"DELINQUENT, DISORDERLY AND DISEASED FEMALES": REGULATING SEXUALITY IN SECOND WORLD WAR ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

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"delinquent, disorderly and diseased females":

Regulating Sexuality in Second World War St. John's, Newfoundland

by

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Abstract

During the Second World War, Newfoundland was in a strategic location. By 1942 there were over 15,000 Canadian and American service personnel in the colony. Some of the relationships that developed between these servicemen and Newfoundland women led to marriage - some did not. In St. John's the number of lone mothers sharply increased. Many women were arrested on disorderly behaviour charges, and Chinese cafe owners were also suspected of involvement in the sex trade. Health officials' fears of rising rates of venereal disease (VD), were exacerbated by the anxieties of the military. Forced treatment was permitted under existing legislation, and a lock hospital was inaugurated to incarcerate non-compliant VD patients. With the introduction of penicillin, the use of Sydney Hospital ended and it became a home for delinquent girls. The discourse of disease transformed sex-trade workers into a source of social pollution, and sexually-active young women were accused of sharing sex-worker status. Due to the triple threat of illegitimacy, prostitution, and VD, young women became the site of a moral panic over 'sex delinquency'.

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I will always be grateful to Linda Kealey for not only being a model supervisor and editor, but also for suggesting I choose a Newfoundland topic – as this has proved to be both an enlightening and rewarding experience - and for encouraging me to stick with it when I thought I was sinking in the quicksand of motherhood. I want to thank Valerie Burton for her encouragement at the start of this project, and for her graduate seminar in social history that exposed a small group to big ideas in the larger world of the discipline. I would also like to remember Stuart Pierson, historiography guru to many students at MUN over the past few decades, for all he did for all of us.

Special thanks go to all my in-laws for their moral support and countless hours of childcare; my enduring gratitude goes to my husband, Dmitri Chvedov, for his support and encouragement over the several years it took to complete this project. The birth of our

daughter, Anastasia, created a long hiatus but blame is both a heavy and unfair load for those little shoulders. My daughter, my heart, your unborn self was with me at the early stages; you were and are my inspiration.

During the Second World War my aunt, Jean Lett (later Zarfas), travelled from the farmlands of Ontario's north Frontenac County to St. John's, Newfoundland as a member of the RCAF-WD. For sharing her recollections of the lively place that was wartime St. John's, I am grateful. This is dedicated to the memory of my mother, Dorothy Lett Haywood 1929-1958, of whom all my memories are second-hand. Writing this has given me a greater appreciation of the difficulties of lone parenthood and so I also dedicate this to the memory of my father, William "Bill" Haywood 1914-1984, whose many stories of his years as a Canadian airman in England during the Second World War ran the gamut from highly unlikely to out-and-out lies but nevertheless inspired my interest in that era.

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List of Abbreviations

CD	Contagious Diseases [Acts]
CNS	Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland
CWA	Child Welfare Association, St. John's, Newfoundland
NARA	National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.
PANL	Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador St. John's, Newfoundland
RCAF-WD	Royal Canadian Air Force-Women's Division
US	United States
VD	Venereal Disease

Chapter 1: Introduction

> Man is for war, woman for the recreation of the warrior, but he does not dislike it if she makes a show of fight. She cannot win in a real battle, having no muscles, only nerves.
>
> E.M. Forster, Howard's End (1910)

The relationship between women and the military has changed a great deal in the ninety years since Forster wrote that women "cannot win in a real battle."[1] In the military of many countries women take combat positions, yet they are generally regarded as ancillary forces. The twentieth century opened with women accompanying the troops as nurses or 'campfollowers'. During the First World War women worked in defense industries and substituted for men who had left their jobs to fight overseas. In the Second World War women were also incorporated into the armed forces as auxiliary units.[2] These new opportunities affected a minority of women in the 1940's, as the majority joined the war effort in supporting roles. Some women, especially those in areas near military bases, found employment as cooks, waitresses or typists; still others would provide for "the recreation of the warrior."

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[1]The ties between the military and women, in and out of uniform, are explored in Jean Bethke Elshtain, Women and War: with a new epilogue (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Cynthia Enloe, Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives (Boston: South End Press, 1983).

[2]Elisabetta Addis, "Women and the Economic Consequences of Being a Soldier" in Women Soldiers: Images and Realities. Elisabetta Addis, Valeria E. Russo and Lorenza Sebesta eds. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994); Gail Braybon and Penny Summerfield, Out of the Cage: Women's Experiences in Two World Wars (London: Pandora, 1987).

St. John's, Newfoundland hosted tens of thousands of armed forces personnel, mostly Americans, during the Second World War.[3] The building of the American and Canadian bases brought economic prosperity to Newfoundland.[4] Before the war the country struggled through a long depression that placed a special burden on women who were trying to support their families.[5] As well as employment opportunities the army and navy bases also brought service personnel in close contact with Newfoundlanders, who went out of their way to be good hosts although the servicemen were often unruly guests, as the broken windows on St. John's downtown streets evidenced.

Servicemen roamed the streets of St. John's and other communities in search of entertainment. "Six years of war, six years of sailors, soldiers and airmen crowding our streets," Helen Porter recalls in her memoir of growing up in 1940's St. John's. It appears that young women in St. John's were looking for them as well. According to Porter, "it became the ambition of many girls in their late teens and early twenties 'to get down to

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[3]In 1943 the U.S. forces in Newfoundland peaked at 10,882, and the Canadian forces also peaked that year at 5,700. David Mackenzie, Inside the Atlantic Triangle: Canada and the Entrance of Newfoundland into Confederation, 1939-1949 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986) 79-80

[4]Peter Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949. (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988) esp. Ch. 6: 'The Base Building Boom', 144-182.

[5]Nancy Forestell, "Times Were Hard: The Pattern of Women's Paid Labour in St. John's Between the Two World Wars," in Their Lives and Times: Women in Newfoundland and Labrador, A Collage, Carmelita McGrath, Barbara Neis and Marilyn Porter eds. (St. John's: Killick Press, 1995) 76-92.

the Base'." Young women found servicemen almost irresistible, especially the Americans, who "threw their money around and bragged a lot about how superior 'back home' was to 'Newfy'."[6] Porter remembers her adolescent peers' fascination with military men.

> War, as it always does, brought romance and love affairs and other affairs that had nothing to do with love. All this coincided with my early teens and new awareness of sex. My friends and I were a little too young to be caught up in the glamour of it all, or what looked like glamour to us, although there were tales of teenagers and sailors that made us gasp in horror. Or was it envy?[7]

The influx of service personnel created many economic opportunities. "The houses of prostitution prospered and there was money everywhere," Porter also recalls.[8] Brothels are a small yet vital part of the story of this city during its wartime 'occupation.' The sex-trade appears to have flourished in St. John's as it did in many communities mobbed by military men. Shortly after uniforms became a common sight on the streets of the city, single mothers also made frequent appearances and finding sufficient foster care for illegitimate babies became difficult. In wartime Newfoundland, as elsewhere in the world and in history, prostitutes were blamed for the prevalence of venereal disease (VD); however, in the discourse of sexually-transmitted diseases, single mothers joined sex-

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[6]Helen Porter, Below the Bridge: Memories of the South Side of St. John's (St. John's: Breakwater, 1979) 71.

[7]Porter, Below the Bridge, 68.

[8]Porter, Below the Bridge, 69.

trade workers as potential 'sources' of infection. These minor moral panics shone a spotlight, or searchlight, on the sexual activities of young women.

Many contemporary observers felt the war had led to a decline in basic values, a kind of moral chaos.[9] Young women graduated from 'problem girls' to 'sex delinquents'. At war's end, delinquent girls were described in a report to the Newfoundland National Convention as "a most serious problem....much more troublesome than the majority of the boys." The Division of Child Welfare was "looking forward to the opening of a training school for girls." With the training school, the Division claimed, "we shall be able to remove from danger of further contamination a number of juvenile girls who need discipline properly applied."[10]

This thesis demonstrates that the image of the delinquent girl was formed by three strands of anxiety: lone motherhood, prostitution, and VD, braided into the discourse surrounding St. John's young women, engaged in carving out their own sexual space during the Second World War. The female juvenile delinquent is not a precise synonym for the delinquent girl, as this former category should be reserved for the small but growing number of young women involved in criminal activity. The delinquent girl, or

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[9]See, for example, Marion V. Royce, The Effect of the War on the Life of Women, (Geneva/Washington: World's Young Women's Christian Association, 1945).

[10]"Division of Child Welfare Report" in The Newfoundland National Convention 1946-1948. Vol. 2 Reports and Papers. James K. Hiller and Michael F. Harrington eds. (Montreal/Kingston: McGill University Press - Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1995) 301-302.

'sex delinquent', is a discursively created result of the moral panics of the early twentieth century. Many scholars of sexuality in history have embraced concepts usually attributed to Michel Foucault, such as the idea that the social cannot be separated from the linguistic. "The unity of a discourse", writes Jeffrey Weeks, "does not derive from the fact that it describes a 'real object' but from the social practices that actually form the object about which discourses speak." The delinquent girl is not defined by discourse; rather, she is a creation of discursive practices "embodied in technical processes, in institutions, and in patterns of general behaviour."[11]

Some young women may have committed crimes such as soliciting, but the post-war panic which led St. John's to open its first home for delinquent girls was not caused by a greater number of young women appearing before the Magistrate's Court. I contend that the categorization leading to incarceration of the delinquent girl was a result of a gender barrier breakdown during the war that began to extend beyond employment and into the sexual arena. The discourse that surrounded obviously sexually-active young women, such as single mothers, made them a site for the cultural nervousness produced by the sexuality of young women and girls. This appears to have intensified after the war, when, as Mariana Valverde notes, "a surprisingly high level of anxiety about basic social values pervaded the supposedly naive and innocent postwar period."[12]

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[11]Jeffrey Weeks, "Foucault for Historians," in Weeks, Making Sexual History (Cambridge: Polity, 2000) 111.

[12]Mariana Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities: Morality, Gender,

In her study of psychologists and the family in postwar Canada, Mona Gleason acknowledges her debt to Foucault, with her own interpretation of "the technology of the self": the internalization of norms. Gleason's area of concern invites discourse theory as it involves the analysis of texts; she describes discourse as "more than rhetoric or words, discourse denotes statements, practices, and assumptions than share a linguistic coherence and work to identify and describe a problem or an area or concern."[13] While discourse is a useful tool for textual analysis, such as the deconstruction of propaganda, Foucault and Giles Deleuze maintain that theory should be treated "as a 'box of tools' to be taken up and used, not offered prescriptively."[14] According to Foucault, discourse appears at the nexus of knowledge and power. An analysis of power is at the heart of Foucault's "histor[ies] of the present" as he proclaimed the "chief characteristic of the present is that we live in a society of discipline and surveillance."[15] The combination of surveillance and social discipline is particularly glaring in studies of women and the legal or penal systems, such as the literature on prostitution, but it is also evident in works on women and welfare agencies or the medical system. This literature will be discussed in the

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and Generation in the City," in A Diversity of Women: Ontario 1945-1980. Joy Parr ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995) 19.

[13]Mona Gleason, Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) 7-8.

[14]Weeks, "Foucault for Historians," 119.

[15]Weeks, "Foucault for Historians," 118.

relevant chapters. The rest of this chapter is a review of the studies which have informed this thesis; it concentrates on studies of women in Newfoundland, women in the 1940s, or sexuality.[16]

Sexual anxieties have focused on young women since Eve was cast in the role of temptress; only recently, however, have researchers interested in the history of sexuality turned their attentions to the special circumstances of girls.[17] In her 1993 study of sexual conflict, Karen Dubinsky claims that "despite a growing international interest in the history of sexuality, Canadian historians are still silent."[18] This appears to be changing, but Newfoundland historians remain mum. "To say the least," writes Peter Neary, "the history of sexuality in Newfoundland is a decidedly underdeveloped subject."[19] The past two decades of studies on sexuality and its regulation provide a framework for this study.[20] Jeffrey Weeks's analyses of the historiography of sexuality, especially his

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[16]Studies that focus on single mothers, prostitution, delinquent girls and VD control will be reviewed in the appropriate chapters.

[17]See Sherrie A. Inness "Introduction" to her edited volume, Delinquents and Debutantes: Twentieth-Century American Girls' Cultures, (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

[18]Karen Dubinsky, Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) 6.

[19]Peter Neary, "Venereal Disease and Public Health Administration Newfoundland in the 1930s and 1940s," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History,* 15 (1998), 129.

[20]Recent British and American works on the history of sexuality are reviewed in Jeffrey Weeks, "Sexuality and History Revisited," in Weeks, Making Sexual History,

dissection of the work of Michel Foucault, were particularly useful.[21] Frank Mort's study of the relationship between power and medical knowledge helped to decipher the moral dimension of venereal disease control. Like Weeks, Mort notes the effect Foucault has had on the history of sexuality and his own work. The importance of Foucault's work, writes Mort, are the "problematisation of the very meaning and status of sexuality itself" and his understanding that the "central issue was not whether societies say yes or no to sex...but that both of these positions were part of the way in which sex was put into discourse." To Foucault's recognition of the importance of who speaks and to whom, Mort adds a class dimension; he notes that words of middle-class sexologists and other medical professionals were largely ignored by the urban poor who were so often the subject of their writings.[22]

Combining discourse theory with an analysis of gender allows Judith Walkowitz to deconstruct Victorian England's "narratives of sexual danger" in City of Dreadful Delight. Walkowitz notes the role played by the media, particularly the journalism of W. T. Stead in the popular press, in shaping a public discourse that encouraged moral panics;

125-141; recent Canadian research in this area is summarized in Cynthia Commachio, "'The Story of Us': Social Science, History, and the Relations of Family in Canada" *Labour/Le Travail* 46 (Fall 2000) 167-220.

[21]Weeks, "Foucault for Historians," 106-122.

[22]Frank Mort, Dangerous Sexualities: Medico-Moral Politics in England since 1830. Second Edition (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 2000). Quote xiii.

with this she hammers out some of the links between discourse and sexual regulation.[23] While investigating the discourses that formed the authoritative disciplines such as medicine and psychoanalysis, Foucault leaves many areas unevaluated. As Weeks also explains there is no Foucauldian social theory but his work is useful as it steers historians away from any type of determinism and toward an exploration of social formation and "the actual mechanics of power."[24] Scholars inspired by Foucault have "tossed away the image of the hammer in favour of that of the net - restrictive, yet full of holes," write two historians of law and moral regulation in Canada; they also note that the legal system and other state agencies are only one facet of moral regulation, as state agencies are unable to substitute for "extra-legal" organizations such as "religious institutions, schools, factories, families, peer groups, and even illegal groups, such as gangs."[25] Critics of Foucault have pointed out the lack of agency which might be overcome by turning to other theories; as Jill Matus points out, if Foucault lacks "an account of the relationship between discourse and social formation, it may be useful to think in terms of the concept of hegemony."[26]

Studies of the sex-trade and legislation designed to control VD have suggested the

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[23]Judith Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992).

[24]Weeks, "Foucault for Historians," 118.

[25]Carolyn Strange and Tina Loo, Making Good: Law and Moral Regulation in Canada, 1867-1939 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 5.

[26]Jill L. Matus, Unstable Bodies: Victorian Representations of Sexuality and Maternity (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) 11.

appropriateness of setting VD control in a British/colonial context, and that strategy is adopted here as well.[27] Recent analyses of female delinquency and social welfare have also aided my conceptualization of women's relationship to the legal system, government-run institutions, and institutions that are not directly controlled by the State.[28] In her study of "Female Sexuality and its Regulation in Early Twentieth-Century Britain," Lucy Bland reveals "the role of the moral panic surrounding VD during the First World War, which was the particular focus for concern over promiscuity."[29] This concern sprang from the fear of large numbers of illegitimate children, as well as the threat to the military's health from "the 'amateur prostitute' [who] became the scapegoat for the incidence of VD among the troops." As Bland explains, sexual regulation stems from several aspirations, and exposes "an ambivalence towards displays of female sexual

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[27]For the initial impact of the British CD Acts, see Judith Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Scotland and the "Glasgow System" of VD control are examined in Linda Mahood, The Magdalenes, Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century (London: Routledge, 1990); the efforts of some Australian states to control VD are explored in the essays in So Much Hard Work: Women and Prostitution in Australian History, Kay Daniels ed. (Sydney: Fontana, 1984).

[28]Regina Kunzel looks at non-state institutions such as the Salvation Army maternity homes in Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1993).

[29]Lucy Bland, "'Guardians of the Race' or 'Vampires Upon the Nation's Health': Female Sexuality and its Regulation in Early Twentieth-Century Britain," in The Changing Experience of Women. eds. Elizabeth Whiteleg, et al. (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1982) 373-88: quote; 376.

initiative and the double-sided nature of the desire to 'protect' - its underside being the supervision of women's sexual behaviour."[30] While Bland is chiefly concerned with British sex education, her portrayal of the moral panics during and after the First World War in Britain forecasts many similar developments in Second World War Newfoundland.

While the historical literature on women in Newfoundland is still in its formative period, several studies of women in Newfoundland, and on the country during the two decades before union with Canada in 1949, have contributed greatly to this study.[31] Little historical research has been done on women and social welfare institutions in Newfoundland. In addition there are very few publications on women in Newfoundland during the war, with one exception. Cecelia Benoit's research on Stephenville, a town very near the American airbase Harmon, uses oral accounts that capture the community's reaction to the arrival of the Americans and to lone motherhood.[32]

Stuart Godfrey's study of social welfare in Newfoundland makes little attempt to explain the impact wartime made on women in Newfoundland other than to blame the

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[30]Bland, "Guardians of the Race," 382.

[31]Among the most useful: Linda Cullum and Maeve Baird "A Woman's Lot: Women and Law in Newfoundland from Early Settlement to the Twentieth Century" in Pursuing Equality: Historical Perspectives on Women in Newfoundland and Labrador, Linda Kealey ed. (St John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1993) 66-162; Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World; Forestell, "Times Were Hard".

[32]Cecelia Benoit, "Urbanizing Women Military Fashion: The Case of the Stephenville Women," in Their Lives and Times. See McGrath et al. eds., 113-127.

war for the rising number of delinquent girls, who were a serious problem "because of health and other social implications." Godfrey's documentation of social policy changes has a rather whiggish tone as it celebrates the advances in the provision of social welfare in Newfoundland, with little regard to the social and political context of these changes. Godfrey also glosses over the transition from church-based charity to state welfare, and what this meant for the clients of these agencies.[33]

Changes to Newfoundland's Department of Public Health and Welfare are mentioned briefly in Peter Neary's study of the Commission of Government era. Neary includes some of the social changes of the war-years such as the hundreds of Newfoundland women who married and had children by Canadians and Americans. The wartime American consul general paid close attention to how many months elapsed between a serviceman's marriage and the birth of his first child, according to Neary, who does not mention that many servicemen did not marry the mothers of their children, or the support payments that were extended by the military. Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World sets the political context of the 1930s and 40s, but rarely mentions women.[34] Neary's study of VD control in Newfoundland to some extent readdresses this

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[33]Stuart R. Godfrey, Human Rights and Social Policy in Newfoundland 1832-1982: Search for a Just Society. (St John's: Harry Cuff, 1985) 157; The cross-over between young working women and problem girls is illustrated by Carolyn Strange, Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

[34]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 48.

omission.[35]

Except in the area of women's history, the role of women is marginalized in much of the existing literature on Newfoundland and Labrador's past. This gender imbalance is less glaring in recent works, such as Miriam Wright's study of the Newfoundland fishery, and Sean Cadigan's examination of merchant-settler relations in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Newfoundland; as Cynthia Comacchio observes, "Sean Cadigan's discussion of the household economy of the 17th-century (sic) fishery reveals its near-total dependence on family labour, and the importance of women's labour in an ostensibly male-dominated enterprise."[36] Studies like Cadigan's show that women are coming in from the sidelines in the literature.They also help to compensate for the lack of recognition of gender in the few existing broad overviews or syntheses of Newfoundland history, needed to provide a context for later work. There are few monographs, and no synthetic works, of the history of Newfoundland women like those that exist for central Canada.[37] Many works on English Canada also do not recognize the special

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[35]Neary, "Venereal Disease."

[36]Miriam Wright, A Fishery for Modern Times: The State and the Industrialization of the Newfoundland Fishery, 1934-1968 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001); Sean Cadigan, Hope and Deception in Conception Bay: Merchant-Settler Relations in Newfoundland, 1785-1855, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). Quote: Comacchio, "The History of Us," 199.

[37]The marginalization of Newfoundland in Canadian historiography is far from even. For example, Alison Prentice et al. Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1988) has several references to both Newfoundland and Labrador. The second edition (1996) corrects errors and omissions evident in the first on Newfoundland

circumstances of women in the Atlantic Provinces.[38] In a 1990 review, Gail Campbell recognizes that much of Canadian women's history focuses on central Canada and attributes this to a "continuing lack of published secondary sources upon which to draw."[39]

Women's history in Newfoundland struggled to overcome a shaky start. "When a few feminists began working on the history and sociology of women in Newfoundland and Labrador in 1980, there was very little previous work to draw on and few other feminist scholars with whom to compare notes," explain three of these early 'feminist scholars.'[40] Newfoundland still has few women's historians, and almost all live in or near St John's. The editors of a recent collection of essays on women in BC claim that a concentration of scholars in one geographic area (in their case the Lower Mainland) results in "a relative neglect of other regions of the province."[41] This does not reflect the

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women's history; also see Linda Kealey, "Introduction" to Pursuing Equality 2nd ed. 1999, 4.

[38]For example, in Veronica Strong Boag, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Markham: Penguin Books, 1988) the index does not list any of the Atlantic provinces.

[39]Gail Campbell quoted in Linda Kealey, 'Introduction' to Pursuing Equality, 1st. ed.1993, 4.

[40]See Carmelita McGrath, Barbara Neis and Marilyn Porter, Preface to Their Lives and Times, vii.

[41]Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag eds., British Columbia Reconsidered: Essays on Women (Vancouver: Press Gang, 1992).

Newfoundland experience. With the exception of some anthropological studies, little historical research has been done on women in Labrador; Jill Perry's "Ethel Currant: Portrait of a Labrador Nurse" is an exception. Although it is largely biographical, it provides a glimpse of the conflicting values of local people and outsiders in Labrador in the late 1930s.[42] And while some of the more remote areas of the island such as the Northern Peninsula remain neglected, St. John's is far from a dominant presence in the literature. "Most of the published work on women centers around outport women and much of it focuses on women's contributions to the fishery in particular," writes Linda Kealey.[43]

Another hurdle women's historians in Newfoundland have to jump is the shortage of secondary sources which has drawn scholars into oral history projects, or toward using local histories/reminiscences such as Elizabeth Goudie's Woman of Labrador.[44] This tendency can be both a strength and a weakness. Many first-hand accounts are highly subjective, and are limited to the turn-of-the-century and after. However, they remain

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[42]Jill Perry, "Ethel Currant: Portrait of a Labrador Nurse," in Framing Our Past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century. Sharon Anne Cook et al. eds., (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001) 300-304.

