The map was drawn by Major C. C. J. Bond.

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NEWFOUNDLAND
A HISTORY

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A HISTORY

About 1492 scientific progress was working busily in the direction of the unification of the world, just as it has been ever since. In western Europe the little political units of the middle ages were being united into states large enough to be called nations. Unfortunately, however, the process had not gone far enough to bring all of this area under one single government before adventurers began to reach out for new sources of wealth overseas. Consequently, far from co-operating, they went abroad in competing national groups. Sooner or later their respective governments came to their assistance. The object was to tie the newly-discovered areas, not to Europe as a whole, but to one or other of the new nations which had recently emerged. Where governments of fairly equal power were concerned, international competition in the final analysis meant war. Geographically, skilled navigators were unifying the world, but politically, Europeans were still divided amongst themselves. Inevitably the fishery off the coasts of Newfoundland soon became one of the objects of their rivalry.

INTERNATIONAL FISHERY

Before Columbus sailed in 1492, and most probably in 1481, Englishmen from Bristol discovered Newfoundland. They called it “Brasil”, the name of an imaginary island on late medieval maps. In 1494, by the Treaty of Tordesillas, Spain and Portugal with papal approval divided the Atlantic trade between themselves. Nevertheless in 1497 John Cabot, accompanied by men of Bristol, sailed in search of regions “which before this time were unknown to all Christians”. He “landed at only one spot of the mainland, near the place where land was first sighted”, and then turned back along the coast to the “cape of the mainland which is nearest to Ireland”. “It is considered certain that the cape of the said land was found and discovered in other times by the men of Bristol who found ‘Brasil’ . . . It was called the Ysle of Brasil and it is assumed and believed to be the mainland that the Bristol men found” (John Day, 1497-8). Whether John Cabot landed in Nova Scotia or Newfoundland nobody really knows. It does not matter historically. He himself thought he was in Asia. He left Bristol again in 1498 and disappeared for ever. He was quickly forgotten. Since the late nineteenth century, however, much mythology has grown up around his name.

In 1501 Gaspar Corte Real explored the coasts of Newfoundland (including Labrador), which Portugal annexed, wrongly believ-
ing them to be on her side of the treaty line of 1494. Unchallenged by Spain, the Portuguese fishery began. A Portuguese squire, João Fernandes, inspired Bristol voyages to the northwest in 1501 and 1502. As a result Greenland was named *labrador* (small landowner); and in 1502 Henry VII rewarded “the merchants of bristoll that have bene in the newe founde launde”, the earliest recorded use of that name. The term long included modern Labrador. French fishermen soon joined the Portuguese, and in 1535-6 Jacques Cartier proved that the area between the Strait of Belle Isle and Cabot Strait was not mainland after all. It was not known, however, whether it was one island or many.

About 1550 English and Spanish fishermen also began to come annually in large numbers. In the “wet” or “green” fishery on the Grand Banks, far out in the ocean to the southeast, the English were at a disadvantage because of their lack of salt. Consequently they mingled with the Portuguese on the eastern side of the Avalon Peninsula, and concentrated on the “dry” or “shore” fishery, which required less salt. For obvious reasons they did their best to maintain good relations.

In Humphrey Gilbert’s *Discourse* of 1566 the name Labrador had shifted to its present location. In 1578 he obtained permission from Elizabeth I to possess “lands not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people” and to resist anyone who might attempt to inhabit “within the space of two hundred leagues” of his settlers before 1584. He was prominent in the conquest of Ireland and the planting of colonists there, the beginning of English overseas imperialism, and planned a similar policy for North America. At the last moment before sailing for New England in 1583 he decided to make first for Newfoundland, hoping to revictual from the Newfoundland fishing fleets.

Four of his ships met outside St. John’s harbour “there being within of all nations, to the number of 36 sails”. The majority were subject to the King of Spain, who had seized Portugal in 1580; the remainder French or English. With everyone living on board ship, he could regard the place as “not actually possessed by any Christian”. Having “made ready our fights”, he claimed for Elizabeth the permitted “200 leagues every way”, without knowing what this might include. Newfoundland was believed to be “an Iland, or rather (after the opinion of some) it consisteth of sundry Ilands and broken lands”. With supplies collected from the unfortunate ships within his reach, he departed for New England. His principal vessel was wrecked at sea, however, and he turned for home. He talked of returning next year to Newfoundland, saying “he was now become a northern man altogether”, but he failed to reach England. No colony had been planted.
The international fishery at St. John’s continued. England eventually claimed Newfoundland, not because of Cabot or Gilbert, but because of the annual activities there of thousands of English fishermen. Yet Gilbert’s action had been an open defiance of Spanish claims to the whole of the Americas. In 1585 Sir Bernard Drake led a furious attack upon the Spanish Newfoundland fishing fleet, from which it never recovered. Thereafter the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula (including Ferryland and St. John’s), together with Trinity Bay, gradually came to be recognized (though not by treaty) as belonging to the English. The rest of the Newfoundland shores, both north and south (and around the Gulf), were French. The second edition of Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations* (London, 1598-1600) contained a world chart which finally showed Newfoundland as a single large island, not an archipelago.

By 1600 it was not merely the market value of the cod that made certain European governments anxious to promote their Newfoundland fisheries. The theory had arisen that these fishing grounds represented the world’s greatest “nursery for seamen”. A constant supply of trained fishermen, it was thought, represented potential sea power, and sea power meant control of sources of wealth overseas. This theory was fostered by the owners of fishing ships, in England particularly by the merchants of the West Country (Dorset, Devon, Somerset, and Cornwall), the area whose sea-dogs had contributed so much to the attack on Spanish supremacy. It was for this reason that in England and France alike, the Newfoundland fisheries came to be regarded as a matter of the greatest strategic importance.

**The London and Bristol Company**

As Spain grew weaker, England, France and the Dutch Netherlands grew stronger. Business men in these countries were now forming companies to bring bits of overseas trade permanently under their control. A London East India Company was formed in 1600, and a Dutch East India Company in 1602. English enterprise was handicapped by the accession of the first Stuart king, James I, who stopped the war with Spain in 1604 and blocked the development of an English navy. But Spanish sea power was declining too. In 1607 a London Company succeeded in establishing a precarious colony in Virginia, while the French founded Port Royal (Nova Scotia) in 1605 and Quebec in 1608. Then, in 1609, the Dutch not only entered the Hudson River (New York), but obtained from Spain an acknowledgment that they had a right to trade in any area not effectively occupied by Spanish subjects. This was an open admission that the monopoly sanctioned by the Pope in 1493 could no longer be enforced. One of the areas which the Dutch traders had in mind, and which the Spaniards had
failed to occupy, was Newfoundland, with fishing ships from various nations in its harbours every summer.

But London merchants, too, were beginning to send “sack ships” to buy fish, which could then be traded in Spain for white wine, known as “sack”, or for bullion. Hoping to drive their Dutch and other competitors away from the shores used by Englishmen in Newfoundland, they formed a London and Bristol Company and, in 1610, obtained a royal charter from James I permitting them to colonize between Cape Bonavista and Cape St. Mary’s, the area frequented by the English, but not yet “inhabited by any Christian”. It was carefully stipulated, however, that on this coast fishermen “of what nation soever” would retain all their traditional liberties.

