade Street campus, 1952

Premier Joseph Smallwood presiding over a sod-turning ceremony for the new campus on Elizabeth Avenue in St. John's, 23 May 1959

Students in the classroom, late 1950s

Photos courtesy of Memorial University of Newfoundland

Special Sitting of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland, Trial Division, Greenspond, Newfoundland Wednesday, September 8, 1999, at 12:00 noon

Comments by Chief Justice T. Alex Hickman

I decided it would be appropriate to hold a special sitting of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland in Greenspond at this time to recognize the 100th Anniversary of the commencement of construction of the Greenspond Courthouse. To be historically accurate, the Greenspond Courthouse was completed in 1900 or 1901.

History shows that even in the 18th Century the people of Greenspond were exposed to the "strong arm of the law." In a report prepared by one Sylvester Gardiner in 1785, concerning the actions of the Vice Admiralty Court when dealing with a case of alleged petit larceny in Greenspond, Gardiner wrote:

> In the summer of 1784 a French brig was wrecked at an out Port, called Greens Pond, about 60 Leagues from St. John's. The inhabitants who are called planters, and in general are much in debt (in the early part of the fishing season) to the Merchants who supply them, finding the ship must be lost, made free with some of the property on board; which occasioned the French captain to go to St. John's, and complain to Mr. Gell, the judge of the Vice Admiralty court, who immediately issued out a process against sixteen of the principal planters and fishermen, who he pretended had plundered this Vessel, and in the height of the fishing season, they were all sent Prisoners to St. John's to be tried for their lives, and for that purpose detained there in custody until October. At the same time (previous to trial) their effects were all attached. The consequences was that upwards of £1500 is said to have been lost by this unlawful act.
>
> The men were all acquitted except one who being found guilty of having endeavoured to secret some goods from onboard the wreck, was condemned to die. But so shocking was this decree for a fault or crime, which in this country would be deemed petit larceny, that the French captain and the other prosecutors petitioned the Governor to pardon him, who humanely complied with the request. The poor man, by name of George Clark, was so shocked at the treatment he sustained, together with the loss of his property, (which was all sold by order of the Judge of Admiralty, and the amount is now in his hands) that he came to England and soon died with grief. It is melancholy to relate that some of these poor men were tried for their lives, merely, for having a dozen spike nails found upon them, which they delivered up, to the first person who appeared to receive them. The cruelty of these proceedings needs no comment.

One can assume that the cruel and harsh treatment received by these law-abiding residents of Greenspond in the 18th Century served as an inducement to the citizens of this town to ensure that with the establishment of the Magistrate's Court and subsequently the Supreme Court of Newfoundland, that the protection afforded by the judiciary be made available to them.

For many years this building housed the Supreme Court of Newfoundland when, once in each year, it visited Greenspond on circuit. As well, it was the home of the Magistrate's Court used by the resident Stipendiary Magistrates until the early 1940s. The building ceased to be used as a courthouse when Magistrate Maxwell Lane, the last resident Stipendiary Magistrate, moved to another magisterial district.

It is my understanding that after its discontinuance as a courthouse, the building was used for various purposes including the storage of sand and gravel. Fortunately, a few years ago, through the efforts of the people of Greenspond and the financial support of the Cape Freels Heritage Trust, the building was restored to its original design and will continue as a reminder of the historic role of the Courts of Newfoundland in serving the people of Greenspond and surrounding area.

It is important that from time to time there be public recognition of the significant part the Supreme Court has played in the development of Newfoundland since this court was established in 1791. A review of the historical records of Newfoundland indicates that our forefathers willingly and often at great cost, provided suitable accommodation for the Courts of Newfoundland so that the symbol of justice would be always present and visible to our people as a reminder that their rights and privileges were protected by an independent judiciary.

The Greenspond Courthouse was designed by architect William Henry Churchill who was also Superintendent of Public Buildings for Newfoundland. William Henry Churchill designed a series of courthouses similar to Greenspond, the first being the Bonavista Courthouse built in 1897. Other courthouses of similar design by Churchill were Bell Island 1900; Placentia 1902; and

Trinity, St. George's and Bay Roberts in 1903. The Burin Courthouse built in 1905 was also the work of Churchill but was of a different design. It replaced an 1817 building which was so dilapidated that in 1901 the St. John's *Evening Telegram* declared:

> . . . no crime short of murder is so great that would justify confinement of a healthy man there for a month. Devils Island would be a paradise to it.

It is most regrettable that several of these fine courthouses were allowed to fall into disrepair and be subsequently demolished.

The Greenspond Courthouse was the smallest of Churchill's standard design and unlike his other buildings: the tower in this Courthouse is off-centre. I note for the record that the Greenspond Courthouse has Second Empire characteristics including a mansard-style roof surmounted at the front facade by a tower crowned by a small bell-shaped dome. It is a two-storey building with a two-sided mansard roof. It contains as well a jailer's residence. The tower which had disappeared was replaced in 1995 through the efforts of the people of Greenspond with the help and assistance of the Cape Freels Heritage Trust. The total cost of the original building was $1,621.21.

I have listed the other courthouses that were built in rural Newfoundland in the early part of this Century as proof that despite the depressed economic conditions which prevailed, Governments of that era were willing to make the kind of sacrifice necessary to ensure that the rule of law prevailed throughout Newfoundland. It is an attitude which regretfully did not continue during most of the 20th Century. It is only within the past 20 years or so that we have seen the construction of new courthouses in Grand Bank, Grand Falls and Gander. Others are needed and one can only hope that in the fullness of time those responsible for the administration of justice in Newfoundland will recognize their obligation to ensure that the halls of justice are provided and equipped so as to maintain the dignity and independence of our courts.

The first sitting in Greenspond of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland was on 6 October 1827. On that occasion there were two cases tried: the first being *John Sleat, Mary Sleat and Susan Elliott v. William Coleman and William Borden.* The plaintiffs claimed from the defendants the sum of £147 2s. 2d. being the balance of account. A jury was sworn consisting of Thomas Barbour, foreman, George Allen, John Lush, George Elliott, John Harding, Nathaniel Wright, David Burry, George Burry, Thomas Stratten, Junior, Thomas Stratten, Senior, James Oldford and Edmund Stratten. The record shows that after the hearing of evidence, the jury retired for a short time and brought in a verdict for the plaintiffs in the sum of £89 12s. 2d.

The second case heard on that circuit was *John Brine and Nathaniel Smith v. John Bingley Garland and George Garland.* This was an action to recover £10 compensation for damages sustained by the plaintiffs at their salmon fishing at Shalloway Cove in the summer of 1827 by the acts of the defendants, their agents and servants. [I note as an aside that one of the defendants, John Bingley Garland, a native of Poole, England, was the first speaker of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland to which position he was appointed in 1833.] Again a jury was sworn consisting of John Bourne, foreman, John Newton, William Hand, Richard Kennedy, John Burry, John Parker, John Lee, William Barnes, Joseph Hutchings, John Green, James Gillingham and John Spurrell. At the conclusion of the trial the jury awarded the plaintiffs £7.

The surnames of many of the jurors of 1827 are still prominent in Greenspond and their descendants played a very significant role in the development and prosperity of this town over the years and at a time when Greenspond was designated "the Capital of the North."

The early sittings of this Court in Greenspond were not held in a courthouse. The records show that in 1842 the principal of the school noted "no school today—school used for court—rent £3." If one takes into account the value of £3 in 1842 as opposed to today's rate, one would be led to the irresistible conclusion the community leaders in Greenspond of that time knew the value of a dollar and made certain that government paid handsomely for the use of their school.

Over the years the Supreme Court on circuit regularly visited Greenspond. On many occasions the Circuit Proclamation was read and the records noted that "there was no business" whereupon court adjourned and then departed for Bonavista. There was an interesting appeal heard in Greenspond in September 1906 before Mr. Justice Emerson. It was the case of *Darius Parsons v. Bonavista Bay Mutual Marine Insurance Club.* It was an appeal from the judgment of Isaac J. Mifflin, the Stipendiary Magistrate at Greenspond. Appearing for the appellants were Hayward, K. C. and Kent, K. C. and for the respondent Darius Parsons, J. A. McNeily. The Court overturned the decision of Magistrate Mifflin and held that:

> The Magistrate had no jurisdiction as the wreck took place on the Canadian Labrador outside the boundary of this Colony. The Wreck and Salvage Act only applies to wrecks taking place within the jurisdiction of the Colony. The appeal is upheld on the question of jurisdiction alone. Costs will follow the event. It is ordered that the judgment of the Magistrate be rescinded and the costs be paid by the respondent.

The record does not indicate where in Labrador the wreck occurred or what were deemed to be the

boundaries of Labrador. It is worthy of note that if there was any uncertainty as to the boundaries of Labrador at that time, same was cured beyond all reasonable doubt by the Privy Council in *Re: Labrador Boundary* case of 1927. It is appropriate to note that in the *Labrador Boundary* case, Viscount Cave, L. C. stated that the Commission of King George III dated 25 April 1763 charged the Governor of Newfoundland with the duty, *inter alia*, "to erect and set apart the courthouses for such Justices of the Peace." I refer to the comments of Viscount Cave as proof that as far back as 1763 the Governor of Newfoundland was charged with the responsibility of providing adequate courthouses for the Colony.

Simply because the matter appears to be topical today I note that in the *Labrador Boundary* dispute, Viscount Cave stated at page 405:

> It is worthy of notice that in these two documents, which are of primary importance for the purposes of this enquiry, no distinction was made between the Island of Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador, both being included in identical terms in the territories placed under the care of the Governor, and the powers applicable to one being equally applicable to the other.

The Privy Council decision leads one to the irresistible conclusion that only the boundaries between the Province of Quebec and the Province of Newfoundland have been established beyond all reasonable doubt. The boundaries between most Canadian Provinces rely on the accuracy of a surveyor's certificate, but Newfoundland and Quebec are secure in the knowledge that we both know with absolute precision what territory belongs to each Province and is so prescribed by law.

The last sitting of this Court in Greenspond was held on 22 September 1923 and was presided over by Chief Justice Sir William H. Horwood. The record shows "no business ready, whereupon the Court adjourned." One can assume that the law-abiding behaviour of the citizens of Greenspond made it unnecessary for the Supreme Court to continue its annual visit to this town.

The first Stipendiary Magistrate appointed to Greenspond was John Edgar who assumed office on 1 June 1813. It would appear that there was a resident Magistrate in this community from that time until the 1940s. Some of the resident Stipendiary Magistrates in Greenspond were Dr. George Skelton 1873-75; John Thorne Oakley 1875-78 (the great-great-grandfather of James Oakley who practices law in St. John's); Richard P. Rice 1886-98; Alfred Seymour 1899-1901; Isaac J. Mifflin 1901-19; J. J. Roper 1920-21; J. W. Janes 1921-31; Job Wornell 1932-35; Bernard Andrews 1935-40; and Maxwell Lane 1940-?.

A native of Greenspond who played a significant role in the justice system of Newfoundland was the Honourable Sydney D. Blandford whose forbears, all residents of Greenspond, had been very active in public life. Sydney D. Blandford was called to the Bar of Newfoundland on 28 June 1916. He served as a member of the Parliament of Newfoundland and as a Minister of Mines and Agriculture. In 1917 he was appointed High Sheriff of Newfoundland, a position he held until his death on 28 October 1929.

Louise M. Saunders, Q. C., a native of Greenspond, was the first woman lawyer in Newfoundland. Louise Saunders, before she embarked upon the study of law, served as Secretary to the Prime Minister of Newfoundland, Sir Richard Squires. She was called to the Bar of Newfoundland on 4 April 1933 and was appointed Queen's Counsel on 29 May 1964. It is apparent, therefore, that citizens of Greenspond have played a very significant role in the justice system of Newfoundland and that the "Capital of the North" was, for many years, the centre of justice for this part of the Dominion.

In Newfoundland we follow, with a great deal of pride, the practices and procedures of the Courts of the United Kingdom. In England, as part of the formal opening of the Fall Term, a Red Mass is held in Westminster Abbey, which is attended by all Law Lords, Judges and practicing barristers and solicitors. At the conclusion of the Mass, the Law Lords and lawyers parade to the Law Courts for the commencement of the Fall Term.

That practice was followed by this Court in its special sitting on 4 September 1997 in Trinity. I felt it appropriate, therefore, to follow the same procedure today, and I am indeed grateful to Reverend Roy Martin of the Anglican Church of Canada, Reverend Sung Min Jung of the United Church of Canada, and Captain Terry Hopkins of the Salvation Army for the very impressive service they conducted earlier this morning in St. Stephen's Anglican Church.

Greenspond has always had a very strong commitment to the three religious denominations which still exist in this community. St. Stephen's Anglican Church was built in 1858 and the Greenspond Mission of the Methodist Church [now the United Church of Canada] was established in 1867. The Greenspond Corps of the Salvation Army was opened by Captain Nora Wheeler on 15 December 1885. In a town which looked to the sea for its well-being and suffered from the anxieties and losses of the ocean, it was always reassuring to its people that the churches were there as a beacon of hope and comfort. I am indeed grateful that the leaders of the three denominations in Greenspond were able and willing to participate in this morning's service.

Looking for Captain Robert: The Jones Family of Trinity East, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland

Francis (Frank) I. W. Jones

Key to Abbreviations

ADM British Admiralty
MHA Maritime History Archives, MUN
MUN Memorial University of Newfoundland
NLGS Newfoundland and Labrador Genealogical Society
PANL Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador
PRO Public Records Office, London, England

* * *

Come all ye northern mariners
And listen while I relate
The story of Captain Robert
Who met an unknown fate.
Did he die in a French prison
Or does he rest beneath the sea?
If ye know where his bones may lie
Please tell it unto me.

This is the story of my search for the origins and fates of my two oldest known Jones ancestors, Captain Robert Jones and his son Captain Robert Newell Jones, both sea captains employed by the Lesters, Slades and Garlands who were three of the major English-Newfoundland merchants of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. It is a story of pirates or privateers, a mystery bag of gold and the oldest headstone in Trinity Bight. It is a story of the vicissitudes and uncertainties encountered by merchants and mariners in northern seas. It is a story of a picture of a ship passed from eldest son to eldest son for more than two hundred years.

It began with the picture. The picture was a painting of a ship given to me by my father which Nimshi Crewe, (a confidant of Joey Smallwood, who attempted to purchase the painting from my grandfather, Robert Jones, in 1965,[1]) called the best, oldest, and the most superior in colouring and liveliness of any other he had seen.[2] The ship, which is a true ship with square sails on all three masts, occupies the middle of the painting all taut on a wind with the city of Naples, Italy, in the background. At the bottom of the painting there is a handwritten inscription: "The ship *Britannia* Captain Robert Jones entering Naples in the year 1789." Ostensibly, the original handwriting was that of Captain Robert, but circa 1910 when the writing was faded, my great-grandmother allowed a boarding teacher to rewrite the inscription on a strip of paper and paste it over the original.[3] According to my father, a fire in my great-great-grandfather's house destroyed another painting of *Britannia* which had inset a bust of Captain Robert. This is unfortunate, because it may never be known what Captain Robert looked like, where he came from or what became of him. What is known is that he founded the Jones family of Trinity East, and I am his direct descendant.

Robert Jones, who married Mary Newell at Trinity on 6 September 1788,[4] was my 4th great-grandfather and my first known Jones ancestor. I have traced my indisputable descent from him in the parish registers of St. Paul's, Trinity and St. Andrew's, Trinity East, from his marriage to Mary Newell in 1788 to the birth of his great-great-grandson and my grandfather, also named Robert, 29 September 1890.[5] Rumours abound about this hard-drinking, two-fisted sea-captain. Was he the captain of the ship *Britannia* which entered Naples in 1789? Did he first come to Newfoundland as a midshipman in the Royal Navy? Does the oral tradition that Robert Jones was a privateer have any validity? Is there a bag of gold in Chancery with his name on it?[6] The most pressing questions from a genealogical point of view are: Where did he come from, and where did he go? Incidentally, the oldest tombstone in Trinity Bight is that of Mary Newell's great-grandfather, my 7th great-grandfather, Thomas Newell, who died 20 June 1724 at the age of 78 and whose gravesite is located on property formerly owned by Captain Robert and Mary Jones in Trinity East.[7]

The marriage register states Liverpool as Robert's residence. There is no record of Robert's birth in Newfoundland but his wife, Mary Newell was born there 16 June 1760.[8] The International Genealogical Index lists twelve Robert Joneses born or christened between 1755 and 1770 in Liverpool. Without more details about my ancestor, it is impossible to tell whether or not he is one of them. Indeed, it is not certain that he was from Liverpool.