[43]Kealey, "Introduction" to Pursuing Equality, (1999) 4-5.

[44]Elizabeth Goudie, Woman of Labrador Edited and with an introduction by David Zimmerly (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1973). Memoirs which cover the 1940's in St. John's include: Margaret Duley, The Caribou Hut: The Story of a Newfoundland Hostel (Toronto: Ryerson, 1949); Porter, Below the Bridge. For a much more complete list of memoirs, and comment on the use of folklore/anthropology sources by women's historians in Newfoundland, see Kealey, "Introduction" to Pursuing Equality.

valuable sources as they capture the world-view of women in both Newfoundland and Labrador.[45] Women's history is entering its third decade in Newfoundland, but it has evolved quickly. It skipped lightly over the phases women's history experienced elsewhere as scholars, such as Neis and Porter, were guided by feminist and/or marxist interpretations. Their early work "made the family, household and the community foci for understanding how things worked in Newfoundland," according to McGrath, Neis and Porter, adding that things are changing partly because more Newfoundland women are entering graduate school; they proclaim this new generation of scholars as "interested in lives that reflect their own experience," for example, Newfoundlanders moving from a rural to an urban environment. The three scholars also note that partly due to "pioneering work done to uncover the darker side of family and community life" feminists chose different topics in the 1990s. Feminist scholars in Newfoundland were also motivated by "the series of cases against Catholic priests and brothers and other, escalating revelations of long-buried pain to demonstrate that Newfoundland was not a unique, pastoral heaven, but a participant in the consequences of a sexist, patriarchal and violent culture."[46] This new interest in "the darker side" of life is more noticeable in contemporary studies rather

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[45]A strength as it maintains one of the traditions of women's history: to recover women's voices; but the weaknesses are shown in work such as Benoit's "Urbanizing Women" which tend to take sources at face value. A more satisfying result is achieved when oral accounts are supplemented with empirical data; for one example, see Nancy Forestell "Times Were Hard".

[46]McGrath, Neis and Porter eds. "Preface" to Their Lives and Times, ix.

than historical research.[47]

Some new work follows old patterns, but some Newfoundland women's historians have remodeled the basic design. Linda Cullum's study of two Newfoundland women's organizations, with its consideration of gender, class, and state formation, shows that the political concerns which informed much of the early work have survived. Cullum and a few other Newfoundland historians incorporate some of the ideas of social construction theory, particularly noticeable in their conceptualizations of gender. [48] The influence of both feminist social history and labour history can be seen in Nancy Forestell's "Times Were Hard", which examines both the lives of working-class women and women's labour organizations. Forestell's 1987 MA thesis, from which her article is drawn, is a very valuable source of information on the economic position of women in pre-Second World War St John's. It also contains one of the few studies of Newfoundland domestic servants, who often came to an urban centre from an outport.[49] Domestic service was one of the

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[47]See, for example, Lorraine Michael, "Child Sexual Abuse among the Clergy: a Churchwoman's View" in Their Lives and Times, see McGrath et al. eds., 196-198.

[48]Linda Cullum, "'A Woman's Place': The Work of Two Women's Voluntary Organizations in Newfoundland, 1934-1941" in Their Lives and Times, see McGrath et al. eds., 93-108; Miriam Wright, "Women, Men and the Modern Fishery: Images of Gender in Government Plans for the Canadian Atlantic Fisheries" in Their Lives and Times, see McGrath et al. eds., 129-143.

[49]Forestell, "Times Were Hard"; Nancy Forestell, "Women's Paid Labour in St. John's Between the Two World Wars," Master's thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1987. Forestell uses a statistical analysis of both the 1921 and 1935 nominal censuses of Newfoundland and Labrador.

main sources of employment for women in Newfoundland. It is important to this study, as it was the occupation of a large proportion of single mothers in the 1940s. Despite the large numbers of women and girls who went into service, both on and off the island, very little has been published on domestic servants in Newfoundland.[50]

The combination of feminism's second wave and the number of Marxist-inspired scholars who contributed to the rise of the 'new social history' made patriarchy, and other structures in society that oppress women, the focal point for many socialist-feminists in the 1970s. The emphasis on class directed some of the 'new' social historians toward defining working-class history as its own subdiscipline. This new field was an offshoot of labour history as it split from the focus on workers and labour organizations, and grafted new elements such as community and working-class culture on to the labour history tradition.[51] These trends in the subdiscipline encouraged some historians toward studying the particular circumstances of working-class women, and exploring women's 'culture of

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[50]One exception is Barb Neis "From 'Shipped Girls' to 'Brides of the State': The Transition from Familial to Social Patriarchy in the Newfoundland Fishing Industry," *Canadian Journal of Regional Studies* XVI: 2 (Summer 1993). Unpublished sources include Shelly Smith, "A Better Chance in the Boston States: An Ethnographic Account of Migratory Domestic Service Among Newfoundland Women, 1920-1940." Honour's thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1984; Ingrid Botting, "'Getting a Grand Falls Job': Labour Markets, Migration and Paid Domestic Labour in a Company Town, 1929-1939" unpublished Ph. D. diss, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000.

[51]Ava Baron, "Gender and Labor History", introduction to her edited volume, Work Engendered: Towards a New History of American Labour (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

the workplace.' While some studies of women workers still emphasized the 'separate spheres' aspect of female-dominated workplaces, many women's labour historians employed a feminist analysis in their studies of the gender division of labour.[52] The special circumstances of women in wartime - women doing 'men's work' - provided an excellent opportunity to examine the importance of gender roles and the lingering effects of gender stereotypes.

The interest in women's work experiences, coupled with developments in social history, resulted in a mid-seventies surge of studies on women during the Second World War. The first indication of the trend was the two pieces on working women in a 1975 double issue of *Radical America* devoted to the workplace struggles of the 1940s.[53] Paddy Quick's contribution identified two myths about wartime women workers. He said the original myth is that women went to work when their husbands went to war, and, with few exceptions, were happy to be housewives again when they returned. The new myth is that women were 'oppressed' by husbands who would not allow them to work. Quick blamed J.E. Trey for the first myth, and claimed Trey's article helped to form the second.[54] Quick attempted a critique of existing fallacies about women in the forties and a

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[52]I use "feminist-analysis" to mean an analysis of the gendered power imbalance - and the forces which create or reinforce it.

[53]Paddy Quick, "Rosie the Riveter: Myths and Realities," *Radical America* 9:4-5 (July-August 1975) 115-131.

[54]Joan Ellen Trey, "Women in the War Economy - World War II," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 4 (July 1972) 40-57. Trey made an inaccurate assumption

Marxist analysis of the 'realities' of working women in wartime, with few available secondary sources.[55] "Four Narratives", in the same journal, is a condensed combination of four memoirs.[56]

Few scholarly monographs on women in the Second World War had been published in the mid-seventies, therefore, autobiographies formed the basis of much of the existing knowledge about women's war work. This is not to downplay the usefulness of first-person accounts. Oral histories, such as those collected by Sherna Gluck can be a rich source of women's experiences.[57] But, as Ruth Roach Pierson advises, "we cannot accept a women's recollection uncritically, that is, as unmediated by cultural/historical

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that women left the labour force after the war, according to Karen Beck Skold, "American Women in Shipyards During World War II" in Women, War and Revolution, Carol R. Berkin and Clara M. Lovett eds. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980) 75.The source of the second myth is not given, but the emphasis on neuroses implies the origin is The Feminine Mystique. Quick notes that Sheila Tobias and Lisa Anderson 'attack both myths' in their "What Really Happened to Rosie the Riveter" *MSS Modular Publications* (Module 9, 1974).

[55]Quick claims that William Chafe, The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Role, 1920-1970, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972) provides "an excellent statistical analysis of the period." Chafe's statistics were late discredited by Alice Kessler-Harris in Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

[56]Katharine Archibald, Augusta Clewson, Mary Sonnenberg and Anne Stein. "Working Women and the War: Four Narratives." *Radical America* 9:4-5 (July-August 1975) 133-155.

[57]Sherna Gluck, Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War and Social Change (Boston: Twayne, 1987).

context."[58] Judith McArthur's 1987 "Historiographical survey of American Women in World War Two", shows how much things had changed in the previous twelve years.[59] McArthur includes Alice Kessler-Harris' more comprehensive study of working women in America, because it contains an analysis of wartime employment figures. Out to Work refutes the thesis put forward by Chafe and others, that wartime was a 'milestone' for working women. Kessler-Harris is one example of the revisionist historians who tried to dispel some 'Rosie the Riveter' myths with a more in-depth study of female employment statistics.[60]

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[58]Ruth Roach Pierson, "Experience, Difference, Dominance and Voice in the Writing of Canadian Women's History" in Writing Women's History: International Perspectives Karen Offen et al. eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991) 79-106, quote 91.

[59]Chester W. Gregory, Women in Defense Work During World War II: An Analysis of the Labor Problem and Women's Rights (New York: Exposition Press, 1974). Judith N. McArthur, "From Rosie the Riveter to the Feminine Mystique: An Historiographical Survey of American Women in World War Two" *Bulletin of Bibliography* 44:1 (March 1987) 10-15. McArthur examined four books that appeared between 1981 and 1984: Karen Anderson, Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations and the Status of Women During World War II.(Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981); Susan Hartman, The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s (Boston: Twayne, 1982): Maureen Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda During World War Two (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984); D'Ann Campbell, Women at War with America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984). Two of the articles McArthur mentioned were later expanded into full-length studies: Sherna Gluck, Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, the War and Social Change (Boston: Twayne, 1987); Ruth Milkman, Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex During World War Two (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

[60]Kessler-Harris, Out to Work.

Unlike the earliest studies of women during the Second World War, later work stressed that the progress working women made during the war was temporary.[61] Ruth Milkman's examination of women in the American auto and electrical industries shows that the gains women made within the structure of their unions determined to a large degree their post-war work experiences. Milkman compares women in the United Auto Workers and United Electrical unions and reveals the weakness of the continuity versus change debate; she demonstrates that women made real gains in some areas, and experienced setbacks in others.[62] Pamela Sugiman's study of Canadian women auto workers uses oral accounts to flesh out her discussion of the experiences of women workers and their first experiences with unions. The testimonies capture the youth and naivete of the Ontario farm girls, some as young as sixteen, who found the first well-paying jobs of their lives in wartime auto plants.[63] Other examinations of Canadian women workers during the Second World War include Dionne Brand's study of African-Canadian women in Ontario, which also makes excellent use of oral history, and Ellen Scheinberg's study of women textile workers in Cornwall, Ontario.[64]

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[61]One early example is Alan Clive, "Women Workers in World War Two: Michigan as a Test Case," *Labor History*, 20 (Winter 1979) 44-72.

[62]Milkman, Gender at Work.

[63]Pamela Sugiman, Labour's Dilemma: The Gender Politics of Auto Workers in Canada, 1937-1979 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994) esp. Ch. 3. 'Femininity and Friendship on the Shop Floor (1937-1949)' 65-97.

[64]Dionne Brand, "'We weren't allowed to go into factory work until Hitler started

Scheinberg suggests that union men collaborated with managers to support a gender division of labour despite an acute shortage of male workers. She also shows that textile workers did not reap the same wartime benefits given to defense workers, such as high pay and daycare facilities.[65] Scheinberg's work contrasts sharply with Marc Miller's study of textile workers in Lowell, Massachusetts, which reveals that mill owners had to raise workers' wages in order to compete with the salaries offered by war industries. Miller shows that women workers took full advantage of the labour shortage, as well as the better-paying jobs, but the gains they made were temporary as the New England textile industry was in decline.[66]

The 1980s was a particularly fruitful decade for historians of American women during the Second World War; this was true outside the United States as well. Penny Summerfield produced one of the few monographs on British women during the war in 1984.[67] Also in the seventies Ruth Roach Pierson wondered if The Feminine Mystique

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the war': The 1920s to the 1940s," in "We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up": Essays in African Canadian Women's History. Peggy Bristow et. al. eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994) 171-192.

[65]Ellen Scheinberg, "The Tale of Tessie the Textile Worker: Female Textile Workers in Cornwall During World War II," *Labour/Le Travail*, 33 (Spring 1994), 153-86.

[66]Marc Miller, The Irony of Victory: World War II and Lowell, Massachusetts (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

[67]Penny Summerfield, Women Workers in the Second World War: Production and Patriarchy in Conflict. (London: Croom Helm, 1984).

was a 'myth', and began to write the articles which culminated in her 1986 book on the wartime experiences of Canadian women. Pierson examined the Canadian military's anti-VD campaign, as well as the government's influence in encouraging women to work or to join the armed services during the war.[68]

Australia also has a relatively small number of women's historians, but, as elsewhere, women's lives during the Second World War began in the late seventies to receive some attention.[69] One of the first Australian women's historians to investigate the Second World War, Margaret Bevege, presented her own experiences of life in Queensland during the war.[70] Bevege notes the disturbances caused by large numbers of usually American servicemen in very close proximity to a small Australian community. She stresses the heavy drinking of the soldiers and the friction between the Australian servicemen and the Americans who greatly outnumbered them. As Bevege points out, this affected women - especially young women - as 'restrictions' were placed on their activities to prevent them from fraternizing with the troops. Judith Allen also notes the escalation in

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[68]Ruth Roach Pierson, "They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986) 9.

[69]Four papers on women's wartime experiences were presented at a 1980 Conference and published in Margaret Bevege, Margaret James and Carmel Shute eds. Worth Her Salt: Women at Work in Australia (Sydney: Hale and Iremonger, 1982).

[70]Margaret Bevege, "Some Reflections on Women's Experiences in North Queensland During World War Two," in Worth Her Salt. See Bevege et al. eds., A country-wide study is John Hammond Moore, Over-Sexed, Over-Paid and Over-Here: Americans in Australia 1941-1945. (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981).

the amount of male violence toward women in Australia during the war. "Young women, engaged in war work could be particularly vulnerable," Allen claims, noting that wartime judges were very unsympathetic and had "declared that modern girls had become indiscreet and immodest." One judge opined that they may be "'the very sort of girl who does submit herself'."[71]

Bailey and Farber's study of Hawaii during the Second World War also shows how a large military presence affects the neighbouring community, and that the military commanders as well as Hawaii's elite residents were acutely aware of racial and ethnic differences in the troops and in the community. The First Strange Place exposes the many ways the military discriminated against black servicemen, and how much of this sprung from a fear of sexual relationships between black men and white women. Bailey and Farber's study of prostitution in Honolulu reveals that the military can act as a secondary level of government in wartime.[72] "Hotel Street" differs from other studies of wartime prostitution, as Bailey and Farber do not combine it with a study of VD control.[73] It also differs as it reveals the influence of feminist studies of sex-trade workers that emphasize

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[71]Judith A. Allen, Sex & Secrets: Crimes Involving Australian Women Since 1880, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990) 218-220.

[72]Beth Bailey and David Farber, "Hotel Street: Prostitution and the Politics of War," *Radical History Review* 52 (Winter 1992) 54-77. The article is drawn from their The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii (New York: The Free Press, 1992).

[73]See, for example, Michael Sturma, "Public Health and Sexual Morality: Venereal Disease in World War Two Australia," *Signs* 13: 4 (1988) 725-740.

that prostitutes were not necessarily victims, and should be seen as women who also struggled for some control over the conditions of the workplace.[74] Recent studies of prostitution reveal the effects of feminist analysis, and they also reveal the surge in interest in sexuality as an area of historical inquiry.

Wartime sexuality is also explored by some of the scholars interested in the gay and lesbian past. Allan Berube's Coming Out Under Fire is a detailed examination, based on dozens of oral interviews, of the experiences of gays and lesbians in the US military during World War Two.[75] The impact wartime made on the lesbian women who joined the military, or moved to port cities for defense work, is noted in many lesbian/gay histories.[76] The growing sexual awareness of women who entered factory work for the first time in Second World War Britain has been examined by Summerfield and Crockett, whose study shows that for many women the war brought more than economic changes. The authors claim that the early forties also presented a "sexual challenge" to gender

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[74]See Ruth Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982).

[75]Allan Berube, Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two (New York: The Free Press, 1990)

[76]See Lillian Faderman, Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America (New York: Penguin Books, 1991). Kinsman notes that "there is only limited evidence that World War II fostered coming out and the formation of lesbian and gay networks in Canada to the degree that it did in the U.S." Gary Kinsman, Regulation of Desire: Sexuality in Canada, (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1987) 110.

norms.[77] One question this thesis poses is whether wartime St. John's also experienced a similar sexual challenge to Newfoundland's gender norms.

This thesis shows that many of the wartime and post-war changes, justified as bringing Newfoundland 'up' to the standards of the rest of North America, were aimed at restraining the sexual behaviour of women - especially young women. Investigation and surveillance were control tactics of welfare agencies and other institutions before the war; however, the moral panic over lone mothers, VD and the sex-trade, coupled with an increase in state funds, brought the regulation of sexuality under more state supervision. The focus of this thesis is the regulation of sexual suspects, such as single mothers, sex-workers, and delinquent girls. It concentrates on women in the city of St. John's, but occasionally women who worked on the bases or outport women who came to St. John's for employment will be included. Neary's study of the Department of Health and Welfare and his comprehensive documentation of the Commission of Government years, are the building blocks of the following chapter on the economic and political changes of the 1930s and 1940s. The third chapter demonstrates the difficulties of lone motherhood during the Second World War, and investigates the discourse of the dangerous woman that came to encircle single mothers. Chapter Four is on prostitution and the surveillance of St. John's Chinese restaurants, often cited as "pick-up places," and how this

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[77]Penelope Summerfield and Nicole Crockett, "You Weren't Taught that with the Welding: Lessons in Sexuality in the Second World War." *Women's History Review* 1:3 (1992) 435-454.

stigmatized the city's tiny Chinese community as participants in the sex-trade. A common feature of the British Empire before the Second World War were institutions, known as lock hospitals, which incarcerated and treated uncooperative, usually female, VD patients; St. John's Sydney Hospital was used as a lock hospital for only a couple of years, and, after the introduction of penicillin, it became a home for delinquent girls. Therefore Chapter Five covers both VD control, the arrival of the first 'wonder drug', and the emergence of the delinquent girl as a wartime social problem; it will also explore lock hospitals as a British-empire phenomenon.

A Note on Sources

In this thesis I make extensive use of court records, especially affiliation suits which contain the details of the unmarried women who sued the father of their child for support. The 1945 manuscript census is extremely useful as it shows the financial and family situation of the some of women involved in paternity suits - in particular it shows some of those who returned to their parental home with their child. The annual reports of the Division of Child Welfare and the Child Welfare Association also indicate how many of the women fared, and the type of support offered by the state. These reports also disclose the fate of many children whose mothers could not, or would not, keep them.

The reports of the probation officers, who were also Newfoundland's first social workers, show the reluctance of many of the unmarried mothers to allow their children to

be adopted, or to go to an institution despite difficult economic circumstances. These monthly reports, found in the Department of Health and Welfare records, show the day-to-day activities of the department responsible for the distribution of the awards obtained through paternity suits; they also show that the Department monitored the sexual behaviour of the recipients, and threatened to withhold benefits from those suspected of 'immoral' activities.

The court records and the Magistrate's Court column in the St. John's daily *The Evening Telegram* document women arrested for prostitution usually on 'drunk and disorderly' or 'disorderly in a public place' charges. The papers of the Commission of Government contain the correspondence between the Newfoundland government and the military commanders, as well as documentation of proposed post-war changes. The records indicate the wartime concern with juvenile delinquency, especially female delinquent behaviour, which led to the establishment in 1945 of a juvenile court in Newfoundland. The records of the Department of Health and Welfare reveal the steps the government took to control venereal disease among Newfoundlanders, after pressure was exerted by the military. The American military's own reports indicate the amount of venereal disease among the troops from the United States, stationed in Newfoundland.

The Magistrate's Court records contain details of the women charged with knowingly spreading VD. The Department of Health and Welfare's records document the activities of the Sydney Lock Hospital, its demise after the introduction of penicillin, and

its postwar conversion into a 'training school' for delinquent girls. The Department's records also show the government's concern with the rise in the number of illegitimate births which led to the introduction of formal adoption procedures, and a large donation to the Salvation Army for a new, and much larger, home for single mothers. The records also show the changes within the Health and Welfare Department which became both more intrusive in the lives of its clients; it also became more concerned with incarceration, training and 'treatment' of women and girls judged to be maladjusted. To protect the privacy of many of the women mentioned in this thesis, surnames are shortened to one initial.

Chapter 2

The "American era"

The Pre-War and Wartime Economic Context

> Wartime was looked back on by Newfoundlanders as the American era, years when they saw firsthand the swaggering largesse of the country to which thousands of their relatives had gone in search of jobs.
>
> Wayne Johnston, Baltimore's Mansion[1]

A war has never been fought on Newfoundland soil, yet the country has been profoundly affected by war. It was formed as a nation by the wars of the eighteenth century, brought close to bankruptcy by its participation in the first major conflict of the twentieth century, and pushed into confederation with Canada by the second. The lives of many women in North America were radically altered by the Second World War, and this was particularly true in Newfoundland. After struggling to overcome the great depression, Newfoundland enjoyed an economic boom with cost of living increases to match in the 1940s. As well as better-paying occupations, women in Newfoundland found themselves surrounded by Canadian and American servicemen; many discovered the risks and rewards of involvement with military men.

While the main theme of this thesis is the regulation of sexuality and "the various ways women have resisted patriarchal norms of sexual behavior and attempted to carve

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[1]Wayne Johnston, Baltimore's Mansion: A Memoir (Toronto: Knopf, 1999) 81.

out sexual territory," this chapter provides an overview of economic and other changes leading up to union with Canada in 1949 and the impact these changes made on the employment of women and girls in Newfoundland.[2]

"Sexual divisions are constructed, negotiated, and endlessly challenged" in every society, states Marilyn Porter, adding that in Newfoundland's outport communities "[e]ven today, the traditionally rigid sexual division of labour is unbreached."[3] While the boundaries of gender and class reflect those of other western societies, in Newfoundland's past and perhaps also its present, the divides have sharp edges. Another obvious division lies between the island's few and relatively small urban areas and its rural region, composed almost entirely of a multitude of outport communities. A great migration from the outports to urban areas, and other areas where bases were under construction, began in the 1940s; but, from the first days of European settlement up to and including the 1930s, the majority of Newfoundlanders, according to Miriam Wright, "remained attached to the fishery."[4] The importance of the fishery can not be overstated. It played a key role in the rise and fall of the Newfoundland economy, and women's "crucial role in the making of salt fish" as Sean Cadigan argues, "tested, at least

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[2]Dubinsky, Improper Advances, 3.