These plans worried the interests in the West Country whose business was to catch fish, not to buy them. They wanted to have as many foreigners as possible competing with the Londoners in purchasing their product, and they did not want to have inhabitants competing with themselves in selling it. Moreover, if the coast were to become occupied by settlers, it would be difficult for a crew of English fishermen arriving in the spring to find a good ship’s room (the stages, flakes, and other fixed equipment which could be used by the crew of one fishing vessel in the production of dry fish). Because it was obvious that the spread of settlement in Newfoundland would ruin their fishery, which had become a very important factor in the whole economy of the West Country, the representatives of Devon and Dorset began what proved to be a long struggle to prevent the colonization of that island.

From the time that John Guy of Bristol arrived in 1610 at “Cupers Cove” (now Cupids, Port de Grave) with Newfoundland’s first settlers, the project was subjected to verbal denunciation in the House of Commons, while the planters themselves endured the physical violence of English fishermen and pirates. Offshoots were established at Bristol’s Hope (Harbour Grace) and St. John’s. But it was clear that, unless the colony could secure jurisdiction over the summer visitors from England, the fate of the settlers was sealed. About 1617 the London and Bristol Company began to make extensive land grants to private individuals.

One of the purchasers was the pro-Spanish Secretary of State, Sir George Calvert. Having bought a strip of territory from Ferryland to Placentia Bay, he sent out twenty settlers in 1621. By royal charter in 1623, James I erected this area into a proprietary Province to be called “Avalon”. The name was chosen, we are told, “in imitation of old Avalon in Somersetshire, where Glastonbury stands, the first-fruits of Christianity in Britain, as the other was in that part of America”.

In 1625 Calvert declared himself a Roman Catholic and resigned from the government, but was given the title of Lord
Baltimore, in Ireland, by Charles I. The new king blundered into a war with France in 1627, the very year in which Cardinal Richelieu granted "all the country of New France called Canada . . . from the Island of Newfoundland, towards the West, as far as the Great Lake" to the One Hundred Associates. The following year Baltimore took up residence in a "Mansion House" at Ferryland, where he found himself fighting the French and plagued by widespread illness among his own people. Nothing more is heard of the London and Bristol Company's settlements farther north, but that year a privateer named David Kirke sailed from Newfoundland into the St. Lawrence, captured a French fleet of twenty vessels laden with stores and emigrants, and sent back most of the booty. He then sacked Port Royal (Nova Scotia). In 1629 Kirke forced Champlain to surrender Quebec itself. This remarkable man, the son of a London merchant and a French mother from the Huguenot port of Dieppe, was destined to become the most colourful figure in the early history of Newfoundland. For a few years, however, it looked as though his efforts had been in vain. The Baltimores departed in 1629, leaving only a handful of people in the island, and in 1632, with English sea power at probably its lowest point, Charles I handed back to France all that Kirke had seized. The attempt of the London merchants, including the Kirke family, to get control of the Newfoundland and Acadian fisheries apparently had failed.

**The Western Charter and Sir David Kirke**

The Western Adventurers (merchants of Plymouth and other western towns trading to Newfoundland) determined to make their victory permanent by obtaining from the government regulations which would prevent either Londoners or Newfoundlanders from ever again interfering with the traditional customs of the fishery. Charles I was now ruling without Parliament, but the Attorney General assured him that "in this acquired dominion, I do conceive His Majesty may give laws". The resulting letters patent, issued by the King in 1634, are known as the first Western Charter. (There has been much inaccuracy concerning the nature and even the date of these regulations. They are still sometimes called the "Star Chamber Rules". In fact, the Court of Star Chamber had nothing to do with them. They were the work of the Privy Council.) Among the traditional practices now for the first time given the force of law, one proclaimed "that according to the ancient custom every ship, or fisher that first entereth a harbour in behalf of the ship, be Admiral of the said harbour". Each of these fishing admirals held his position for the duration of the season. Another law, reflecting a West-Country grievance against the recent inhabitants, was "that no person do set up any tavern for selling wine, beer, or strong waters, cider or tobacco, to entertain the fishermen". Offenders against the Western Charter could be tried by the mayors.
of any of eight West-Country ports but, significantly, not in London or Bristol.

However, the London sack-ship owners did not yet give up hope. Sir David Kirke, with their backing, made the Marquis of Hamilton and two other courtiers his official partners, and together in 1637 they obtained a royal charter granting them "for ever all that whole Continent Island or Region aforesaid commonly called or known by the name of Newfoundland". Kirke's great services against the French undoubtedly deserved to be rewarded, but at the same time provisions were inserted to protect the West Country. Settlers were not to inhabit within six miles of the sea shore between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista, although they were to have "like liberty of fishing there" and the power to build forts. Moreover, they were not to "take up before the arrival of the fishermen aforesaid . . . the most convenient beaches" within those limits. The King's subjects "that shall come thither to fish" were to be free from the authority of the government of Newfoundland, and the Western Charter was to be "inviolably kept" by fishermen and settlers alike. French fishermen and Dutch sack ships could be taxed, but to obtain this clause the new proprietors had to contract to buy the average annual catch of the West-Country fishermen at the rate which was usually paid by English carriers at Newfoundland. Thus it was clear that, in order to increase "the navigation and mariners of our realm", the interests of the Newfoundlanders and the London capitalists who backed them were to be subordinated to the interests of the Western Adventurers. With this reservation, the Stuarts were still willing to create a proprietary colony in the island.

The coat of arms of the Province of Newfoundland today is that which was granted by Charles I to Kirke and his partners on January 1, 1638. A Company of Adventurers to Newfoundland was formed, of which the London manager was David's brother, John Kirke, father-in-law of Radisson. Sir David himself was the first man to bear the title, "Governor of Newfoundland". With a hundred settlers, he selected Ferryland as his capital, occupied Baltimore's "Mansion House", and provided government which was both energetic and efficient.

Kirke interpreted the phrase "liberty of fishing" so broadly that the prohibition on inhabitancy near the shore was meaningless. Under him settlers for the first time were able to act as though they possessed the same rights in their own country as did residents of England. The visiting summer fishermen had always preferred a system under which might was right, for in the past they had always been numerous enough to terrorize the inhabitants. But the conqueror of Quebec knew how to train his people to defend themselves and even to control their tormentors. He knew, too, how to use armed vessels in order to collect taxes.
Profits began to mount as a brisk trade was built up for the company with both Europe and New England through Newfoundland. Unfortunately, from these areas it was necessary to take in return for fish, not only salt and food, but also wines and rum. Since these had to be disposed of, Sir David added to his income by issuing licences to sell liquor, and even by selling it himself to the visiting fishermen. In West-Country eyes this amounted to turning the “Mansion House” into a “common tavern”. And the fortifications which he erected at Ferryland, St. John’s, and Bay de Verde, to provide protection against the French, were not appreciated by the summer visitors, who saw that they could be used also to increase Kirke’s authority over them.