There is a prevalent, persistent oral tradition in the Jones family that Captain Robert was Welsh, which is reasonable, Jones being the most common Welsh surname and because of the close connection between Liverpool and North Wales in particular. Liverpool, the nearest major town during the late eighteenth century, was easily accessible from Welsh ports and many Welsh migrated to Liverpool in small boats or on foot. At least half of the population prior to World War II had Welsh ancestry.[9]

The first Liverpool trade directory published in 1766 lists Captain John Jones, Frederick Street, who could be the father of Captain Robert of *Britannia*. Captain Jones is listed several times at various addresses between 1766 and 1790, by which time there are more than a hundred Joneses listed. Robert Jones, mariner, who resided in 1794 at Drury Lane, one of Captain John's previous addresses, could be my ancestor.[10] The Liverpool Registry of Merchant Ships names John Jones as captain of several Liverpool vessels in the 1780s and 1790s.[11]

Poole in Dorset had very close maritime links with Newfoundland. Shipping between Liverpool and Newfoundland was encouraged by the growth of a brisk coastal trade in kaolin (china clay) from the hinterlands of Poole destined for the Staffordshire potteries through Liverpool. Many of the ships engaged in this trade during the winter were consigned outward from Liverpool to Newfoundland with spring and summer cargoes. There was a consequent movement of mariners and their families.[12] Captain Robert was employed by Benjamin Lester, a Poole merchant who had established a headquarters in Trinity, Newfoundland. Lester's Trinity-based banking ships were manned almost exclusively with Devonshire men by their employing a captain who in turn recruited his own seamen locally.[13]

Although there is no record of Robert's birth in Newfoundland, is it possible he was born there? According to the 1753 census of Trinity Bay, there were two Jones households resident in Trinity Bight: William and Hannah Joans [*sic*] of English Harbour, with six daughters; and Stephen and Catherine Jones of West Side Trinity who had four children.[14] I have been unable to find any connection between my ancestor and either William or Stephen. Both of these couples had social and commercial relations with Benjamin Lester who mentions them frequently in his Diary which specifically records the burial of "Kate" Jones 31 October 1770.[15] There is no mention of Captain Robert Jones in Benjamin Lester's Diary until 10 January 1788, when he was Captain of the *Thomas*.[16]

Subsequently, Stephen and Catherine baptized three daughters[17] and one son, Robert,[18] who died in 1764.[19] Stephen died in 1763;[20] his widow died in 1770.[21] There is no record of the baptisms of their four pre-1753 children because St. Paul's registers did not begin until 1753. It is probable that the Mary Jones who married Robert Sextone in 1777[22] was their daughter but otherwise no evidence exists in the marriage or burial registers of their pre-1753 offspring with the possible exception of John Jones who married Flower Guy 15 October 1767[23] who might have been their son. My 4th great grandfather, Robert Jones, who married Mary Newell was probably born between 1755 and 1765. Therefore it can be concluded that he was not a son of Stephen and Catherine and that this patrilineal line either died out or was continued by John who moved elsewhere. The 1800 census identifies a John Jones and a John Jones Jr. living in Grates Cove.[24]

William and Hannah of English Harbour baptized a son William in 1758[25] and a daughter Ann in 1760.[26] It is not unreasonable to assume that if they had a son named Robert born between 1753 and 1763 his baptism would be in St. Paul's register. Hannah died in 1776.[27] William died in 1778.[28] Their sole son William who died in 1841[29] was predeceased by his only son William in 1824.[30] Therefore it can be concluded that my ancestor, Robert Jones, was not a son of William and Hannah and that this patrilineal line died out as well.

There is an oral tradition that Robert Jones first came to Newfoundland before the "French War" as a midshipman in the Royal Navy aboard H. M. S. *Snap* when Reverend William Bullock was serving aboard as a lieutenant under his brother who was the captain. Robert Jones supposedly met Mary Newell when H. M. S. *Snap* wintered near Newell's Point, at the entrance to God's Cove where the Newells first settled in Trinity Harbour. When H. M. S. *Snap* departed Newfoundland, Robert purportedly was left behind in charge of fortifying the fort on Admiral's Island at the entrance to Trinity Harbour along with thirty others and, a few years later obtained his discharge from the Royal Navy before marrying Mary.

One version says that the midshipman's name was "probably William or James", not Robert, which leads to the possibility that the story refers to Robert's father. According to archaeologist Roy Skanes, Fort Point was first fortified circa 1746, remained fortified until 1762 when it was abandoned and was fortified again during the American Revolution circa 1780.[31] Another attempt to restore the fort appears to have been made in the early 1820s by the men of H. M. S. *Egeria*.[32] Unfortunately, there is a paucity of names of either individuals or ships mentioned in the available documentation on Fort Point.[33] Inauspiciously, no ship named H. M. S. *Snap* existed in the Royal Navy during the time between Robert's presumed birth circa 1759 and his marriage in 1788. H. M. S. *Snap*, a gun brig built in 1812, was a surveying vessel in Newfoundland between December 1822, and September 1826, whose captain was Lieutenant Frederick Bullock, the brother of Reverend William Bullock.[34]

Robert Jones was captain of four vessels belonging to Benjamin Lester: *Thomas*, *Susan*, *Ashley*, and *Britannia*. In April 1789, he was fired out of the *Susan* for smuggling wine but later that month was given command of the *Ashley*.[35] One of his mates complained to Benjamin Lester: "Jones drinks hard."[36] Subsequently, that same month, Captain Cheater, who had assumed command of the *Susan* after Jones' firing, was taken ill and replaced by Jones.[37]

Although Lloyd's Register names Edward Pudner as master of the *Britannia* in 1789, I believe that Robert Jones had assumed command of *Britannia* by November of that year. Lloyd's List names Pudner as master of the *Thomas* arriving at Alicante, Spain, from Newfoundland 24 November 1789 and as master of the *Britannia* arriving Naples from Newfoundland three days later.[38] Unless there were two Pudners (and I have found no evidence to suggest that), or Pudner was a magician, this is an obvious error. This is in keeping with the inscription at the bottom of the painting in my possession of my ancestor's ship: "The ship *Britannia* Captain Robert Jones entering Naples in the year 1789." Also, there is an entry in the Diary of Benjamin Lester referring to Jones as captain of the *Britannia* 28 February 1790, and I found three entries in Lloyd's List for the *Britannia* with Jones named as master for voyages to/from Naples/Newfoundland: 2 July 1790, 31 December 1790, and 18 January 1791.[39] When Captain Robert's first son, also named Robert, born 11 June 1790, was baptized 4 September 1790, the parish register lists his father's occupation as Captain of the ship *Britannia*[40].

There are no less than forty-seven vessels named *Britannia* listed in the 1789 Lloyd's Register. The *Britannia* in question is likely Number 360: a ship of 234 tons with a draught of 14 feet built in Newfoundland in 1782 which was owned by Benjamin Lester and engaged in trade between Poole and Newfoundland. Benjamin Lester sold *Britannia* in the summer of 1791. Lloyd's Register names Wardell & Co. as the new owner and W. Simpson as the master in 1791.[41]

In October 1793, Robert Jones appeared on the payroll of John Slade in Fogo.[42] John Slade was a Poole merchant who had established a headquarters in Fogo, Newfoundland. Although I have no proof that this is the same Captain Robert Jones, it is a logical assumption because Slade was not above stealing Lester's captains. Isaac Lester complained:

> *John Slade our neighbour is mean enough to ship our people after they have agreed with us, and conceal them. He or his son is at ye door all day and watches to see who goes in or out of our house & nabbes them, and gets them into his house.*[43]

Robert Jones was master of Slade's brigs *Love and Unity* in 1793 and *Delight* from 1793 to 1795.[44] He ceases to be named as master of *Love and Unity* and *Delight* by 1794 and 1796 respectively.[45] The last explicit evidence of his existence is 28 September 1793, when the *Poole Evening Star* reported his arrival from Newfoundland as master of Slade's brig *Love and Unity*. What is certain is that by the winter of 1800-1801, Captain Robert Jones is either missing, dead or presumed dead.

The 1801 census of Trinity enumerated Mary Jones as the head of a household in Trinity. She was designated married. She paid no rent for the house, fishing room and land that she occupied which were owned by her brother Thomas Newell.[46] Mary is alleged to have subsequently married Dennis Kitt, who supposedly came out to Newfoundland as an Irish or English youngster, worked with Thomas Newell, Mary's brother, as a cooper and later taught that trade to Jonah, Captain Robert's younger son who was born in 1793[47] and married in 1817.[48] Jonah inherited the property in Trinity East, which my father now owns, from his grandfather Jonah Newell because he was named after him. In the marriage register, Jonah's parents are identified as "late Robert & Mary Jones (now Kitts)". There is no record of a Kitt/Kitts baptism, marriage or death except that of Mary Kitt who died in 1841 at age 81.[49] Mary Jones née Newell was born in 1760. It is safe to assume that Mary Kitt and Mary Jones née Newell are one and the same. In his will Jonah left his cooperage to his son John and his grandson Jonah. I have also confirmed with my father that the several members of the Jones family were coopers.

Was Robert Jones a privateer or a victim of privateers? Was he drowned at sea or did he die in a French prison? There is an oral tradition that Robert Jones was a privateer. Given the probable dates of his demise/disappearance 1793-1800 and the dates of the French Napoleonic Wars 1793-1815, it is not improbable. The Lesters did own at least two vessels with letters of marque: in 1779 *Neptune*, captain Charles Pearce[50] and in 1797, the *Earl of Sandwich*, captain Richard Sainthill.[51] More intriguing, there are two Liverpool vessels commanded by a Robert Jones which were issued with letters of marque during the time in question: the *Philip Stephens* (1 March 1793) and the *St. Anne* (18 September 1797). They were both engaged in trade between Liverpool and Africa.[52]

Another oral tradition is that on his way back from England to Newfoundland as a passenger, his ship was taken by pirates or privateers and he was either drowned or died in a French prison. One version of the story states that the vessel was subsequently recaptured by the Royal Navy, her booty commandeered and carried back to England where it was transferred to Chancery. The recovered plunder included a bag of gold marked "Robert Jones."

There is precedent for all of these possibilities. Benjamin Lester Garland, himself, was captured at sea in 1800 and spent almost a year in a French prison at Bordeaux[53] and the Lester Diary has a surfeit of accounts of vessels captured by French privateers in the late 1700s. *Bee, General Wolf, Echo, Susan, Ester, Joseph and Francis, John and Jane*, and *Sarah* all were taken between December 1796 and July 1800. Three of these vessels, *Susan, Joseph and Francis*, and *John*, had the misfortune of being victimized twice. Sometimes the crews were set free; in other cases they were imprisoned in Nantes or

Bordeaux. In three of these incidents, the vessel and/or the privateer implicated was recaptured/captured by the Royal Navy.[54] Typical are the sagas of Richard Ash and Corbet Pittman.

Richard Ash was born 1767 in Poole. His vocation as a sea captain first brought him to Trinity in 1790 where he married in 1799 and died in 1839. In 1803 while he was master of a brig on a voyage from Trinity to Poole, he was taken off his ship by a French Privateer, taken to France and imprisoned. Nothing was ever heard again of ship or crew. Ash escaped after seven years, found his way back to Poole and subsequently Trinity.[55]

Captain Corbet Pittman, whose sister Elizabeth was to marry Robert Jones' son (also named Robert) in 1818, was captured at sea during the Napoleonic wars and imprisoned in France. One night, early in 1815 on his second attempt, he escaped across the English Channel in a fishing boat accompanied by a friend. Corbet settled in Poole where he became a successful teacher of navigation.[56] Could his friend have been his future brother-in-law? Was it the father or the son named Robert Jones who occupied a French prison? It is not inconceivable that the elder Robert Jones met a similar but less serendipitous fate than either Richard Ash or Corbet Pittman.

The mystery does not end with the first Captain Robert's disappearance. There was a second Captain Robert who materialized unexpectedly in Trinity, married there and vanished without issue or trace! There is a story that, after Captain Robert was lost at sea, his eldest son, also named Robert, was sent to his uncle at Hants Harbour, a community in Trinity Bay, and thence to England where he went to school and subsequently to sea. The census of Trinity 1800-1801 enumerates only five residents of Hants Harbour. None of them by their surnames would appear to be an uncle of Robert Newell Jones.[57] The possibility exists of course that it was not Hants Harbour, Newfoundland, but Hants, England, where the Jones family perhaps had their origins. Eventually Robert did return to Trinity as captain of the brigantine *Dolphin* from Poole, a vessel owned by George Garland, the successor to Benjamin Lester by marriage and inheritance. Apparently his mother Mary, now remarried to Dennis Kitts, was disconcerted when she heard the news that a Captain Robert Jones had arrived in Trinity Harbour because she thought it was her husband. This would indicate that Mary was uncertain as to the fate of either her husband or her eldest son.

Robert Newell[58] Jones, "Master or Commander of the Brigantine *Dolphin*", whose residence was stated as Poole, married Elizabeth Pittman, the daughter of William and Sarah Pittman of New Perlican, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, 11 May 1818.[59] The Pittmans of Crewkerne, Somerset, were ship captains and agents for the Lesters.[60] Robert's younger brother Jonah had a son 24 November 1818, whom he named Robert Newell,[61] undoubtedly after his long lost, recently returned, elder brother. There is no record of any issue from the marriage nor of the deaths of either Robert Newell Jones or his wife Elizabeth which I have been able to find in Newfoundland.

Robert Newell Jones was succeeded as captain of *Dolphin* by John Jones, also of Poole. I suspect Robert and John were related. It is possible that John Jones was either Robert Newell Jones' uncle with whom he was sent to live after Robert the elder's demise, or perhaps a cousin. Between Robert's reappearance in Trinity in July 1817 and March 1820, he and John Jones were masters of Garland's vessels *Dolphin*, *Swift* and *Lady Ann* at diverse times and called at sundry ports in Newfoundland, England, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and the Mediterranean. *Swift* was a brig of 150 tons built in 1805 in Newfoundland; *Lady Ann* was a ship of 219 tons.[62] John had taken command of *Dolphin* by February 1819 and retained it until 1830.[63] There is no record of Robert from 1820 until 1825 when he assumed command of *Hero*.

Hero was a schooner of 71 tons built at Salmon Cove, Conception Bay, Newfoundland, in 1806, owned by Josiah Perkins, a merchant of Harbour Grace. After several voyages between Newfoundland, Liverpool and Figueras, Spain, Robert took command of *Dewsbury*, a brig of 106 tons built at Harbour Grace in 1802 (also owned by Josiah Perkins) at Liverpool 5 April 1826. During the years 1826 to 1828, while captain of *Dewsbury*, Robert visited the ports of St. John's, Halifax, Quebec, Liverpool, Cork and Lisbon. On 1 August 1828 at Harbour Grace, he took command of *Lady Ann* owned by Edward Pike of Mosquito, Conception Bay. *Lady Ann*, 109 tons, had been built the previous year in Bonavista Bay. He relinquished command of *Lady Ann* to his brother-in-law Corbet Pittman at Poole 23 January 1829, then disappeared from the written record.[64]

Of course there is no absolute proof that the Robert Jones who commanded the ships *Hero*, *Dewsbury* and *Lady Ann* of Harbour Grace is the same man who was "Master or Commander of Brigantine *Dolphin*" but it appears more than likely. New Perlican, Carbonear, and Harbour Grace are all in the same neighbourhood; New Perlican is only about fifteen miles from Harbour Grace. Philip Tocque, Church of England priest and "one of the first native Newfoundlanders to develop a reputation as a writer,"[65] recalled walking from Carbonear to New Perlican in 1826 when he was twelve years old to see the schooner *Alpha* built by the Pittmans; and "Mr. Pittman, Sr., and his daughter, Mrs. Jones" visiting his home at Carbonear. Tocque claimed to have been well acquainted with all of William Pittman's sons and with his daughter "Mrs. Captain Jones".[66]

There you have it—the early history of the Jones family of Trinity East, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, as I have uncovered it in fact and story. Although I have proven to my satisfaction that Captain Robert Jones, my 4th great-grandfather, was captain of the ship *Britannia* and did enter Naples in the year 1789, I have been unable to discover his place or date of birth, his parents or his fate. I do not know whether or not he was a midshipman in the Royal Navy, a privateer, or both, or if he ever owned a bag of gold. Family legends are often a tantalizing mélange of truth and fiction; contradiction and concordance; and the vague and the precise.