[3]Marilyn Porter, "'Skipper of the Shore Crew': The History of Women in Newfoundland" in her Place and Persistence in the Lives of Newfoundland Women (Aldershot: Averbury, 1993) 39. The fist version of the essay appeared in *Labour/LeTravail* 15, (Spring 1985).

[4]Wright, A Fishery For Modern Times, 14.

informally, the household's patriarchal structure."[5]

Newfoundland's "resident population of European descent," was largely drawn from the southeast counties of Ireland and the West Country of England.[6] Despite the island's "grim agricultural potential" the migratory fishery was gradually replaced by a settled version during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[7] While Great Britain was not granted dominion over Newfoundland until 1713,[8] the English began the first recorded settlement in 1610 with forty men and the next year added sixteen women. A severe gender imbalance, according to Porter, lasted until the end of the eighteenth century.[9] Early in the nineteenth century, the population began to grow very quickly; by David Alexander's calculations it doubled between 1804 and 1816. He claims therefore, that "it is more realistic to view Newfoundland as one of the nineteenth-century countries of European settlement." In the latter half of the eighteenth century, the French fishery was in decline after the Seven Years' War and the New England fishery declined after the American Revolution. The collapse of competition stimulated the "transition from a

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[5]Cadigan, Hope and Deception in Conception Bay, 80.

[6]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 4.

[7]David Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934" in James Hiller and Peter Neary eds. Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,1980) 19.

[8]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 4.

[9]Porter, "Skipper of the Shore Crew," 41.

"British fishery at Newfoundland to a Newfoundland fishery."[10]

Sean Cadigan illuminates the influence of the British, and events in Britain, on early nineteenth century Newfoundland when colonial authorities tried to instil the "ideal of peaceable patriarchy which was gaining ground in England." Cadigan notes that patriarchal relationships did not reflect the working-class backgrounds of members of these households, whose marriages "were both more egalitarian and disorderly than their 'betters' would have liked." Further, fishing families depended on men to catch the fish and women to cure it. This interdependence "limited formal male authority" and yet the colonial authorities hoped that women would become "docile subordinates."

Fishing families in Newfoundland, as Cadigan points out, "shared with the rest of the Anglo-American world the formal legal structures of patriarchy." Women were not recognized as 'persons', males held formal economic power, common law allowed for the corporal punishment of 'misbehaving' women, and the court also "held men accountable for their female relatives' actions." Women were not only treated as minors after marriage, but inheritance law favoured sons over widows. Women who had no male relatives were in some ways better off; as they could assert "their inheritance rights to the fishing equipment of their deceased husbands so that they might continue their fishery."[11]

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[10]Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy," 19.

[11]Sean Cadigan, "Whipping Them into Shape: State Refinement of Patriarchy among Conception Bay Fishing Families, 1787-1835" in Their Lives and Times, see McGrath, Neis and Porter eds. 51-56.

The vast majority of women were denied access to economic independence; this also guided the laws of Newfoundland that, as Cullum and Baird state, "often reflect[ed] the dependent position in which most women have found themselves."[12]

In the early years of settlement, Newfoundland developed its own civil law. However, in 1824 Newfoundland became an official British colony, and in 1832 a self-governing colony. In 1837 the new government passed an Act, which extended the Criminal Law of England to the colony "under certain modifications." Any laws England passed after 1837 were extended twelve months later to Newfoundland. While Newfoundland enacted statutes and repealed others, British criminal law prevailed until 1949. Before union with Canada developments in British law, such as the reinforcement of patriarchy, directly affected Newfoundlanders. Furthermore, many of the suppositions underlying these British laws affected Newfoundland women more harshly and for a longer period than in Britain. As Cullum and Baird document, until late in the 1920s mothers had few rights with regard to their children as they were considered to be "under the sole legal guardianship of their father" until the age of twenty-one. Children assumed the nationality of their fathers, and it was 1952 before parents were given equal status in custody applications. Fathers could also give children up for adoption or as apprentices until the twentieth-century.[13]

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[12]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 67.

[13]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 74-77. Also see Trudi Dale Johnson, "Matrimonial Property Law in Newfoundland to the End of the Nineteenth Century,"

In rural Newfoundland all children were expected to work hard from an early age. As well as domestic chores, child-care and drying fish, young women and girls did a great deal of other outdoor work such as berry picking. The labour of children, and any wages they might earn, belonged to the father. Some parents used the court to obtain these wages, so it would appear that some daughters gave up their salaries reluctantly. Cullum and Baird note the young women's lack of freedom and the "limitations of an early life spent tending to the needs of others." Female children, if they attended school at all, often left early to work for a family member. Not every community had a school, and families that needed the labour of their children could not afford to stress the need for schooling.[14] Consequently, literacy is one marker of a nation's economic condition; and according to David Alexander, [t]he number of literates in society should be strongly correlated with exposure of children to schooling."[15]

Alexander's examination of census data from the nineteenth-century reveals that in 1891 sixty-eight per cent of Newfoundlanders over the age of ten were literate, but only fifty-two per cent could read and write. He also notes that, partly due to educational reforms brought forward by the 1874 Education Act, the situation was improving as the

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Ph. D. diss., Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000.

[14]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 73-79.

[15]David Alexander, "Literacy and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland" in his Atlantic Canada and Confederation: Essays in Canadian Political Economy, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983) 117.

century progressed. By 1901 seventy-three per cent of the population over ten years old were literate. Alexander surveys the geographical differences of literacy rates in Newfoundland and finds that St. John's East was by far the highest at ninety-six per cent, quickly followed by St. John's West; the lowest rate was recorded in St. Barbe on the Great Northern Peninsula, fifty-two per cent. It appears that the farther a Newfoundlander lived from an urban centre, the less chance they had to get a basic education. A comparison with other countries shows that Newfoundland with an illiteracy rate of at least thirty-two per cent was well behind Great Britain, which in 1900 had an illiteracy rate of three per cent, and Canada and Ireland with rates of thirteen per cent. While Alexander recognizes that Newfoundland compares favourably with many other European nations, he notes the problems these low literacy rates in a small country would cause and writes "it is difficult to see how the country could rise to meet its opportunities and challenges when its educated population was so small."[16]

Literacy statistics are not broken down by gender, but it appears that the education system in Newfoundland did not always treat boys and girls equally.[17] Cullum and Baird suggest "with education at the discretion of the father, the importance of education for young girls may not have been recognized."[18] Hilda Chaulk Murray relates the sad story

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[16]Alexander, "Literacy and Economic Development" 115-136.

[17]"It is not possible in most census years to distinguish literacy by sex."Alexander, "Literacy and Economic Development," 114.

[18]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 79.

of a young girl from Bonavista Bay who could only attend school in the winter when she lived with female relatives; at grade two, "her father decided she was educated enough and kept her out of school although she wanted to stay."[19] Cullum and Baird also claim that in some communities girls had easier access to school, as "young men tended to be more transitory, often working in the fishery with their fathers" young women were better able to keep regular attendance at school and often "excelled in their school work, while their brothers dropped out of school."[20] The gender division of labour seems to have yielded some benefits for the young women of Newfoundland's outport communities fortunate enough to have good schools and qualified teachers.

Despite efforts to establish outport schools in the nineteenth century, many factors kept school attendance low and illiteracy rates high in rural Newfoundland.[21] In 1936 the Commissioner for Home Affairs and Education described the causes of irregular school attendance as substandard schools, isolation and the "economic conditions of families which left many children ill-nourished and in poor health, and without adequate clothing, footwear and no school books."[22] Education was at the discretion of fathers until 1942

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[19]Hilda Chaulk Murray, More Than Fifty Per Cent, quoted in Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 79.

[20]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 81-82.

[21]In the nineteenth century, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Faith established schools in outports. Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 81.

[22]Godfrey, Human Rights, 155.

when Newfoundland's School Attendance Act made education "free and compulsory" for children between seven and fourteen. Compulsory education had been advocated "as far back as 1850", writes Godfrey, who claims the issue came up again in 1911 and 1934; but it was rejected as too expensive and too difficult to enforce. The Commission of Government was alarmed by statistics culled from the 1935 census that showed that close to one-quarter of Newfoundlanders between six and fourteen "did not attend school even during one month." Godfrey suggests one reason for disinclination toward compulsory schooling was that "it would have deprived hundreds of families of contributors to much-needed family income and necessities."[23]

The need for the labour of children, and for working children to obtain a basic education, appears to have been understood by one of the first religious organizations to attempt to educate young Newfoundlanders. In 1833 the Roman Catholic Bishop of Newfoundland requested that the Sisters of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary send nuns to Newfoundland, according to Robin Whitaker, "to provide both secular and religious instruction for the Island's poor Catholic girls."[24] Both the poor children they had come to teach and some of St. John's wealthier families appreciated the sisters' work. The Bishop stepped in again and asked an Irish order who were allowed to charge school fees, the Sisters of Mercy, to set up a school for Newfoundland's "respectable Catholic

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[23]Godfrey, Human Rights, 155.

[24]Robin Whitaker, "'Nobody's Brother': Gender Consciousness in Newfoundland Convents", in McGrath, Neis and Porter eds. Their Lives and Times, 177.

ladies."[25] Arriving in 1842, the Mercy Sisters set up separate schools for middle-class and poor girls while the other order was restricted to "charity schools". The Presentation Sister's work in Harbour Grace, "where they made a foundation in 1851", shows their understanding of the struggles of their students.[26] The Sisters taught girls who were well beyond the usual school age; they also organized a Sunday school after services and, as the order's own historian observes, "girls who could not attend school on week days were taught reading and writing at these Sunday classes."[27]

The Presentation Sisters were restricted by their order to teaching, but the Mercy Sisters broadened their activities to include health care and welfare work. Like the other order, the Sisters of Mercy were concerned about the economic advancement of women. As well as their other projects - elementary schools, a hospital and an orphanage - in St. John's by 1922, the Sisters were running a school of nursing, a teacher training college and a commercial school all for women.[28] Whitaker notes that both orders "provid[ed] education and other services to smaller towns.[29]

Whitaker does not mention if any of the elementary or training schools were non-

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[25]The Very Reverend M.F. Howley quoted in Whitaker, "Nobody's Brother", 178.

[26] Whitaker, "Nobody's Brother", 178.

[27]Sister Mary James Dinn quoted in Whitaker, "Nobody's Brother", 178.

[28]Whitaker, "Nobody's Brother", 178.

[29]Whitaker, "Nobody's Brother", 178.

denominational, but, as this is a very recent occurrence in Newfoundland, it is highly unlikely.[30] Therefore, to receive a good education in Newfoundland it may or may not have been an advantage to be female; there were some obvious advantages to living in an urban area or small town, and on the surface it appears it was a disadvantage to be Protestant. However, to be Catholic was not a great advantage for women interested in pursuing a career, as the Mercy sisters' rates were almost as high as other schools. According to Nancy Forestell, in 1923 the commercial program at the Academy of Our Lady of Mercy cost ten dollars per term, while the new United Business College charged twelve dollars a term for full-time students.[31] It seems that only women in urban areas had the opportunity to learn secretarial skills. The American air force base near Stephenville employed many young women during the war and after, but many local women felt cut off from the better paying jobs and relegated to house-keeping and other low-skill occupations. One of Benoit's oral accounts relates, "the best looking girls got special pay for working in the offices, bookkeeping and typing. As you might guess, we never even knew what a typewriter looked like before the War."[32]

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[30]The church was becoming less influential in the 1920s. In 1927 the government created its first bureau of education "to run the school system; and in 1925 the first institution for "higher learning", the Memorial University College and Normal School, opened and "was at least nominally undenominational." Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 10.

[31]Forestell, "Times Were Hard," 81-82.

[32]Mess hall worker, born 1916; quoted in Benoit, "Urbanizing Women" 117.

The lack of cheap accommodation would also hinder the career aspirations of outport girls trying to further their education, or obtain work, in St. John's. A fortunate few might have relatives with whom to board; in the 1920s and 1930s, almost as many young working women boarded with non-family members as those who lived with relatives which suggests that living with family members in St. John's was not a common occurrence.[33] After 1926, the YWCA/YMCA provided space for up to fifty-five women, but it was never able to keep up with the demand for cheap accommodation. From 1912 to 1922, the Roman Catholic Church operated one of the few residences for single women in St. John's; it "only required boarders to pay what they could afford."[34]

Newfoundland's religious divide, and how it affected the employment of women is also examined in Nancy Forestell's study of working women in St. John's between the wars. She notes that employers preferred employees of the same religion and were up front about it. An advertisement for a stenographer in the *Evening Telegram* in 1921 ended with "Protestant preferred." One store in St. John's in the 1920s added to a sign asking for female sales clerks "No Catholics Need Apply." This sign was not up long as the store was pressured to remove it. Forestell also makes good use of oral accounts; one former employee of Ayre and Sons [a department store] told her, "You just knew that

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[33]Nancy Forestell's research shows that a small percentage of single working women, five per cent in 1921 and a slightly higher percentage in 1935, lived with relatives in St. John's. Forestell, "Times Were Hard," 79, table 3.

[34]Forestell, "Times Were Hard," 83-84.

Protestants looked after Protestants and Catholics after Catholics."[35] As in many countries in the early decades of the twentieth century, no legislation existed to protect those searching for employment in Newfoundland from religious discrimination.

In the 1920s, the island nation's only piece of labour legislation was the "'Mines (Regulation) Act' of 1908 [which] stipulated that no boys under thirteen and no girls or women of any age were allowed to work underground in mines."[36] Despite some union organizing by women after 1918, Newfoundland had only this piece of labour legislation until the Commission of Government passed the Shop Closing Hour Act, St. John's, in 1936. As with majority of labour legislation to follow, gender differences were deeply imbedded. Cullum and Baird propose that Newfoundland's early labour legislation "may have been influenced by the belief that male wages constituted a family wage which needed to be protected." The Shop Closing Hour Act was the result of a petition signed by twelve hundred sales clerks presented to the House of Assembly in 1931.The Act concerned the larger shops which lined Water Street, and specified that "where an employee was either female or under the age of eighteen, that employee was not to work

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[35]Forestell, "Times Were Hard," 84.

[36]Nancy Forestell, "Women's Paid Labour in St. John's Between the Two World Wars," unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1987, 72 fn. 12; cited in Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 90. Newfoundland's lack of labour legislation, and how this affected women, is also discussed in Nancy Forestell and Jessie Chisholm, "Working-Class Women as Wage Earners in St. John's, Newfoundland, 1890-1921," in Peta Tancred-Sheriff, ed. Feminist Research: Prospect and Retrospect (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988) 139-155.

more than eight hours a day or fifty-four hours in any one week." The Act had several amendments over the next few years, always keeping the female workday shorter than the males'. In the 1940s the Government enacted its first Minimum Wages Act, and a separate piece of legislation to prohibit employers from paying wages in the form of goods or services - with the exception of domestic servants.[37] Live-in domestics expected room and board as part of their very low 'pay'. The shortage of low cost accommodation and the relatively high cost of boarding made domestic service the only viable option for many young women from rural Newfoundland.[38]

During the Second World War, the US and Canadian military bases employed many men; a smaller number of women were employed usually in the mess halls or as domestics.[39] The wages and hours were comparatively good; the job also came with accommodation, and as with domestic labour for a private employer, with the accommodation came supervision. However, as Benoit notes, "the Matron of the dormitory was strict and hard to take at times, but considering the other option of

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[37]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 105-107; quote: 106.

[38]For more on domestic service in Newfoundland, see Ingrid Botting "'Getting a Grand Falls Job': Labour Markets, Migration, and Paid Domestic Labour in a Company Town, 1929-1939" unpublished Ph. D. diss, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000.

[39]In 1945 5,000 Newfoundlanders worked on Canadian and US bases. In 1946, there were 469 women out of the 3,120 Newfoundlanders employed on the bases. "Report of the Labour Relations Office for the year 1946" in The Newfoundland National Convention 1946-1948 Vol.2 See Hiller and Harrington eds., 295.

domestic work, the mess hall job definitely had many advantages."[40]

Newfoundland slid into an even deeper depression after 1929, which required a greater proportion of women to seek employment. As Forestell's research shows, women's participation in the labour force rose from 21.4 per cent in 1921 to 26 per cent in 1935. St. John's experience is consistent with other urban centres in North America during the Depression "because so many men, especially those of the working class, received small wages, or could not find steady work. This made it imperative that their daughter and wives engage in some type of paid labour."[41] In the 1920s and 1930s, one-third of the female work force was in domestic service.[42] In the 1940's when Newfoundland women's labour force participation rose over fifty per cent, as compared to 1935, the employment of women in the service sector rose less than thirty per cent.[43]

The 'hard times' of the 1930s came on the heels of very difficult era in Newfoundland. The economy was based on the production of saltfish, a product in great demand during the First World War, but in the post-war recession prices fell. "The old alliance between merchant and settler was badly shaken " at the end of the First World War, writes Rosemary Ommer; she finds evidence for this in "the price of a barrel of

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[40]Benoit, "Urbanizing Women," 117.

[41]Forestell, "Times Were Hard," 77.

[42]Forestell and Chisholm, "Working-Class Women as Wage Earners," 1

[43]Aggregate Censuses: Tenth Census of Newfoundland and Labrador (1935) and Eleventh Census of Newfoundland and Labrador (1945).

flour...which had tracked the price of a quintal of fish...for over one hundred years, ceased to be correlated with it" in the 1920s.[44] Fishers, according to Miriam Wright, "could not catch enough fish to cover the cost of their supplies." Many merchants stopped extending credit, a system know as 'truck', upon which fishing families were dependent. The virtual collapse of the fishery was only one of Newfoundland's economic problems; it was also saddled with a unbearable debt load from its participation in the First World War, and despite severe economic hardship "Newfoundland was the only country that actually paid back its war debts."[45] By 1921-22, "there was widespread unemployment and poverty in Newfoundland," writes James Overton, adding that the "government responded by providing relief and strengthening the forces of law and order." According to Overton the relief system was hastily thrown together, and poorly administered. 'The Dole' was a few dollars a month, and yet "[v]ast sums were expended...and there was evidence of great laxity and even corruption in the handling of funds."[46]

Newfoundland's debt grew almost exponentially. In 1920-1921 the country carried a debt of $43,032,285, and by 1929 it had almost doubled to $79,477,478. The

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[44]Rosemary E. Ommer, "Rosie's Cove: Settlement Morphology, History, Economy, and Culture in a Newfoundland Outport" in Dianne Newell and Ommer eds. Fishing places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fisheries (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) 27.

[45]Wright, A Fishery for Modern Times, 14.

[46]James Overton, "Economic Crisis and the End of Democracy: Politics in Newfoundland During the Great Depression" *Labour/Le Travail* 26 (Fall 1990) 95.

stock market crash of 1929 aggravated the situation considerably. By July 1, 1933, the debt was $98,453,865, and by Neary's calculations carried an average interest rate of five per cent.[47] The debt was on the backs of roughly 300,000 people, many of whom were nearly destitute.[48] The interest payments alone were crippling. Cognisant of this Neary argues:

> It was not her dependence on exports or the growth of her indebtedness that made Newfoundland distinctive, as much as an extreme vulnerability to shifts in demand. In a crisis the neighbouring Maritime Provinces of Canada could look for assistance to a national government...At worst, Confederation permitted the Maritimes a 'shabby dignity,' while Newfoundland, like many small countries, lived dangerously and alone.[49]

The Newfoundland Government made the interest payments with help from Britain and Canada, at an awful price. Newfoundland was forced to curtail public expenditures, causing great hardship, and let a British representative supervise the accounts; "the country passed into a form of receivership," writes Neary.[50]

Relief payments were very low, and recipients in towns or in St. John's were particularly hard hit. As Wright clarifies, "unlike their rural counterparts, who could subsist on fishing, hunting, and growing vegetables to eat, the urban poor faced some

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[47]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 11-12.

[48]Peter Neary, "'Like Stepping Back': Newfoundland in 1939" *Newfoundland Studies* 11:1 (1995) 5.

[49]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 11.

[50]Neary, "Like Stepping Back," 1.

long, hungry winters." Dissatisfaction with low relief rates and rumours of government corruption led to some "confrontations" between the police and crowds of unemployed, culminating in a 1932 violent demonstration of 10,000 people at the House of Assembly, which effectively brought down the government. An election soon followed, during which the winner Frederick Alderdice "promised to appoint a commitee to consider installing a commission government for a few years until the economic and political problems had been resolved." The new government tried to raise funds, by, among other ventures, an unsuccessful attempt to sell Labrador to Canada. Eventually Newfoundland agreed to a Royal Commission to examine its problems in exchange for Canada and Great Britain paying two-thirds of the interest on the nation's war debts.[51]

The report of this Royal Commission, usually referred to by the name of the chair, Baron Amulree, recommended replacing the representative Government with Commission Government. The Amulree Report, among its other condemnations of Newfoundland society, described the merchant credit system as feudal.[52] Perhaps because of great fears of the 'pauperization' of Newfoundlanders, the Report portrayed them as already too dependent. Although Newfoundlanders on relief in 1933 had a food list limited to seven items "flour, tea, molasses, pork and beef, salt and yeast,"[53] the report

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[51]Wright, A Fishery for Modern Times, 14-15.

[52]Wright, A Fishery for Modern Times, 15-16.

[53]Letter from CG, 17 November 1934, cited in Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 54. In rural Newfoundland a "dole order on the nearest store" was given

claimed that Newfoundlanders "were in fact taught to look to the Government for everything and to do as little as possible to provide for their own requirements."[54]

The Commission of Government, with a governor and six commissioners - three from Britain and three Newfoundlanders - immediately set to work improving health standards in Newfoundland. Indeed in their first year, the new Government added soap, kerosene and more foods to the list for relief recipients. Neary portrays the Commission of Government as much better organized than the government it replaced. Despite adhering to a "doctrine [that] those who did not work had always to be less eligible for society's benefits than those who did," the Commission gave a larger amounts of relief to the urban poor as they "could not grow food for themselves." They also made efforts to improve the diet of Newfoundlanders with milk for schoolchildren, and flour enriched with vitamin B to prevent beri-beri. As Neary demonstrates, a list of the Commission of Government's improvements and reorganizations would be exhausting.[55]

Several years after publishing his 'Magnum Opus' on the Commission of Government,[56] Neary returned to this terrain to investigate the Department of Public

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to each family, if the relieving officers were "satisfied that the application is genuine" for "necessities and no cash is handled locally"; Clutterbuck quoted in Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 376, fn. 46.

[54]Report of the Amulree Royal Commission, paragraphs 219-220. Appendix C in Gene Long, Suspended State (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1999) 188.

[55]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 54

[56]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World (1988).