Frantic denunciations of Sir David were sent to the Privy Council from the West Country. But for Newfoundlanders there was peace and security such as had never been known before and would not soon be known again. In 1640 the company arranged for the Governor to go to London to answer the furious complaints that were being made by the enemies of the colony. (It has often been repeated that “he had been acting dishonestly toward men who were partners in the scheme” and that consequently he was “dismissed” in 1640, mysteriously turning up again a few years later. In fact, he was not “dismissed”, as the only complaints were from the Western Adventurers.) Kirke soon turned the tables by revealing the misdeeds of the summer visitors, and the planters were given formal permission by the Privy Council to reserve a fair amount of fishing room in each of the harbours frequented by fishing ships belonging to the company. Kirke had proved that a colony could succeed in spite of the Western Charter.

THE MERCANTILISM OF THE COMMONWEALTH

When the Civil War broke out in England in 1642, Newfoundland seemed a peaceful and prosperous haven. Settlers flowed in steadily, and the West Country merchants looked on with consternation as their own fishermen deserted by the hundreds to Sir David’s colony. The Kirke family, with their business interests, might have been expected to have sided with the middle classes against the aristocracy. But their position at Newfoundland rested entirely upon the royal favour, and they had become personal friends of the King. The West Country ports, on the other hand, gave strong support to Parliament, in which they were very influential. When victory came, they made the most of the opportunity to denounce Kirke as a royalist. By 1650 he was the only survivor of the four proprietors of 1637, two of them, like the King himself, having been executed in 1649. (Hamilton had led a Scottish army into England in 1648, only to be captured by Cromwell). Finally, in 1651, Sir David Kirke was arrested at Ferryland and taken a prisoner to England. Newfoundland, once again, was completely at the mercy of the Western Adventurers.
In that same year the philosopher Thomas Hobbes wrote: "by Art is created that great Leviathan called a Common-wealth, or State". Kirke was such an artist. He had begun the work of creating a state in Newfoundland. But his colonial "Leviathan" was now destroyed by another "Commonwealth" which Cromwell's armies had set up for Englishmen at home. Its benefits, like those of the political and social democracy which western Europe and America were to produce later, were intended for application within national boundaries only. They were not abstract principles to be applied to mankind indiscriminately, and certainly not to be shared with colonials and foreigners. Victory for the progressive forces in England in 1648 meant black reaction in Newfoundland in 1651.

The purpose of government, as seen by the merchants and squires in the Commons, was to aid Englishmen in making money, and Parliament did this more efficiently than had the first Stuarts. Already the really basic ideology was nationalism. Although allowed to return to Ferryland, Sir David Kirke was stripped of his power, and by 1654 the real founder of Newfoundland was dead. A remarkable career was over. He and his colony had been among the first sacrifices to be placed by the government of England upon the altar of that brand of economic nationalism which we now call "mercantilism".

The object of Cromwell's mercantilistic administration was to help merchants in England to obtain profits, particularly at the expense of foreign or colonial competitors. So far as Newfoundland was concerned, the pressure group which benefited the most from this policy consisted of the fishing-ship owners of the West Country. They could now count upon the active support of the state.

An early historian (D. W. Prowse, 1895) mistakenly described certain Commissioners, "appointed for the Colony by the Parliamentary party", as "the first real Governors". Textbooks copying Prowse describe John Treworgie as "the head of the Commission", and "a good and wise administrator", and state that "for seven years the islanders were protected against the fishing admirals and merchants", — "one of the bright spots amid a dreary record of wrong and oppression". The opposite is the truth. Commissioners were sent out in 1651, 1652, and 1653, to terminate the government of Sir David Kirke, but with instructions to return each year "upon the close of this summer's fishery". One of them, Treworgie, did stay until about 1659, but he was unrecognized and unpaid by the Commonwealth. (According to Prowse himself, Treworgie was "chief factor to the New England merchants in Newfoundland"). His authority, when it existed at all, was feeble. So far as government in Newfoundland was concerned, the Cromwellian period was disastrous. It marked the most abrupt turning-point in the history of the island.
All later political development grew out of policies adopted at this time. The Western Adventurers now had behind them a government in England that was quite willing to intervene on their behalf. In so doing, Cromwell’s most important innovation was the establishment of a regular convoy service to accompany the West Country’s fishing ships. The commander of the convoy (or “the commodore”, as he was called) replaced the mayors of the western ports in exercising supervisory powers over Newfoundland. Curiously enough, this proved to be the germ from which government was eventually to grow again. The commodore represented a certain amount of authority during the summer at least, and his functions gradually increased until, many generations later, he emerged as a royal Governor at the head of a complete civil administration.

But the Commonwealth had no such intentions in mind when a convoy was provided in 1649 against possible royalist attacks, or in 1656 when the preparation of instructions was ordered for the convoy commanders in the first year of the war with Spain. No protection against foreign attack was provided for the inhabitants. On the contrary, Kirke’s fortifications, as well as Kirke’s government, were torn down. For the first time, serious consideration was given to proposals for removing the settlers altogether. As it was, their existence during the winter was ignored, and the precedent was established of providing governmental supervision during the summer only. Here was an unusual form of imperialism. In official eyes, “Newfoundland” became simply the English fishing fleet moving west across the ocean in the spring, and returning back home to England again in the autumn.

In mercantilist theory, all this support for the fishing-ship owners was justified by the argument that cod-fishing was a mother-country enterprise, and consequently not a suitable activity for colonists. Newfoundlanders had no other occupation, and therefore their existence was not considered desirable. The industry was to be regarded rather as a part of the nation’s foreign trade, the product being sold to foreigners for money which was then carried home to enrich the west of England. As a by-product, trained seamen were produced who would be available to man the navy — and sea power, of course, was of fundamental importance to the whole mercantile system.

**THE MERCANTILISM OF THE RESTORATION**

Although settlers in Newfoundland were not wanted by the fishing-ship owners whose interests the government of England supported, permanent inhabitants in fact not only existed, but were supported by another group of English merchants, the London sack-ship owners. This complicated the situation from a mercantilist point of view. It was impossible to regulate the trade
of a colony which for theoretical reasons was denied official recognition. One cannot deal satisfactorily with an undesirable situation simply by refusing to recognize its existence.

The number of inhabitants was still increasing. A system introduced by Kirke, known as "byboatkeeping", was still carried on, under which London merchants financed independent fishermen who went out to Newfoundland as passengers, and there employed small vessels and cheap labour to catch fish which they sold to the sack ships. With their employees, they became settlers, and a two-class society consisting of "masters" and "servants" developed. Whereas the West-Country fishery had always been conducted on a share basis, the byboaters paid wages.