I believe I have identified all of the Jones descendants of the Captain Robert Jones who married Mary Newell in 1788. I have data on more than 225 Newfoundland individuals named Jones. Some are descendants of William Jones of English Harbour or Stephen Jones of Trinity, both of whom were in Newfoundland prior to the marriage of Captain Robert Jones and Mary Newell in 1788. Not all of them were born Jones, but are females who married Jones males. Some are strays; some I cannot identify. No less than 194 are Captain Robert's descendants.

My intention was to weave my family history into historical events and combine oral traditions with documentary sources. My family's experience was typical of many Newfoundland families. It represented a microcosm of Newfoundland history. They were sea-captains, fishermen, sealers, whalers, merchant and naval seamen, coopers, carpenters and ultimately, emigrants. In search of work, they dispersed throughout North America. In the 1930s, forty to fifty members of the Jones family comprising approximately fifteen households lived around the Jones fishing rooms bordering Ram's Horn Lane and the Pease Cove Beach area in Trinity East; today only two elderly descendants of Captain Robert remain as seasonal residents. The painting of "The ship *Britannia* Captain Robert Jones entering Naples in the year 1789" is in Nova Scotia and, presumably somewhere in Newfoundland, is "a large sterling silver sugar castor" [*sic*] dating from circa 1800 with the monogram "R. M. J." acquired by Nimshi Crewe from a member of the Jones family about 1930, which he believed belonged to Robert and Mary Jones née Newell.[67]

I have not attempted to recount the story of Captain Robert's later seafaring descendants whose persistent use of the christian name Robert and prolific and cavalier use of the christian names Jonah and Jonas frustrate the researcher.[68] Like Sherlock Holmes' tale of "The Giant Rat of Sumatra for which the world is not yet prepared", it will have to await another day. The peripatetic careers and unknown fates of the two Captain Roberts vividly portray the vicissitudes and uncertainties encountered by mariners and merchants in northern seas during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

If ye know where their bones may lie
Please tell it unto me.

Endnotes

1. St. John's, Newfoundland, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, Office of the Premier, *Letter: Joseph R. Smallwood to Robert Jones* (2 November 1965).
2. PANL, *Nimshi Crewe Papers*, MG 281, Box 7, File 172 "Jones Family", Letter: Nimshi Crewe to Joseph Smallwood (31 July 1965).
3. *Ibid.*, (2 September 1965).
4. NLGS, *St. Paul's Anglican Church Parish Registers*, Reference 1/19. NLGS has indexed and photocopied the registers of Baptisms 1753-1915, Marriages 1753-1907 and Burials 1753-1903. Reference indicates the volume and page number in the register where the details of the event may be found. Hereafter the short form St. Paul's, NLGS [reference] will be used.
5. Trinity East, Parish of Port Rexton Anglican Rectory, *St. Andrew's Anglican Church Parish Registers*.
6. Unless otherwise stated, the basis for all Jones family oral traditions can be found in the following sources.

The first written account of the oral traditions of the Jones family is recorded in two articles by Canon Lockyer in the *St. John's Evening Telegram*. Canon William James Lockyer was the son of George Lockyer and Mary Lockyer née Jones, the youngest daughter of my third great-grandfather Jonah, the son of Captain Robert of the ship *Britannia*.

W. J. Lockyer, "Trinity," *St. John's Evening Telegram*, 29 April 1922, p. 5; and, 6 May 1922, p. 7.

There are two newspaper clippings of questionable origin which repeat the gist of Lockyer's articles.

Anonymous. "The Mystery Bag of Gold," [n. d.].

———, "The Mystery Bag of Gold," [n. d.].

The first article, probably published in 1938 (although it could have been published as early as 1888), was found in my grand-aunt Helen Doherty née Jones' trunk after her death in 1975 by her son Frank Doherty of Kitchener, Ontario.

The second article given to me by my father, Francis I. Jones of Trinity East and St. John's, probably appeared in the *Senior's News* at St. John's circa 1980s.

Nimshi Crewe, research officer Newfoundland Archives and Museum 1960-68, and confidant of Joey Smallwood who attempted to purchase the painting "The ship *Britannia* Captain Robert Jones entering Naples in the year 1789" from my grandfather, Robert Jones in 1965, kept extensive files on both the Jones and Newell families.

PANL, *Nimshi Crewe Papers*, MG 281, Box 7, File 172 "Jones Family"; and Box 9, File 223 "Newell Family".

Personal correspondence and communication between myself and my father, Francis I. Jones of Trinity East and St. John's; and, my third cousin one generation removed Robert Howard Jones of Aurora, Ontario (1992-1998).

7. NLGS, Gravesite Records, Trinity East, Trinity Bay, Private gravesite located in the backyard of Richard Jones on property formerly owned by Capt. Robert Jones and Mary Newell Jones.
8. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/7.

9. Liverpool, Lancashire, United Kingdom, *Letter: Joyce Culling to Francis I. W. Jones* (10 May 1996).
10. *Ibid.*
11. Robert Craig and Rupert Jarvis, *Liverpool Registry of Merchant Ships* (Manchester, 1967), passim.
12. Gordon Handcock, *Soe longe As there comes noe women* (St. John's, 1989), pp. 274-5.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
14. PANL, Census of Trinity, 1753.
15. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/25.

MHA, "Lester/Garland Family Papers, 1726-1870," *Diary of Benjamin Lester*, 31 October 1770.

16. *Ibid.*, 10 January 1788.
17. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/1, 1/11 & 1/13.
18. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/8.
19. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/10.
20. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/7.
21. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/25.
22. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/14.
23. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/7.
24. PANL, Return for Trinity of the Number of Houses, Inhabitants, Fishing Rooms, in the Winter of 1800-1801, with the Number of Servants and Total of Wages Given. [Hereafter referred to as Trinity Census, 1800-1801.]
25. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/4.
26. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/8.
27. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/33.
28. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/36.
29. St. Paul's, NLGS 2/43.
30. St. Paul's, NLGS 2/10.
31. Roy Skanes, Personal Communication (17 September 1995).
32. Correspondent, "Trinity: Old town has many claims on history," *St. John's Evening Telegram*, 25 April 1964, p. 2.

"Correspondent" was identified by Nimshi Crewe as Walter White, Trinity. PANL, *Nimshi Crewe Papers*, MG 281, Box 14, File 323 "Trinity—Registers—General—Trinity Churches".

33. Roy Skanes, Personal Communication (19 August 1996).
34. J. J. Colledge, *Ships of the Royal Navy: The Complete Record of All Fighting Ships of the Royal Navy From the Fifteenth Century to the Present* (London, 1987), p. 320.

Admiralty Office, *The Navy List, 1822-1826.*

35. *Lloyd's Register of Ships*, 1789.

MHA, Keith Matthews Name Files, Jones.

Diary of Benjamin Lester, 10 January 1788, 7 November 1788, 7 December 1788 and 11 April 1788.

36. *Diary of Benjamin Lester*, 28 February 1790.
37. *Ibid.*, 25 April 1789 and 30 January 1789.
38. *Lloyd's List*, 24 & 27 November 1789.
39. *Ibid.*, 2 July & 31 December 1790 & 18 January 1791.
40. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/71.
41. *Lloyd's Register of Ships*, 1791.

Diary of Benjamin Lester, 17 July 1791.

42. MHA, Keith Matthews Name Files, Jones, Robert.
43. MHA, "Lester/Garland Family Papers, 1726-1870," *Diary of Isaac Lester*, 5 March 1776.
44. *Lloyd's Register of Ships*, 1793-1795.
45. *Ibid.*, 1794 and 1796.
46. Trinity Census, 1800-1801.
47. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/77.
48. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/67.
49. St. Paul's, NLGS 2/43.
50. MHA, Keith Matthews Research Notes, Great Britain, Admiralty, Registers of Letters of Marque, Collection 24, Box 7, Sub-series No. 04-030/10.
51. *Ibid.*, Sub-series No. 04-030/09.

MHA, Keith Matthews Research Notes, Great Britain, High Court of Admiralty, Declarations of Marque, Collection 24, Box 10, Sub-series No. 04-065/34.

52. Great Britain, Admiralty, *Registers of Letters of Marque—France, 1793-1801*, Adm 7/328, 1 March 1793 and 18 September 1797.

Lloyd's Register of Ships, 1793 & 1797.

53. Handcock, p. 252.
54. *Diary of Benjamin Lester*, 11 January 1796; 20, 21 and 23 November 1797; 1 March, 29 and 30 October, 5, 6, and 7 November, 5 and 6 December 1798; 1 August 1800.
55. MHA, Keith Matthews Research Notes, Trinity—Historical Notes, Collection 24, Box 15, Sub-series No. 04-092.
56. A. G. Hatcher, "The Teaching of Navigation," *Newfoundland Quarterly*, (Christmas, 1944), 27.
57. Trinity Census, 1800-1801.
58. He was christened Robert; the marriage register states Robert Newell. Does this imply that he assumed the Newell name after growing up in the household of a Newell uncle?
59. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/69.
60. Handcock, pp. 211 & 252.
61. St. Paul's, NLGS 1/179.
62. *Lloyd's Register of Ships*, 1816, 1818 & 1819.

MHA, Keith Matthews Name Files, Jones.

MHA, Keith Matthews Research Notes, Great Britain, Admiralty, Registers of Mediterranean Passes, Collection 24, Box 7, Sub-series No. 04-029/15, 23 & 24.

MHA, "Slade Company Papers, 1791-1865," *Diary of Robert Slade 1816-1822*, 16 May, 3? and 12 June, 12 August, 13 and 16 October, and ? November 1817; 23 June 1818; 13 February 1819, 1.01.018.

Poole, England, *Letter: Poole Museum Service to Francis I. W. Jones* (3 August 1995).

63. *Lloyd's Register of Ships*, 1822-1830.

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64. *Lloyd's Register of Ships*, 1826-1829.

MHA, Keith Matthews Name Files, Jones, Robert.

MHA, *Index of Newfoundland Captains*, 1825, 1826 and 1828.

65. Robert H. Cuff, Melvin Baker and Robert D. W. Pitt, eds., *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography* (St. John's, 1990), p. 340.
66. Reverend Philip Tocque, "Echoes of the Past," *St. John's Evening Telegram*, 13 March 1896.

———, "The Pittman Family," *St. John's Evening Telegram*, 17 April 1896.

67. PANL, *Nimshi Crewe Papers*, MG 281, Box 9, File 223 "Newell Family".

68. Jonas and Jonah are interchangeable variants. Jonas is the Greek form of the Hebrew Jonah.

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J. R. Smallwood—Labour and Socialist Leader

Melvin Baker

Most Newfoundlanders today know Joseph Roberts Smallwood as the leader in the late 1940s of the political movement which brought Newfoundland in 1949 into the Canadian Confederation and as premier of Newfoundland from 1949 to 1972.[1] There is another aspect of Smallwood that is little known, the Smallwood of the 1920s, an idealistic journalist and self-educated socialist whose loyalty to William Ford Coaker,[2] and the Fishermen's Protective Union (FPU) he formed in 1908, was unswerving. He idolized Coaker and the FPU for their attempts to bring social, economic, and political reforms to Newfoundland and his early career in the 1920s was shaped by what Smallwood believed Coaker would approve.

Smallwood was born on 24 December 1900, at Gambo where his father, Charles, was working temporarily as a woods surveyor at Mint Brook. Soon after Smallwood's birth, the family moved back to St. John's. His childhood, in rented properties, was marked by poverty. After he had attended a number of schools in the city, in 1910, with the help of his uncle Fred, a prosperous city shoe manufacturer, he became a boarding student at Bishop Feild College. An avid reader and idealist, at the college he established a lending library of juvenile books, and also led a successful "strike" to protest the food served in the college dining room.

In 1915 Smallwood, having run afoul of the rules of the college, left to work as a "printer's devil" (or apprentice) with the city newspaper *Plaindealer* and, six months later, as a hand typesetter with the *Spectator*. In 1915 he also became a socialist following a chance meeting at a dentist's office with George Grimes,[3] the socialist Unionist representative for Port de Grave. "A precocious youth," as he later described himself to a friend,

Smallwood was "deeply concerned with the question of labour, and I read avidly on the subject."[4]

He later joined the St. John's *Daily News*, working as a circulation clerk for the next two years. During this time he regularly attended the House of Assembly to hear political debate in general and FPU President William Coaker in particular. He also wrote anonymous letters of support to the FPU newspaper under the pen name "Avalond." In a 18 January 1918 article in the *Advocate*, Smallwood boldly asserted his admiration for Coaker, "he is a man amongst men! He is a noble man, Mr. Coaker, . . . the super genius, the man who directed the fishermen's efforts."[5]

Beginning in 1918 he spent two years as a reporter with the *Evening Telegram*. During the 1919 general election Smallwood became immersed in politics for the first time. In the election an electoral alliance formed of Liberals led by Richard Squires[6] and the Unionists led by Coaker won 24 of 36 seats with the Unionists holding 12 of the 24 seats. The alliance was a marriage of convenience between the two leaders who mistrusted each other. Yet, each man needed the other to achieve his goals—Squires to attain the prime ministership and Coaker to achieve political power to implement the various fisheries reforms long sought by the FPU. During the election Smallwood wrote editorial copy (but nothing political) for the *Telegram,* which endorsed the Squires Liberals, while helping to produce the *Industrial Worker*, a labour paper that supported three "Workingman's" candidates opposed to Squires. During the campaign, Smallwood wrote for the labour newspaper and pasted the front pages of the *Industrial Worker* on utility poles and fences in St. John's.[7]

His failure to support the *Telegram*'s political position led to his dismissal from the newspaper in June 1920 and his decision to seek employment as a journalist in the United States. He worked for two months in Halifax for the *Halifax Herald*. While he was in Nova Scotia, there was a general provincial election and he wrote articles for the *Halifax Citizen*, a local labour newspaper and never received any remuneration, a practice he would continue for the next few years in writing for labour newspapers.[8] Smallwood then moved to Boston, where he worked for another few months for the *Boston Herald-Traveler*, before moving to New York where he found employment as a reporter on the socialist newspaper *Call*. His love of his native land and fellow compatriots remained strong.[9]

By January 1921 he had returned home and found work as a reporter, covering the House of Assembly for the *Daily Star*, a newspaper edited by former *Advocate* editor Harris Mosdell,[10] and which supported Prime Minister Squires. After the *Daily Star* ceased business in March, he joined the FPU newspaper, *The Evening Advocate*, as a reporter.

In May 1922 Smallwood returned to New York where, his biographer Richard Gwyn wrote, Smallwood "trained himself to be a missionary for Coaker and regaled everyone who would listen with tales of his idol. When New York friends questioned him about his future, he would say: 'It depends on what Coaker wants me to do.' "[11] He secured a reporter's position with the *New York Times*, using a letter of introduction he had secured from the editor of the *Times*, Charles Miller, whom Smallwood had interviewed the previous year in the *Advocate* when Miller had been visiting St. John's. While he had obtained a position with a prestigious newspaper, Smallwood resigned to work for Ernest Shipman, a Canadian-born film maker living in New York who was interested in making a film on Newfoundland. He returned to Newfoundland on 20 July 1922 followed later by Shipman to secure funding from local businessmen for the proposed film.[12] Although they met with some success, Shipman did not make the promised film and Smallwood eventually returned to New York where he continued his journalistic career. Employment this time consisted of casual work as a labourer and writing for trade magazines. He also wrote articles for a newspaper syndicate, which supplied materials for American and Canadian newspapers.[13]

In early 1924 he found employment with the *New York Leader* (the successor to the bankrupt *Call*), where he remained until 1925. As one contemporary later recalled, Smallwood was "rather quiet and retiring, and when art and literature were being discussed he hardly spoke at all. But when he got warmed up and started off about Newfoundland and Coaker, he could be quite aggressive."[14] He attended public lectures and again became active in the Socialist Party of America as a speaker during the 1924 presidential election campaign.