Health and Welfare and its evolution under this new government.[57] Neary shows that this department was very concerned about venereal disease (VD) rates in the 1930s. One of the three Newfoundlanders to form the Commission of Government, John Charles Puddester, was in charge of the Public Health and Welfare Department. However, it was his Secretary and "second-in-command", Harris Munden Mosdell, who had the medical training to organize the preventative medicine initiatives brought forward by the new government. Interestingly both Puddester and Mosdell were former journalists and members of the House of Assembly before the suspension of an elected government. While serving in the Newfoundland government, Mosdell received his MD from the University of Toronto with a specialization in public health. Before the Commission of Government, according to Neary, "he was the only doctor in Newfoundland who specialized in the public health field." Mosdell chaired a commission, which submitted a report in 1930 that influenced *The Health and Public Welfare Act, 1931*. This Act, which Neary refers to as "Newfoundland's first piece of modern social legislation,"[58] set out that an individual suspected of being infected with a venereal disease, "could be ordered in writing by a medical health officer to undergo medical examination." They suspected individual was supposed to give the result of the exam to the director of VD control. Six months imprisonment or a fine of up to $500 was the penalty for not having the exam. If

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[57]Neary, "Venereal Disease," 129-151.

[58]Neary, "Venereal Disease" 131-132.

the exam result was positive, "the infected person could be ordered to undergo treatment until such time as the attending physician or the health authorities were satisfied with the result." Refusing treatment could result in "a detention order to commit the recalcitrant until adequate treatment was given."[59] This legislation presupposes the existence of a lock hospital in order to "commit the recalcitrant."

Newfoundland's first VD legislation appears to be modeled after Ontario's 1918 VD Act that was influenced by legislation passed in other jurisdictions of other countries, most notably Western Australia's Venereal Disease Act of 1915 which also "served as the model for New Zealand's Social Hygiene Act of 1917, and later for other Australian states."[60] In keeping with VD control Acts elsewhere, Newfoundland's Act limited treatment to medical doctors.[61] In the early decades of twentieth-century Canada, according to Jay Cassel, "there were a great many 'specialists' and patent-remedy manufacturers who claimed to be able to treat syphilis and gonorrhea successfully." To force out these and other 'irregular' practitioners, as well as to enhance their professional status, doctors "used government to improve their control over medical care and indeed to secure a monopoly of practice."[62]

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[59]Neary, "Venereal Disease," 134.

[60]Cassel, The Secret Plague, 158-161; quote 161.

[61]Neary, "Venereal Disease," 134-135.

[62]Cassel, The Secret Plague, 73.

With the passage of the first VD legislation, Newfoundland appears to be imitating the American and Canadian pattern of increased state interference in what were once seen as private matters. However, as the budget was limited, so was the involvement; as Neary writes, "public health authorities lacked the personnel and facilities to enforce their own rules."[63] The outbreak of the Second World War and the arrival of thousands of Canadian and American servicemen stimulated Newfoundland's moribund economy, and also increased pressure on the Department of Public Health and Welfare to fight the spread of VD more actively. Indeed, in 1942 five commanding officers of forces in Newfoundland signed a joint letter to Commissioner Puddester informing him of "a steady increase in venereal disease over the last six months" and asking for "the cooperation and assistance of the Newfoundland government" in the control of VD.[64]

American medical officers and Consuls produced a series of reports on all aspects of life in Newfoundland during the 1940s. The chief concern of the army physicians appears to be provisions for VD control,[65] but the reports also have much to say about health services and economic conditions. A few of the authors also comment on sexuality

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[63]Neary, "Venereal Disease," 135.

[64]Letter to Puddester, November 13, 1942, cited in Neary, "Venereal Disease," 145.

[65]The army physicians' comments on prostitution and VD in Newfoundland are discussed in the relevant chapters.

and the behaviour of Newfoundland women. These reports are highly subjective and the authors are not always in agreement, however, they reveal how 1940's Newfoundland may have looked through American eyes. Indeed, Neary introduces one of these documents as "reveal[ing] much about one American's perceptions of Newfoundland, but the author's sweeping statements should not be confused with fact."[66]

Commenting on Newfoundland was nothing new for Americans, who had been writing about Newfoundland and Labrador since the middle of the nineteenth century; as Patrick O'Flaherty notes, "the island and Labrador became in some sense an imaginative outpost of the eastern United States, with authors recreating in this sparsely populated and primitive territory an image of their own diminishing frontier."[67] The view of Newfoundland as a "primitive territory" does not resonate through all the reports, but there were frequent remarks concerning Newfoundland's relative poverty and one observer commented that the "struggle for existence is severe on this rocky island."[68]

One the first reports the American military's doctors produced made a long list of recommendations, many advising the amending of the 1931 Health and Welfare Act. This

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[66]Peter Neary, "'A grave problem which needs immediate attention': An American Report on Venereal Disease and Other Health Problems in Newfoundland, 1942" *Newfoundland Studies* 15:1 (1999), 80.

[67]Patrick O'Flaherty, The Rock Observed: Studies in the Literature of Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979) 82-83.

[68]Lieut. Colonel Leon A. Fox, United States Medical Corps, 'Sanitary Survey of Newfoundland.' An edited version of this report appears in Peter Neary, 'And gave just as much as they got'; quote, 57.

report claimed that there was "particular need for the development of an aggressive program of public health education." It also recommended that a system be established to insure an exchange of information regarding the most modern public health methods in Newfoundland and the United States."[69] A report submitted the next year (1941), although it was also written by a member of the medical corps, surveys a wider variety of the dimensions of Newfoundland society, including economic relationships. It gives some indication as to the reason Americans were more highly regarded than Canadians. Newfoundlanders, it said,

> are a very courteous, polite, sensitive people who are very embarrassed and grieved by their economic difficulties. They appear kindly disposed toward the United States and claim that most of their financial difficulties are due to the fact that Canada has managed to block all of their contemplated trade agreements with the United States with the result that they must import almost everything from Canada or England, two nations to whom they have little that they can sell. They maintain that they could establish a much more favourable trade arrangement with the States.[70]

While the author of this report , Lt. Col. Fox, comments on the politeness of the people of Newfoundland, and their willingness to cooperate with the American military

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[69]Assistant Surgeon General R.A. Vanderlehr and P.A. Surgeon Roger E. Heering, "Report of a Survey on Civil Health Services as They Relate to the Health of Armed Forces in Newfoundland". United States National Archives and Records Administration, (hereafter NARA) RG338, NND 893534, Box 19, File 700, 'Medicine, Hygiene, and Sanitation 1941,' 22. An edited version of this report, that does not contain the above recommendations, appears in James Candow, "An American Report on Newfoundland's Health Services in 1940" *Newfoundland Studies* 5:2 (Fall 1989). I would like to thank James Candow for sharing with me the full version of this report, and another from 1945.

[70]Fox, "Sanitary Survey", 53.

on matters of sanitation; he also blames many of the island's health problems, such as high rates of tuberculosis, on "poor economic conditions and ignorance."[71] Newfoundlanders are "living on borrowed time" Fox continues, as less than ten percent have been immunized against smallpox. However, Fox claims, Newfoundland's most serious health problem is tuberculosis and he finds the most important "biologic factor" was "the excessive birth rate" on the island. "A baby a year for a prolonged period finally breaks the mother's resistance...and she becomes a manifest active case of pulmonary tuberculosis;" Fox explains that most Newfoundland mothers refuse hospitalization as their "first duty" is to their children and these infectious mothers become a serious health risk.

> Another baby, two at the most, will usually put her in the grave but during this period she is an open case of pulmonary tuberculosis expelling massive doses of infection to her brood. Some of these will die in infancy with tuberculous meningitis, some with bone and joint lesions, but most of them survive until adult life.

"The only special precaution" for Americans in Newfoundland, as Fox sees it, "is to take steps to see that when our construction period is over...our people are especially careful in their selection of domestic servants."[72]

The high rates of tuberculosis as well as the malnourishment and generally poor diet of Newfoundlanders occupy a great deal of space in other reports as well. While Fox

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[71]Fox, "Sanitary Survey", 58.

[72]Fox, "Sanitary Survey", 63.

attempted to combat the "'scare-head alarmist' view that had been spread in the United states about service in Newfoundland," Captain Daniel Bergsma's report of 1942, as Neary writes, "raised the spectre of wide-spread promiscuity and venereal disease infection." adding that "some of his conclusions about Newfoundland...are indicative of just how much scope there was for misunderstanding between two very different parties suddenly and unexpectedly thrown together" by war.[73] It is very surprizing that Bergsma was able to gather so much information in seven days. It often appears as if he is quoting hearsay; as he wrote, "the opinion seems to be that the women are more industrious than the men and that the outport (outside of St. John's) natives are more industrious than those living in the capital city."[74]

Much research has been done, especially in the United States, on women workers during the war. However, the effects of the Second World War on civilian populations whose communities have been disrupted by the arrival of large numbers of servicemen have inspired fewer scholars. Exceptions to this are Bailey and Farber's research on wartime Hawaii, and John Moore's and Margaret Bevege's studies of the interactions of Americans and Australians during the war.[75] These 'social histories of wartime' have

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[73]Neary, "A grave problem" 80.

[74]Captain Daniel Bergsma, United States Medical Corps, "Venereal Disease and Other Health Problems in Newfoundland", December 1, 1942. An edited version of this report appears in Neary, "'A grave problem,'quote: 88.

[75]Bevege. "Some Reflections on Women's Experiences in North Queensland During World War II"; John Hammond Moore. Over-Sexed, Over-Paid and Over-Here:

much in common; they all examine the relationship between American soldiers and non-American civilian populations. Although Hawaii was an American territory before and during the war, in prewar Hawaii only about fifteen percent of the population was Anglo-Saxon. Therefore Hawaii, like Australia, was the site of a clash of cultures when large numbers of servicemen 'invaded' civilian communities after America declared war against Japan. Newfoundland also experienced a similar 'invasion' as the war in the Atlantic put the country in a precarious, but militarily useful, position.

Newfoundland, like Hawaii and Australia, welcomed the servicemen as it also felt very vulnerable to enemy attacks. Both Hawaii and Australia were bombed early in the war, and Newfoundland had the spectre of German U-boats very close to her shores. As Helen Buss recalls, "Newfoundland was close to the war zone of Atlantic shipping, we had blackout blinds at our windows and there was a submarine net across the mouth of St. John's harbour."[76] The Commission of Government that had administered the government of Newfoundland since 1934 had already discussed the need to beef up Newfoundland's own defense forces before war Britain declared against Germany, but Britain was unwilling to release funds for this purpose.[77] While the presence of the armed

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Americans in Australia 1941-45 (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981); Beth Bailey and David Farber. The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii (New York: The Free Press, 1992).

[76]Helen M. Buss/Margaret Clarke, Memoirs from Away: A New Found Land Girlhood, (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press, 1999) 55.

[77]William J. Browne, Eighty-Four Years a Newfoundlander Vol. 1, 1867-1949

forces was hoped for by many fearful civilians - it came to be seen as mixed blessing.

The Second World War brought an unexpected boost to the Newfoundland economy in the form of full employment and higher wages. There were also notable changes in the social climate in Newfoundland, particularly noticeable in St. John's. The capital city of Newfoundland was not only near important naval and air bases, it was also, as the war progressed, surrounded by Canadian and American bases on Conception and Placentia bays. St. John's convenient location, and the recreations of the city, made it a "Mecca" for off-duty servicemen.[78]

Large number of servicemen looking for diversions created problems for the residents of St. John's. The local paper, the *Evening Telegram,* reveals that the most common charge brought against servicemen in the 1940s was 'drunk and disorderly', but there were also some assault cases and at least one Canadian serviceman was tried and found guilty of raping a St. John's woman. Cases involving American servicemen did not show up in the newspaper often as they were usually judged and punished by the American military justice system.[79] Richard Straus, a former Consul General for the United States, claimed that Americans remained well-liked. Straus noted "euphoria of

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(St. John's: Dicks and Company, 1981) 267-268.

[78]O'Flaherty, The Rock Observed, 144-147.

[79]According to William Browne, a judge in St. John's during the war, exceptions were made if the case involved an American serviceman and Newfoundlanders or their property, Browne, Eighty-Four Years a Newfoundlander Vol. 1, 271-272.

welcome for the American servicemen during the early days of 1941. This euphoria may have worn off in later years but the relationship never deteriorated to create a chasm of dislike between the local population and the American servicemen."[80] "People found the Canadian soldiers stuffy and cold," Hilda Chaulk Murray recalled.[81]

Historians have tried to explain the role played by the Second World War in the union of Newfoundland with Canada, and some have echoed S.J.R Noel's comment that at this time Newfoundland was changing her orientation from looking east toward the British Isles, to looking west toward the rest of North America.[82] The prosperity of wartime coupled with more widely available new consumer products pulled Newfoundlanders, according to Neary, "more than ever before away from the sea and toward North American tastes, habits, and values."[83]

Newfoundland enjoyed an economic boom that lasted from the early 1940's into the post-war years largely due to the military spending of the United States and Canada.[84]

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[80]Richard Straus, "The Diplomatic Negotiations Leading up to the Establishment of American Bases in Newfoundland. June 1940-April 1941", unpublished MA thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1972; quotes, 134-135.

[81]Chaulk Murray, More Than Fifty-Percent, vii.

[82]Noel claimed that the war left "residual cultural and political effects" on Newfoundlanders, who gained "an awareness of their continental neighbours that was lacking in 1939." S.J.R. Noel, Politics in Newfoundland (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971) 263-264.

[83]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 235-236.

[84]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 348.

The importation of consumer goods by civilians increased from $28.4 million in 1940 to $57 million in 1944.[85] The Report by the Financial Committee to the National Convention on the Financial and Economic Position of Newfoundland shows how Newfoundland benefited from both the Commission of Government, and the wartime economic boom.[86] The Americans did the most to raise wages in Newfoundland, according to Richard Clark, who adds that Canada "was at first inclined to keep within the existing wage and labour practices of the Island" but was forced to follow the Americans' lead. The Commission of Government was very concerned about the effects of these high wages. Indeed, the finance committee to the National Convention said that the Commission of Government "gave direct or indirect instructions to the American and Canadian contractors not to pay Newfoundlanders the same rates of pay as American workers for performing similar work on the grounds that it would upset the general economy of the country."[87] Newfoundland, according to Straus, "found itself at the center of the far-reaching American decision of the period: the decision which irrevocably ended America's neutrality and cast her lot with the Allies."[88]

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[85]Straus, 'The Americans,' 558.

[86]Richard Clark, "Newfoundland 1934-1949: A Study of the Commission of Government and Confederation with Canada" unpublished Ph. D. diss, University of California-Berkeley, 1951. 172

[87]Clark, "Newfoundland 1934-1949" 184, citing p. 52 of the Finance Committee's Report to the National Convention.

[88]Churchill was concerned that making this deal would upset other parts of the

The Commission of Government had appealed to Britain for funds for the defense of Newfoundland and was turned down. This British, Ian Stewart claims, "encouraged the Canadian participation and played a leading role in bringing the Americans to the island."[89] The nearness of war also made Canada increasingly aware of Newfoundland's "strategic importance"; and this awakened Canada's interest in Newfoundland's political future. According to Stewart, the pre-war cultural and economic ties with the mainland were strengthened and diffused during the war, and this "helped to reconcile many Newfoundlanders to the idea of union with Canada."[90]

Inside the Atlantic Triangle combines discussions of military manoeuvres in the North Atlantic, with the political manoeuvres of the Canadian, American, British governments over the territory governed by the Commission of Government. Mackenzie sees some friction between servicemen from the American, Canadian and British forces in Gander, St. John's and Goose Bay. This was particularly true of Gander which became something of a "boom town" when the RCAF, USAAF, and the RAF all built there own facilities there. "Social life for the servicemen" in Gander, according to Mackenzie, "centered around the Big Dipper Bar". Mackenzie quotes another author's comment that

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Empire; Straus says that Churchill wired Roosevelt to tell him that before agreeing to the lend-lease plan, it was necessary "to consult the Governments of Newfoundland and Canada about the Newfoundland bases." Straus, "The Americans," 555-556.

[89]Ian Stewart, "The Revolution of 1940 in Newfoundland" unpublished MA thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1974, 81.

[90]Stewart, "The Revolution of 1940," 82-84.

this bar "stayed open twenty-four hours a day...men fought for the privilege of a dance with one of town's few women; Texas bush pilots swaggered in ten-gallon hats; RAF officers with handlebar moustaches drank champagne in toothglasses and bragged of prangs and pieces of cake."[91] Elizabeth Goudie's memoir documents the changes the American Air Force base at Goose Bay brought to Happy Valley, Labrador.[92]

Malcolm MacLeod's study of the "Impact of Second World War Canadian and American Bases in Newfoundland", describes the "social impact" of the bases on civilian life. According to MacLeod "all the concerts, debates, games and girling - must have done a good deal to maintain the troop's morale and keep the crime rate down." Macleod also notes that St. John's suffered from a housing shortage during the war; in 1942 the large number of dependents of Canadian service personnel "flooding into St. John's and occupying residential premises" started a protest campaign in the *Evening Telegram*. The Commission of Government appealed to the Canadian Government, and in 1944 quotas were set on the number of dependents.[93] Not all the troops stationed in Newfoundland were male; CWACs and other female divisions of American and Canadian forces were stationed in Newfoundland, therefore although recreational facilities are described as

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[91]MacKenzie, Inside the Atlantic Triangle, 81.

[92]Goudie, Woman of Labrador, esp. Ch. III:1 'World War II and the Goose Bay Airport' 131-136.

[93]Malcolm MacLeod, Peace of the Continent: The Impact of the Second World War Canadian and American Bases in Newfoundland (St. John's: Harry Cuff, 1986) 42 and 33.

being for the use of the ranks and ratings - some service**men** were women.[94]

Helen Porter's memoir of wartime St. John's reveals that social relations were sometimes strained; she also shows that many Newfoundland women actively pursued the 'foreign' servicemen. According to Porter, "Canadians we weren't fond of, at least the Canadian soldiers.. They appeared to drink and fight a lot"; by contrast, the Americans "seemed more interested in sex than violence." Younger girls in St. John's preferred American servicemen, but Newfoundland women married Canadians, Americans and the British. Some did not marry, and those "who didn't manage to get married had their babies, in spite of the French safes that every day littered the roads." Some of the 'married' women found that their 'husbands' had wives on the mainland; they were "left holding the babies...wartime casualties weren't all on the battlefield."[95]

Margaret Duley, in her short book about one St. John's hostel, also tried to capture how the war changed circumstances for Newfoundland women:

> The older girls persuaded their parents it was time to leave school. The maids gave notice because they could make better money elsewhere, and stay out later at night. Every girl had a 'fellah', even those who had never had a date in their lives. Some thought that the sentry-box was a peaceful place for a date when the rest of the town was so crowded. Parents felt the loosening of all authority and the lowering of every moral standard. Every

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[94]For some personal reminiscences of women who served in Newfoundland, see Carolyn Gossage, Greatcoats and Glamourboots: Canadian Women and War, 1939-1945 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991) 52 and 174.

[95]Porter, Below the Bridge, 71-72.

girl felt that her boy might die; therefore she aimed to please.[96]

The relationship between the military and the civilian population in Newfoundland was often strained. A series of articles appeared in the *Evening Telegram* after the military arrived about the increase in the number of 'brothels' in St. John's, and the rise in the prevalence of venereal disease.[97] The arrival of thousands of servicemen, and the subsequent economic boom, set the stage for a contentious era. Illegitimate children, prostitution and venereal disease existed in Newfoundland before the arrival of troops, but they were about to become major players in a wartime moral panic over the precocious sexuality of young women.

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[96]Margaret Duley, The Caribou Hut: The Story of a Newfoundland Hostel (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1949) 17.

[97]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Aug. 14, 1940, 6 and *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Dec. 10, 1942, 6.

CHAPTER 3

"consent to misconduct": Lone Motherhood

> ...many of these young girls are determined to win their soldier-husband by foul means if not by fair means, and that their consent to misconduct is often a means to force the careless soldier into a position where he cannot refuse marriage.[1]

It would come as a great surprise if, after two years as United States Consul in St. John's, George Hopper had not noticed a "careless soldier" refusing marriage. Hopper estimated that 350 to 400 American soldiers married Newfoundland women between 1942 and 1944; he also found that two-thirds of the children of these unions were born within seven and a half months of the wedding.[2] It appears, however, that the Consul had little interest in servicemen who impregnated Newfoundland women but did not marry them.

This chapter explores the circumstances of St John's single mothers, and their attempts to support themselves and their children. Under Newfoundland law lone mothers could use the court to obtain child support.[3] However, a large percentage of single mothers had become involved with military men and a lawsuit was impossible in many

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[1]George D. Hopper to the Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., 21 April 1944; quoted in Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 211-212.

[2]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 174.

[3]In this study "single mothers" indicates unmarried mothers; "lone mothers" includes unmarried, widowed, divorced and separated mothers.

cases, as the alleged father had often left the country. If mothers were successful, and support payments were awarded, the funds were channelled through the Department of Public Health and Welfare; therefore this department's activities to aid single mothers and their offspring will also be examined.

During the war the city's orphanages and foster homes were overwhelmed by requests for accommodation, since many single mothers were unable to keep their children with them. It appears that few women wanted to give up their children, but adoption became both more common and more under the auspices of the state during the 1940s. This chapter will survey changes that affected the children of lone parents; it will also argue that the state encouraged adoption and discouraged lone mothers from raising their own children, as Newfoundland's single mothers were adversely affected by the discourse of dangerous parenting. The evolution of this discourse is evident in the secondary literature on lone motherhood, thus this chapter surveys studies of the social welfare system's treatment of lone mothers and the single parent family.

The Americans were not the first service personnel to be stationed in Newfoundland, but they certainly became the largest contingent as U.S. forces in Newfoundland were usually double the size of the Canadian forces.[4] In 1942, one year after the arrival of the U.S. military, both the number and percentage of illegitimate births in St. John's were more than double those of the previous year.

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[4] Mackenzie, Inside the Atlantic Triangle, 79-80

TABLE 1.

Number of Births, Number and Percentage of Illegitimate Births, and Rates of Infant Mortality in St. John's Newfoundland, 1939-1950.

Year	Total Number of Births	Illegitimate Births		Rate of Infant Mortality*
		Number	Percentage	
1939	1,016	80	.08	82.1
1940	1,136	87	.08	74
1941	1,107	79	.07	102
1942	1,432	186	.13	107.5
1943	1,716	233	.14	111
1944	1,657	224	.14	122.4
1945	1,700	205	.12	92
1946	1,594	171	.11	77
1947	1,568	147	.09	61
1948	1,568	117	.07	62
1949	1,506	119	.08	44
1950	1,605	58	.04	32.6

*Mortality rate based on number per thousand deaths of infants, legitimate and illegitimate, less than one year old.

Source: Child Welfare Association (hereafter CWA) *Annual Reports* 1938-1949, Centre for Newfoundland Studies (hereafter CNS)

TABLE 2.

Affiliation cases 1942-1947, based on applications for warrants for the appearance of the alleged father. Table begins in 1942, as the 1939-1941 records are incomplete.