In spite of a few inconsistencies, the mercantilism of the Commonwealth was intensified after the restoration of Charles II. A second Western Charter was issued in 1661, confirming that of 1634, and adding a clause forbidding the transportation of byboatkeepers to Newfoundland. In the same year, the new King confirmed also his grandfather's grant of Avalon (1623) to the Calvert family. The second Lord Baltimore (proprietor of Maryland) had announced his intention to reoccupy Ferryland, which his father had left in 1629. All that this meant in practice was that David Kirke's family, after so many years of constructive work, now had to pay rent. Nevertheless, they decided to stay and share the fate of the inhabitants. They had become Newfoundlanders. Baltimore did not even visit the settlement, and after a year or so completely lost interest again. In this manner proprietary government in Newfoundland was allowed to lapse, never again to be revived. Lady Kirke moved back into the "Mansion House", but it continued to be legally impossible for her son, young George Kirke, to reassert his father's authority.

These events coincided with the reorganization of Canada by Louis XIV and Colbert. Strongly mercantilistic in outlook, they believed that the colonization of southern Newfoundland would promote the trade and navigation of France by safeguarding both her fisheries and the route to Quebec. In 1662, a royal governor with French colonists arrived to fortify Plaisance (now Placentia), which, according to a well-informed English commodore, had "the most commodious harbour and the finest beach in the world". Charles II and James II, the last rulers of England for well over a century to be in alliance with France, made no attempt to dispute French authority over the entire south coast, nor the French monopoly of the fishery along the whole of the northern and western shores as well. Ecclesiastically, "Terre-Neuve" was under Laval, the Vicar Apostolic in Quebec, and politically it was a part of Canada.

The unorganized English section of Newfoundland, on the other hand, became an important centre of international trade. This was possible because it had no customs officers. An act of
Parliament in 1663 prohibited the levying of any tax on cod-fish, the only thing there was to tax at Newfoundland, thus making completely certain that there would be no revival of government. A Staple Act passed in the same year made it illegal to take European goods to an English colony unless they had been taken to England first. But Newfoundland officially was not a colony, and consequently nobody was sure whether or not the navigation laws were intended to be enforced there. In any case, the Staple Act did not apply to salt for the fisheries. Sack ships calling at European ports for salt carried out many other commodities as well, and then brought back other goods besides fish. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and New Englanders all made the most of this unusual opportunity to carry on a free international trade. So profitable was it that certain able New Englanders actually took up residence in St. John's, notwithstanding its unattractive political and social conditions, and became leaders of the Newfoundland community. The fact that this serious exception was permitted in the attempt to make England the distributing centre for the empire proves that, in the eyes of the English government, the interests of West-Country fishing merchants were more important than even the principle of national economic self-sufficiency.

Meanwhile ruin had befallen the English settlers. West-Country fishermen robbed and killed the inhabitants at will, and spent what they got in “tippling houses”. In 1665 the Dutch raided St. John's and other settlements, although they dared not touch Plaisance. In the third and final Dutch War, they plundered Ferryland (1673). After that, however, they disappeared from the Newfoundland scene, leaving England and France alone to represent the pull of Europe with which Newfoundland history had begun.

But the pull of North America was now being felt as well. Plaisance was already a part of Canada, and in the English harbours, vessels from New England were frequent visitors. Newfoundlanders relied upon the ships from Massachusetts for food and other necessary supplies. In exchange for their fish they were forced to buy rum as well, which, mixed with the local spruce beer, was supposed to keep one warm in bad weather. Gradually it came to be almost universally consumed, adding its share to the chaos and degradation which grew worse year by year. Conditions grew so bad that the “chiefest” of the settlers moved to New England. The ambition of the poor was to do the same, or failing that, to start a new life in the orderly atmosphere of one of the growing French settlements.

**The “State of Nature”**

Thomas Hobbes had written “that during the time men live without a common Power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called Warre; and such a warre, as is of every
man, against every man”. There can be peace and prosperity only in those areas in which there is one accepted government — with unquestioned power to maintain order. Where two independent governments aspire to establish control over the same area, there is the constant possibility that fighting and destruction will occur. Fighting and destruction occur also where there is no government at all, for then there is a “state of nature” in which every man is “against every man”. In either case it is a condition of war, not of genuine peace. After 1651 Newfoundlanders suffered from “war” in both senses. Normal civilized society was not restored until about 1824.

Under King Charles II, official policy on the one hand brought about Dutch raids against which no protection whatsoever was provided, and on the other caused a complete breakdown of law and order amongst the inhabitants themselves. The myth that English sea power depended upon the preservation of the Newfoundland fisheries as a “nursery of seamen”, free from the competition of settlers, was accepted without reservation. Because this theory was proclaimed so often, nearly everyone seemed to believe it, even though it was not true.

In 1671, an order-in-council announced that the Western Charter was to be amended so as to prevent any planter from living within six miles of the shore; and also to empower the fishing admirals (first arrivals), vice admirals (second arrivals), and rear admirals (third arrivals), in their respective harbours, to apprehend “all offenders for any crime committed in Newfoundland”. In anticipation of this third Western Charter (actually issued in 1676), the commodore of the convoy warned Newfoundlanders in 1675 that in the following year they would be taken either to England or to the West Indies. But when he returned home he reported bluntly that the new policy was neither possible nor desirable. Referring to the West Country, he said he stood “in admiration how people could appear before His Majesty with so many untruths against the inhabitants”. This report by Sir John Berry marked the beginning of the process by which the commodores gradually become governors. From then on they were instructed to report annually on conditions ashore.

In 1676, and again in 1678, West Country fishermen undertook to tear down every house between Cape Race and Cape Bonavista themselves, and to loot and rob every inhabitant. Furious Newfoundlanders such as John Downing and Thomas Oxford, whose possessions had all been destroyed, now appeared in London where they put the case for the inhabitants with such determination that the order for their actual expulsion from the island was indefinitely suspended.

By this time the settlers were thoroughly demoralized. The commodore reported that there were less than 2,000 English-speaking inhabitants, and classified the great majority of them as
As there was neither civil nor religious authority, there was no marriage ceremony even in the case of masters. In St. John’s, every house (except John Downing’s) was a tavern. All winter the people did nothing but “drink away their substance”. The only civilized life was in Ferryland, thanks to the courageous leadership of Sir David Kirke’s widow and sister.

The “Glorious Revolution” (1688-89) was another disaster for the island, because it turned the French into enemies of the English, it led to a large immigration of defeated and poverty-stricken Irish who thus exchanged one sort of misery for another, and it increased the importance of Parliament, in which West Country influence was strong while Newfoundlanders were not represented at all. A foolish privateer from Ferryland stirred up a hornets’ nest one night in February, 1690, by raiding Placentia, torturing the Governor, and carrying off guns to St. John’s. In Newfoundland, the French got much the better of the fighting during the long period of destruction which followed. But, said an Englishman quite correctly, “that place will always belong to him that is superior at sea”.