Smallwood regarded his time in the United States as only temporary and part of his plan to become better educated in labour politics in preparation for the formation of a Newfoundland Labour Party modeled on the British Labour Party that he hoped to help establish in Newfoundland.[15] He wrote to a friend in St. John's on 23 March 1924 that

> every month spent out of Newfoundland is punishment for me. My whole heart is in Newfoundland, and my interests are centred there. I regard my time spent out of Newfoundland in the light of training and experience, a period of broadening and the absorption of a cosmopolitan spirit if possible. . . . My idea is and has been for years that of equipping myself to be useful to the labour movement that I know should someday come to Newfoundland . . . and devote myself entirely to it for the rest of my life.[16]

From New York in 1924 Smallwood carefully monitored the Newfoundland political events of 1923-24. Hav-

ing won a general election in 1923 Prime Minister Squires subsequently resigned after charges of political corruption had been laid against his government. A series of coalition governments followed over the next year as politicians jockeyed for support, and a general election in 1924 resulted in the election of a majority government led by conservative businessman Walter Monroe. Meanwhile, Smallwood prepared himself for a return to Newfoundland to help form the Newfoundland Labour Party (NLP). His observations and criticisms of the political situation are documented in great detail in a number of letters he wrote in 1924 to St. John's labour leader George Tucker, vice-president of the Newfoundland Industrial Workers' Association (NIWA). The letters also discussed how a labour party could be formed in Newfoundland through careful planning, a program of public education to educate workers in the principles of unionism, and the bringing together of a small group of individuals who were sincere and loyal to the cause of the proposed labour party.

The political events of 1923 and 1924 demonstrated that the FPU was no longer a political force in Newfoundland, although it had with all its defects "undoubtedly given fishermen an attitude of independent-mindedness, and a keen interest in their economic conditions, that constitutes excellent material with which to work." The proposed NLP would be the successor of the FPU in the FPU districts, but would not become part of the FPU nor would the FPU become part of the NLP. In a 17 February 1924 letter to Tucker, Smallwood observed that the main work of the FPU had been performed and was not "making new progress. It is more or less resting on its oars. Coaker is no longer as young as he was, and from what I can see he is not equal to the task of reorganizing and revitalizing the FPU, much as perhaps he knows that needs to be done." Smallwood predicted that one of three things would happen to the FPU—"it will die a natural and unspectacular death; it will be reorganized anew and rededicated to fresh ideas and committed to a new program; or some opportunist adventurer will supplant it in the North, but will inevitably come to failure." While the FPU might die out, Smallwood acknowledged that its heritage was the "enlightened independence of the fishermen."[17] As it existed in 1924, the FPU had run out of passion and idealism; the moment it had joined with other parties to form a government, it had compromised its principles and policies.[18]

The major problem of the FPU was that Coaker had his definite objectives but there was no "general philosophy or attitude behind them." "In other words, he had only his cut and dried proposals which were purely topical and temporary," Smallwood wrote Tucker on 5 April 1924, which "soon grew out of date, leaving him more or less high and dry without definite principles. That is why you never see the FPU these days agitating for a specific program, with the exception of fish. Instead, it recounts to the point of extreme weariness, its past achievements." The FPU now had no

> passionate ideals, little fight, less enthusiasm, no policies, and therefore has no mission, and is failing to lead the democracy in our country. This is due largely to the psychological and other changes that have occurred to Coaker. He has burned himself out, he has run out of policies, he is largely disillusioned, and he is tied down to the commercial wing that has, Frankenstein like, arisen to proportions that demand all of his time. . . . It has ceased to be a movement, and degenerated into a party. It is not extending the union, holding very few meetings. . . . The fishermen are really leaderless."[19]

Smallwood's return to Newfoundland on 26 January 1925[20] had been to work as a paid organizer for John Burke, an American labour leader and socialist friend. Burke had persuaded him to reorganize branch Local 63 of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers at Grand Falls. Smallwood found at Grand Falls a local that once had 1700 members; now it had only about 100 and was declining further. He built the membership rolls up to over 900 within a few months. Besides his efforts on behalf of Burke's International, Smallwood also had plans to establish a national union organization in Newfoundland. On 5 April 1925, he founded at Grand Falls the Newfoundland Federation of Labour, consisting of the major trade unions from that town. In late April Smallwood visited St. John's and over the next few weeks secured the affiliation of the major city unions with the nascent federation. Blacksmiths, typographers, boilermakers and carpenters all joined the "united front," as did both men's and ladies' branches of the NIWA.

In the summer of 1925 Smallwood moved to the frontier town of Corner Brook (the site of Newfoundland's new paper mill) and organized Local 64 of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers. Smallwood's next effort was to organize the 600 section-men who worked for the publicly owned Newfoundland Railway and who had been threatened with a wage cut. Moving along the tracks on foot, by hand trolley, and by train, during September and October he signed the men up in their homes and at work; he had reached Avondale, approximately 30 miles from the capital, when he met a train going in the opposite direction, carrying officials of the railway. Threatening to close the railway down, Smallwood convinced the officials not to implement the proposed wage cut. This work accomplished, he moved to St. John's and published a weekly newspaper, the *Labour Outlook* (whose motto was "Fearless and Free"), for the members of the railway union and continued his work for the Newfoundland Federation of Labour.

During 1925 and early 1926 Smallwood established himself as one of the leading lights of the Newfoundland

labour movement. In his capacity as head of the Federation of Labour, he bombarded the press with correspondence on a wide range of labour-related issues. He outlined the position of the Federation of Labour, arguing for, among other things, an unemployment insurance act, a national health bill, and laws dealing with child labour and collective bargaining. He also suggested an insurance bill for fishermen. He investigated working conditions in the mines on Bell Island.

In early January, 1926, Smallwood gave the first lecture of a series organized by Dr. James Tait[21] for city labourers. Smallwood spoke on the Newfoundland labour movement, asserting that workers required their own labour party like their counterparts in Britain. He said that the Liberal Party had once fulfilled this role, but that it was no longer doing so, having become indistinguishable from the Tory party. Smallwood's lecture impressed lawyer George Ayre[22], who described him as "probably one of the best informed men on labour matters that there is in the country."[23] Ayre wrote to the press taking issue with Smallwood's position while acknowledging his considerable oratorical skills:

> Mr. Smallwood, if he plays his cards well, . . . has a great opportunity for good. He has already shown his rare organizing ability, his capacity for leadership, his ability as a speaker, a debater. He is young and wonderfully energetic. He seems to have all the qualifications for one who in time will become one of the leading men of the country. What a glorious prospect.

Ayre himself argued that the Liberal party could best serve the workingman's purpose. Smallwood's response was that if the "Liberal Party will pull itself together, take earnest stock of the situation, and formulate and commit itself to principles and policies of social reform nature; and genuinely advocate them, there need never be a labour Party in Newfoundland."[24] The socialist idealism of 1924 had given way to political pragmatism in 1926.

In 1926 Smallwood set forth an extensive political manifesto to reinvigorate the Liberal Party so that it would position itself as the champion of the working man of Newfoundland—to become for Newfoundland what the Labour Party was for Great Britain, the defender of labour. Newfoundland in 1926 provided Smallwood with an opportunity to use the political, social and economic ideas that had been shaped by several years of study of society's problems, by his experience as a socialist journalist on newspapers in New York, and by his experience as a public speaker on behalf of the Socialist Party of America. As such, his views represented a mixture of Christian socialist and liberal thinking current in American and British circles at the time. In 1925 correspondence with the St. John's *Daily News,* Smallwood declared himself a Christian socialist who had attended lectures in New York at the Labour Temple school run by the Presbyterian Church, and at the union-operated Rand School of Social Science, which had been established in 1906 to provide general public facilities for studying aspects of socialism.[25] The subjects he studied included "literature, philosophy, biology, history, unionism, economics, psychology, theory of government, history, constitutionalism, etc.," areas which gave Smallwood the benefits of a post-secondary education which he never obtained in the traditional institutional sense. He had also read, Smallwood informed the Newfoundland public in 1925,

> countless books and newspaper articles, on many dozens of subjects; I used to read at an average of a book a day, and so that my reading wouldn't be one-sided, I varied the subjects. I have some knowledge of every political philosophy or doctrine that is expounded. . . . My temperament runs along the line of political philosophy and economics, and naturally I have read widely on them.[26]

Ayre argued that the local Liberal party would meet the needs of labour. Smallwood responded by asking "Is Liberalism a mere name, a mere tradition, a mere will-of-the-wisp, something intangible, elusive, or is it something definite, concrete and apparent? Isn't it time that Liberalism answered that question?" Ayre challenged Smallwood to define Liberalism for Newfoundland. Smallwood took up the challenge. He wrote a series of letters to the St. John's *Globe,* showing how a revived Liberal Party should act on a number of issues such as Newfoundland's pressing financial and debt situation, its agriculture and fisheries, reforms in the civil service, and education. In these letters we see Smallwood trying to reconcile socialism with the pragmatism of local politics; as he later recalled in his autobiography: "Liberalism . . . with its roots set deeply down in the fishing and working classes generally, and its honorable record of taking always the side of the people, was as close as it was reasonable or practical to think the Island could get to Socialism."[27] The basis for the articles on a new Liberalism for Newfoundland was the program he had devised in 1924 for the proposed Newfoundland Labour Party.[28]

In 1926 Smallwood became the editor of a newspaper published by his friend, Richard Hibbs.[29] Hibbs published the *Globe*, whose editor, Harris Mosdell had been dismissed. The *Globe* was the voice of the opposition Liberal Party leader, Albert Hickman. This period of his life, which included his marriage to Clara Oates, Smallwood later recalled in his autobiography, was one of "personal happiness and strong political discontent."[30] As editor Smallwood enjoyed his criticisms of the conservative pro-business policies of Prime Minister Monroe during the 1926 legislative session.

To supplement his income, he commenced work on a Newfoundland *Who's Who*, a volume containing short biographies of prominent public figures who paid for their inclusion in the prospective book. Hibbs agreed to print

the book and share the book's profits on an equal basis with Smallwood, with whom he formed a partnership for the project. Financial difficulties in maintaining his paper forced Hibbs to stop publishing the *Globe* in 1926 and Smallwood, now without employment, at first valiantly attempted to continue the biographical project, but sold his interest in the project to Hibbs when the latter was in no hurry to complete it.

Growing restless and wishing to experience the intellectual life of English socialism, in late 1926 Smallwood left for England using funds he received from Hibbs and from the sale of a library of books he had been accumulating for the past few years. His wife, Clara, went to live with her parents in Carbonear during his six-month English stay. In London Smallwood threw himself wholeheartedly into Labour Party politics, campaigning for the party in a North Southwark by-election and writing for its official newspaper, the *Labour Magazine*, including an explanation of "Why America has no Labour Party."[31] He also went to "every Socialist, Communist, Liberal, Tory, philosophical, and religious meeting that it was practically possible for me to attend.''[32]

Before he left Newfoundland, Smallwood had discussed with Coaker the possibility of his writing a "history of the FPU and the story" of Coaker's career. On 30 December 1926 Smallwood wrote Coaker seeking financial support to help publish the proposed book by agreeing to purchase copies for distribution by Coaker to his friends in Newfoundland. A publishing house became interested in the book following Smallwood's introduction to the publisher through a mutual friend. "I need not point out to you the excellent propaganda purposes which could be served by such a book as I can write," Smallwood wrote. The publisher wanted Smallwood to commence writing right away and Smallwood said, "I am going to begin today. I can finish it inside of a week, so that it can be published within two months or even less. The company has loaned me a typewriter to do the book." Upon receipt of a cable from Coaker, Smallwood would finalize arrangements for the book's publication.[33] Coaker apparently agreed to this proposal and the book was published in mid-1927 by the Labour Publishing Company.

Smallwood returned to Newfoundland on 14 April 1927, aboard the Furness liner *Newfoundland* and immediately thrust himself into the foray of St. John's labour politics.[34] The following month he was secretary of the Unemployed Workers' Committee, chaired by James McGrath, a former president of the Longshoremen's Protective Union.[35] A few weeks later he gave up labour politics when he took a temporary assignment as a correspondent for several foreign newspapers in covering the landing at Trepassey of an Italian aviator, Francesco De Pinedo, who was attempting a trans-Atlantic flight.[36] Later in the year Smallwood moved to Corner Brook and found work with a surveyor's team on the Gander River watershed (touted as the site of a new paper mill). Later he established the *Humber Herald* in Corner Brook. Meanwhile, he had set his sights on becoming the Liberal candidate for Humber district in the next general election, due in late 1928 and won by the Liberal party led by Richard Squires. But when Squires decided that he himself would run in the district, Smallwood had to console himself with being district campaign manager. As his reward for helping the victorious Squires, Smallwood was appointed a justice of the peace.

Business acumen was not Smallwood's greatest strength and by 1929 majority control of the *Humber Herald* was in the hands of a shareholder, who increasingly interfered with Smallwood's editorial freedom. He soon severed his connection with the paper. Early in 1930 he was summoned to St. John's by Prime Minister Squires and informed that he was to buy the printing plant that had published the opposition newspaper *Watchman*. This was replaced by a new Liberal paper, which Smallwood coyly named the *Watchdog*. He now became a confidant of Squires, helping him to prepare speeches and policy statements (and was at the Prime Minister's side in April 1932 when a mob stormed the Colonial Building). The labour and socialist leader of the 1920s was now a seasoned Liberal party organizer and political confidant with an eye to elective politics at the next general election.

NOTES

1. For details on Smallwood, see the following sources: Joseph R. Smallwood, *I Chose Canada*, Toronto 1973; Richard Gwyn, *Smallwood: The Unlikely Revolutionary*, Toronto 1968; Harold Horwood, *Joey: The Life and Political Times of Joey Smallwood*, Toronto 1989; Melvin Baker, "Joseph Roberts Smallwood," in *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, vol. 5, St. John's 1994, pp. 208-25; Melvin Baker and Hans Rollmann, "Joey Smallwood—He didn't see Confederation, but . . . he did see a 'socialist' utopia by 1971!" in James R. Thoms, ed., *Fifty Golden Years: The Illustrated Story of Newfoundland and Labrador's Union with Canada*, St. John's 1999, 78-79; and the 1998 Advocate Press reprint of Smallwood's *Coaker of Newfoundland*, pp. 1-31.
2. See Ian D.H. McDonald, *"To Each His Own": William Coaker and the Fishermen's Protective Union in Newfoundland Politics, 1908-1925*, St. John's 1987, and Robert Cuff, ed. *A Coaker Anthology*, St. John's 1986.
3. George Grimes (1877-1929); retail clerk and politician, who was the socialist conscience of the FPU. See Robert H. Cuff, Melvin Baker, and Robert D. W. Pitt, eds., *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography*, St. John's 1990, pp. 135-36.
4. Centre for Newfoundland Studies Archives (CNSA), Coll-213, Joseph Smallwood to George Tucker, 25 April 1924.
5. *Evening Advocate*, 18 January 1918.
6. Richard Squires (1880-1940); lawyer, politician, and prime minister of Newfoundland, 1919-23, and 1928-32. See Cuff et al., *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography*, pp. 323-24.
7. CNSA, Coll-213, Joseph Smallwood to George Tucker, 25 April 1924.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Writing to William Coaker's daughter on 14 October 1922, from New York, Smallwood envied the fact that she was attending Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick, because she had the "privilege of being with Newfoundlanders most of the time." Mount Allison in the 1920s was a pop-

ular destination for Newfoundlanders wishing to pursue a post-secondary education. See Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (PANL), MG 374, Box 2, Camilla Coaker Scrapbook, Joseph Smallwood to Camilla Coaker, 14 October 1922.

10. Harris Mosdell (1883-1944); journalist, physician, politician, and civil servant. See Cuff et al., *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography*, p. 236.
11. Gwyn, *Smallwood,* p. 25; and *Evening Telegram* 20 July 1922.
12. *Evening Telegram* 20 July 1922.
13. CNSA, Coll-213, Joseph Smallwood to George Tucker, 23 March 1924.
14. Gwyn, *Smallwood*, p. 26.
15. His admiration for the British Labour Party can be seen in a number of articles he wrote for the St. John's press. For instance, see the *Evening Advocate*, 11, 12, and 13 September 1924, and the *Daily News*, 5, 15 September 1925.
16. CNSA, Coll-213, Joseph Smallwood to George Tucker, 23 March 1924.
17. *Ibid.*, Joseph Smallwood to George Tucker, 17 February 1924.
18. *Ibid.*, Joseph Smallwood to George Tucker, 23 March 1924.
19. *Ibid.*, Joseph Smallwood to George Tucker, 5 April 1924.
20. *Daily Globe* 29 January 1925.
21. James Sinclair Tait (1849-1928); physician. See Cuff et al., *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography*, p. 334.
22. George W.B. Ayre (1879-1945); lawyer. See *ibid.,* p. 8.
23. *Daily Globe,* 14 January 1926.
24. *Ibid.*, 18 January 1926.
25. Melvin Baker and James Overton, "J. R. Smallwood on Liberalism in 1926: Document" in *Newfoundland Studies*, 11, no. 1 (1995), pp. 75-126.
26. *Daily News*, 8 May 1925.
27. Baker and Overton, "J. R. Smallwood," pp. 78-9; and Smallwood, *I Chose Canada*, p. 164.
28. CNSA, Coll-213, Joseph Smallwood to George Tucker, 17 April 1924.
29. Richard Hibbs (1876-1940); farmer, politician and journalist, who helped William Coaker to organize the FPU in Conception Bay. See Cuff et al., *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography,* p. 151.
30. Smallwood, *I Chose Canada*, p. 164.
31. Baker and Overton, "J. R. Smallwood," pp. 79-80.
32. Smallwood, *I Chose Canada*, pp. 167-69.
33. CNSA, Coll-9, microfilm of general correspondence, Joseph Smallwood to William Coaker, 30 December 1926.
34. *Daily News*, 14 April 1927.
35. See PANL, GN2/5, Special file of the Colonial Secretary's Office, file 485, "Unemployment 1927," Colonial Secretary J. R. Bennett to James McGrath and J. R. Smallwood, 19 May 1927; and *Daily News*, 11, 13 May 1927. On McGrath, see Cuff et al., *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography,* p. 209.
36. *Daily News*, 26 May 1927. The newspapers were the *United Press*, *New York World*, *Boston Post*, *Montreal Star*, and the *London Daily Express*.