YEAR	WARRANTS[5]	SERVICEMEN[6]	WOMEN'S AGE[7]	SETTLEMENT[8]
1942	58	28	21.67	$9.50
1943	78	54	22.57	$9.40
1944	60	42	21.78	$11.95
1945	67	39	22.02	$9.50
1946	46	12	21.31	$10.75
1947	51	5	20.85	$10.50

Source: Magistrate Court Records, PANL GN5/3/A/5 Box 8 and GN5/3/A/17

Boxes 22-27.

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[5]Number of warrants signed that year for the appearance of a defendant in an affiliation case. In many cases the suit did not proceed beyond the signing of a warrant, usually due to the defendant's absence from Newfoundland. Out of 78 warrants signed in 1943, 61 cases were dismissed, discontinued, or the results were not recorded.

[6]Number of warrants for the appearance of a serviceman.

[7]Average age of woman bringing suit. Information is incomplete. In 1943, only 35 out of 78 warrants record the age of the complainant.

[8]Average amount of settlements made that year. Payments are per month, and this figure does not include payments for expenses.

The overall birth rate also shot up during the war years - seventy per cent more births in St. John's in 1943 compared to 1939. And by 1945 the city had over one thousand illegitimate infants and small children. (See Table 1) In St. John's, as elsewhere, most lone mothers kept their babies with them if they could. While there were relatively few adoptions, the children of lone parents were frequently left at one of St. John's orphanages or foster homes. Many lone mothers with little family support coped by working full-time and contributing a few dollars a week toward the support of their children in foster care. To force the fathers of their children to provide child support many single mothers used the court to launch affiliation cases, as paternity suits were then known.[9] (See Table 2)

The Department of Public Health and Welfare distributed funds from successful affiliation cases.[10] Newfoundland's first social workers were the probation officers of this department, and their activities on behalf of single mothers and children went beyond the distribution of child support. Probation officers were involved in getting women to court to apply for affiliation cases, looking for foster homes, checking on couples wishing to

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[9]Originally called bastardy cases, after the 1931 Health and Welfare Act paternity suits were renamed affiliation cases. Since 1834 women could sue for child support, and the 1931 Act gave the director of Child Welfare the authority to enforce child support. Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot", 108. For the financial settlements of 1940's affiliation cases see Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador (hereafter PANL) GN5/3/A/17 Boxes 24-25.

[10]Following the Welfare of Children Act, 1944, the child welfare service of the Department of Public Health and Welfare became the Division of Child Welfare. Godfrey, Human Rights, 160.

adopt, and monitoring the moral behaviour of women in receipt of affiliation account funds.

Younger women often spent a short period at the Salvation Army's home for unwed mothers, the Anchorage, and then returned to their parents' or siblings' homes bringing their children with them. Some women who had worked as live-in domestic servants returned to their employers, and a few were allowed to bring their babies. When contacted about her "servant" in 1943, Mrs. V. replied, "she was taking all responsibility of the girl and her child."[11] Survival could be very difficult for women who did not have these options and were unsuccessful in their affiliation cases. Some babies were abandoned, often at the Anchorage; a few women were suspected of being responsible for the death of their child.[12] The infant mortality rate of the whole city rose along with the rate of illegitimate births, partly due to the higher mortality rate of babies born to single mothers.[13]

In the autumn of 1944, seventeen-year old Irene L. left her home on Bonavista Bay to work as a domestic servant in St. John's. Shortly after her arrival she began a

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[11]PANL GN38 S6/4/1 files 3-5.

[12]On trial at the Supreme Court, from 1944 to 1946, were three women accused of concealment of birth, two women accused of infanticide, and one woman accused of the murder of a six day-old child. PANL GN5/2/A/1-33.

[13]The death rate for children under one rose from 8.2 per cent in 1939 to a peak of 12.2 per cent in 1944. In 1944, after the introduction of penicillin to Newfoundland, the rates of both infant and maternal mortality sharply declined. CWA *Annual Reports,* 1939-1945. The reports also comment on the higher mortality rates of illegitimate infants.

sexual relationship with a Canadian sailor who left Newfoundland the following April. Irene returned to her parent's home in June, and in August delivered twins. One baby was stillborn; the other died within hours. The twins were buried without a doctor or clergyman to sign the death certificates.[14]

Irene L. shared many of the characteristics of other single mothers in St. John's during the war; she was young, she came to the city from an outport to work as a domestic, and she became involved with a serviceman.[15] The path followed by Irene after the discovery of her pregnancy - from charitable agency to her parents' home, to the Anchorage home for unwed mothers, to the magistrate's court - was also typical of many single mothers. From the office of Dr. Policoff who diagnosed her condition and immediately notified her "mistress", Irene went to the Child Welfare office for some prenatal care and advice. Irene continued to work until her ninth month of pregnancy and then returned to Lower Island Cove, where she had twins assisted by a nurse and an unregistered midwife. The lack of death certificates for the twins prompted a police investigation. A few months later Irene went back to St. John's, lived at the Salvation Army Anchorage, and filed an affiliation case against her former lover.[16]

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[14]See Justice files, PANL GN13/2/A Box 404.

[15]The single mothers from 1942-1947 range in age from 14 to 36 years, the average is 21.7 years. In 1942 and 1943 servicemen were named as the alleged father in over two-thirds of affiliation cases. PANL GN5/3/A/5 Box 8 and GN5/3/A/17 Boxes 22-27. Also see Table 2.

[16]It appears from the records of paternity suits that Irene's case went unresolved,

The records of the magistrate's court reveal the number of women who applied for warrants, and how many cases involved servicemen. In 1943, the year the number of affiliation cases peaked, 54 out of 78 warrants named a serviceman as the father. The warrant often shows the woman's age and occasionally her profession. The records also include other details such as whether the baby died, and often show the settlement amount of successful cases. (See Table 2 for more detailed information.)

Attitudes to pregnancy or childbirth outside marriage varied throughout Newfoundland. In wartime Stephenville, according to Cecilia Benoit, single mothers were "ostracized" from the community, while in Bonavista Bay an illegitimate child was referred to as a "merry-begot."[17] A pre-marital pregnancy or child could be used to circumvent parental objections to a wedding. A girl under twenty-one needed her parents' permission to marry in Newfoundland until the 1950s.[18] This law caused Mildred J. to leave home late in 1943. Mildred wanted to get married, but, "her mother would not give permission as she is under age and her people don't like American soldiers."[19] Unions between Americans and Newfoundlanders were further complicated by the requirement that a serviceman get his commanding officer's permission to marry, and the

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probably due to the inability of the defendant to appear in court. PANL GN5/3/A/17 Boxes 24-25.

[17]Cullum and Baird, "Women and Law," 108.

[18]Cullum and Baird, "Women and Law," 108.

[19]Quote from the probation officer's report. PANL GN38 S6/4/1 file 5.

U.S. military's 1943 ban on marriages between "mixed couples": an American to a non-American.[20]

Newfoundland's higher rate of illegitimate births compared to Canada and the U.S.A.,[21] should not be attributed solely to the military presence. Due to fear of the spread of venereal disease, servicemen were issued with condoms even in Newfoundland where birth control was illegal until 1969. Before this many women used "home remedies" to end a pregnancy or induce a miscarriage.[22] Birth control information was also restricted. During the Second World War censors were told to prohibit, along with pacifist and socialist works, publications such as *Sex*, *Sexology*, *Married Happiness* and *Rhythm of Sterility & Fertility in Women.*[23] Censorship did not stop Newfoundlanders from trying to obtain sexual information. In 1941, the Secretary for Posts and Telegraphs intercepted a

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[20]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 210-213.

[21]In the United States "in the early 1940s the illegitimacy rate rose in proportion to the general birth-rate, rather than soaring dramatically as many had predicted." Kunzel, Fallen Women and Problem Girls, 145.

[22]Cullum and Baird, "Women and Law" 129. Also see John K. Crellin, Home Medicine: The Newfoundland Experience (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) 57-62. Civilian workers on the U.S. base at Stephenville were also given condoms. Benoit, "Urbanizing Women" 120.

[23]Other banned publications include: *Scarlet Confessions*, the *Police Gazette*, *The Fighting Worker*, *The Industrial Unionist*, and all publications from the Jehovah's Witnesses, the People's Pulpit Association and the National Council for the Prevention of War, Washington D.C.. PANL GN13/1/B Box 52-13 'instructions to censors'. For more on the censorship of religious material, see Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 193.

package with twenty copies of *Marriage Guide.* He forwarded it to the Secretary for Justice who claimed that "even a casual glance confirms that it can be classified as indecent" and said the books should be disposed of under the section of the Revenue Act which prohibits importation of "Books...of a treasonable...immoral or indecent character."[24]

The lack of birth control information and devices may have contributed to the number of illegitimate births, but it is possible that many women did not fear pregnancy because of the assurances of their servicemen-lovers. When Olive B. signed a warrant for the appearance of a Canadian soldier, she said he promised marriage "if anything happened."[25] This was a frequent but often a false promise. Many servicemen were unwilling or unable to marry as they already had a wife; and some prospective grooms were shipped out early and the wedding postponed indefinitely.[26]

Katherine Anne Ling's study of Newfoundland servicewives shows that Newfoundland men occasionally married again while overseas, and left their Newfoundland wives in the lurch. The British courts punished these bigamous husbands

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[24]PANL GN13/1/B Box 114-95 'Indecent Literature'. Ellipses in the original letter which cites Section 83 of Chapter 35 of the Consolidated Statutes of Newfoundland, and Section 9 Schedule E of the 1938 Revenue Act.

[25]PANL GN 5/3/A/5 Box 8, Feb. 2, 1943.

[26]A number of the oral accounts in a documentary film claim the U.S. military deliberately shipped soldiers out of Newfoundland when their girlfriends were expecting a child. Seven Brides for Uncle Sam, prod. Kent Martin, dir. Anita McGee, National Film Board of Canada, 1997.

with sentences from three days to six months, and for the husband it was "a small price to pay."[27] Newfoundland wives with absent husbands sometimes formed new relationships, which sometimes resulted in a child they were unable to pass off as their husband's. This could make the wife the subject of much gossip, and she could lose her military wife's allowance if her husband heard of the new arrival. Some married mothers of technically illegitimate babies were pressured by their husbands to remove the child before he returned, if they wanted him to "forgive and forget their wives' indiscretions." Ling claims that some women transferred "custody to the biological father who could choose to simply provide financial support for the child's upbringing or adopt the child himself and arrange to have his own sister or mother appointed guardian."[28]

Some women suffered more than a bigamous marriage or being left expectant at the altar. In June 1943, pregnant Julia H. signed a warrant for the appearance of the Canadian soldier to whom she was engaged. A few days before the wedding she found the soldier had left the country, with eighty dollars borrowed from Julia who had also spent a considerable sum on wedding clothes and a ring. One of Julia's relatives who was going to Canada said he would search for the soldier and try to get Julia's money back.[29]

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[27]Katherine Anne Ling, "'A Share of the Sacrifice': Newfoundland Servicewives in the Second World War" unpublished Ph D diss, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2001; quote: 255.

[28]Ling, "A Share of the Sacrifice," 227.

[29]PANL GN38 S6/4/1 file 5.

Later Julia was told by the chaplain of the regiment that the soldier was already married.[30] The child was given up for adoption shortly after it was born.[31]

As a historical figure, the single mother usually exists in association with the various government or charitable agencies which tried to help her and her children.[32] Religious organizations, such as Catholic Charities and the Salvation Army, were committed to giving aid and shelter to unmarried mothers and orphans. In most studies of these agencies and organizations lone mothers are often rather pathetic figures, with the stress on their poverty and vulnerability.[33] Consistent with this portrayal are the single mothers in Andrée Lévesque's study of Montreal's Hôpital de Misericorde; they are usually poor, occasionally victims of incest or sexual abuse. Lévesque draws attention to the punishing atmosphere of an institution run by nuns who regarded the inmates as penitents. She claims the nuns, like Quebec society in general, viewed the single mother

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[30]PANL GN5/3/A/17 Box 23.

[31]Adoption Dec. 1943. PANL GN38 S6/4/1 file 5.

[32]The single mother also has a prominent position in studies of infanticide or child abandonment; see Lionel Rose, The Massacre of the Innocents: Infanticide in Britain 1800 - 1939 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986). Preventing illegitimate births was also a central concern of the eugenics movement; in Canada most forcibly sterilized women were single, some had had abortions. Defenders of this practice claimed sterilization would "curb promiscuity." Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885 - 1945 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990) 162.

[33]One exception, which emphasizes the resourcefulness of poor mothers, is Linda Gordon, Heroes of Their Own Lives: The History and Politics of Family Violence (New York: Viking, 1988).

as either "strong-minded and wicked" or "weak and ignorant or perhaps feeble-minded."[34]

Because of its strong ties to the Church, Montreal's Hôpital preferred to take in Catholic French-Canadian women, and turn Anglophone women towards organizations such as the Salvation Army.[35] Cleveland Ohio, as Marion Morton's study of homes for unwed mothers shows, was also large enough to support a range of maternity homes. Morton also shows that Protestant, and secular organizations such as the Florence Crittendon Homes, which employed evangelical women did not discriminate on the basis of religion. However, the conversion fervour of the evangelical women prompted the Catholic Diocese of Cleveland to open its own home for wayward women. Cleveland's Catholic home, which opened in 1873, and the Hôpital de Misericorde were part of a wave of maternity homes that opened in the mid-19th century.[36]

The Salvation Army began the majority of its institutions for unwed mothers in the 1880s;[37] most secular homes were founded after 1900. Morton claims that the end of

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[34]Andrée Lévesque, Making and Breaking the Rules: Women in Quebec, 1919-1939, Yvonne M. Klein trans. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1994) 108.

[35]Lévesque, Making and Breaking, 103.

[36]Marion J. Morton, And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland, 1855-1990. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993) 76-77.

[37]One of the Salvation Army in Canada's original goals was to save the souls of wayward woman and girls; this led to the creation of "rescue homes" from Victoria, B.C. to St. John's, Newfoundland. Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885-1925 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991) 151-152.

the municipal poorhouse prompted the creation of maternity homes and orphanages. Cities like Cleveland were relieved to push the care for single mothers and orphans on to private or religious organizations. In the 1930s the Salvation Army in Ontario was "particularly known for its work with poor single mothers," according to Margaret Little, who also notes that at this time religious leaders often sat on the local boards "blurring the line between the welfare state and civil society."[38] Little's examination of "the moral regulation" of women receiving the Ontario Mother's Allowance documents the struggle for the inclusion of unmarried mothers as recipients, as well as the "moral scrutiny" all single mothers who qualified for aid endured.[39] As Cynthia Commachio observes "Little lays bare the now-familiar racism and class bias of the maternal feminists leading the mother's allowance campaign, also noting that organized labour supported this type of state provision because of its commitment to the male breadwinner family."[40]

The resumption of state responsibility for lone mothers and their children in the U.S. is a key element of Linda Gordon's study of single mothers on welfare. Gordon looks at both government and non-government attempts at support, as well as differences

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[38]Margaret Little, "No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit": The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997 (Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada,1998) 48.

[39]Little, "No Car, No Radio" xix.

[40]Comacchio, "The History of Us," 209.

between the support given by black and white women's organizations.[41] Rickie Solinger's Wake Up Little Susie also compares attitudes towards black and white single mothers, and acknowledges the part played by the psychiatric profession in shaping these attitudes.[42]

In Fallen Women and Problem Girls, Regina Kunzel shows how the development of social work as a profession drew single mothers and their children away from the church, or other charities, and increased their dependency on the state. Unlike other female-dominated careers that became professionalised, such as librarianship, women retained leadership roles in social work. In this field a struggle for "cultural authority" began between two groups of women, as "control of maternity homes raised larger questions of how female sexuality would and could be represented and understood."[43]

The control of female sexuality is a recurrent theme in all these studies, but there are important differences in their depictions of the restrictions imposed by the state or secular organizations on lone mothers receiving aid. Morton, Kunzel and Solinger show that the transition from the parish to the professionals was accompanied by a new focus -

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[41]Linda Gordon, Pitied but not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935 (New York, The Free Press, 1994).

[42]Rickie Solinger, Wake Up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race Before Roe v. Wade (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[43]Kunzel, Fallen Women, quote: 5.

away from the mother and toward the child.[44] Morton and Kunzel concentrate on homes for unwed mothers; although Solinger devotes only one chapter to the institutional care of single mothers, she agrees with the other two authors that before the Second World War religious and secular organizations concentrated on the moral redemption of the single mother through god and good motherhood.[45] By contrast, Little emphasizes the role of the eugenics movement. "From the turn of the century onwards", she writes, "social reformers and welfare administrators had perpetuated biological explanations for unwed motherhood. They believed these women were 'feeble-minded' and argued that state aid would only exacerbate the problem by reproducing more 'feeble-minded' offspring."[46]

These scholars agree that in the post-Second World War period reform efforts shifted from redemption to rehabilitation, from sin to psychosis. The fallen woman became the neurotic girl, in need of treatment not salvation. Popular magazines, said Little, were "entranced with the subject and ran story after story about an unwed mother's neuroses and treatment."[47] Through this paradigm shift, the majority of single mothers

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[44]For more on the increasing worth of children, see Viviana A. Zelizer, Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children (New York: Basic Books, 1985).

[45]Morton examines four types of homes for unwed mothers in Cleveland, Ohio. Kunzel deals almost exclusively with the Salvation Army and Florence Crittendon Homes throughout the U.S.

[46]Little, "No Car, No Radio" 122.

[47]Little, "No Car, No Radio" 122.

were judged unfit to raise a child.[48]

The post-war reassessment of white single mothers, as psychologically maladjusted, led social workers to encourage them to give up their children for adoption. At the same time the reduction of the stress on sin, in an increasingly secular society, raised the value of the illegitimate child. This neatly coincided with an increasing demand for adoptable children, particularly infants. Solinger points out the importance of the relationship between changing ideas of both single motherhood and illegitimate children, recognizing the Second World War as a pivotal period. In her words:

> The public and private treatment of an unwed mother between 1945 and 1965 was clearly structured by society's disapproval of women who violated female norms of sexual purity and obedience. But...ideas about the 'value' of the illegitimate baby surface again and again as central to an unmarried mother's fate. In short, after World War II, the white bastard child was no longer the child nobody wanted.[49]

The Second World War was also a period of transition for adoption, and adoption procedures, in Newfoundland. The sharp rise in the number of illegitimate births was just one of the factors which motivated changes in policy, specifically the formalizing of

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[48]Solinger, Wake Up Little Susie, 106. In Kunzel's analysis, the image of the single mother went through three stages: "innocent victim, sex delinquent, unadjusted neurotic." Fallen Women, 5. As Kunzel and Solinger point out, this view applied to white single mothers only. Black single mothers were seen as part of a cultural, as opposed to an individual, problem; see Solinger, Wake Up Little Susie, 17-19.

[49]Solinger, Wake Up Little Susie, 148. Morton dates the beginning of the American adoption boom to the period between 1934 and 1944, when legal adoptions tripled; she attributes this to the low birth-rate of the Depression years. Morton, And Sin No More, 64.

adoption legislation. Along with this change in procedure, the foster care of children also came under increasing scrutiny from the government, social agencies, and, via a media campaign, the general public.[50] Newfoundland's first adoption act was passed by the Commission of Government in 1940. Before this legislation which permitted the adopting parents to give back the child under certain circumstances, an orphaned or illegitimate child "might be passed around from one relative or friend to another, the object of well-intentioned sympathy or charity" as one observer put it.[51] The new legislation did not have the desired effect of increasing the popularity of adoption. In 1946 the Division of Child Welfare was "surpriz[ed] that so few people in Newfoundland seem inclined to adopt children." The Division noted that it was "in direct contrast to what is true of the mainland where social agencies are unable to cope with the number of applications for adoptions."[52]

Newfoundland historiography contains few works that examine women and social welfare institutions. Stuart Godfrey's study of social welfare celebrates advances in the provision of social welfare in Newfoundland, with little regard to the social and political

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[50]In 1944, 181 children shared 27 foster homes - an average of 6.7 children per home. In 1946, 187 children shared 71 foster homes - an average of 2.6 children per home. Division of Child Welfare, *1949 Annual Report*. The increase in foster homes was accomplished by a combination of a publicity campaign and the cooperation of the clergy and local volunteer organizations. Godfrey, Human Rights, 162.

[51]Godfrey, Human Rights, 161.

[52]"Division of Child Welfare Report...No. 3-1946" in The Newfoundland National Convention 1946-1948 Vol. 2. See Hiller and Harrington eds., 304.

context of those changes. The transition to state welfare, and what this meant for recipients of the aid, also remains unexamined. Godfrey also makes little attempt to explain the impact wartime made on women in Newfoundland other than to blame the war for an increase in the number of illegitimate births, and what Godfrey calls "a new class of problem girls who had given birth to more than one 'illegitimate' child."[53]

Women in Second World War Newfoundland have generally received little attention. An exception to this is Cecilia Benoit's research on Stephenville, a town very near a U.S. airbase on the west coast of the island.[54] The oral accounts in this work capture the community's reaction to single motherhood in the 1940s; however, there is an inconsistency between some of Benoit's statements such as "[t]he American presence did little to change the age-old matrix of practices linking marriage, family, sexuality and procreation," and her research indicates that some of the links between marriage and sexuality had snapped. As one of Benoit's respondents recalled:

> They didn't know fellows lied so much, telling them that they was going to marry them and take them back to the States...Being Catholic, and the priest outrightly refusing to marry you to an American or a Protestant, didn't help much either. How many of them went home to their mothers with a little one on the way![55]

There were few places a pregnant single woman in Stephenville could go besides

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[53]Godfrey, Human Rights, 157.

[54]Benoit, "Urbanizing Women."

[55]Benoit, "Urbanizing Women," 118-119.

home. Before and during the Second World War, the only institution for unwed mothers was the Salvation Army's 'Anchorage' in St. John's.[56] The Anchorage, which opened in 1862, had some facilities to care for infants, but, if their mothers could not care for them, very young children were often placed in orphanages or foster homes. The sharp increase in the number of illegitimate children during the war strained the capacities of the existing spaces, and in 1942 the Newfoundland government erected a home specifically to care for the children of single mothers - filled to capacity one year later.[57]

All the major religions of the country ran a home for orphans, but most refused entry to illegitimate children or kept them in a separate institution. In 1860 the Catholic Sisters of Mercy founded the House of Mercy for the children of unmarried parents. The sisters ran this home as well as the Catholic Girls' Orphanage that was established six years earlier. The first Catholic Boys' Home, the Mount Cashel Orphanage, opened in 1886. Motivated by a recent cholera epidemic, the Anglicans opened a home in 1855 for widows and orphans. This Church of England Orphanage did not take illegitimate children, and maintained this policy until 1966. The Newfoundland Methodists established an orphanage in 1888 for girls between six and sixteen. Eventually it took in both girls and boys as the United Church Orphanage. Outside St. John's the only homes

[56]J. R. Smallwood, ed., The Book of Newfoundland Vol.2, 299.