The French hoped that commerce raiding would lead to the downfall of England. Governor Frontenac sent a native of Montreal, Pierre LeMoyne d’Iberville, with soldiers and Indians who in 1696 destroyed every English settlement on the Avalon peninsula. The English government now changed its mind about fortifications, and sent a military expedition to start building Fort William in St. John’s, where not a house had been left standing. Even two years later an English colonel reported that to the south there was “not a living soul left, yea not at Ferryland, which was always looked upon, as I am told, to be the best harbour and pleasantest place in the whole island”. When a young David Kirke died a prisoner at Plaisance in 1696 the story of that gallant family came to an end at last. The capture of Quebec in 1629 had been avenged.

To the disorders resulting from the absence of any government were now being added in Newfoundland the horrors resulting from the armed rivalry of two governments. Life could best be described in the words of Thomas Hobbes’ famous description of men living in an imaginary “state of nature”, with no common government to keep them all in awe: “no Arts; no Letters; no Society; and which is worst of all, continuall feare, and danger of violent death; And the life of man, solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short”. As he pointed out, “Where there is no common power, there is no Law . . . Force, and Fraud, are in warre the two Cardinall vertues”.

**The Return of “Leviathan”**

During a brief interlude in the war with France, the Western Charter, which had been based solely upon the will of a Stuart
king, was replaced by an act of Parliament (1699). The purpose was still "to encourage the trade to Newfoundland", but there were two small innovations which helped the inhabitants. Any person who since 1685 had built any conveniences for fishing "that did not belong to fishing ships since the said year" could "peacably and quietly enjoy the same". It was ruled later (1728) that this meant "an estate for life only" with no right of inheritance or sale. Yet, to this extent at least, a sort of private property was now legally recognized. Even more important, the judgements of fishing admirals could now be appealed "to the commanders of any of His Majesty's ships of war, appointed as convoys for Newfoundland". This statute, known as "King William's Act", was Newfoundland's fundamental constitutional document throughout the eighteenth century.

In 1705 French raiders again destroyed every English settlement, although the St. John's garrison surprisingly held out in Fort William. In 1708 even that fort was taken, and the commander was carried off to die in a French prison. The Irish immigrants, having no reason to love the English, sided with France. Every settlement submitted to Louis XIV, who was temporarily sovereign throughout the whole of "Terre-Neuve" — except when an English warship happened to be present. But Britain won the war elsewhere. By the Peace of Utrecht (1713) the French had to surrender both Port Royal (Annapolis) and Plaisance (Placentia). However, they retained Labrador as a part of New France, and also the right to dry their fish on the northern part of Newfoundland between Cape Bonavista on the east and Point Riche on the west.

The British garrison in St. John's was now placed under the Governor in Nova Scotia, and was moved to Placentia. English soldiers of this period were of notoriously poor character and, led by their Lieutenant-Governor, they proceeded to create chaos in their new surroundings. Back in St. John's a few New Englanders tried to provide a little leadership, but rioting and murder were common.

While Canada enjoyed a generation of peace after 1713, conditions in Newfoundland reached the very lowest depths of degradation. Official reports are full of such remarks as: "disorders of any kind may be committed without control"; "the people never lose an opportunity of differing with one another"; "the people naturally love strong liquor, and are too often in such a condition, as makes them incapable of performing their duty"; "the most dismal scene of misery in the world"; their condition "is more to be pitied than that of slaves and negroes"; "debauched principles lead them to commit wilful and open murder". As late as 1766 Sir Joseph Banks, who came to Newfoundland to collect
plants, and who was to be for many years president of the Royal Society, declared: "For dirt and filth of all kinds, St. John's may in my opinion reign unequalled."

In 1728, an unusually able commodore, Lord Vere Beauclerk, reported that the basic misfortune in the country was that "nobody in the winter season is empowered to keep peace" and that some way would have to be found to discipline the Lieutenant Governor of the garrison at Placentia. Upon reading this, the Duke of Newcastle, as Secretary of State, decided to separate Newfoundland from Nova Scotia and to place it under a Governor of its own. Lord Vere, being a member of Parliament, was not eligible himself, so in 1729 one of his convoy officers, Captain Henry Osborn, "during the time of the said ships being stationed there" became the first royal Governor of Newfoundland, although he was still to take his instructions from the commander of the convoy, Lord Vere Beauclerk. He was made commander-in-chief of the garrison at Placentia as well.

The first actions of the new Governor demonstrated the fact that the fundamental purpose of a state is to keep order by means of coercion, or, as John Locke had put it, that it is a necessary evil in order to protect life, liberty, and property. In 1729, Osborn created six districts between Bonavista and Placentia, and established within them seventeen justices of the peace and thirteen constables. A rate was ordered "to be raised within the districts of St. John's and Ferryland for the building of a prison in each of those places", and several pairs of stocks were erected. Conditions began to improve, but very slowly. The West Country fishing admirals still ordered floggings themselves, and scoffed at the "winter justices" whose authority was inferior to their own. Osborn knew that "the best of these magistrates are but mean people". Criminal cases still had to be sent to England for trial (at local expense) and jail deliveries occurred during the winter. Only in 1750 was the Governor authorized to preside over a criminal court. The following year he was authorized to set up gallows as well.

The person appointed by the Admiralty as commander of the convoy was usually automatically also appointed Governor. Coming out in the spring and disappearing in the autumn, his official residence was on board his ship. Since the main rendezvous for the convoy was St. John's harbour, that place (and not Placentia) became the "capital" from 1729 on. Whenever a local regulation seemed desirable to the Governor, he simply issued a proclamation. His word was regarded as law. Although the statutory authority for such procedure was questionable, there was no doubt but that "Leviathan" had returned, and that he was beginning to assert himself.
MISSIONARIES AND "SURROGATES"

After superior British sea power had finally led to the surrender of Montreal in 1760, France emphasized her concern for the fisheries by sending out a naval expedition which held the coast from Ferryland to Trinity for eleven weeks in 1762. It was therefore at "Saint-Jean-de-Terre-Neuve" that the French flag was pulled down for the last time in what is now Canada. By the Treaty of Paris (1763) the south-coast islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to France after fifty years in British hands, to replace Cape Breton Island as a shelter for her fishermen. Labrador, as part of Canada, was obtained by Britain. It was feared that "the French would continue to have the full benefit of their former commerce with the Indians of that coast" unless there were "sufficient cruisers stationed" in the Strait of Belle Isle. To make this possible Lord Egremont, the Secretary of State, on April 25, 1763, placed "the coast of Labrador", from Anticosti Island to Hudson Strait, under Governor Graves of Newfoundland.