Newfoundland Historical Society Heritage Award Recipients

"Elected to the Fellowship of Heritage
for having contributed significantly
to the history of Newfoundland and Labrador"

1976 Bobbie Robertson
1977 Agnes O'Dea
1978 Joseph R. Smallwood
1979 Ted Drover
1980 Ronald Seary
1981 Frederick W. Rowe
1982 Louise Whiteway
1983 George Story
1984 Doris Saunders
1985 Paul O'Neill
Michael Harrington
1986 Harry Cuff
1987 no recipient
1988 Burnham Gill
1989 Hal Andrews
1990 Ed Coady
1991 Leslie Harris
1993 no recipient
1994 Otto Tucker
1995 Naboth Winsor
Peter Neary
1996 Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador
Gordon Handcock
1997 Paul Johnson
Marguerite Linthorne
1998 Gilbert Higgins
Janet Story
Raymond W. Guy
1999 Ena Farrell Edwards

Newfoundland Historical Society's Heritage Award 1999

Ena Farrell Edwards and David Bradley, May 1999
(Photo credit: Kirk Squires, Grand Bank)

This year's recipient of the Newfoundland Historical Society's Heritage Award is **Ena Farrell Edwards**. David Bradley, Historical Society President, made the presentation on 29 May at the ***History of the Bank Fishery Symposium*** in Grand Bank. Many of "Miss Ena's" accomplishments were recounted in a citation prepared and presented by John FitzGerald.

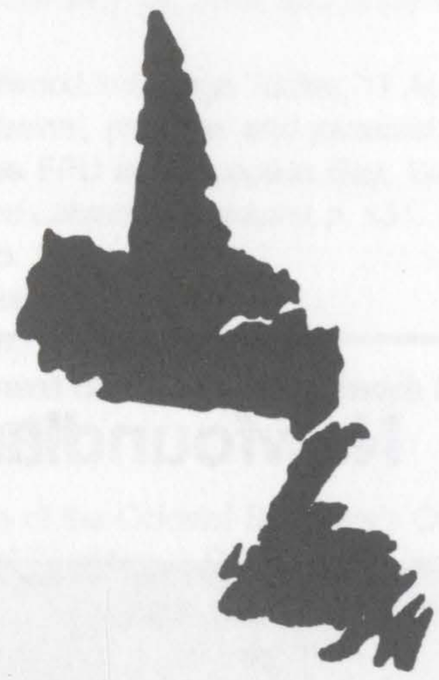
"Born in St. Lawrence, the daughter of Aloysius and Laura Giovannini, 'Miss Ena' has given decades of service to her community. As Chair of the local branch of the Canadian Cancer Society, as Librarian of the St. Lawrence Public Library, as a tireless fundraiser with the Christmas Seal campaign, and as the Chairwoman of the St. Lawrence Council of Catholic Women, she gained a close knowledge of the tragedies and triumphs of the people of St. Lawrence, the Burin Peninsula, and the south coast of Newfoundland."

"In 1983 her book entitled *Notes Towards a History of St. Lawrence* was published. . . . This is the book of a woman with a keen awareness of the historical process, of the endless dance of history, which never finishes and is never dead because our understanding of the past is always changing, and because there is always something new to learn. And this great gift she passes on to her readers."

FitzGerald also alluded to the disaster of 18 February 1942, when the American ships *Pollux* and *Truxtun* foundered at Lawn Point and Chambers Cove, respectively. "Everyone, including Ena Farrell, pitched in. But not only did she collect clothing for the oil-soaked, half-frozen victims: she was also the only person to record, in pictures, the shipwrecks." Along with the 1999 Heritage Award, she was presented with a copy of some of the diplomatic correspondence on the disaster, including a letter she wrote to the United States Department of State in March 1948.

Newfoundland News Highlights

1 June to 31 August 1999



June 1 Fisheries Minister David Anderson announced the quotas of cod for the south and west coasts–30,000 and 7500 tonnes respectively. Fishers began fishing immediately.

The J. R. Smallwood Interpretation Centre was officially opened at Gambo as part of the Soiree '99 celebrations.

Harold Druken signed a $2.6 million contract with the Canucks.

June 6 The Benevolent Irish Society closed its clubrooms on Queen's Road. The Society was founded in 1806 by local catholic and protestant men to provide for the poor and suffering Irish people in the city. It is planned to continue operating clubrooms elsewhere in the city.

June 8 Dr. Robin McGrath, a frequent contributor to the *Newfoundland Quarterly*, was named winner of the Henry Fuerstenberg Award for Poetry for her collection entitled *Escaped Domestics*.

The Conference Board of Canada declared that Newfoundland led the provinces in after-inflation growth: 5% for Newfoundland compared with less than 3% for Canada as a whole. But its 1999 per capita income of $19,704 was the country's lowest, the national average being $24,762.

June 9 The Commons fisheries committee recommended a large reduction in the East Coast seal population, estimated at more than 5 million. The report judged that seals annually consume 1.4 million tonnes of cod, about 300 million fish.

June 14 The operator of the White Rose oil field, located 50 kilometres east of Hibernia, announced that it estimated there were reserves of 750 million barrels of oil, to begin production in 2004.

June 17 Randy Druken, 33, who in 1995 had been convicted of murdering his girlfriend and was sentenced to life imprisonment, was granted a new trial by the Newfoundland Court of Appeal. In the first trial, a jailed informant testified that Druken had confessed to the murder. Later, the informant told the Ontario Police that he had lied. Furthermore, new DNA tests did not place Druken at the scene of the crime. He was granted bail on July 8.

June 22 It was announced that nine performing arts organizations had been funded under the Newfoundland and Labrador Arts Council's Sustaining Funds Program. Grants range from $5000 to $32,000, for a total of $190,000.

June 25 At the beginning of the season, lobster fishers were getting as much as $7 a pound, the highest price ever.

June 28 The Memorial University Senate committee on undergraduate studies recommended that the public school leaving examinations be reinstated. Some plan was needed to ensure that "a consistent and equitable admission standard" would be available.

July 2 Owners of the Terra Nova oil project upgraded their estimate of recoverable oil to 580 million barrels (a 45% increase). The comparable Hibernia figure is 615 million (though Mobil recently increased its estimate to 750 million).

Caplin struck in at Middle Cove.

July 6 Development and Rural Renewal Minister Beaton Tulk declared that government would ensure the rights of residents of the province to enjoy the outdoors by regulating the use of land.

July 9 Newfoundland's first commercial fishery for northern cod (since the moratorium came into effect) began with 2100 fishers licenced to take a quota of 7200 pounds each. The results were expected to give each par-

ticipant about $5000. Many are also engaged in fishing other species.

The railway car Avalon, which had been in Bowring Park, was taken to the Robin Hood Bay dump. Cost of restoration, following vandalism, was cited as the reason.

July 13 St. John's City Hall decided to close down another green space, the Cowan Heights basketball court, because of complaints of nearby residents concerning vandalism, drinking, and noise.

July 16 The Department of Municipal and Provincial Affairs announced a program to fund capital works projects for ten municipalities costing $106 million (with some emphasis on water and sewer works), with the towns and cities covering half the cost. St. John's, Conception Bay South, and Paradise averaged $20 million; Stephenville, Bay Roberts, and Portugal Cove/St. Phillips about $9 million each; Port au Choix, Twillingate and Fogo almost $5 million each, and Holyrood $1.5 million. Nine other communities had applied unsuccessfully for funding. The towns will have to provide their funds over a three-year period.

July 18 Premier Brian Tobin declared that total value of the province's fishery this year would exceed that of all other provinces. He stated that there are 5000 more people employed in the fishery this year than there were last year, that seasons were longer, and more processing of the products in the province increased the industry's importance to the economy.

July 23 It was reported that Olive Normore of L'Anse au Loup was suing her former lawyer, John Glube, his law firm, and the banks which deposited to Glube's account cheques made out by insurance companies to Mrs. Normore totalling $741,000.

Glube had used the money to invest in a scam operated by Nigerian crooks who contacted many businessmen and asked them to invest in a deal which would give them millions of dollars.

July 25 Robert Langdon, a retired provincial deputy minister, was named to the top position of two national volunteer groups. He was chosen as chancellor of the St. John Ambulance of Canada and president of the Canadian Lung Association.

The cover review of the *New York Times Book Review* featured Wayne Johnston, author of *The Colony of Unrequited Dreams*.

July 29 It was announced that 92% of Newfoundland high school leaving students had passed—almost half of them with honours—up 4.5% in 5 years. Examinations in these years have been set and marked by individual schools. Formerly such exams had been handled by a Public Examination board.

July 31 A former DFO scientist, George Winters, declared that there are undisputed signs that the inshore northern cod stocks are recovering, while offshore northern cod stocks have shown no recovery since the 1992 moratorium.

August 1 The first summer food fishery (July 30, 31, and August 1) ended with good catches along the south coast and in the Strait of Belle Isle. Apart from in the Bay of Islands, most people got their quota. Many fishers found that cod were bloated with caplin and were not interested in baited hooks.

August 3 MP George Baker was sworn in as Minister of Veterans Affairs. He had been in the House of Commons as an outspoken backbencher for 25 years. Herb Dhaliwal of British Columbia was named Fisheries minister.

August 4 At the Royal St. John's Regatta, the women's championship team was Keyin College in a time of 5:03:59. Winning time in the men's championship race was 9:15:73, won by NTV.

August 5 Federal Transport Minister David Collenette, after travelling on the Gulf ferry, noted that only the ferry link on that run was guaranteed under the Terms of Union. He hinted that the upgrading of the Gulf ferry could be solved by changing or (eliminating) the Argentia run.

August 11 George Furey, 51, was named to the Canadian Senate. He had been a Liberal campaign manager in the last two provincial and federal elections.

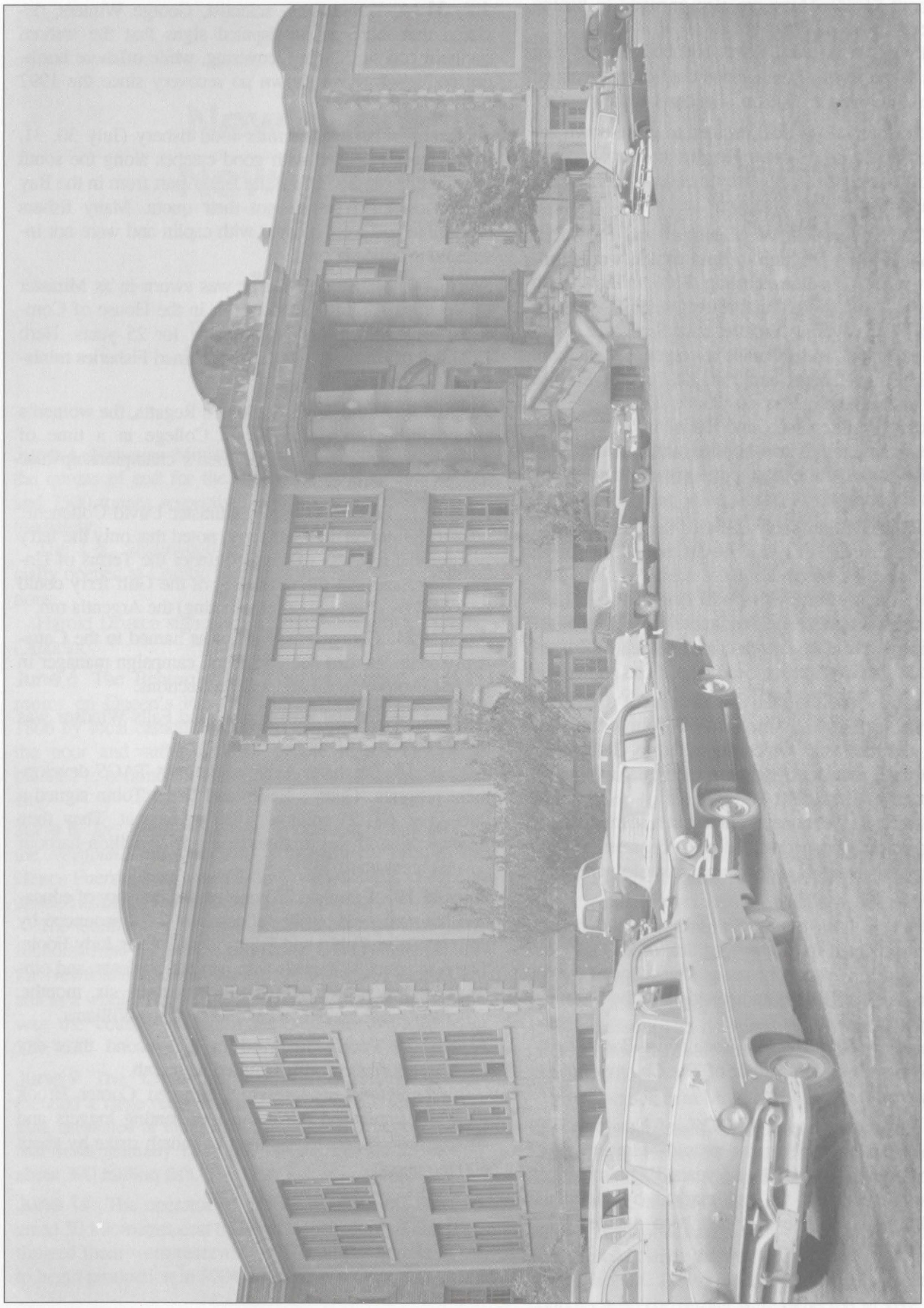
August 12 Crystal Freake of Grand Falls-Windsor was named Miss Teen Canada.

August 16 On the first day of the post-TAGS development program, George Baker and Brian Tobin signed a three-year, $81.25 million 70/30 agreement. They then flew to St. Anthony to announce a $6.7 million harbour development plan.

August 19 A ministerial panel on the delivery of education programs and teacher allocations was announced by Premier Brian Tobin and Education Minister Judy Foote. The new panel, to consult with parents, students, and others involved in education, will report in six months. Co-chairs are Ronald Sparkes and Leonard Williams.

August 29 People involved in the second three-day food fishery found codfish glutted with crab.

An agreement was reached between Corner Brook Pulp and Paper and the union representing loggers and silviculture workers to end the two-month strike by about 600 members.



Parade Street campus, late 1950s

Photos courtesy of Memorial University of Newfoundland

Prominent Figure From Our Recent Past

Charles Ronald McKay Granger

Melvin Baker

Charles Ronald McKay Granger was born in Catalina on 12 August 1912, one of two children of David Charles and Emilie Sarah (Bursey) Granger. On 19 June 1950 he married Elizabeth Jane French of Moreton's Harbour and they had four children.

On his father's side, he came from a long line of tradesmen. His great-grandfather was a carpenter who had come to Trinity from Somerset, England, about 1820 and worked as a carpenter. His grandfather, also named Charles, was born in Trinity in 1838 and moved to Catalina in the late 1850s to establish a woodworking shop. His father continued the business until David's death in 1945. Until the 1930s Catalina was a major port on Newfoundland's northeast coast supplying both vessels and men for the coastal freighting trade and the transport of fish to foreign markets. In the late 19th century it had been a major port for the Grand Banks fishery. The Grangers served the general community as cabinet makers, wheelwrights, blockmakers, casket makers, and general wood workers.