[57]CWA *Annual Reports*, 1942-1943.

for abandoned children were the orphan "refuges" of the Grenfell Association.[58]

The care of single mothers and their children began a passage into state hands in 1931, with the enacting of the Health and Public Welfare Act, and the creation of the Department of Public Health and Welfare. In 1933 the new Department appointed Salvation Army Major Rhoda Sainsbury, a former matron of the Anchorage, as Newfoundland's first social worker with some carry-over from Sainsbury's former job to her new responsibilities.[59] The Anchorage, like other homes for unwed mothers, trained women to be domestic servants and then tried to find positions for those who were leaving.[60] With the creation of the social worker position, a prospective employer could call Sainsbury at the Probation Office, as the social work department was called, to ask if there was a woman available to work as a domestic. The Probation Office also assumed responsibility for adoptions and the foster care of children.

In May 1943, Ethel G. called in at the probation office to explain that she had not been paying for her child's foster care because she was out of work. Ethel said she had a new job at the Newfoundland Hotel and would start making payments. Later a social

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[58]Godfrey, Human Rights, 146-148.

[59]Helen Porter, "Major Rhoda Sainsbury" in His Promises are Sure: The Salvation Army Citadel (Number Two Corps) 1888-1988 (St. John's: Creative Publishers, 1988) 42.

[60]In prewar America, according to Solinger, "the mission of these [maternity] homes was to prepare ruined girls and women for lives as service workers and as outcast but caring mothers." Wake Up Little Susie, 14.

worker visited Ethel in the hotel laundry where she worked to ask why she had not made the payments. Ethel responded that she earned twenty dollars a month and half this amount went to pay her board. More fortunate women could count on the father of the child for financial assistance. Annie H., a domestic at the Mental Hospital, contributed five dollars towards her child's support because the child's father, Thomas R., said he would also pay five dollars "when working."[61] As well as making 'home visits' to check on the care of foster children, the probation officer also escorted women to court to swear out a warrant for the appearance in court of the man named in an affiliation case. The probation officer also oversaw the affiliation accounts that were collected by the Department of Public Health and Welfare. Fathers who were successfully sued for support paid into the accounts and the funds were distributed to lone mothers and their children. Women were usually awarded a lump sum to cover the expenses of the birth, and sometimes death, of the child. A small sum was given to the mother each month until the child reached adulthood.

As manager of the affiliation accounts, Sainsbury was in a position to exert some authority over the conduct of the recipients, particularly in cafes or other places single women would go to meet men. Major Sainsbury cut an "imposing" figure as she was about six feet tall and always wore her uniform skirt six inches longer than those of the

[61]PANL GN38 S6/4/1 file 3b. Annie H.'s case July 1941.

other officers.[62] Her own records indicate that Sainsbury felt compelled to monitor all morally suspicious behaviour; her account for her activities on January 4, 1942 includes this entry: "Visited Chinese Restaurant, Water St. where disorderly girls are associating with military men."[63] Sainsbury was particularly concerned about "disorderly houses", brothels and places of illegal drinking, in St. John's. In 1940 she wrote to the Secretary of the Department of Health and Welfare to inform him that "hid away in these houses" were "girls who should be receiving [VD] treatment."[64]

When proposing an affiliation case, "[a] woman's reputation in the community could affect both the strength of her demand for maintenance and the view the court took of that demand," according to Cullum and Baird.[65] The 1931 Act no longer asked if a female claimant was "of ill-fame or a Common Whore", but Sainsbury would threaten to cut off affiliation account funds if a woman's behaviour could be considered improper.[66] Social workers were aided in their investigations of the activities of lone mothers. Family members, such as the in-laws of women with absent husbands, would call Sainsbury and

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[62]Porter, "Major Rhoda Sainsbury", 42-43.

[63]PANL GN38 S6-4-1 file 4.

[64]Neary, "Venereal Disease," 138.

[65]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 109

[66]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 109. Support for illegitimate children came under the Affiliation and Maintenance provisions of the Health and Public Welfare Act, 1931.

pass on information.[67]

Sainsbury's tenure as probation officer marks the transition period in the management of illegitimate and foster children from church-based charities to a state-run welfare agency. The absence before 1944 of formal adoption procedures in Newfoundland had given churches more of a free rein to arrange adoptions. While adoption records are sealed, Sainsbury's own records show that adoptions of illegitimate children were often arranged with members of the mother's or the father's family. In 1941 Laura B. had a child by William P., who was soon to leave the country. Laura B. did not bring a lawsuit, nor were there any arrangements for support. William P. and his wife decided to adopt the baby. Laura agreed to this as long as she could see the child occasionally. Sainsbury interviewed Laura and William about their arrangements; William agreed to have a lawyer draw up the papers, and two days later the adoption was finalized.[68]

In a later case an American officer brought the baby he had with a Newfoundland woman, who had abandoned the child, back to his wife in the United States.[69] Adoptions such as this were often privately arranged. In cases where the request was made directly to the probation office, a preference for an older child was occasionally expressed. In

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[67]See Chapter 4, and Ling, "Share of the Sacrifice," 218-220.

[68]PANL GN38 S6/4/1 file 3b.

[69]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) December 9, 1944, 3.

December 1943 Sainsbury visited Harbour Grace to see Mrs. T. who had requested a "little girl of 10 or 12 years" because she had two sons and no daughter.[70] As Mrs. T. was quite specific about the age of the girl she wished to adopt, it suggests the possibility that she was searching for domestic help as well as a daughter. Provided a social worker found their home suitable, anyone who desired to adopt a child could get one very quickly. In July 1942 Sainsbury interviewed Mrs. S., who wanted to adopt an infant, and "[I]nformed her we would have one ready on Monday." Two days later the arrangements were made.[71]

As the war went into its fifth year, the birth rate and number of illegitimate births continued to be high, and the orphanages and foster homes remained full. In November 1944, Monica R. was informed "there was no place in town where she could place her child." Some women could not wait for arrangements to be made and abandoned their babies, usually at the Anchorage. A few women took their children to foster homes and did not continue payments. When her second child was eight or nine days old Rita R., who had been arrested several times on disorderly conduct and other charges, took it to a foster home. One week later a warrant was issued for Rita's arrest. The original foster parent gave the child to Mrs. E. who called the Division of Child Welfare to complain that she had not been paid, and was told the Division was "not responsible." Two months

[70]PANL GN38 S6/4/1 file 4.

[71]PANL GN38 S6/4/1 file 4.

later, Sainsbury visited the restaurant where Rita R. had found a job and informed her of the baby's death.[72]

Infants left at the Anchorage became the joint responsibility of the Department of Public Health and Welfare and the Salvation Army. Women who put their child in an orphanage or a foster home were expected make a contribution to the cost. And while the Anchorage was a charitable institution, women were expected to contribute toward the cost of their stay and the birth of their child. A few women rebelled against the discipline of the home and were charged in court with disorderly behaviour.[73] Before the Second World War the greatest concern for the care of neglected children was shown by the Child Welfare Association. In the 1930s, when the increase in and number of illegitimate children were both comparatively low, the Association called for reform of adoption procedures. It also deplored the condition of many foster homes.[74] The Association was very concerned about the high infant mortality rate among illegitimate children - over 33 per cent in 1931 - and blamed "the uncertainty and amount of payment" for the lack of good foster homes. In 1934 the Association ran a newspaper advertisement for foster homes and found the majority of the eighteen replies were unsuitable. Foster homes

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[72]PANL GN38 S6/4/1 file 4.

[73]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) December 5, 1944, 3.

[74]According to the 1931 CWA *Annual Report* there were 250 illegitimate children born in the St. John's area in the past five years. The 1934 CWA *Annual Report* claims there was an increase of seven compared to the previous year.

wanted at least ten dollars a month to keep a child, and, according to the Association, the mother's monthly wage rarely exceeded this amount.[75] Therefore, it would be impossible for the single mother to meet the full cost of boarding her child. The government allowance at this time was $2.50 a month; a sum the Association declared, "inadequate, and not sufficient to supply milk for the child."[76]

A great cause of concern to the head of the Department of Health and Welfare was the small percentage of single mothers who had more than one illegitimate child.[77] These mothers tended to be both older and unwilling to put their children into foster care. This may have been related to the higher cost of fostering more than one child. Some women, who had children by different fathers, were able to obtain support for the second child but not the first; these amounts, however, were not large. Destitute parents were sometimes encouraged by social workers to give up their children. Some fathers of illegitimate children failed to make payments to the affiliation accounts.[78] As many men left Newfoundland during the war, even a lawsuit could not guarantee the appearance of the

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[75]"Few women held positions which paid more than $6.00 a week" in the early 1930s. Forestell. "Times Were Hard," 83. In the early 1940s domestics were "rarely paid more than four to six dollars a month" and mess halls on the US bases paid Newfoundland women eight dollars a week - a "previously unheard of" wage. Benoit, "Urbanizing Women," 116.

[76]CWA, 1934 *Annual Report*, 15.

[77]See Chapters 4 and 5.

[78]PANL GN38 S6/4/1 files 3-5.

defendant in a paternity case.

Under Newfoundland legislation, an unmarried pregnant woman could complain to the magistrate who could then issue a warrant for the arrest of the father of the child. The father was then obliged to post a bond to ensure his appearance at the affiliation proceedings. After the proceedings, if the woman's suit was successful, the father would be required to post another bond. If the defendant was unable or unwilling to "furnish a bond in the amount ordered," he could be jailed for up to twelve months.[79] The majority of women, who were able to bring their case before the magistrate, were successful in their suits; and if the defendant was a servicemen, the military put money directly into the affiliation account. The monthly sums coming in to the account swelled from $615.53 in 1941 to $2257.98 in 1953.[80] Both the American and the Canadian military made provisions to have support money deducted from a serviceman's pay. The American Army made payments to the affiliation account from the central office in New Jersey, but payments ended when the soldier left the service.[81] According to Benoit, the U.S. government also made welfare payments to "those mothers who 'got taken for a ride'" between the war and Confederation.[82]

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[79]Health and Public Welfare Act, 1931,Chapter 12, Section 636.

[80]This account was paid out to affiliation cases, wife support and war pensions. PANL GN38/S6/4/1.

[81]PANL GN38/S6/1-7 file 10, Child Welfare Act 1944, 4.

[82]Single mothers were "pressured" to either return to their outport communities, or, in

The Canadian Army Act allowed a soldier to be sued or to enter into a private agreement, but he could not be jailed or otherwise taken out of service with the exception of "any debt, damages or sum of money, when the amount exceeds thirty pounds over and above all costs of suit."[83] In July 1942, after an affiliation suit, a Canadian private was jailed for twenty days when he could not furnish a bond of $250. The Commander of the Canadian troops in Newfoundland complained to the Commissioner for Justice and Defence that while a soldier should be responsible for the maintenance of "any bastard child", the Army Act stated that no decree in respect of maintenance could be issued "against his person, pay, arms and clothing." Major-General Page opined that, despite the Act, no soldier of the Canadian Forces in Newfoundland should be jailed for failing to furnish bonds.[84]

Clearly the military tried to help in cases where a serviceman was obviously responsible. Many women, however, were not able to obtain satisfaction is court and

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Stephenville, to live with their parents. Benoit, "Urbanizing Women," 121.

[83]Section 145 of the Army Act, according to "Memorandum on Canadian Army Position and Practice with Regard to the Maintenance by Soldiers of Illegitimate Children." PANL GN13/1/B 43-6. The memorandum also states that, according to Article 100 of Assigned Pay and Dependents Allowance Regulations, "if he [the soldier] denies responsibility, or fails to carry out his obligation, or fails within a reasonable time either to accept or deny the alleged relationship, the Board shall decide what, if any, allowance may be granted, and the number (not exceeding fifteen) of days' pay per month which shall be deemed to be compulsory assigned for the benefit of the dependent."

[84]Letter from Major-General Page, citing Section 145 of the Army Act, dated August 29, 1942. PANL GN13/1/B 43-6.

many who did found the awards pitifully small. Lone mothers rarely got more than ten dollars a month (see Table 2), and awards did not keep pace with the cost of living.[85] Usually some compensation for expenses was awarded as well; many awards were as small as twenty dollars, but one woman was awarded ninety-five dollars to cover the birth and funeral expenses of her baby. There were no standard amounts - another woman, a widow, was awarded thirty-five dollars for expenses when her child died at birth.[86]

For the majority of single mothers, the support of family was crucial if they intended to keep their baby. On several occasions the Probation Office gave a single mother the funds to return to her outport home with her child.[87] In St. John's young single mothers often returned to their parents with a baby, even if there was very little space. At the end of the war, Josephine T. lived with her six-month old child, her parents, and her seven siblings.[88] Also in St. John's, eighteen-year old Helen M. and her one-and-a-half year old child were living with her mother and five siblings. Across the street nineteen-year old Margaret D., who had a child around the same time as Helen, lived with her baby

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[85]Between Oct. 1938 and Dec. 1942, the cost of living rose 50.2%. Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 173. The cost of living rose "more than two-thirds between 1938 and 1946," Jane Lewis and Mark Shrimpton, "Policymaking in Newfoundland during the 1940s: The Case of the St John's Housing Corporation" *Canadian Historical Review*, LXV: 2 (1984), 235.

[86]Birth expense compensation ranged from zero to $100. PANL GN5/3/A/5-8.

[87]PANL GN38/S6/4/1 files 3-5.

[88]1945 Nominal Census of Newfoundland and Labrador.

and her parents. It is likely the two women were friends, and fortunate they both had girls, as they named their daughters after each other. It would appear that some women not only had family for support, but also companions in the same condition. This must have meant a great deal to women like Helen and Margaret; it suggests that, at least in St John's, single mothers were not 'ostracized' from the community.[89]

While some women were more than willing to give up their baby, most of the mothers made some attempt to support themselves and their child. Single mothers often turned to family members and in almost fifty per cent of cases, from 1942-1945, women went to court to obtain financial support from the father of the child. However, whether the single mother won or lost her affiliation suit, the problem of making a living and caring for a child remained. The type of childcare arrangements that developed in places where women's labour in war industries was in demand, did not exist in Newfoundland.[90]

Due to poor wages and lack of day-care facilities, many working single mothers had to put their children into foster homes. This situation was not ideal as these homes, especially before 1945, tried to cope with many children at once. The foster care system

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[89]Helen M. and Margaret D. appear in the court records, PANL GN5/3/A/5-8; both affiliation cases appear to have involved servicemen. Their addresses and daughters' names are recorded in the 1945 Nominal Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, v. 44.

[90]The Dominion-Provincial Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement supported the establishment of child-care facilities in Ontario and Quebec. By 1945, childcare facilities in Ontario served 2500 children. Pierson, "They're Still Women" 49-60. The British government supported 1,500 nurseries caring for almost 72,000 children, Braybon and Summerfield, Out of the Cage, 239.

came under intense scrutiny at war's end, but during the war the government had many other concerns that were given higher priority. At the end of the war, the affiliation account system was also reviewed and significant alterations were made. The Department of Public Health and Welfare had used the affiliation account as a conduit for court-awarded support funds. It would only help out single mothers in cases of destitution. The preferred method, in cases where parents could not support themselves and their child, was to take the child into a foster home. Because of the large number of infants who required foster care during the war, the government was willing to build and support an orphanage and give partial funding to foster homes. Although there is some indication that public sentiment was changing at the decade's end, and more people believed that the mother should get the support directly to raise her child herself, single mothers were not entitled to state welfare in the form of relief payments.[91]

In the 1930s, the government could plead poverty as an excuse for miserly amounts of able-bodied relief. But this was not the case during the Second World War when, from 1941 to 1947, revenues exceeded expenditures. At war's end Newfoundland had surplus revenues of several million dollars, and yet it was to be some time before single mothers were considered entitled to any direct payments from the state.[92] During

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[91]In 1946, the Division of Child Welfare reported "there seems to be growing the idea that public assistance for illegitimate children is a right." The Newfoundland National Convention 1946-1948, Vol. 2 See Hiller and Harrington eds., 300.

[92]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 363.

the war the state indirectly supported single mothers by improving foster care and, in the post-war period, by funding the Salvation Army's much larger maternity home. These schemes had the end result of separating the mother and child. The new home, coupled with the formalizing of adoption procedures, raises the question: were the government and other social agencies encouraging adoption and discouraging single mothers from raising their children?

How the state distributes funds and its treatment of the recipients reveals its attempts to monitor and restrain the behaviour of those who test moral boundaries and come under the scrutiny of social agencies set up to aid those in receipt of state funds. The next chapter on the sex-trade concentrates on women who transgressed both legal and moral boundaries, and how they were represented in the official discourse. It shows the state, during the Second World War and after, becoming increasingly involved in the lives of young women who defied norms of sexual behaviour.

Chapter 4

"It is the duty of the State to protect the young women of the city"

The Sex Trade

> We knew there were at least two bawdy houses on the South Side, cat houses we called them. We looked with a strange kind of respect and awe at the "fallen women" who wiggled their way up the road, short skirts pulled tight over bare legs...During the War we watched the sailors go in and out of those houses...
>
> Helen Porter, Below the Bridge: Memories of the South Side of St. John's[1]

Helen Porter's, Below the Bridge is unusual as few Newfoundland memoirs and oral history collections contain references to prostitution. Though prostitution has attracted little scholarly attention, Maeve Baird and Linda Cullum provide a capsule history of anti-prostitution legislation in "Women and Law in Newfoundland."[2] While this chapter is a portrait of prostitution in St. John's during the Second World War, a wider lens encompasses the surveillance of city's Chinese community as they were believed to be involved in the sex-trade. This wider view also addresses the discursive creation of the prostitute as a sexual danger, the sex-trade's links to changing perceptions of female sexuality, and sexual threats that were inflated into moral panics.

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[1]Porter, Below the Bridge, 69.

[2]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot", 102-103.

While the next chapter covers the effects of Newfoundland's Venereal Disease (VD) legislation, this chapter outlines the British Empire model of VD control - the contagious diseases (CD) ordinances – and argues that Newfoundland's VD statutes were modelled after attempts to control VD elsewhere in the Empire. The image of the prostitute was brought into sharp focus by legal statutes to prevent VD. The historiography of prostitution and anti-prostitution legislation reveals the wide net cast by these laws that snared not only sex-trade workers, but all sexually suspicious persons especially during the moral panic over white slavery. This chapter argues that Newfoundland's Chinese community, like other Asian immigrants, suffered discrimination due to the discourse of sexual degeneracy that intensified during the white slave panic.

If prostitution were not a crime, sex-trade workers could be studied like any other profession. But 'working girls' are seldom seen as working women.[3] Profiting from or soliciting for the purpose of prostitution was and is considered criminal activity.[4] Evidence of involvement in the sex-trade has also been used against immigrants to prevent entry or effect a deportation, and suspicious behaviour has often been interpreted

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[3]An early exception to studying prostitutes as criminals instead of workers is Lori Rotenberg, "The Wayward Worker: Toronto's Prostitute at the Turn of the Century" Women at Work Ontario, 1850-1930, eds. Penny Acton et al. (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974) 33-70.

[4]Profiting from prostitution includes procurement, "pimping", and brothel keeping.

as evidence of involvement. The prosecution of sex-related crimes dropped significantly in Britain at the end of the 1920s. The drop was part of a long-term trend, according to Jeffrey Weeks, who notes the incarceration of far fewer "brothel keepers" in Holloway prison in 1930 compared to 1900.[5] This is a reminder that the number of arrests or convictions is not an accurate barometer of the amount of activity. Court records often comprise the main body of evidence of the sex trade - evidence that frequently reveals more of the prosecutor's motives than the prostitute's.

Proof or suspicions of involvement in the sex-trade could be used to prevent the entry or effect the deportation of immigrants to Newfoundland.[6] Asians were particularly vulnerable to accusations of this type, exacerbated by the local newspaper's descriptions of the Chinese as importers of "leprosy, opium, and criminality."[7] The Chinese community in Newfoundland dates back to at least 1895. The early days were difficult for the Chinese immigrants: they were greeted with a hostile reception including some negative press coverage, and in 1906 Newfoundland passed its first anti-Asian legislation, modelled on Canada's but with a considerably lower "head-tax".[8] The Chinese had long

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[5]Fourteen in 1930 as opposed to 66 in 1900. Jeffrey Weeks, Sex ,Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality Since 1800, (London: Longman, 1981) 219-220.

[6]See Strange and Loo, Making Good, 119.

[7]Gerhard P. Bassler, Sanctuary Denied: Refugees from the Third Reich and Newfoundland Immigration Policy 1906-1949 (St. John's, ISER Books, 1992) 57.

[8]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot", 127-128.

been accused of keeping brothels and opium dens but this does not appear to have concerned the board of United States naval experts who arrived on September 16, 1940, inquiring into prostitution and VD.[9]

Newfoundland passed a series of laws in the 1930s and 1940s'' to control the spread of VD. Phillipa Levine has traced VD ordinances to British colonies such as Hong Kong and Singapore. She connects the statutes to the stigmatisation of sex workers, and finds the stigma's origins in

> [T]he powerful mix of moral and sanitary prejudice which characterized nineteenth century anxiety over sexually transmitted diseases [which] viewed sexual libertinism, and more especially prostitution, as the likeliest route of infection. In Britain and its vast colonial possessions a series of acts and ordinances - titled contagious diseases (CD) legislation - specifically named the prostitute as the principal purveyor of VD.[10]

In the 1940's Newfoundland was still one of Britain's "possessions," and with the suspension of an elected government it returned to quasi-colonial status.[11] As a former colony of Britain, Newfoundland considered prostitution and brothel keeping criminal activity from the earliest days of English settlement. Baird and Cullum find the first mention of a prostitute, Eleanor Moody, in Newfoundland in 1757 - on trial for robbing a

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[9]'Members of Board United States Naval Experts Visiting St. John's.' *Evening Telegram* (St. John's), Sept. 16, 1940, 4.

[10]Philippa Levine, "Modernity, Medicine and Colonialism: The Contagious Diseases Ordinances in Hong Kong and the Straits Settlements," in Antoinette Burton ed. Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities (London: Routledge, 1999) 35.

[11]See Gene Long, Suspended State (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1999).

client. After a guilty verdict Moody was sentenced to an hour in a "whirlygig," a revolving cage used for torture since the mid-fifteenth century, and then banished from the colony "as she was deemed to be 'a Nuisance to the Publick'."[12] Whipping and flogging adult prisoners ended in 1934, according to Stuart Godfrey, who also notes that while practices such as corporal punishment, restricting the diet of prisoners and head-shaving were abandoned "presumably by order of the Commission of Government," women sentenced to the St. John's Penitentiary were still badly treated. No separate facility existed for women prisoners; they were housed in the oldest wing of the men's prison, built in 1855, and unlike male prisoners they were forbidden to smoke. Locking women in their cells from 4.30 p.m. until 8 a.m. was standard practice, and women were punished with long periods of solitary confinement in "dark, blacked-out cells."[13] St. John's prostitutes did not have to concern themselves about prison conditions, as they were almost certain to be arrested on disorderly charges and would spend their sentences in jail, not in His Majesty's Penitentiary.