A fantastic attempt to restore the West-Country monopoly was inaugurated by a completely reactionary Governor, Hugh Palliser, in 1764. His ruthless policies led to the restoration of the entire coast of Labrador to Quebec in 1774, following Canadian protests, and played a part in bringing on the American Revolutionary War. By the treaties of 1783 the French and the New Englanders both recovered most of the privileges in the Newfoundland fisheries of which they had been deprived by the rigid policies of Governor Palliser. Because Newfoundlanders and English fishermen were now making use of Bonavista and Notre Dame Bays, France insisted upon being given the liberty of drying fish upon the entire west coast of the island instead. The new limits of the French shore were Cape St. John on the east and Cape Ray on the southwest. Moreover, Britain was forced to declare for the first time that no settlements would be allowed on the "treaty shore". Thus the development of the western part of the island, containing the land most suitable for agriculture, which would have tended to turn Newfoundland towards the other British North American possessions, was delayed until France gave up her right to use that coast under the terms of the Entente cordiale of 1904.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the island's three major religious denominations had all made their appearance. While governments in Britain, France, and America were so interested in the fish but so uninterested in the welfare of English-speaking Newfoundlanders, a few clergymen, for the sole purpose of offering help to people many of whom by this time were too degraded to appreciate it, were willing to live in the unpleasant and brutally dangerous surroundings which had been produced by years of anarchy, persecution, and war. In 1726 the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (after an unfortunate
experience in aiding the unworthy first chaplain of the St. John's garrison in 1703-5) began permanent missionary work amongst the settlers by supporting the Rev. Henry Jones, who had been sent to Bonavista by the Bishop of London, and had established Newfoundland's first school. In 1730 support was given to two more missions, one for St. John's and one for Trinity Bay.

In 1742 a naval chaplain reported with satisfaction that in spite of the presence of non-conformist New Englanders the people of St. John's "chose rather to continue in ignorance than be instructed by Presbyterian teachers". But in 1765 Lawrence Coughlan, one of John Wesley's Irish converts, found his way to Harbour Grace where he created the first Methodist society in what is now Canada. In 1766 he was accepted as a Church of England missionary. He carried his Wesleyanism northward through the Carbonear-Bay de Verde region, where it was kept alive after his departure by laymen until Wesley himself sent a missionary to Carbonear in 1785. By this time it was beginning to appear that a distinct denomination was emerging, the forerunner of the Newfoundland Conference of the United Church of Canada.

Roman Catholic priests, who had stood by the defeated people of Ireland in the days of their greatest adversity, at first could come to Newfoundland only by disguising themselves as fishermen. But in 1770 Father Cain, an Irish Augustinian, was allowed to begin work at Placentia, and in 1784 an Irish Franciscan, Rev. J. L. O'Donel, was appointed "Superior of the Mission of the Island of Newfoundland", immediately subject to the Holy See.

Denominational affiliations were determined partly by racial origin, and partly by the work of missionaries. The southern half of the Avalon peninsula, and the southern section of the west coast, are predominantly Roman Catholic; the western part of the south coast is predominantly Anglican; and Notre Dame Bay is predominantly United Church and Salvation Army. The first schools having been established by the churches, traditions developed which led to the setting up in the nineteenth century of a system under which local Boards to administer the public schools are still appointed by the Provincial Government on a denominational basis.

The attitude of the government towards the settlers had been very different from that of the churches. It was unchanged by the American Revolution. In 1789 William Grenville, Secretary of State, said officially, "Newfoundland is in no respect a British colony." In the ledgers kept by the commissioners of the customs in England, the island was classified among foreign countries. Lord North, summarizing the instructions given the Governors with regard to the inhabitants, remarked that "whatever they loved to have roasted, he was to give them raw, and whatever they wished to have raw, he was to give it to them roasted".

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The Governors, however, reported that the settlers (except for a few in St. John's) could not leave because all their possessions had passed by process of debt into the hands of West-Country merchants. This situation could not be changed, they said, unless courts of civil jurisdiction were created to protect the people from their suppliers. In the interests of the "nursery for seamen", therefore, the Judicature Act of 1792 empowered the Governor to institute "surrogate" courts with civil jurisdiction — the "surrogates" being the various naval officers from the ships under his command. At the same time a Supreme Court of both civil and criminal jurisdiction was set up. This was fiercely opposed by the West Country ports, now more interested in trading than in fishing. But by this time it was the British Admiralty, and not they, which controlled policy with regard to Newfoundland.

GROWTH OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT

The outbreak of the French Revolution distracted the attention of the British government once more from its policy of encouraging the inhabitants to leave the island. It was strategically desirable that the Coast of Labrador from Anticosti Island (inclusive) to Hudson Strait should be re-annexed to the government of Newfoundland and, as there were now courts of judicature in that island which could protect the Canadian-owned sealing posts, the transfer from Lower Canada took place in 1809. But the colonial status enjoyed by the rest of British North America was still far from having been achieved. Hobbes' "Leviathan" was very necessary, but the time had come to move on to Locke's "Growth of Civil Government". In 1812 a Scottish doctor named William Carson was dismissed as surgeon to the St. John's Volunteers for demanding representative institutions.

Newfoundland officially became more than a summer fishery in 1817 when it was decided that the Governor should remain in the country during the winter (although the first to try it died in February). But thousands of inhabitants were being shipped to Ireland and Prince Edward Island, and houses continued to be pulled down in the interests of "the fishery" until Chief Justice Forbes ruled in 1819 that, on the plea of undisturbed possession, occupancy for purposes other than the fishery was legal. For the first time since 1637, Newfoundlanders could regard their own homes as private property.

Following a particularly brutal case of flogging in 1820 on the order of a naval "surrogate", William Carson and Patrick Morris (an Irish orator) led an agitation which caused Parliament in 1824 to recognize Newfoundland, at long last, as a British colony. The "surrogates" were replaced by circuit courts and civilian judges, the old rules inherited from the Western Charters were repealed and the private ownership of property was recognized, and, in order to improve social conditions, teachers and dissenting

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preachers (as well as persons in Holy Orders) were permitted to perform marriages. In 1825 a Council was appointed for the first time, to advise the Governor. In the same year, the present division of the Coast of Labrador between Newfoundland and Quebec was made. The section from Anticosti Island to Anse Sablon (in the Strait of Belle Isle) contained seigneuries which had been created in the days of New France. It was logical, therefore, that they should be restored once more to Lower Canada, where French (rather than English) civil law was still applied.

In 1832, Newfoundland obtained the form of representative government which Nova Scotia had achieved in 1758. Laws were to be enacted by the Governor, his Council, and an elected General Assembly. The first Assembly was conservative, but was soon exasperated by the blind obstructionism of the Council, especially after 1833 when Chief Justice Henry John Boulton, with his Upper Canadian "Family Compact" background, became its president. The second general elections resulted in the emergence of the reform leader, Dr. William Carson, as Speaker of the Assembly in 1837.

In 1838 Lord Durham became Governor General of all British North America. Both he and the very democratic Assembly in Newfoundland knew that political equality and political union go together. In a given area democracy, that is, "government by the people", implies that the people of the area are first of all politically united. A democrat, if he is logical, must also be a unionist. The General Assembly, in an Address to Lord Durham, said, "We see no good reason why Newfoundland and the other provinces should not form part of the United Kingdom as much as Yorkshire, Edinburgh, or Cork". In his own Report (1839), Durham declared that for Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland the union of the British provinces in North America was "absolutely necessary, as the only means of securing any proper attention to their interests". But Newfoundland, balanced as she was in the ocean between Britain and Canada, never succeeded in persuading the United Kingdom even to consider her proposal, and when that of Lord Durham became a reality over a century later, air travel and nuclear energy had already made the entire world much smaller than Canada had been in 1839.