Granger was educated at St. Peter's Anglican High School in Catalina. During the 1930s he worked in his father's workshop and wrote a regular news column on Catalina for the *Fishermen's Advocate*. His columns provided rich detailed information on community activities. Having developed a love of poetry while in school, he began writing poetry which he published in the local press, mainly in the *Advocate*. (In 1967 he edited the poetry section in volume four of *The Book of Newfoundland* published by Premier Joseph Smallwood.) He was also active in 1937 in the establishment of the Joseph E. Clouter Memorial Library at Catalina, the first public library to be established outside St. John's. He was secretary-treasurer of the library board from 1938 to 1946.

When the editor of the *Advocate*, Jack Scammell, became ill and required hospitalization, Granger at short notice took over the editorship of the newspaper on a temporary basis. Following Scammell's death on 18 September 1940, Granger was hired to edit the *Advocate* full time. The newspaper continued to emphasize news items of interest to its readership along the northeast coast. Reflecting his love of poetry, the newspaper's articles often took on a lyrical tone. His account of a major sleet storm, which struck the Catalina/Port Union area on 27 January 1942 and downed power lines, is typical of Granger's writing style:

> Nothing could be seen of Port Union, probably the most brilliantly lit town in Newfoundland, and one of the most brightly lighted places in the world, save a mass of shapeless blackness. . . . As the night wore on a number of lights appeared, showing yellow and dim, as long unused lamps were lighted or candlelight wavered from saucers. On Sunday . . . the streets were a litter of broken glass and twisted poles, while ships in the harbor were cased in a white translucent shroud.

During the early 1940s Granger opened the *Advocate*'s columns to confederate advocate Gordon Bradley for whom Granger had developed a strong political admiration. Bradley had been an elective member of Newfoundland's pre-1934 House of Assembly and favoured confederation with Canada as an alternative to either responsible government or the existing system of Commission of Government. In 1948 Granger replaced Ken Brown as president of the Fishermen's Protective Union (FPU) and served until 1949 when he was succeeded by Gilbert Yetman. He accepted the presidency on the condition that the FPU remain neutral on the confederation issue, despite Bradley's objections to the contrary.

Charles Granger
(Photo courtesy of Elizabeth Granger)

He resigned the editorship of the *Advocate* on 19 April 1949 and in July became private secretary to Bradley, who had been elected in 1949 to the House of Commons and appointed as Newfoundland's federal cabinet minister as Secretary of State. In 1953 Jack Pickersgill succeeded Bradley as Newfoundland's representative in the federal cabinet and Granger served as Pickersgill's private secretary and executive assistant until 1957 when he accepted a position as Deputy Minister of Highways in Newfoundland. The following year Granger won election to the House of Commons for the District of Grand Falls-White Bay-Labrador; he won re-election in 1962, 1963, and 1965. In August 1966 he resigned from the House of Commons and successfully contested the District of Gander in the provincial election held on 8 September and was appointed Minister of Labrador Affairs. Granger resigned from the House of Assembly on 25 September 1967 and, after winning a 6 November 1967 federal by-election, he entered the federal cabinet as a Minister without Portfolio. In the 25 June 1968 general federal election Newfoundlanders resisted the political blandishments of Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and returned Progressive Conservatives in six of the province's seven districts. Following his electoral defeat, Granger from 1968 to 1975 was vice-president of Shaheen Natural Resources Company which built an oil refinery at Come By Chance.

Retiring to Catalina, Granger was active in community life and was a strong advocate of preserving the area's history and heritage. In 1995 he was named to the Order of Canada. He died at Catalina on 22 April 1995.

Hannah with Santa Claus in the Sanatorium

22 Months of Hospitalization in a Little Girl's Life (The Story of Hannah French, a. k. a. Diana Wiseman)

There were few Newfoundland children admitted to the TB Sanatoriums. In 1950, there were two young patients, Hannah in the women's San, and Michael, aged 10, in the men's San. Hannah was the youngest person at the time to be treated with streptomycin.

The other patients considered Hannah a breath of fresh air: it seemed to her that she had a hundred mothers. To the nurses, aides and maids, she was like a live doll. Her doctor, Dr. Eithne Knowling on occasion took "Diana" to her home to give her a break from hospital routine.

When Christmas of 1949 came, the patients and staff showered her with gifts—a dollhouse, a chenille housecoat, a snowsuit.

At the time, it was the practice of radio station VONF (the predecessor to CBC) to carry a live program, *Christmas at the Sanatorium*. Patients could prepare and deliver Christmas messages to family and friends. The emcee would usually be Bob MacLeod, while entertainers included fiddler Don Randell and Ralph Bishop.

Hannah's Background

One of the strangest features of this story is that when 4-year-old Hannah Wiseman was admitted to the St. John's Sanatorium in 1948, she was registered as Diana. The patients, nurses, doctors, and visitors all called her Diana.

Hannah has no idea why they gave her that name, but for a little girl taken from her hometown and parents, it represented still another sense of loss—imagine losing your name at age 4, left with a group of strangers. The people who dropped her off at the Sanatorium were her grandparents, William and Mary Norris. Not once during her stay were her parents (Samuel and Florence) able to leave their other children to visit young Hannah.

Home for Hannah had been Trinity in Bonavista Bay, where her father was a fisherman. To the best of her knowledge, no member of her family had had tuberculosis, nor did anyone else in Trinity. But she did spend two weeks at the Brookfield Cottage Hospital when she had pneumonia.

Hannah still remembers how she, along with much of the population of Trinity, Bonavista Bay, went to the wharf to board the M.V. *Christmas Seal* for an x-ray. The event over, she went about doing things all little girls did in June. But when the *Christmas Seal* returned about a fortnight later, she heard her name over the vessel's loudspeaker calling for a second x-ray. The other people who were rechecked were found to be free from tuberculosis, but poor little Hannah's parents were told that she had tuberculosis in both lungs.

The year was 1948, and tuberculosis was still rampant in Newfoundland. The only hope was to be admitted to a TB Sanatorium in St. John's or Corner Brook, or the Tuberculosis Wing in either St. Anthony or Twillingate hospital for rest and, in most cases, treatment—or surgery—and be fed nourishing and sufficient food.

Although streptomycin had been used experimentally before 1948, the problem was that, after a while, the TB bugs built up a resistance to the drug. There were a few people who could afford to continue using the drug, but the long-term result was generally another breakdown.

Then in 1949 a new drug, PAS, was found to attack the bacteria, thus allowing some patients to be discharged, apparently cured. Alas, the bugs built up a resistance to PAS. Other treatments proved to be effective in some cases, but not in all of them.

Then in 1950 the great breakthrough came, when it was found that patients could be lastingly cured after taking streptomycin and PAS together. Initially there was one needle daily (streptomycin) along with the swallowing of 40 PAS pills every day.

And so, in July of 1950 (22 months after being admitted) Hannah was discharged, cured permanently as it turned out.

* * *

The "Cures" for Tuberculosis

Dr. John Olds in Twillingate Hospital used his skill as a surgeon to cure TB patients. He removed affected portions of lungs or removed his patients' ribs so that a segment of the lung (where the bacteria were attacking) could collapse permanently and rest that part of the lung. In St. John's it was Dr. G. M. Brownrigg who performed similar operations. In the St. John's Sanatorium, having your ribs out (thorocoplasty) was considered the last hope, while in Dr. Olds' hospital, the operation was used in any instance where it might be effective. (Dr. Olds didn't have enough beds to accommodate people who

Patients in the Sanatorium, Christmas 1948

Hannah and her husband, Abraham, at home, 1999

might need two to six years of bed rest to enable a rest cure to be possible.)

The purpose of bed rest (coupled with nourishing meals) was to rest the lungs and thus reduce the effects of the TB bugs which could not attack as effectively in a sound and rested body.

There were some lucky patients who could have the affected portions of their lungs rendered unable to function in order for a cure to be made. The most common treatment was to pump compressed air into the space between the lung and the patient's chest cavity. A long hollow "needle" was pushed in to the patient's side or near the stomach and air was pumped in. The treatment was called pneumo, and had to be repeated periodically since the air escaped over time.

The TB Reunion in November 1994

In the fall of 1994, the Newfoundland and Labrador Lung Association organized reunions of former patients and staff of the TB Sanatoriums. More than 500 people gathered on the occasion of the St. John's reunion on 12 November at the School for the Deaf, which had been built on the site of the old St. John's Sanatorium.

Ex-patients and former medical staff of the Sanatoriums and the *Christmas Seal* and their families gathered for three hours or so to reminisce and to be entertained. Harry Brown, who had broadcast several *Christmas from the Sanatorium* programs for CBC, was the emcee. A play, "Love Letters from the San," was performed, showing typical scenes from the old Sanatorium.

The invitees had been encouraged to bring photographs and other memorabilia, and Hannah French brought pictures of her as patient Diana Wiseman. They were displayed on a bulletin board with other items, but Hannah left without taking her pictures. She telephoned the Lung Association the next day, much concerned. The staff of the Association had collected any pictures left in the building, but Hannah's pictures were not there. For two years, at every meeting of the Board of Directors of the Lung Association, Peg Johnson bemoaned the fact that she could not find Hannah's pictures.

Then, by the strangest set of circumstances, the matter was mentioned to Robert Cuff, managing editor of the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, who related that he had discovered some historic pictures in damaged condition—including several taken in the Sanatorium. One was of a little girl at a microphone with Bob MacLeod, the original of the photo which was distributed to patients in 1949 and which had been used in an article on MacLeod in Volume III (p. 419) of the *Encyclopedia*. Checking his collection of old photos, he located others showing the same little girl. One photo showed Hannah with MacLeod, guitarist Ralph Bishop, and fiddler Don Randell. Now Hannah has more pictures of her as a little girl than she knew existed.

Book to be Published on Sanatorium Life

Following the reunion of 1994, the Lung Association, at the suggestion of many people who attended the reunion, resolved that a book be published with reminiscences of ex-tuberculosis patients and staff. Anecdotes and pictures illustrating life in the San have been collected, along with examples of creative works produced by ex-patients—works inspired by or made possible by a long period of forced inactivity.

Without question, anyone who has spent a long period of time first waiting for a bed in a sanatorium, then one to six years in hospital followed by a long period of convalescence, had the time to think about life—to form a philosophy of life. Having a brush with death has a lasting influence on a person's journey through life.

Their association with tuberculosis motivated a number of Newfoundland writers and public figures. Sadly, many other promising young people died before reaching their potential. Ted Meaney, founder of the Newfoundland Tuberculosis Association, was one of them. Greg Power and Georgiana Cooper produced their best poetry as a result of their fight with tuberculosis. Several prominent Newfoundlanders acknowledge how having had tuberculosis affected their lives and their careers as creative people.

On the international scene, on a television program aired in August, 1999, singer Tom Jones declared that the impetus for all his creative efforts was his having spent two years as a TB patient half a century ago. Coincidentally, the program which followed featured Englebert Humperdinck, who also acknowledged how his six-month bout with tuberculosis had inspired him to write songs.

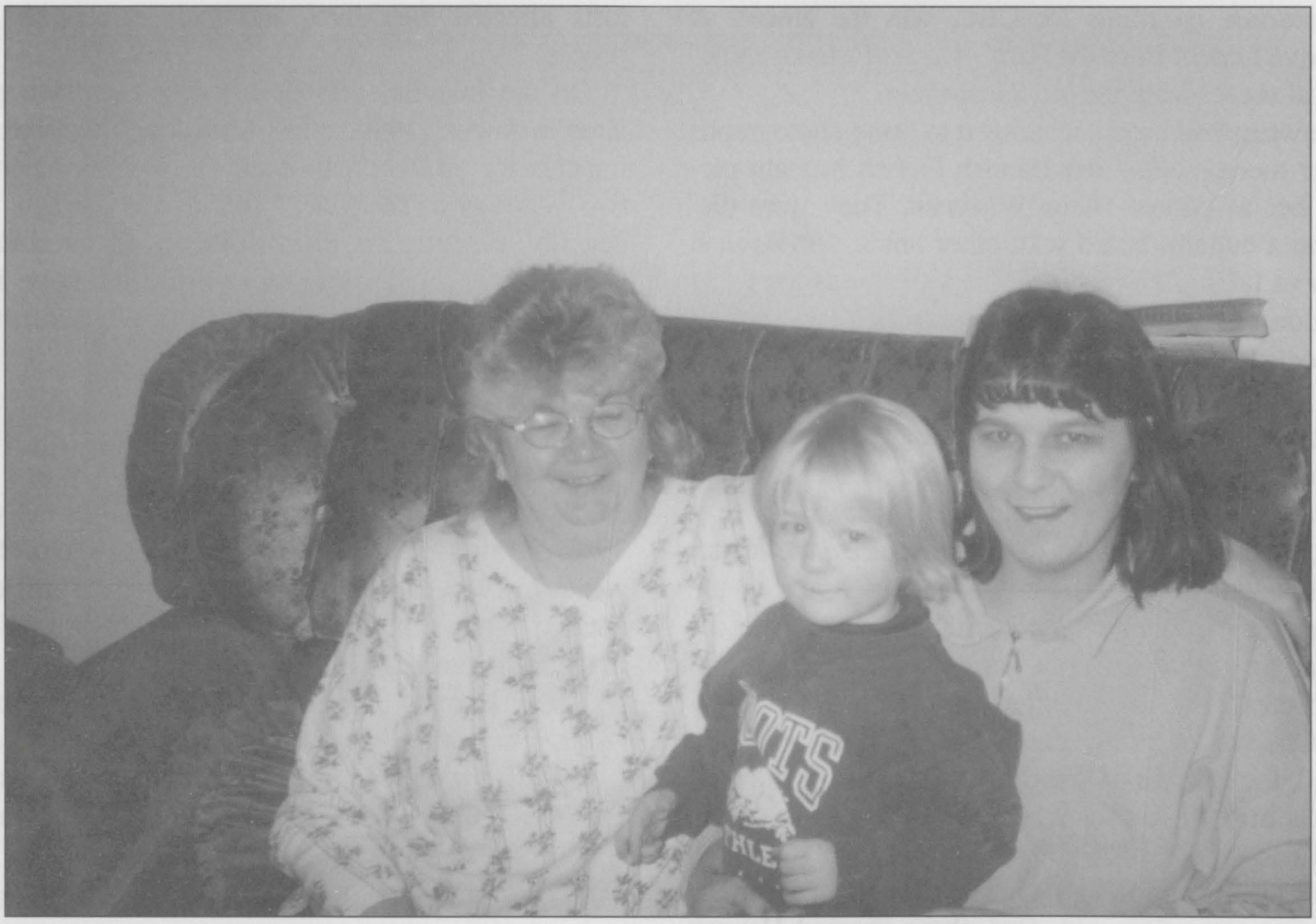
Back to Hannah French

The story of Hannah French and her stay as a child at the Sanatorium received much publicity over the years. In 1950, she was featured on the Women's Page of the *Daily News*. In 1978, the *Village Voice* carried an article on her entitled "The Diana Wiseman Story." She will be featured in the forthcoming publication.

Today Hannah, a proud grandmother, lives in Mount Pearl with her husband, Abraham French. She considers every day a special one—a gift from God in a way—and will never forget her days spent as a patient in the St. John's Sanatorium.

Readers are invited to submit items and photographs for inclusion in the forthcoming book to Harry Cuff, One Dorset Street, St. John's, NF, A1B 1W8.

Bob MacLeod, Hannah, Ralph Bishop, and Don Randell



Hannah, her granddaughter Sarah Sullivan, and daughter Denise Sullivan

All Gone *Widdun* ('asleep'/died) Was Shawnawdithit Right? A Speculative Approach

John S. Mitchell, Ph.D.

According to John Gill in his "Recollections,"[1] Shawnawdithit stated "All gone widdun" after one of her "melancholic moods." She believed that since she last saw the remnant of her tribe (spring, 1823), the Beothuk had died out. Was she correct in her assessment? Most informed people today suggest that Shawnawdithit was the last of the Beothuk. This article proposes that this may not necessarily have been the case. It will note connections between the Micmac living in Newfoundland and the Labrador-based Nascopie-Mountaineers (Montagnais), something that needs further study, and will suggest possible connections between the Northern tribes especially and the Beothuk.

John Maunder in "Tales of the Labrador Indians, Part 1"[2] suggests quite correctly that the Nascopie-Montagnais (Mountaineer), a Labrador group of Algonkian Indians had "a common heritage." The noted linguist, Professor John Hewson stated that "the Algonkian family of languages . . . probably includes Beothuk."[3] From the article it is evident that this family of languages includes Micmac as well. Hewson, in the same article, notes Reverend George Patterson's comments in *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada 1892 (p. 32)[4] to the effect that after a careful consideration of Shawnawdithit material in the St. John's museum, he rejected Howley's view of a Beothuk remnant crossing to Labrador.