As it was difficult to provide sufficient evidence for soliciting or procurement charges, persons suspected of engaging in prostitution or brothel-keeping were arrested on disorderly charges. St. John's situation mirrors that of the United States, where arrests for prostitution "rose less than twenty percent during the war years" write D'Emilio and Freedman, "but charges of disorderly conduct increased almost two hundred percent, and

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[12]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 102-103; whirlygig: 277 fn. 177.

[13]Godfrey, Human Rights, 186-190.

those for other morals offences, such as promiscuous behaviour or patronizing bars too frequently, increased nearly as much."[14]

The American navy was concerned about promiscuity in Newfoundland, but investigated prostitution largely because it feared sailors might contract venereal disease from sex workers.[15] As the war progressed, the medical officers' concerns were intensified by alarmist reports such as the one written by Captain Daniel Bergsma in 1942. Bergsma's remarks about women and girls in the 'Sex Mores' section of his report are uncharitable and often implausible. Bergsma seems determined to prove widespread promiscuity in Newfoundland, claiming that,

> a large proportion of unmarried Newfoundland women have no effective inhibitions relative to non-marital sexual intercourse...crowds of women may be seen promenading along specific streets and in definite sections or areas waiting to be noticed...In taverns and dance halls it is not uncommon to see girls taking the initiative in fondling, kissing, and hugging men whom they never saw before an hour or two ago. These girls also transfer their attention from one male to another in a very nonchalant manner.[16]

Bergsma's research no doubt alarmed the members of the army medical corps concerned with reducing the rate of venereal disease among the military, especially as 1942 - the year the report was submitted - was a peak year for gonorrhea at Fort

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[14]John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America. (New York: Harper and Row, 1988) 261.

[15]The connection between VD and prostitution is explored further in Chapter 5.

[16]Bergsma, "Venereal Disease," in Neary, "A grave problem," 89.

Pepperrell (the United States Army base near St. John's)[17], and Bergsma's claim that "it seems probable that there are at least 24,000 syphilitics and at least 10,000 cases of gonorrhea in Newfoundland."[18] The medical corps would also be unsettled to read "Newfoundland girls are averse to the use of a condom." Bergsma opined that this was most likely the result of "religious teachings" but could also stem from the "desire to capture a *wealthy* ($50 per month) American husband," or ignorance about the spread of VD.[19] Bergsma claimed that Newfoundland women believed "that they will not become pregnant if sexual intercourse occurs while in the vertical position," and the use of this position resulted in the transmission of "mixed infection[s]."[20]

Bergsma wrote that while passing in a car, he had observed couples having sex against a fence, and added that he had reports of "more conservative individuals [who] will wander further from the road; go behind bushes, trees or houses; into alleys...or a stranger's house." Bergsma further maligned the morals of Newfoundland women by

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[17]The report was submitted Dec. 1 1942. Neary, "A grave problem," 79. In 1942 at Fort Pepperrell there were 42 cases of gonorrhea compared to 32 the year before, and 27 the following year. Syphilis at this base peaked in 1943 with 22 cases. NARA, RG 338, NND 903534, Box 56, File 314.8, "Records of Wars, 1945."

[18]Bergsma, "Venereal Disease," in Neary, "A grave problem," 91.This estimate was not based on any hard evidence; any existing evidence points to a much lower rate of syphilis.

[19]Bergsma, "Venereal Disease," in Neary, "A grave problem," 89-90; italics and parenthesis in the original.

[20]Bergsma, "Venereal Disease," in Neary, "A grave problem," 96.

conjuring up the image of the 'amateur' or 'casual' prostitute, claiming that while few girls "earn their entire income by fees for sexual intercourse... Other girls routinely supplement their income by prostitution... Many more occasionally prostitute themselves for hire to obtain the extra funds to purchase some article."[21]

The first 'Board of Experts' sent by the American military appears to be chiefly concerned with 'organized' prostitution. If their investigation had included reading the Magistrate's Court column of one of the local papers, the *Evening Telegram*, they would have been made aware of the location of 'disorderly houses' in the area.[22] Street prostitution in St. John's was more difficult to detect, as women were not arrested for solicitation but usually on a disorderly behaviour charge. As well as the rare 'drunk and disorderly' charge, women and young girls were often picked up on charges of 'loose and disorderly', 'disorderly in a public place', or 'disorderly aboard ship' during the war years. Expressions used by the *Evening Telegram* to describe women arrested on disorderly charges included "women of the town", "well-known females" and "street girls".[23] 'Disorderly' arrests often occurred in residences; owners or tenants of the

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[21]Bergsma, "Venereal Disease," in Neary, "A grave problem," 90.

[22]In the 1940s' the *Evening Telegram* published the street addresses, and very rarely the names, of those charged with keeping a disorderly house. Alternate phrases included "a home for lewdness" *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Dec.20, 1943, 3, or "a house used for immoral purposes." *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) May 20, 1940, 4.

[23]For "well-known female" see *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) July 28, 1944, 3. For "street girl" see *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Nov.1. 1943, 3.

residence would then be arrested for operating a 'disorderly house' - a term which could mean either a brothel or a 'shebeen', a place for illegal drinking. This categorization is fluid as many 'houses' served both purposes. Because of their reputation as "pick-up" places, Chinese cafes were closely watched by the St. John's police. Wide-spread anxiety about minorities, such as the Chinese, and their involvement in prostitution was one of the last vestiges of the nineteenth-century 'white slave' panic. It seems appropriate to include moral panics in this historiographical sketch of the image of prostitution.

"Prostitutes have perhaps received more historical consideration than any other group of women" claims Mary Spongberg in her study of the prostitute in medical literature.[24] Showing the influence of historians of the sex-trade, Spongberg dissects the connection between public concern over child prostitution and the white slavery panic. Ruth Rosen's The Lost Sisterhood, one of the few monographs on prostitution in the twentieth-century United States, varies from the majority of other studies as it confirms the existence of a turn-of-the-century traffic in women in North America.[25] Rosen acknowledges "reformers tended to exaggerate the extent of white slavery," and also that these "sensationalized accounts of sexual slavery during the period tend to undermine the credibility of an entire historical phenomenon."[26]

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[24]Mary Spongberg, Feminizing Venereal Disease: The Body of the Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century Medical Discourse (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997) 11-12.

[25]Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood, 15.

[26]Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood, 114.

It is difficult to deny the veracity of the European 'white slave' trade, as the 'panic' resulted from the publicity given to a series of visits to Brussels in 1878 and 1880 to investigate the use of English prostitutes. These visits were brought to public notice by W.T. Stead in the *Pall Mall Gazette*; as Mort sees it, Stead's articles were responsible for new British legislation that was "stimulated by the perceived growth in child prostitution." The new legislation raised the age of consent to eighteen and increased the power of the police. Representatives of the Metropolitan Police argued before a government committee that more state regulation "would lead to improved morality and decency on the streets and bring benefits to public order."[27] Walkowitz's City of Dreadful Delight analyses the discourses of danger at work in late-Victorian London, particularly in the work of W. T. Stead, and highlights the role of the media as instigators and enhancers of moral panics.[28]

The international traffic in women had two facets: the 'white slavery panic' concerned white women and girls trafficked by non-white men; and another, much less fraught with anxiety, side of the trade dealt with Asian women shipped to areas where the male to female ratio made prostitution a highly lucrative business. The transportation of Asian women to North America began in the mid-nineteenth century, and resulted in

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[27]Mort, Dangerous Sexualities, 99.

[28]Walkowitz, City of Dreadful Delight. W. T. Stead's 'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' July, 1985 was "the founding event in the white-slavery panic." Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water, 90.

large numbers of Chinese prostitutes in California. According to Rosen, this led to the passing in 1882 of the Chinese Exclusion Act; it also motivated West Coast missionaries to set up "rescue homes" for escaped sexual slaves. Although non-white women made up only a small percentage of the international traffic of women, they received an "inordinate amount of publicity". The "xenophobic attitudes which characterized the period," Rosen writes, allowed the traffic in women to be attributed to unregulated immigration.[29] During the white slavery panic, according to Mariana Valverde, moral reformers "used the panic to highlight the dangers posed to 'our' white girls by dark foreigners. American and Canadian white slavery pamphlets often featured Black, Jewish or Mediterranean procurers." Reformers used anxieties over 'dangerous foreigners' and young women unsupervised in the city to support their argument for a racist immigration policy.[30]

In Britain the white slavery panic began with concerns about the transportation of English girls to other European countries for the purposes of prostitution. The first actions taken against the traffic in women were spearheaded by the British feminist reformer Josephine Butler, while fighting the CD Acts in the 1880s.[31] Intended to medically regulate prostitution in militarized areas, the CD Acts were originally imposed in 1864

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[29]Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood, 121-123.

[30]Mariana Valverde, 'The Rhetoric of Reform: Tropes and the Moral Subject' *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 18, (1990) 64. British and American authors attribute about ten percent of prostitution to white slavery. Lévesque, Making and Breaking the Rules, 119.

[31]Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood, 116.

"for the purpose of guarding the men of the army and navy from contagion."[32] Despite protests at home, versions of the CD Acts spread throughout the British Empire. The Acts were repealed in Britain in 1886 and India in 1888, but, according to Reginald Hyam, they were still in force in Jamaica, Trinidad, Hong Kong, Fiji, Gibraltar, Malta, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, the Cape Colony of South Africa and some Australian colonies. Hyam indicates the strong military connection to the CD Acts; he claims they "were established in Cairo twenty-four hours after the troops arrived from the battle of Tel-el-Kebir."[33]

As a speciality within the medical profession, the study of venereal disease, i.e. venereology, had a difficult time gaining respect in Victorian Britain. The comments of one Victorian surgeon, Samuel Solly, suggest that the lack of research into VD resulted from the point of view that sufferers were responsible for bringing the disease upon themselves. The victims were not only blamed for acquiring the disease, they also deserved the suffering, opined Solly; he told a government committee that syphilis was "intended as a punishment for our sins and we should not interfere in the matter."[34]

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[32]"Report of the Royal Commission upon the Administration and Operation of the Contagious Diseases Act" cited in Shannon Bell, Reading, Writing and Rewriting the Prostitute Body (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994) 56.

[33]Reginald Hyam, Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990) covers most of the British Empire and confirms the military connection to the medical regulation of prostitution. It is a wide-ranging study of gender and race relations throughout the empire; and, while dismissing homosexuality as "merely a recent western concept," it includes the imperial military's use of male and female brothels. 66.

[34]Samuel Solly quoted in J.D. Oriel, The Scars of Venus: A History of

Venereology could not thrive in this climate. In the mid-nineteenth century the incidence of VD infection was nearing its peak and increasing numbers of women were detained for examination and incarcerated for treatment; nevertheless the medical community in England turned away from the study of VD. An influential voice in the discourse surrounding the CD Acts, William Acton, was an exception. While he did not significantly advance VD research, Acton attracted fame for his works on venereology and sexual behaviour - especially his 1857 work Prostitution.[35] Acton had studied venereology in France and imported the ideas of French researchers into England. One of these researchers, Parent-Duchatelet, marked the prostitute as a working-class woman; and according to Walkowitz, Acton marked all working-class women as potential or former prostitutes.[36] Acton saw prostitution as "a transitory state through which an untold number of British women are ever on their passage."[37] Mort declares Acton's work innovative, "marking important breaks with earlier theories of female sexuality and

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Venereology (London: Springer-Verlag, 1994) 173.

[35]William Acton, Prostitution, Considered in its Moral, Social and Sanitary Aspects, (London: John Churchill, 1857).

[36]Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society, 47. The influence of Parent-Duchatelet, and other French venereologists, on state regulation in France is explained in greater detail in Andrew R. Aisenberg, Contagion: Disease, Government, and the "Social Question" in Nineteenth-Century France (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999). Parent-Duchatelet: 59.

[37]Acton cited in Bell, Reading, Writing and Rewriting, 51.

helping to generate an intellectual climate favourable to regulationism."[38]

While early historians of prostitution treated William Acton's Prostitution, as a "seminal work", several of Acton's claims were refuted by later examinations, particularly the view of prostitutes as sexual deviants and mental defectives.[39] The efforts of Victorian women's organizations, such as Butler's, to have the CD Acts rescinded inspired some of the first feminist interpretations of the history of prostitution; two of these are Frances Finnegan's examination of prostitution in York and Judith Walkowitz's research into the effects of the CD Acts on prostitution primarily in Plymouth and Southampton.[40] Finnegan reveals the impossibilities and contradictions in Prostitution and concentrates on the poverty and ill health of prostitutes. By contrast, Walkowitz paints the prostitute as an active agent of her destiny and not as a victim. In Walkowitz's class-based analysis of prostitution, opposition and support for the CD Acts shows conflicting claims over the governance of working-class sexuality - her prostitutes are women making difficult but necessary economic choices. Finnegan and Walkowitz concentrate on the economic realities of prostitution, but historians interested in the social construction of gender have noted that the image of the prostitute changes dramatically

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[38]Mort, Dangerous Sexualities, 61.

[39]Spongberg, Feminizing Venereal Disease, 12.

[40]Frances Finnegan, Poverty and Prostitution: A Study of Victorian Prostitution in York (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society.

after about 1830. While men of science such as physicians began to dominate social discourse in the nineteenth century they were also giving voice to, as Spongberg puts it, "moralistic assumptions about women created in social and religious discourse that already had a history of contradictory meanings." Further, Mary Poovey affirms that doctors used these assumptions as a rationalisation for specific medical treatments or to account for inexplicable disorders,[41] shedding some light on why many of the mental illnesses 'discovered' in the Victorian age were considered specific to women.[42]

From a long history of being perceived as innately sexually depraved, in the Victorian era women began to be regarded as naturally pure. A reconceptualization of female sexuality, based on feminine purity, coincided with the rise of the middle class in the mid-eighteenth century. In early medical writings the female body was seen as a variant of the male but from the late eighteenth century on doctors begin to view masculine and feminine bodies as oppositional, as indeed masculinity and femininity were also defined.

New ideas of women staking the moral high ground led to the assumption that sexual pleasure for women was unnatural. The virtuous Victorian woman was expected to

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[41]Mary Poovey, Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989)

[42]See Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Hysterical Woman: Sex Roles and Role Conflict in Nineteenth Century America." *Social Research*, 39 (Winter 1972) 652-678; Elaine Showalter, The Female Malady: Madness and English Culture 1830-1980 (New York: Pantheon, 1985).

be, or at least appear to be, asexual. Acton claimed that the female of every species was incapable of sexual desire as it was "annihilated" by the demand placed on her organs by pregnancy and breastfeeding; he added a "biological" component to the image of the prostitute as the embodiment of unnatural female sexuality.[43] Acton's medical gaze provided a pseudo-scientific basis for behaviour that came to be seen as increasingly aberrant, possibly unbalanced, and therefore dangerous.

Attitudes to female sexuality changed somewhat as the Victorian period came to a close and the work of sexologists and psychologists became better known. Many of the sex 'experts' advocated sexual reciprocity, often strictly within marriage. The rise of the mass press helped to popularise their ideas in the early decades of the twentieth century; and marriage guides, such as Marie Stopes's Married Love, also helped to disseminate knowledge of birth control.[44] A greater freedom with regards to birth control information did little to calm the moral panics of World War One, engendered by the proximity of large numbers of servicemen. As in previous centuries, fears arose of female sexuality out of control and again anxiety was concentrated on the possible impregnation of daughters. Despite these fears, during the war there was a noticeable decline in the

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[43]Mort, Dangerous Sexualities, 61.

[44]Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, 188-189. Publications such as these were certainly less influential in Newfoundland where, like Canada, birth control devices and birth-control information were restricted until 1969. Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot" 129. For a discussion of abortion and birth control methods in pre-1960's Newfoundland, see Crellin, Home Medicine, 57-62.

chaperonage of young women in social situations. In Britain the intense supervision of daughters was a cross-class phenomenon; as Judith Walkowitz remarks, "working-class parents certainly shared many of the same sentiments [as the middle class] toward female adolescents. Despite the fact they often sent their own daughters out to work at thirteen, they nonetheless took pains to restrict their social independence and sexual knowledge and experience."[45]

Other restrictions on heterosocial activity relaxed during the First World War; this accompanied "the decline of prostitution and the rise, as it was commonly put, of 'the amateur'" writes Jeffrey Weeks, adding that the "war appears to have accentuated a trend which was already present, to such an extent that prostitution ceased to be an integral and easily accepted feature of the social scene."[46] An alternate interpretation posits prostitution in Victorian society as unacceptable to a minority, but in the 1920s something that had become unacceptable to the majority. Feminist scholars studying resistance to the CD Acts would argue that prostitution, while a noticeable part of society, was not easily

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[45]Judith Walkowitz, "Male Vice and Female Virtue: Feminism and the Politics of Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality, Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson eds. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983) 427.

[46]Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, 207-208. In New York City prostitution became less socially acceptable at an earlier date. By the 1850s, according to one historian, "the era of tacit acceptance of prostitution was clearly over, even as the practice of prostitution continued unabated." Patricia Cline Cohen, The Murder of Helen Jewett, The Life and Death of a Prostitute in Nineteenth-Century New York, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998) 75.

accepted by Victorians reformers. Middle-class repealers stressed the bonds between all women as 'sisters' but "still felt ambivalent about prostitutes as women who manipulated their sexuality as a commodity."[47]

During The First World War high rates of VD among the troops were often blamed on "amateur prostitutes,"[48] whom Sheila Jeffreys describes as "young women engaging in sexual intercourse before or outside marriage or in some cases the latter practice combined with the acceptance of minor favours or presents from men."[49] As well as 'amateur prostitution', the early years of the war also featured moral panics over "war nymphomania" and "war babies."[50] War babies in Britain, according to Jeffreys, "became a *cause celebre* not so much because there was a small rise in the illegitimacy rate as because the government felt compelled, under wartime conditions, to reward these 'fallen' women with financial help, since they had fallen pregnant by the soldier heroes of the day."[51] When single mothers became eligible for state aid, the responsibility for illegitimate children spread from parents to taxpayers. The threat of a possible financial

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[47]Walkowitz, 'Male Vice and Female Virtue' 424.

[48]Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, 207.

[49]Sheila Jeffreys, The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality 1880-1930 (London: Pandora, 1985) 165.

[50]Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, 208.

[51]Jeffreys, The Spinster and Her Enemies, 166. In Britain the illegitimacy rate in 1919 was 30 per cent higher than the pre-war rate. Weeks, Sex, Politics and Society, 208.

burden may have contributed to increased public involvement, during and between the wars, in controlling the behaviour of young women. In Lucy Bland's deconstruction of the 'amateur prostitute', she presents her as the source of several moral panics during the First World War and the site of many cultural anxieties over venereal disease, illegitimacy, and unrestrained female sexuality.[52]

The moral panics of the First World War returned in slightly different guises in the 1940s''. The spectre of VD once again haunted the military and prostitutes were still cited as the main contagion, despite evidence to the contrary. The Canadian Army's 1944 "'Venereal Disease Control Inspection Report on Pacific Command' claimed that "'amateur pick-ups' were 'responsible for approximately 70% of the infections'." Yet two "1944 *Maclean's* articles on VD reiterated the notion 'that commercialized prostitution remains the primary source of venereal infection' [in Canada]." [53] In the United States, moral reformers took note of the difference between the First and Second World War generations; as D'Emilio and Freedman explain, "those of the First World War focused on the dangers of prostitution, by the 1940s'' it was the behavior of 'amateur girls' - popularly known as khaki-wackies, victory girls, and good-time Charlottes - that concerned moralists."[54] For women who singled out servicemen as sexual partners

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[52]Bland, "Guardians of the Race," 373-88.

[53]Pierson, "They're Still Women After All", 210.

[54]D'Emilio and Freedman, Intimate Matters, 260-261.

American Army doctors introduced the name "patriotutes", a name which indicates, as Ruth Roach Pierson notes, "how thin a line separated the fee-taking from the non-fee-taking female provider of sexual services."[55] General fears of increased sexual immorality, and rumours of "wartime promiscuity" were, as Beth Bailey writes, "given shape by alarmist portrayals of sexually active girls in the [American] national media."[56] A 1942 *Newsweek* article discussed "prostitution, both professional and casual, by girls anywhere from 12 on up - feminine camp followers, popularly dubbed 'Victory girls' and 'cuddle bunnies'."[57] In 1943 *Time* chorused that the "khaki-mad 'Victory girl' was a worse menace than the prostitute."[58]

The sexuality of young women and girls was put under the media's microscope, reflecting and enhancing "inchoate middle-class fears of gender inversion with all its implied familial and social dangers, that fostered a veritable 'moral panic' about youthful lower-class female sexuality" in the 1940s'[59]. Furthermore, during the Second World

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[55]Pierson, "They're Still Women After All" 211.

[56]Beth Bailey, Sex in the Heartland (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999) 25.

[57]"Rapid rise in Teen-Age Crime is Traced to Wartime Tension," *Newsweek*, Nov. 9, 1942 27-29, cited in Bailey, Sex in the Heartland, 25.

[58]"VD among the Amateurs," *Time*, March 29, 1943, 46, cited in Bailey, Sex in the Heartland, 25.

[59]Comacchio, "The History of Us" 193. While this is excerpted from a review of books covering periods, which end in 1929 and 1930, many of Comacchio's observations about young women in Ontario at this time are also relevant to the situation of women in

War, women in uniform were also highly suspect. In her study of the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC), Ruth Roach Pierson argues that enlistment was reduced by "slanderous stories" that CWAC members were prostitutes, pregnant or syphilitic.[60] Pierson also argues that the CWAC's assumption that "bad types" were to blame for high rates of VD and extramarital pregnancies is "a striking example of the survival into World War II of the sexual double standard's division of women into two rigidly separated categories, the pure and the impure, the virgin and the whore."[61] The image of the 'amateur prostitute'/Victory Girl was typically a young woman with little sexual self-control who had sex with servicemen; the label implies she is doing it for a reward other than money - but she is still suspected of having an ulterior motive. The 'amateur prostitute' of the first war was reborn in the second as the "non-commercial girl", and the term "Khaki-Wacky" revived the connection between highly-sexed and aberrant behaviours.[62] But in contrast to the victims of 'white slavery' - young women abducted or otherwise coerced into prostitution - Victory Girls were depicted as volunteers, indicative of the struggle for Newfoundland in the 1940s' sexual independence during the

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[60]Pierson, "They're Still Women After All" 171.

[61]Pierson, "They're Still Women After All" 179.

[62]One way these expressions were imported into Newfoundland was through reprinted articles in the *Evening Telegram*; see '"Khaki-Wacky" Girls Are Serious Problem' *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) August 19, 1943, 5; and 'Non-Commercial Girl is No. 1 Wartime Menace to VD Fight' *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Feb.29 1944, 2, which claims to quote extensively from a "current issue" of the *Woman's Home Companion.*

war.