In 1842, the constitution was suspended in order to break the political deadlock, and the members of the Council were put in the same house with the members of the representative Assembly, thus placing the reformers in a small minority. Their leader, William Carson, died in 1843, a few weeks after being defeated for the Speakership of this "amalgamated legislature". The new unicameral system was really a step forward, because at least it was workable, but the reformers mistakenly assumed that progress meant following exactly in the steps of Nova Scotia. Consequently,
In 1848, they obtained the restoration of the constitution of 1832, with its unworkable two-house legislature, just when in Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, it was being adapted to the idea of a government responsible to one house only.

In imitation of their neighbours, Newfoundland reformers, or Liberals, now began to demand that to the system of representative government, which they already had, there should be added the principle of "responsible government" — that is, that the Governor should be instructed to choose executive advisers who would have the confidence of an elected Assembly. In spite of the bitter opposition of Governor K. B. Hamilton, the British authorities announced that this would be done as soon as new elections had been held. As there was no longer a Roman Catholic majority in the island, the Conservatives in 1855 appealed for Protestant unity, while the Liberals campaigned against merchant-class domination. Every Roman Catholic constituency went Liberal, while the one Wesleyan district (Bay de Verde) and most of the other Protestant areas elected Tories. The outcome was decided, however, by Harbour Grace (mostly Church of England) and the districts of Carbonar and Burin (where none of the three denominations had a majority). These three Protestant constituencies returned a solid bloc of five Liberals.

Responsible government was inaugurated on May 25, 1855, by Charles Henry Darling, who had been sent over as Administrator for the purpose. The Liberal leader, Philip Francis Little, a young lawyer who had been born in P.E.I., the son of a devout Roman Catholic political refugee from Ireland, became the first Premier, taking good care to include two Protestants in his cabinet. The Governor's Council was abolished. Under the new constitution, the legislature consisted of the Governor, a Legislative Council (whose members were appointed for life on the nomination of the Premier), and, as before, the elected House of Assembly. In addition a new body called the Executive Council was created to advise the Governor, with the understanding that its members would be nominated by the Premier, and, most important of all, that it would be "responsible" to the elected house, that is, that it would not remain in office unless it either enjoyed the support of the majority of the members of the Assembly, or was willing to appeal to the electoral districts for such a majority in a general election. (Members of the Executive Council, without the Governor, eventually became known as "the cabinet" or "the government"). Thus direct British rule came to an end in 1855 — leaving Mr. Little to face a situation in which one quarter of the whole revenue was going into "expenditure for the poor".

RISE AND COLLAPSE OF DOMINION STATUS

In 1864, Frederick B. T. Carter (Conservative) and Ambrose Shea (Liberal) went to the Quebec Conference and became
"Fathers of Confederation". They were anxious to end "our present isolation". But the Commercial Society in St. John's quickly pointed out that "the Canadas, being essentially manufacturing and agricultural countries, have always pursued a protective policy, while Newfoundland, which..., must import most of the necessaries of life, in payment of which she exports her own produce, will ever be benefited by a free trade policy". When Carter became Premier in 1865, he ended the denominational character of his party by bringing into his cabinet the two leading Liberals (John Kent and Ambrose Shea), both Roman Catholics. He won an election, but admitted that public sentiment on the question of Confederation was "uncertain".

The pull of the continent was not yet as strong as the pull of the ocean. St. John's faced east, and the west coast was still part of a "French shore". Newfoundland traded with many other countries, but not much with Canada. She seemed to have much more in common with the United Kingdom. Then, in 1866, came the dramatic landing of the trans-Atlantic cable at Heart's Content, Trinity Bay. As if by magic, she suddenly seemed closer to the British Isles than she ever expected to be to the unknown inland city of Ottawa.

An Anti-Confederation Party was formed by Charles Fox Bennett, a wealthy merchant and land-speculator in Newfoundland, who lived in England. Though an extreme Tory, he carried every Roman Catholic district, where it was easy to remind the voters of Ireland's experience of political union with Britain. Moreover, Carter's social conservatism came out before the election of 1869 in a decision to deal with pauperism by the simple device of suppressing "the evil of gratuitous relief to the able-bodied poor". To many electors this meant the possibility of starvation. When the members of the new Assembly met in 1870 "firm in their adhesion to the fortunes of the Mother Country", they defeated the Carter Government by 19-8. Though he was forced to accept Mr. Bennett as Premier, the disappointed Governor replied that while "there never does arrive a time in the history of any great measure, in which it may not be said that its further consideration would be beneficial, it is most desirable... to seize the preferred hand, and not grasp at some ideal perfection".

Premier Bennett called on the Protestant electors to "put down Orangeism with the same strong hand that you would Fenianism". But the Loyal Orange Association (first lodge, St. John's, 1863; first grand lodge, 1870), with headquarters in Canada, helped put the Confederates back in power in 1874, with Carter as Premier again. Although both he and his successor, William Whiteway, had been Conservatives before 1865, the pro-confederation coalition became known as the "Liberals", their opponents being the party usually supported by the St. John's
merchants. Whiteway, having become Premier in 1895 following a bank crash which had brought down a brief Tory administration, re-opened negotiations for federal union. But lack of statesmanship on the part of the Mackenzie Bowell administration in Canada on that occasion caused Newfoundland to drop the idea. She turned her attention back to railway building on her own.

Robert Bond led a Liberal government from 1900 to 1909. Personal rivalries caused one of his ministers, Edward Morris (Premier, 1909-1918) to join the Tories as leader of a People’s Party. By 1913 Morris had the political support of the entire south from St. John’s East to St. George’s. He was blocked in the north, however, by the rapid growth of a Fishermen’s Protective Union, founded by William Coaker in 1908. In order to survive, the orthodox Liberals formed a political alliance with the F.P.U. before the general election of 1913, and were thus forced to the left. Coaker was elected in Bonavista and Bond in Twillingate, but it was Coaker with his radical views who now dominated the Opposition benches. However, in 1917 he entered a wartime coalition government. The major parties of the present were founded in 1919 by Michael Cashin (Premier, 1919) and Richard Squires (Premier, 1919-23, 1928-32) respectively, both former supporters of Morris. Coaker joined Squires’ new Liberal Party.

Meanwhile a woods industry had appeared, which was to replace the fishery as the chief contributor to the Newfoundland economy. In 1905 the Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company, created by the proprietors of the London Daily Mail, had undertaken the construction of a newsprint mill at Grand Falls, while in 1923 other British interests began a second paper plant at Corner Brook. Whereas Grand Falls remained unincorporated and completely dependent on the Company, in the Corner Brook area self-governing municipalities were formed which, by uniting in 1955, were to create Newfoundland’s second city (St. John’s having been the first).

Newfoundland had participated in the First World War on both land and sea. Like Canada she had, all by herself, become a “dominion of the north”. She even obtained a northwest territory in 1927, when the Privy Council defined her share of the Coast of Labrador as an area of 112,630 square miles. A member of the British Commonwealth of Nations (though not of the League of Nations), she was listed by the Statute of Westminster in 1931 as possessing complete independence. She had achieved political advancement beyond her dreams — but not economic security.