Yet Harry Cuff[5] discusses in a catchy article entitled "I interviewed the Great-Grandchild of a Beothuk," an interview he had with Anne Gabriel (Mrs. Richard White) who claimed descent from a Beothuk-Micmac marriage. He suggests (and I would concur) that similar tales by the Micmac would yield dividends. The same could be said of tales by more northern peoples as will be intimated. He goes on to state that the Beothuks "had a thorough knowledge of the island" and rejects "the reliability of Shawnawdithit's census" (re. 1823) given the size of Newfoundland. I tend to agree with Cuff here and am consequently hesitant to accept Patterson's conclusions. Let us keep in mind that Shawnawdithit's report was based on those Beothuks living in the heartland of Beothuk territory, northeastern Red Indian Lake, in the main family members; and Patterson's interpretation depends, as he said, on papers connected to Shawnawdithit. Pockets of Beothuk outside of Shawnawdithit's kin and ken may have existed. The size of the island and the knowledge of the island by the Beothuk (Cuff) are suggestive here even without precise data. Aboriginal peoples in Newfoundland tended to be nomadic: interior to sea; sea to interior.

But more preliminaries before I proceed with argument. Ingeborg Marshall, the noted student of the Beothuk, has observed that the Beothuk had at least two types of canoes: one an ocean-going type and the other a river-coastal type. It is common knowledge that the Beothuk ventured across open waters of the Atlantic as far as Funk Island. Crossing the Strait of Belle Isle would not have been a great obstacle for them in the summertime. Now Sonja Jerkic in "Burial and bones: A Summary of Burial Patterns and Human Skeletal Research in Newfoundland and Labrador"[6] indicates following Pastore, 1992, that probably the Beothuk's ancestors (between 1 and 500AD) crossed to Newfoundland from Labrador.

Initially friendly to the Beothuk, the Micmac turned against the Beothuk at the behest of the French colonial government in Newfoundland (1660-1713). The latter offered the Micmac a bounty for the heads of the Beothuk, or so the story goes. The Micmac, whose chief remained in the Micmac heartland (what is now known as Nova Scotia) killed a few Beothuk in order to remain in amity with the French colonial authorities. Hostilities ensued: both nations, Micmac and Beothuk, generally remaining hostile from then on until the Beothuk nation's collapse. Micmac firearms forced the gun-less Beothuk to lose advantage where once they had been the dominant power on the island. Howley documents J. B. Jukes' claims that the Beothuk continued to trade with the Mountaineers and that Shawnawdithit referred to them as Shannamunc (or good Indian).[7] Here too a claim of some interest to our argument is made that they visited each other's territory. Ocean-going canoes would have been a necessity. Trade may well have existed: the Beothuk originally came from Labrador and had the technical ability to travel on the open seas in cargo-trading canoes.

Now it does seem to be the case that the Mountaineers and the Micmac, both tribes with firearms, occupied the Western side of Newfoundland. Lieutenant John Cartwright, in a letter from Toulinguet (Twillingate) dated 19 September 1768 and addressed to Sir Hugh Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland (documented by Howley, pp. 41-44), tells Palliser about the comments of a captured Beothuk boy named June. (Beothuks, who were rarely if

ever christened, were usually given surnames indicating their month of capture). June stated quite categorically that the Canadians (and here Howley editorializes in a note: "Micmacs and other continental tribes") possessed the western end of the lake (i.e. Red Indian Lake), while the Beothuk homeland was at the northeast end and that *the two nations* rarely saw each other "during whole winters." Note the confusion here due to the footnote: Beothuk, Micmac and other continental tribes means more than two nations. It does seem, if Howley is correct, that the common Algonkian heritage was beneficial in helping the Micmacs and Mountaineers co-exist on the west coast of Newfoundland, and they virtually coalesced in the mind of the young Beothuk boy June. There are even indications that the Montagnais-Nascopie were sometimes referred to as Northern Micmac or Micmac-Esquimaux.[8] Was Anne Gabriel's Micmac ancestor a Southern or a Northern Micmac (Nascopie-Montagnais)?

Howley blames the failure of the first Buchan-Beothuk expedition (1811) upon the fact that he did not bring along Mountaineers ("especially," he says) to diminish the distrust of the Beothuk. The Beothuk were suspicious of their enemy, the English Newfoundland furriers, "so many" of whom Buchan brought with him.[9] The interesting point is that the Mountaineers seemed best suited to enhance diplomatic communications between the Beothuk nation and representatives of English colonial authority.

Various proclamations, especially from Duckworth's time onward until the Beothuk collapse, directed to the mildly pro-English Labrador tribes, attempted to persuade the northern tribes to *maintain* friendship with the Beothuk, a friendship probably diminished by the weakness of the Beothuk and the Northern tribes' interaction with the Micmac of the south.[10] The colonial government's proclamations and diplomacy would reinforce a positive stance by Northern tribes no matter how corrupted that friendship may have become due to their newfound friendship with the Micmac, a tribe the Beothuk distrusted. The proclamations may have given the Mountaineers pause and made them more open to any contact from the Beothuk, a traditionally positive one, given ancestry and trade.

In John Gale's report (1819) about April 1817, he stated that he had been "plundered"[11] by the Red Indians in the bottom of White Bay[12] and that the Micmac "infest White Bay." Did these include the mountaineer: the "Micmac Esquimaux" that Governor Hamilton referred to as "frequenting the Northern parts of the island"[13]? Their being there over any length of time (springs and summers especially) would have put them in a position to aid and abet the weakened remnant of the Beothuk in a transition northward. On 12 October 1822, William Cormack was introduced by his Micmac guide, Joseph Sylvester, to James John, a Mountaineer, who was accompanying his wife, a Micmac woman, ten to fifteen miles south of Beothuk land on his way to Bay d'Espoir. This had been his second trip from Labrador, but it shows that Mountaineers were available in Newfoundland for any contact the Beothuk might try to make, and they were the only group that the Beothuks had no reason to distrust.[14] No doubt it was the decline of the Beothuk that made the association between the Micmac and Mountaineer easier. In a sense the colonial government's proclamations may have enhanced a waning friendship of the Mountaineers with the Beothuk at a time of increased activity by Mountaineers on the Beothuk's homeland. (Will to power and dominance can have a remarkable impact on friendships. See Nietzsche.)

In early 1823 the three Beothuk women were taken, one of whom was Shawnawdithit. The older two (approximately in their 40s and mid-20s) died shortly afterwards while the youngest, Shawnawdithit, also known as Nance/Nancy, lived on until 1829, never returning home.

R. A. Tucker, in a disposition dated 29 June 1825 and documented by Howley, said Shawnawdithit indicated that only fifteen of her tribe remained in 1823: "two were shot," "one drowned," and "three [the above-mentioned women] fell into our hands" leaving nine to be accounted for.[15]

Cormack on his second adventure failed because of inclement weather to reach White Bay where he hoped to find the remnants of Shawnawdithit's tribe. He was accompanied by three aboriginal guides which included a Mountaineer (December 1827-January 1828). Cormack and the Beothuk Institution had certainly learned from Buchan's disastrous mistakes. The three guides were paid by the Beothuk Institution and sent out on their own again in late March 1828 to look for them once more.[16] They were told to start in White Bay, and they looked as far north as Croke Harbour beyond Canada Harbour, well up the peninsula. They had no luck but reported that on the way an old man by the name of Dale from the Exploits area claimed to have seen smoke from a Beothuk wigwam (winter 1827-28). That Cormack and the Beothuk Institution sent the guides as far north as Croke Harbour must have been due to oral data that was available to Cormack *et al.*, because Croke Harbour was over 125 miles "even as the crow flies" from the centre of Beothuk activity at Red Indian Lake. Who was telling Cormack to have the guides look so far north? Friendly Mountaineers including the Mountaineer guide himself?

Remember we know something about the Beothuk who were last seen by Shawnawdithit in the spring of 1823. Cormack wrote, on one of the sketch maps Shawnawdithit created, her comments in note form.

> There were five men, four women, one lad and two children. The five men were, her uncle, her brother, two brothers of Mary March, one of whom was called Longnon, and his son. The four women were Mary March's mother and sister, Longnon's wife, and Nancy's cousin. The lad was Mary March's sister's son and the two children, a boy and a girl Nancy's brother's children.[17]

Here is clear genealogical data on the last independent Beothuk known to Shawnawdithit. This does not include any scattered pockets of Beothuks unknown to Shawnawdithit (i.e. in northwest White Bay). What Shawnawdithit knew of the total group may only be surmised. The need to amalgamate under duress after the capture of the three women may have sent them northward towards others.

Now for the last sightings, etc.:

1. European settlers reported Beothuks at Nipper's Harbour, Notre Dame Bay, 1828 (Howley, p. 208).
2. Canadian Indian (Mountaineer/Nascopie?) sees Red Indian (Beothuk) at Quirpon, 1838; (Was this a printing error or confusion re. *1828*, given the late recollection in the 1850s? Note as well that Quirpon is north of Croke Harbour.)
3. Joseph Noad, Surveyor of Newfoundland, reported that the Beothuk crossing to Labrador occurred in 1827; (The later reporting #2 above may have been a return trip from Labrador to hunt or fish if the 1838 date is correct.)
4. Bonnycastle related aboriginal alarm at Bay of Seven Islands (1831) over strange groups of aboriginals differing from the Mountaineers yet in their midst?
5. For further sources see Howley, p. 226, re. temporary survival of Beothuk at Forteau; Reverend Philip Tocque–Beothuk escape to Labrador (Howley, p. 277); and Jukes' account of the killing of a Beothuk at White Bay some years after Shawnawdithit's death (Howley, p. 271).

Certainly we know that Shawnawdithit claimed a Labrador connection for her own people. Such ideas must have been current in her tribe for her to remember it. The dominant view during her last days was to search the Northeast coast of the Great Northern Peninsula. Why did the young adult Shawnawdithit know the Northern connection story, just due to the telling? Or was it because, in the different straits, tribal discussions were afoot to resolve the survival problems facing them? When one is searching for mussels as the three women were so early in the spring of 1823 at the time of their capture and when moccasins were reported sewn by spruce root rather than caribou gut, many suggestions were being considered including the above. (How were the caribou herd movements toward the Exploits and Red Indian Lake affected by Mountaineers and Micmac hunters with guns being northwest of Red Indian Lake in White Bay?) Under these circumstances did Shawnawdithit's kin break out from their "home turf" and meet up with other Beothuk nomads further north? Data on some places near the sea at White Bay (notwithstanding the severity of the seashore in so many locations there) may bring to light evidence as yet unseen, perhaps an odd amulet or Beothuk iron instrument.[18] Those looking for the Beothuk then, thought Croque Harbour not to be irrelevant. If the Quirpon sighting date was really 1828, then one can consider the proposal that ocean-going canoes were used to head north possibly around the top of the Great Northern Peninsula with drifting down the Strait of Belle Isle onto the Labrador side, or via one of the rivers which empty into Canada Bay or Hare Bay.

Just as one day we may yet find the second Viking site at Hop in Newfoundland or even an Irish monk's beehive stone hut given the *Navigatio Brendani*'s search for the fortunate isles and the St. Lunaire stone, so we may also discern the route of the last Newfoundland Beothuks. I am not a geneticist, but what about DNA testing of living Micmacs, Mountaineers, Nascopie, and the most recent remains of Beothuks for signs of association?[19] Perhaps I am preparing an idea for some future geneticist's Ph. D. thesis. Newfoundland-Labrador has so much to offer the student of history, genetics, cultural anthropology, and the Great Northern Peninsula is relatively untouched notwithstanding Port au Choix, L'Anse aux Meadows, and so on. So many stories, so many enigmas, so many tall tales.

ENDNOTES

1. James P. Howley, *The Beothuk or Red Indians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915. Toronto: Coles Publishing Co., 1980, p. 82.
2. *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. LXVI, No. 1, Sept. 1967, p. 17.
3. "Etymology of 'Beothuk,'" *Aspects*, Vol. 2, No. 2, June 1968 in *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. LXVI, Summer 1968, p. 15.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
5. *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. LXV, No. 2, Nov. 1966, p. 25.
6. *Newfoundland Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2, Fall 1993, p. 223.
7. Howley, p. 26.
8. See John Gale's reports, 1819 (Howley, p. 108).
9. Howley, p. 91.
10. See June's comments and Howley, pp. 70-71, etc.
11. It is time for modern historians and anthropologists to stop referring to such events as "pilfering." The Beothuk had no concept of private property but only of personal property such as amulets, etc. Collisions between Europeans and Beothuks were derived from the severe view on theft of private property by the colonial Europeans given the lack of such a view by the aboriginal Beothuk.
12. Howley, p. 118.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 148-151.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 190-202.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
18. See Laurie MacLean's useful work in *Newfoundland Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Fall 1990).
19. Newfoundland Museum officials indicate that DNA samples have, within the last few years, been taken from Beothuk remains.

Poetry Section

EVERARD H. KING
Poetry Editor

Carl Leggo

Grade Four Geography

In grade four geography
I read about
Bunga the Pygmy
who lived in Malaysia,
and other children, too,
tucked away in faraway
corners of the earth:
the steppes of Russia,
the savannah of Africa,
the outback of Australia.

In grade four geography
I saw illustrations
of ten-year-old children;
for all their differences
they looked the same
like Barbie dolls
with interchangeable costumes.

In grade four geography
I memorized enough
lists and facts
to colour the earth.
For example, what foods
did Bunga the Pygmy eat?
Mostly yams.

In grade four geography
I knew the earth
was an object,
solid, stable, static,
easily described,
the earth present
in the words
and pictures and maps
of my textbook.

In grade four geography
I learned about Bunga
the Malaysian Pygmy
who ate yams,
but I never learned
what Bunga learned
about Carl the Newfoundlander
who ate the tongues
of cod dipped
in milk, rolled
in flour, grilled,
light brown, crisp.

In grade four geography
I never saw Bunga
looking back at me,
perhaps asking,
How can he eat
those tongues?

Alastair Macdonald

April Dusk

The sky is overcast, with smoky cloud
hiding the sun. Patches of blue show.
This afternoon is darkening even at four,
brings thoughts of earlier nights, in weeks
the clocks set back that hour.
The winds are a soft balm
this late September day. They blow
remembrance of, where crops
are barley wheat and rye,
harvests done and fields of stubble calm,
rosy in sunny light before the plough
makes brown those fields of turned earth
ready for winter seeding, far away
in years as well as place. When children
have gone back to school, fervid
and zesty from new challenges,
impatient for all that time ahead
to roll towards them. Hurry. Time is slow.
Can one remember that,
this melancholy, gentle afternoon,
hear those voices, see the stubble fields,
the berried hedges stretch to Hallowe'en,
Christmas beyond, bright in this season
of expectancy, young energy,
activity restored by summer light.

Out on the terrace
of the street café
flowers confined
in boxes, answering to
some cause beyond,
agitate in the spring wind.
They catch my eye
as I sit inside,
stir nameless thoughts
of little made
and fresh starts gone.
Nature is nodding
its own head
in a manner
seeming to portend,
whether with meaning
or, as it could be,
having none.
But for a moment
it's as if they said
Come out with us
this Paris evening
and away
into this new and moving world
of boundless possibility.

David Benson

The Trail Of Seamus Heaney

He looked rumpled
like he'd just been woken
from sleeping in his clothes.

The Professor introduced him,
fawning and gushing in her prose—
like a fountain of castor oil
to smother his expected views,
in fear this Irishry might soil
the sterile dust beneath her shoes.

He seemed embarrassed by her tone,
checked his pockets, stared at his feet,
appearing harassed by the drone;
impatient to rise from his seat.

But when he spoke his words
beside the academic's tawdry stance,
his Irishry was not denied,
its music scored his verse's dance.

Later in the bar I saw him,
guarded by the Literati.
Peering through the bodies round him
like a guest of Her Majesty.

Philip Gardner

Christmas At King's, 1989

'Bethlehem Down'—like Ballard Down or downland
With rings of trees, in Sussex, or like downs
From Marlborough south to Avebury and Stonehenge?
Like Imber-in-the-Down? His music says
Softly: something like that, all of those places,
A Bethlehem in England, where the star
Stands still.

The voices rise, the airy fountains
Vanish in stone.