When the economic system in the United States collapsed in 1929, so did Newfoundland’s “prosperity”. Planning is almost impossible when there is very little with which to plan. In the election of 1932 the Squires government was swept out of office.
by a conservative United Newfoundland Party. The new Alderdice administration included Mr. William J. Browne, who was destined (1957-62) to be a member of the Diefenbaker cabinet. On the other hand, among the defeated Liberals was Joseph R. Smallwood, born in Bonavista North, who had been put through school in St. John's by a sympathetic uncle, and had been much influenced by the Fishermen's Protective Union. He had regarded Coaker as "Newfoundland's greatest son", and wrote that "on every occasion when I heard him the tears welled in my eyes and little shivers went down my back." Both Coaker and he had advocated some kind of commission government. As they expected, the Alderdice ministry was soon "unable from its own resources to defray the interest charges on the public debt".

In 1933, acting upon the report of a Royal Commission, the Assembly voted to suspend self-government and to place the country under the rule of a Commission to be appointed by and responsible to the government of the United Kingdom. The two Liberals who had survived the elections, F. G. Bradley (Secretary of State for Canada, 1949-53) and R. G. Starks, tried to prevent this by moving a series of motions in an attempt to preserve some slight semblance of democracy, but were repeatedly voted down by the solid ranks of the United Newfoundland Party.

In the United Kingdom, too, the Labour Party fought the proposals, clause by clause. Mr. Attlee, in an amendment to the second reading of the bill, protested that it made "no specific provision for substituting the inefficient and vicious system of competitive capitalism, truck, and exploitation by an economic system organized in the interests of the community". This and all other amendments were voted down by the supporters of the MacDonald National Government. Third reading was carried on December 18, by 293 to 52, with MacDonald, Baldwin, Chamberlain, Macmillan and Lord Dunglass (Douglas-Home) among those voting "Yes", while Clement Attlee, of course, voted "No". One of the "tellers for the Noes" in that division was Mr. Gordon Macdonald. On 16 February 1934, the new régime began.

CANADIAN PROVINCE

The Second World War emphasized the strategic importance of Newfoundland and brought Canadian and American forces into the island in large numbers. And the end of the war brought Labour to the top in British politics. In 1945 Mr. Attlee became Prime Minister, and in 1946 Sir Gordon Macdonald became Governor of Newfoundland. It was quickly decided that, as in the case of India, the first step in the direction of "an economic system organized in the interests of the community" should be for the people themselves to decide to what kind of a community they wished to belong. A National Convention was elected to recommend "possible forms of future government to be put before
the people at a national referendum”. Mr. F. Gordon Bradley became chairman of the Convention and Mr. Smallwood emerged as the leading advocate of union with Canada. The existence of 99-year leases for air and naval bases in Newfoundland, which the United States had received from the Churchill government in 1940 was an embarrassment for Canada as a sovereign nation, but this she decided to overlook. Yet in 1948 the Convention failed to recommend any possible form of future government to be put before the people other than a continuation of the Commission, or a return to the old constitution which had broken down in 1934. Britain put confederation with Canada on the ballot anyway, and Mr. Smallwood carried his campaign to the electorate.

On the first poll, 45 per cent of the votes were for independence and 41 per cent for confederation. Commission government was therefore dropped from the ballot, and the second poll was held on July 22, 1948. The result was 52 per cent for confederation and 48 per cent for a return to the status of 1933. In the old settlements on the Avalon Peninsula, from Harbour Grace to Placentia and St. Mary’s majorities were returned in favour of the former constitution, the most anti-confederate of all being Ferryland. In every other district the majority favoured union with Canada, the highest pro-confederation percentages being obtained in the Burin-Burgeo district, which had supported Carter even in 1869. Yet the division was so close that the balance of power was held by the widely-scattered and presumably pro-British supporters of Commission government. The great American bases, and the campaign of prominent “anti-confederates” for economic union with the United States, suggested that the only way to be sure of remaining in the sphere of the Commonwealth was through union with Canada.

It was made very clear before the second poll that Britain herself favoured confederation. Against this it was argued that, if independence were first restored, Newfoundland would be able to negotiate for better terms of union. But the experience of 1865 stood as a warning against delay. Governor Hill’s rejected advice of 1870, “to seize the proffered hand, and not to grasp at some ideal perfection”, was accepted at last — to the great delight of Governor Macdonald.

On March 31, 1949, Newfoundland became a Province of Canada. The next day Mr. Smallwood was appointed Premier. Representative and responsible government was restored once more, this time in the context of a much larger and stronger democratic community. The new relationship was quickly felt in the form of Canadian social services, Canadian taxes and tariffs, and Canadian subsidies, as well as through the unifying influences of the Canadian National Railways, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and, above all, the Trans-Canada Airlines.
It had been a long haul since Newfoundland had first become the base for an international European fishery off her shores. But her new partnership in a nation stretching all the way across the North American continent to the Pacific Ocean was a reminder that, in 1949 as in 1492, scientific progress was still forcing the world along, in spite of many backward glances, in the direction of economic and also political, unification. For Newfoundland, confederation with Canada was an important stage in that process, but not the end. For her, with her meagre resources, the pull of the continent had become irresistible. Less than a week after she entered the federal union, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was formed with Canada as a member. The continent itself was being pulled out into that international world united by the ocean of which Newfoundland had always been a part. Close contact with Britain, with the other nations of the NATO alliance, with Ireland, and with Spain, is for her traditional. In that she is now being joined, more than ever before, by Canada as a whole. But beyond that again, the occasional visits to St. John's of Soviet scientific or fishing vessels and the frequent landings at Gander of aircraft bearing Asian and east European statesmen to and from meetings of the United Nations are reminders that Newfoundland now belongs as well to a new larger world, which stretches far beyond the old horizons of the North Atlantic. Unfortunately it is still a hungry and disorderly world. It is a world whose peoples, including Americans, Russians, British, and Chinese, are badly in need of a Leviathan "to keep them all in awe", just as were the people of Newfoundland themselves during those long years in the past when through lack of government on the one hand and the competition of governments on the other they were forced to suffer so much from violence and poverty upon the shores of their own rugged island.
The author of this booklet, Professor G. O. Rothney, is a native of Richmond, Quebec, and a graduate of Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Quebec. He did graduate work at the University of London. His curiosity with regard to the history of the region treated in the booklet was aroused in the early days of his teaching career, which began in a one-room school at Spoon Cove, Shekatika Bay, on the Labrador coast of Quebec. After being Professor of History at Sir George Williams College, Montreal, he was Head of the Department of History at the Memorial University of Newfoundland from 1952 to 1963, before becoming Dean of Arts at Lakehead. He is a former member of the Council of the Canadian Historical Association and was a founding member with Canon Groulx of the Comité de direction of the Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique française, 1947-1971. In 1963-1964 he was Chairman of the Humanities Research Council of Canada. He joined the University of Manitoba in 1970.