She speaks her words so clear,
Not Henrietta, Lucy or Maria
But of their generation. How her eyes
Quietly flash, those Pennine-pure inflections
Sing of a maiden, makeless, and of spinks
Shaking the dew from Christmas morning bushes.
Listen. They're gone, invisible in air.

Book Reviews

Thomas F. Nemec
Book Review Editor

Old Newfoundland: A History to 1843

Patrick O'Flaherty
St. John's: Long Beach Press
1999; $29.99, softcover

Professor O'Flaherty describes this work as "a compact history of Newfoundland to the 1840s." And, indeed, the word "compact" is not ill chosen. For, in slightly more than 200 pages of text, he deals with approximately 25,000 years of history and prehistory, covering the last ice age; the retreat of the ice; the sequence of aboriginal cultures that emerged in the territories that are now Newfoundland and Labrador; the brief Viking interlude; the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century; the establishment of British hegemony; and the eventual emergence of a people who could be called Newfoundlanders, and who, by 1843, were travelling a rocky road that might lead to nationhood.

But we would be very much mistaken if we confused the word "compact" with slight or insubstantial. For Professor O'Flaherty has mined his sources with such a critical eye to what is significant, that his brief text is weightier, in intellectual terms, than many tomes that would weigh five times as much on the avoirdupois scale. In doing so, he has drawn upon all the best of modern scholarship, as well as upon the older authorities, has added a significant component of original research, and has produced a work that is dense with fresh ideas and interpretations. The narrative is presented in a literary style that is concise and elegant and never "dry as dust", and that demonstrates clearly why institutions of higher learning ought never to have abandoned the discipline of rhetoric. Furthermore, Professor O'Flaherty has scorned the "pussyfooting" posture towards contentious issues that has diminished the value of many earlier histories and has boldly walked in where many before him have feared to tread.

For obvious reasons that are made clear in the preface, the earlier chapters are relatively brief; but they do provide an excellent summary of current scholarship in respect of the native peoples of Newfoundland and Labrador up to the end of the fifteenth century, and of the European invaders as they explored the seas around the new found land and established a significant fishing and trading enterprise.

Dr. O'Flaherty's treatment of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, is much more than a synthesis of what other scholars have written. He certainly calls upon the distinguished scholarship of Gillian Cell in the matter of attempts at formal colonization; and we may find here and there echoes of ideas that have been advanced by many historians, geographers and cultural anthropologists, including particularly scholars like McClintock and Caddigan, for example, who have espoused the hypothesis of deliberately retarded colonization. But it is obvious that in this area Professor O'Flaherty has strong views of his own, views that are well sustained by an abundance of evidence and by cogent analysis. Thus, though he does in one instance call the late Professor Keith Matthews' work on the seventeenth century seminal, he also finds many occasions to challenge the conclusions deduced from that work. In particular, his commentary, sometimes acerbic, illustrates his view that Dr. Matthews often appears as an apologist for the West Country adventurers and merchants, playing down the significance of the several Charters and Acts, especially King William's Act, as they militated against the orderly development in Newfoundland of a settled population and a civil society. It is true, of course, that all scholars, no matter how committed they may be to perfect objectivity, will, nevertheless, see events and interpret historical data from the perspective of a uniquely personal world view that has been shaped by many forces, some of which may not even be consciously recognized. In the instant case, a native born Westcountryman and a native born Newfoundlander may be expected to wear different spectacles and arrive quite honestly at differing interpretations of the same historical data. Nevertheless, it appears to this reviewer, perhaps because he wears similar, if not identical spectacles, that it is difficult to escape the logic of Dr. O'Flaherty's argument and the weight of the evidence he amasses to support his thesis.

The gradual erosion of the concept of Newfoundland and Labrador as merely a ship moored conveniently near the fishing Banks and as an extension of an industry based in the Westcountry counties of England, is a fascinating story and one that is well told in this book. The

processes through which population grew despite clearly stated and often enforced opposition is a remarkable one; but even more remarkable is the development of government through the medium of a series of practical measures to deal with a steadily growing settlement that, in theory, did not exist, but that, in practice, would not go away. In this, the legal institutions that first supplemented, then challenged, and eventually replaced the authority of Fishing Admirals, Commodores and Surrogates were incredibly important. Professor O'Flaherty's study, more than any other, I believe, makes this clear. Nowhere, for example, have I seen a more cogent argument for the importance, despite their acknowledged weaknesses, of the Justices appointed by Governor Osborn in 1729. Nowhere have I seen a more concise and cogent analysis of Palliser's Act and the attendant effort to roll back the calendar and restore the ship fishery. Nowhere have I seen more succinctly stated the significant impact of individuals like Chief Justices Reeves and Forbes. Indeed, one of the great strengths of Professor O'Flaherty's study is his incisive assessments, in respect of both character and contribution, of the leading actors on stage as Newfoundland grew slowly towards colonial status.

It is, however, the nineteenth century that is of special interest to Professor O'Flaherty; and it is in his analysis of the turbulent events of the first half of that century that his book attains special significance. His assessment of the role of the Irish and of Roman Catholicism, closely related though not identical in force and impact, is compelling; and though he draws upon the works of scholars like Gunn, Mannion, Lahey and Rollmann, he adds to the debate an element that is uniquely his own. In particular, it is his forthright willingness to call a spade a spade and to scorn "bafflegab" that sets his work on a plane that even the most erudite among the tellers of the Newfoundland story have not previously attained.

In this context, we must especially note his even-handed treatment of individuals who have, too often, been categorized simply as heroes or villains. His "warts and all" portraits of William Carson and Patrick Morris, for example, give us a much more honest and balanced picture of the great reformers whom earlier historians placed on such a high pedestal. By the same token, even the arch-villain Boulton is found to have some redeeming virtues. Portraits of prominent players like Winton and Parsons, Kent and Nugent, are likewise fairly drawn, as are those of Governors like Cochrane, Prescott and Harvey. It is, however, in his assessment of the role of Bishop Fleming, almost beyond question the most significant figure of the era, that Professor O'Flaherty best exhibits his acute understanding of the forces at play as Newfoundlanders embarked upon their first experiment with popular democracy.

The tangled skein that he sets out to unravel includes strands of class and mass; mercantilism and unencumbered trade; loosely applied terms like liberal and conservative; religion and sectarianism; bigotry and pure principle; protestantism and catholicism and divisions within both; and, more importantly than many have realized, an incipient Newfoundland nationalism set against the claims of older loyalties. In respect of this last, the emergence of the Native Society and its rapid growth is a phenomenon whose importance has rarely been recognized. For, it was, as much as anything, the emergence of an awareness of Newfoundland as "home" that stifled the tendency to graft on to our own troubles, the woes of Ireland. In the end, the political, economic and social accommodations achieved here allowed us to avoid the worst consequences of developments that still torment that tragically divided land.

The tumultuous life of the first decade of Representative Government is vividly presented as are the events leading to the suspension of the legislature as it had existed and its replacement by a unicameral body combining appointed officials with elected members chosen on a more restricted franchise than had been established in 1832. And the book concludes with the judgement of the Law Officers of the Crown in the celebrated case of *Kielley v. Carson* that neither the Newfoundland legislature nor any other colonial legislature possessed powers paralleling those of the House of Commons that they had thought themselves to possess.

It is a sad note for the first half closer. And, indeed, Professor O'Flaherty sees in the debacle of 1843 a prefigurement of a decision to be made by Newfoundlanders some 90 years later that would once again see us *request* that our democratic institutions be placed in abeyance. Whether or not the buffettings our frail democracy received in the 1830s really preconditioned us to adopt the pusillanimous course we chose in 1933 is, perhaps, a debatable point. Nevertheless, it is an interesting one; and, I, for one, will eagerly look forward to the second instalment of what promises to be the liveliest, and arguably the best general history we have.

To compensate for the compact nature of his book, Professor O'Flaherty provides an excellent select bibliography and comprehensive end notes that not only identify sources but offer useful guidance to readers seeking to explore particular areas in greater depth.

In brief, this is a work that I highly recommend.

Leslie Harris
Now retired, Dr. Leslie Harris formerly served as President of the Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Dictionary of Canadian Biography, Volume XIV: 1911 to 1920

Ramsay Cook (General Editor) *et al.*

Toronto: University of Toronto Press

1998; $100.00, cloth

The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume XIV, contains 600+ profiles of Canadians who died in the years 1911 to 1920. Of these, 24 spent a significant proportion of their careers in Newfoundland or Labrador. (I can feel J. R. Smallwood tapping on my shoulder to lay claim to one other: Qntario lawyer and civil servant Zebulon A. Lash left for Upper Canada at the age of eight and will be familiar to many from Smallwood's beloved lists of "Newfoundlanders abroad.") Let us call it 25.

With any new volume of the *DCB* it is an enjoyable afternoon's exercise to read through the Newfoundland and Labrador entries. Given that this volume covers the Great War, one is immediately drawn to the entries on soldiers killed during the conflict. This lost generation is glimpsed through biographies of Hedley Goodyear, Francis (Mayo) Lind, John Shiwak and Owen Steele.

Otherwise, major Newfoundland entries in this volume are biographies of Judge D. W. Prowse (by George Story), Archbishop M. F. Howley (by Barbara Crosbie), and Premier Sir James S. Winter (by James Hiller). The longest is the piece on Judge Prowse and provides a perfect example of what the *DCB* may offer at its best: a summation by a noted scholar of a lifetime's study, undertaken both as an opportunity and a duty. Dr. Story was certainly well towards the top of a short list of one when the *DCB* editors contemplated a possible contributor for an entry on Daniel Woodley Prowse. His four contributions to this volume (Prowse, Judge James G. Conroy, lawyer A. J. W. McNeilly, and geologist James P. Howley) are all models of form and flair which allow the author's genuine appreciation of each subject to come through. Story's praise for Prowse's *History* as ". . . replete with a lifetime's remembered talk, anecdote and reminiscence of the small society he grew up in . . .", applies equally well to the many contributions his biographer has made to the *DCB* over the years. We shall all miss George Story in many ways and for many years to come.

As will the editors of the *DCB*—it is to their credit that they were willing to allow this accomplished scholar and author room to swing, even in a volume where each word must needs be accounted for and defended. Witness how Story, merely to preface an anecdote of Prowse's courtwork, introduces Quigley the Poet of Pokeham Path: "whose custom it was to elevate his muse with spirituous beverages of a Saturday night." Gorgeous, isn't it? The editors seem to have been sensible that this volume featured Newfoundland's two greatest men of letters: Prowse and Story together again and, excluding art and memory, for the last time.

Quarterly readers may find it of interest that five of the subjects were contributors to the magazine in its founding year (1901). These were Prowse, Archbishop Howley (Crosbie makes due, and useful, note of his historical and literary interests), James Howley, Sir Cavendish Boyle (biography by James Hiller), and McNeilly (who is exquisitely described by Story as "a poet in a marked, if minor, register"). Several were also involved in the founding of the Newfoundland Historical Society in 1906: Winter, McNeilly, J. P. Howley, Prowse, and the founding chairman, Canon William Pilot (biography by Phillip McCann).

In point of fact, the list of contributors to this volume contains much evidence of a certain continuity, in that so many names will be familiar as contributors to the *Quarterly* and/or as executive members of the Historical Society: Story, Hiller, Crosbie, Melvin Baker (subjects James Baird, E. M. Jackman and John J. Sullivan), Robert Cuff (James Angel, Francis Lind), Shane O'Dea (architect William F. Butler), Hans Rollmann (Bishop Macdonald) and Patricia O'Brien (nurse Ella Campbell).

This last leads to the next question: Who is missing? One must start by pointing out that Campbell is the only female subject. Yet, I cannot myself point to any blatant exclusions. Memory supplies only the name of Ethel Dickenson, a VAD nurse who died in the influenza epidemic of 1918 and whose memorial graces Cavendish Square. Campbell, a professional nurse who gave her own life to the struggle against TB, was undoubtedly the better choice if such choice were necessary.

Further, the outports are also shockingly underrepresented. Yes, we have outport-born soldiers (Goodyear, Lind and Shiwak) and a policeman (Sullivan), supplemented by rural clergy from Away (Labrador missionaries Theodor Bourquin and Father Louis Babel as well as the Nova Scotia-born Bishop of Harbour Grace, Ronald Macdonald). Otherwise we are left to put forward the tenuous out-harbour lineage of such consummate Townies as Sir James Winter and Judge Prowse (an unlikely brace of 'skinny-whoppers').

But we have no outport merchants (my own suggestion would be John E. Lake of Fortune), no sealing skippers or mariners (perhaps Captain Darius Blandford) and nar fish-killer (John Loder of Snooks Harbour, a pioneer in the FPU in Trinity Bay, would fit the bill). Two other outport suggestions: Musgrave Harbour schoolmaster John Brown Wheeler and Chief Reuben Lewis of Conne River. I am, I should point out, aware that at least some of these entries were recommended and indeed assigned.

But those are omissions. I have only one real quarrel with the substance of this volume, and that lies in the en-

try on Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona. Along with such familiar names as Laurier and Tupper, Smith's biography, written by Alexander Reford, is one of the major "national" entries in this volume. This lengthy essay devotes a scant two paragraphs to Smith's time in Labrador (the longer of which is devoted to the circumstances of his marriage). There is subsequent mention of Lord Strathcona's support of Dr. Grenfell.

This might just be excusable had Donald Smith spent two decades at the periphery of his career marling around Labrador to no effect, leaving scant record of his labours. But this is just not the case. Smith was almost certainly the most influential figure in Labrador history in the mid-nineteenth century, and his initiatives played a key role in the development and settlement of central Labrador. He arrived at age 28 and left at age 49, so it is further obvious that Labrador had a profound impact on the great man. If Labrador is a part of Canada as defined by the *DCB*'s mandate, then Smith's years in Labrador deserved some examination. The records, both official and anecdotal, are copious. One wonders what a scholar familiar with the history of Labrador could have offered by way of supplement to or comment on Reford's piece—in retrospect, one is tempted to nominate John C. Kennedy, who contributed the biography of Shiwak.

The *DCB*, then, has its limitations in dealing with Newfoundland and Labrador subjects. But the fault lies not with long-coated, ink-stained, ivory-tower dwellers at the University of Toronto. Look to the list of contributors and beyond to the longer list of those who might have contributed. The *DCB* has relied on local contacts—and particularly on long-time contributors—to offer comment on preliminary name-lists, to volunteer to write entries, to make recommendations, and to cajole (if not dragoon) doubtful colleagues. As the budgetary pressures on the *DCB* continue to mount, it is inevitable that Memorial, the Historical Society, the *Quarterly*, and a growing community of independent scholars and genealogists, will have valuable contributions to make to the shape of the project. For the *DCB* has now moved into an era where many of us may inform our researches with "a lifetime's remembered talk."

Robert H. Cuff
Robert Cuff, vice-president of Harry Cuff Publications Limited, was Managing Editor of the *Dictionary of Newfoundland and Labrador Biography* and of the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*.

Where Once They Stood: A gazetteer of abandonment

Tor Fosnaes (designer)
(Mobile, NF.): Mobilewords Ltd.
1998; $7.99, softcover (Hd. cd. of 250 copies)

This gazetteer lists 341 abandoned communities in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The information contained in it is not new, with most of it having been taken from the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* and the *Gazetteer of Canada: Newfoundland.* The concept of *abandonment* here also includes the official programmes of *resettlement.*

The entries are arranged alphabetically by community name, followed by the bay or general area; Canada 1:50,000 map sheet number, with latitude and longitude; population figures; and dates of settlement and abandonment. The reader should note that all apostrophes have been removed from names.

Though the information contained in this gazetteer is readily available elsewhere, it is useful to have it all assembled here between two covers. As living memories of abandoned communities fade, a quick-reference guide becomes increasingly useful for anyone reading about the province's past. The publisher invites additions and corrections from readers, in case a second edition should prove necessary. In that happy event, it would be desirable to expand the introductory material, and the brief onomastic analysis in Appendix E. The compilers might also usefully include full bibliographical details of all source materials and other references.

Graham Shorrocks
Dr. Graham Shorrocks is Professor of English Language and Literature at Memorial University.

ATTENTION CONTRIBUTORS

The Editors appreciate Newfoundland writers' contributions for inclusion in the *Newfoundland Quarterly*. We accept short stories and essays that reflect Newfoundland's culture, history, and heritage.

Manuscripts should be typewritten, double spaced, using a clear ribbon. Submissions on computer diskette (ASCII, WordPerfect, or MS Word formats preferred) accompanying printed manuscripts are greatly appreciated. Please include a self-addressed stamped envelope if you want the materials to be returned.

Dr. Axel Meisen

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