Canada does not have a well-developed historiography of prostitution. James Gray's Red Lights on the Prairies provides a documentation of moral reform efforts on the prairies between settlement and the 1920s.[63] Gray also reveals Winnipeg's attempt at the medical regulation of prostitution. In 1909 the mayor approved a plan that, according to Strange and Loo, was "cooked up by the police chief and the city's madams, to establish an official red-light zone." They chose a working-class area, Point Douglas, "far away from the more salubrious sections of the city." Every two weeks the prostitutes were subjected to a medical exam, and forced to stop working if they were found to be infected with VD. Canadian moral reformers organized a nation-wide fight against regulated prostitution, that, while approved in Winnipeg "add[ed] momentum to the movement for harsher federal legislation against prostitution."[64]

Bay Ryley's study of Dawson City attempts to recreate the social context of gold rush and post-gold rush prostitution in the Yukon Territory. Despite its brevity, Gold Diggers of the Klondike delves into the importation of the CD Acts into pre-confederation Canada.[65] Ryley claims prostitution in Dawson was "tolerated and supervised rather than suppressed" from 1898 to 1900, exposed by the town's creation of

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[63]James Gray, Red Lights on the Prairies (Toronto: MacMillan, 1971)

[64]Strange and Loo, Making Good, 66-68.

[65]Bay Ryley, Gold Diggers of the Klondike: Prostitution in Dawson City Yukon, 1898-1908, (Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1997) 54.

a 'red-light district' and the officially sanctioned VD inspections of the prostitutes.[66] As Ryley demonstrates, Dawson's later efforts at moral reform were directed at "First Nations people, Chinese men, and "disreputable" women alike [who] were expected to stay beyond the limits of an orderly town."[67] Gamblers and Dreamers revisits this northern territory, as Charlene Porsild devotes a chapter to Dawson's "demi-monde." Porsild appears to make use of Ryley's early research and enhances it with her portrayal of the conflicts in a tough mining community over the regulation of vice, specifically gambling and prostitution.[68]

In studies of moral reform, recovery work among 'fallen women' emerges as a favourite occupation.[69] Constance Backhouse combines an analysis of nineteenth-century prostitution laws with case histories of prostitutes, and the moral reformers who attempted their "rescue."[70] "They're Still Women", among other works, discusses fears of prostitution, or fears of being labelled a prostitute; attitudes towards prostitutes are also

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[66]Ryley, Gold Diggers of the Klondike, 52.

[67]Ryley, Gold Diggers of the Klondike, 72.

[68]Charlene Porsild, Gamblers and Dreamers: Women, Men and Community in the Klondike (Vancouver, UBC Press, 1998) 99-136.

[69]See for example, Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water.

[70]Constance Backhouse, Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada, (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1991) 228-259.

integrated into other studies such as Jay Cassel's research on anti-VD legislation.[71] Andrée Lévesque's Making and Breaking the Rules, is one of several recent monographs to devote a section to prostitution as it coincides with related areas of investigation.[72] Lévesque's research is particularly interesting for two reasons: first, work on women in Quebec is often omitted from studies on Canadian women in the period 1919-1939, and second, she shows that the sex-trade in Quebec in this period was officially illegal but unofficially sanctioned with regulations including medical inspections. The prostitutes, to quote Lévesque, were "supervised and marginalized in their separate world, they occupied the place in the Quebec reality assigned to them by the authorities."[73] A discussion of the prevalence of prostitution or the risks associated with membership, real or illusory, in the sex-trade arise in many studies of the divide among women between "la norme et les deviantes."[74]

Legal issues surrounding Canadian prostitution have perhaps received more attention than the sex-trade itself. In his polemic on the regulation of sexuality, Gary Kinsman claims that legislation aimed at controlling VD after World War One set a

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[71]Pierson, "They're Still Women After All"; Cassel, The Secret Plague.

[72]Lévesque, Making and Breaking the Rules, esp. Chapter 7: 'Commercial Sex: Prostitution' 117-135.

[73]Lévesque, Making and Breaking the Rules. Quote: 135.

[74]See Strange, Toronto's Girl Problem esp. Chapter 3: 'Ruined Girls and Fallen Women' 53-88; Quote is from the original title of Lévesque, Making and Breaking the Rules.

"precedent...for State intervention into the realm of the body, desire, and pleasure," including prostitution.[75] John McLaren's study of Canadian anti-prostitution laws, suggests that the white slavery panic of the 1890s led to the 1913 amendments to the 1892 Criminal Code. The amended Code gave the police greater powers and allowed for corporal punishment for a second conviction for 'procuring a female for the purposes of prostitution.'[76] These new measures were aimed at shifting responsibility, according to Strange and Loo, toward "those who exploited and profited from prostitutes' labour."[77]

As a relative newcomer to confederation, Newfoundland is not included in studies of prostitution or early prostitution regulation in Canada. Cullum and Baird note that in the 1890's both male and female keepers of "houses of ill-fame" in Newfoundland were given sentences of three months hard labour.[78] Similar sentences were delivered in the 1940s''. Little evidence survives of the sex-trade in St. John's, but the local paper gives some clues as to how the trade was conducted as it communicates the concerns of the

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[75]Kinsman, The Regulation of Desire, 91.

[76]John McLaren, 'Chasing the Social Evil: Moral Fervour and the Evolution of Canada's Prostitution Laws, 1867-1917.' *Canadian Journal of Law and Society*, 1, 1 (1986) 125-165; McLaren, "'White Slavers': The Reform of Canada's Prostitution Laws and Patterns of Enforcement, 1900-1920." Paper for Presentation at Meeting of American Society for Legal History, University of Toronto, October 23-25. 1986.

[77]Strange and Loo, Making Good, 69.

[78]Cullum and Baird, "Women and Law" 103.

justice system.[79]

One recurring theme in anti-prostitution literature is the possible corruption of young women moving to urban centres from rural areas.[80] It appears that this was also a concern in wartime St. John's. In 1941 two St. John's "housewives" were charged with keeping disorderly houses. One of the women was fined twenty-five dollars and the other 150 dollars; the reason for the large difference in the two fines was not given, but the *Evening Telegram* reported the apprehensions of the Judge who

> in imposing sentence rebuked the defendants in the strongest possible terms not only because they corrupted young girls coming here from the outports and lead[ing] lives like cattle but also because of the betrayal of their husbands who were away and their total disregard for the upbringing of their children. His Honour noted that there had been six others convicted and fined within the past week or two.[81]

Cases involving children were taken particularly seriously; neighbours would occasionally give evidence against the accused.[82] In 1941 a George Street "housewife" was convicted of "allowing her two children to associate with disreputable persons and by

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[79]As almost no trial transcripts from this period survive, most of the fragments used are from the 'Magistrate's Court' column of the *Evening Telegram* (St. John's).

[80]See Strange, Toronto's Girl Problem, esp. Chapter 5. 'Good Times and Bad Girls' 116-143.

[81]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) March 6, 1941, 14.

[82]Parallels exist between 1940's St. John's and Victorian England, where, some "poor neighbors" regarded prostitution as a "threatening and illegitimate form of social behaviour" while others understood and tolerated prostitution as a female survival strategy. Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society, 197.

so doing contributed to their becoming neglected."[83] Later that month another housewife was charged with keeping a disorderly house. Her neighbours testified, "there was so much traffic and noise in the house all night long that they could not sleep" and "the two children of the accused were being scandalized." Her sentence was six weeks in prison or a fifty-dollar fine.[84]

Family members would also give evidence against the accused. In February 1941 a couple was charged with keeping a "disorderly home." In court the husband claimed that he and his wife were separated and that he "only went to the house as a friend." The case against the husband was dismissed and his wife was sentenced to three months in prison.[85] One month later a St. John's couple was given six months each for keeping a disorderly house.[86] Their seventeen year-old daughter was convicted later for the same offence and released on a one hundred dollar bond. She broke this bond when the police discovered "bottles of liquor with defaced labels" in the house she shared with her fifteen year-old sister. According to the police, "soldiers and civilians frequented the place at all hours and caused no end of annoyance to residents of the locality." A twenty-three year-

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[83]The accused was put under a 200 dollar bond. *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Feb. 13, 1941, 4.

[84]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Feb. 17, 1941, 4.

[85]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Feb. 17, 1941, 4.

[86]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Feb. 17, 1941, 4.

old "labourer", who claimed to be the fiancé of the fifteen year-old sister, was charged as a "frequenter of the place." The next day, after the man's father testified about the amount of time his son spent with the two sisters, the accused was convicted and fined ten dollars and put under a one hundred dollar bond for "living on the earnings of a disorderly house." The Assistant Chief of Police conducted the prosecution and claimed, "this was the first case of its kind to be brought before His Honour and was part of an effort to stamp out a growing evil."[87]

Except as proprietors, men were very rarely charged in connection with disorderly houses. Two Canadian naval ratings who tried to escape after a raid on an Adelaide Street house were one of the few exceptions. In 1942 the *Evening Telegram* reported, "there was a lot of noise coming from the place and when the Sergeant tried to gain entrance he found the door closed with an iron bar and he had to force his way in. Empty rum and beer bottles were strewn over the place." Both ratings were found hiding and fined five dollars each as loose and disorderly persons.[88] Disorderly houses were also found outside St. John's. The police raided a house in Broad Cove in 1940, and the owner was charged with "keeping a house resorted to for immoral purposes." The police claimed they found "city girls and Norwegian sailors staying there." One of the women gave evidence: she said they went to the house on Saturday, stayed until Sunday, returned for the Monday

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[87] *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) March 22, 1941, 4.

[88] *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Nov. 28, 1942, 3.

holiday and paid eighteen dollars "for the accommodation."[89]

'Disorderly' women were arrested on a variety of charges and given fines ranging from one to twenty-five dollars. Some women spent time in jail; many of these were young women picked up on vagrancy charges who may have been homeless. Younger women appear to have been treated with more sympathy by the court or the police, but they were also more likely to be remanded for a psychological exam. In 1941 the *Evening Telegram* reported that a 21 year-old woman "makes a habit of sheltering at the lock up and the guard was instructed not to allow her to continue the practice."[90] The previous year, a suspended sentence was given to a 17 year-old "school-girl" on a loose and disorderly charge after an "examination regarding her mental condition." Judge Browne, who delivered the sentence, "was very outspoken in condemnation of the conduct of youths who frequent the avenue after park and swimming pool hours. The conditions, he said, were shocking and would not be tolerated in any other community."[91]

Youth could also work against women whose behaviour violated community norms. During the hearing of two "young girls" arrested at 2:30 a.m. for disorderly conduct, the prosecution claimed "the girls have caused their parents considerable trouble

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[89]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) July 10, 1940, 5.

[90]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Feb 14, 1941, 4.

[91]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Aug. 12, 1940, 10.

by remaining out all night."[92] In 1942 three young women were convicted of vagrancy and remanded to the care of the probation officer. The local paper reported that two of the young women were not from St. John's. One had been sent back home to Bell Island after a vagrancy conviction the week before; on questioning she claimed "her mother sent her back to the city."[93]

The court was much harsher in its treatment of repeat offenders or women who resisted arrest. In 1940 a "housewife from New Gower Street" was fined eight dollars for being drunk in a public place, disorderly conduct, and assaulting the police. The constable reported that three women using bad language and "some foreign sailors" were on the King's Wharf after midnight. After he advised them to go home, one of the women "threatened to knock his brains out with a bottle of beer"; and after she was placed in a cell, the accused "gave the constable a blow in the face with her fist."[94] Two women, described in the *Evening Telegram* as "old offenders", were fined five dollars each for being loose and disorderly in the East End Taxi office at four a.m. and were told by the judge if they appeared before him again they would be fined twenty-five dollars.[95]

Women picked up men or arranged to get aboard ships for the purpose of robbery,

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[92]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Aug 4, 1941, 5.

[93]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) September 21, 1942, 3.

[94]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) July 25, 1940, 4.

[95]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) January 27, 1942, 3.

and it appears that stealing was taken more seriously by the court than prostitution. In 1940, 24 year-old Elizabeth A. was charged with stealing seventy dollars from a Portuguese sailor. In court the sailor, via an interpreter, said that Elizabeth "met him at a Chinese restaurant and invited him for a walk. She took him to George's street where the robbery occurred."[96] Also in 1940 two women, previously arrested for various offences including loose and disorderly, were charged with robbing an engineer aboard a Norwegian ship. 21 year-old Margaret P. was charged with the theft of 200 dollars. Her companion, Mabel C., charged with stealing the engineer's watch, chose to have her trial before the Supreme Court.[97]

Newfoundland legislation forbade a woman "not being a passenger or employed on board the ship or a relative of the master or any officer or member of the crew, and not being able to give a satisfactory account of her presence on board" to be aboard ship. Women on ships illegally were to be considered "loose and disorderly persons" who could be arrested without a warrant. Masters who allowed women to be aboard ship could also be charged.[98] During the war, several women were removed from ships for disorderly behaviour, stealing, and occasionally as stowaways.[99] Women were also frequently

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[96]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Sept. 30, 1940, 4.

[97]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Sept 30, 1940, 4.

[98]Revised Statutes of Newfoundland 1952 Chapter 72, Section 26 'Females on Foreign Ships'.

[99]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Feb.16, 1943, 3.

removed from taverns and Chinese cafes.

Chinese business owners not only had to struggle with immigration restrictions[100] and the Public Health and Welfare Department, they were also frequently the victims of physical violence.[101] In May 1941 three soldiers were charged with robbery with violence at the laundry of Dew York. Later that same day three Canadian soldiers were charged with disorderly conduct. They were "trying to force a way into the laundry to get at the Chinaman responsible for the arrest of two of their pals and an American."[102] The next month two Canadian soldiers were fined ten dollars each for an assault on a Chinese cafe owner.[103] In Bishop's Falls another Chinese cafe owner was also assaulted and robbed by two Canadian soldiers who later were sentenced to nine months in prison.[104] Chinese cafe owners also witnessed a great deal of drunk and disorderly behaviour in their restaurants, usually involving servicemen. Late in 1941 the window in Sing Lee's cafe was smashed by a Canadian soldier who made "some disparaging remarks about Newfoundlanders." A

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[100]See Robert Hong, "'To Take Action Without Delay': Newfoundland Chinese Immigration Act of 1906," unpublished Honour's thesis, Department of History, Memorial University of Newfoundland, January 1987.

[101]For example: robbery by man with a revolver of Chinese cafe owner, *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) June 11 1940, 10; breaking and entering and robbery of Chinese cafe by three youths, *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Jan.7, 1941, 6.

[102]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) May 26, 1941, 4.

[103]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) June 5, 1941, 4.

[104]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) May 10, 1941, 7.

Newfoundland naval rating challenged the soldier to a fight outside. "He refused, and got a 'clink' which made him see stars and sent him flying through the glass." Both men were given very small fines and lectured by the Judge.[105]

Cafe owner Tom Ping was knifed after a quarrel with a nineteen year-old employee, Mary Burke, who said she had been "keeping company with him for three years." Mary Burke was sentenced to five months imprisonment.[106] One of Tom Ping's cafes, the Green Lantern, was repeatedly visited by the police in October 1940, and up to six "undesirable girls" were removed in one evening. Removal seems to have had little effect on the women as they frequently returned the next night. "No difficulty was experienced in removing these girls " the police reported, adding that "it is very noticeable that they are found in only this place almost any time the Police visit it. On nearly all occasions they are accompanied by foreign sailors...which suggests, of course, that the purpose of their visits to this beer Parlour is to gain the attention of any sailor who might come their way."[107]

Tom Ping's cafes were notorious for both their unsanitary conditions and as places of assignation. The Health Inspector wrote, "these places have been conducted under very dirty conditions for the past year...The whole trouble is that this Chinaman

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[105]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Dec.29, 1941, 3.

[106]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Feb. 7, 1941, 6.

[107]Royal Newfoundland Constabulary (RNC) Report, Oct. 30, 1940. PANL GN13/2/B-240.

conducts a business in which he caters mostly to foreign seamen and their lady friends." The Inspector recommended that "a license be refused to this man personally, and that no licence be given him for any restaurant..."[108] A few years later another of Tom Ping's restaurants, the Silver Ball Cafe, was singled out in a police report as "an unfit place to prepare and sell food to the public." The constable claimed that the licences granted to this and Tom Ping's other establishment, the Paramount Lunch, "should be cancelled immediately." In his visits to Chinese restaurants, the constable said he "found them filled to capacity, mostly with persons of foreign nationality and several girls who are known to some of the Police as common prostitutes."[109]

Chinese cafe owners, although they operated licensed establishments and there is no evidence that any were arrested during the war on disorderly house charges, continued to be persecuted for the behaviour of their clientele. At a 1940 Municipal Council meeting, the Chief of Police brought a report on fifteen Chinese cafes which "pointed out that they [the cafes] were fitted with barricades and stalls which prevented a clear view of the interiors", according to an *Evening Telegram* article. The report also said the cafes "were frequented by girls whose purpose seemed to be to attract the attention of foreign visitors" and recommended the removal of the partitions. One city councillor called for the drafting of new restaurant legislation; it was, he said, "the duty of the State to protect

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[108]Letter from General Health Inspector to the Secretary for Public Health and Welfare, January 4, 1941. PANL GN 13/2/B-240.

the young women of the city."[110]

Restaurants and other establishments that served alcohol were popular places to meet servicemen. For couples who socialized in these places, the partitions and booths may have afforded them the only privacy they could find. However some observers found the behaviour of men and women together in cafes objectionable. Booths, especially the small ones, encouraged "indecent behaviour" according to one government inter-departmental memo.[111] Ironically, using the 'protection' of women as a rationale for removing the booths could move couples to less public spaces where women would be more vulnerable to assault.

In 1943 the government tried to enforce that part of the Food and Drug Act which forbade booths in licensed restaurants. But Chinese cafes were not alone in having booths, so did the restaurant in the government-owned Newfoundland Hotel.[112] When the Commissioner for Finance heard that Regulation 89 was going to be enforced, he complained that "a lot of money" had been spent redecorating the Newfoundland Hotel Restaurant and its cubicles were "extremely popular and similar to those in established in other high class restaurants in Canada." The Commissioner pointed out that "there is all

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[109]Report from Sgt. White RNC, Dec. 16, 1945. PANL GN 13/2/B-240.

[110]'Chinese Cafes Subject of Complaint' *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Oct. 18, 1940, 16.

[111]PANL GN38 S6/5/2-5.

[112]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 17.

the difference in the world between a spacious well-lighted and well-conducted restaurant like that of the Newfoundland Hotel and the unsavoury dives run by the Chinamen." He suggested an amendment to the regulation that would allow booths in a restaurant that had obtained in writing the special permission of the Commissioner.[113] Realizing that this "special permission" clause was highly discriminatory, three Chinese cafe owners formed an association, hired a local lawyer, and fought the enforcement of the amendment.[114]

The Commissioner tried to create the impression of a wide gulf separating the Newfoundland Hotel, whose restaurant kitchen had been inspected by both the Canadian and American military authorities and judged acceptable, and the Chinese cafes, which along with most of St. John's restaurants were sometimes off-limits for military personnel.[115] The Public Health and Welfare Department tried to use health concerns to enforce regulations against the Chinese cafes, but it seems both the cafes and the government-owned hotel restaurant could be considered places of assignation. A St. John's social worker and former Matron of the Salvation Army home for unwed mothers, Rhoda Sainsbury, frequently went to cafes to retrieve women having drinks with

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[113]Letter to Herbert Puddester from the Commissioner for Finance, Sept. 15, 1943. PANL GN38 S6/5/2-5.

[114]Memo from A. Bishop to Secretary, Public Health and Welfare, Sept. 11, 1943. PANL GN38 S6/5/2-5.

[115]In 1941 the US Army placed sixteen St. John's cafes and thirteen beer shops "off limits" due to unsanitary conditions. Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 155.

servicemen (often at a family member's request) and one of the places she swooped down on was the restaurant in the Newfoundland Hotel. In Katherine Anne Ling's study of Newfoundland servicewives she notes that mothers-in-law were particularly prone to informing on their misbehaving daughters-in-laws. Some mothers wrote directly to sons fighting overseas; others went to government officials or the Department of Public Health and Welfare. Some husbands, according to Ling, "demanded the immediate cessation of their allotments and family allowances to their now 'undeserving' wives."[116]

Gossip and rumour could also hurt business owners with sexually suspicious customers. Newfoundland's Aliens Act prohibited the entry of persons living off the avails of prostitution.[117] This legislation was used in the 1920s in an attempt to deport two Chinese men suspected of operating a brothel out of their cafe, as testimonies implicated them in brothel-keeping. "Night after night this cafe is resorted to by common prostitutes and other low-down characters, particularly foreigners. Their conduct and language is of the vilest kind - people avoid my place of business...I believe that this cafe is nothing more or less than a den of prostitution," the jeweller who owned the neighbouring shop said in his police deposition. And after a member of the constabulary reported that "[M]any common prostitutes have visited the basement with men for

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[116]Ling, "A Share of the Sacrifice" 220-221; quote 221.

[117]The Aliens Act, also passed in 1906, defined deportation procedures and allowed for the expulsion of immigrants who did not comply with the law or who couldnot support themselves or their dependants. Bassler, Sanctuary Denied, 55.

immoral purposes," the proprietor of the Victoria cafe and one of his employees were both threatened with deportation.[118]

Rhoda Sainsbury was particularly suspicious of the Chinese and accused them of being responsible for a number of single mothers. In her letter to the Secretary of the Department of Public Health and Welfare, Sainsbury mentioned a young woman arriving in a car driven by a Chinese man who also had a four-month old child at the home. "No person in this country will adopt a child whose father was a Chinaman" she said in her letter, and Sainsbury claimed that if the situation continued "the place will be over-run with Chinese children."[119] As the Chinese made up one-tenth of one per-cent of the population, it was highly unlikely. Nevertheless, in her letter Sainsbury combined fears of race suicide with an accusation of decadent sexuality - two aspects at the heart of the white slave panic.

In the 1880s Newfoundland like Britain passed an act aimed at controlling white slavery.[120] An official colony of Britain since 1824, Newfoundland had adopted a modified version of the British criminal code. The 1906 immigration legislation also

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[118]Charlie Dean and Hong Yep were ordered to be expelled before Jan 15, 1928. PANL MG 364, the Margaret Chang papers, Box 1.

[119]Letter from R. Sainsbury to the secretary, Department of Public Health and Welfare, December 27, 1940. PANL GN38 S6/1/3-26.

[120]In 1886 Newfoundland passed 'An Act to Punish Seduction and Like Offences and Make Further Provision for the Protection of Women and Girls'. Kealey, Pursuing Equality, 237.

copied British law.[121] Influenced by the white slavery panic, the elite of Newfoundland society may have feared that immigration could result in a mixed race population. Ironically, efforts to prevent Chinese females from immigrating to Newfoundland may have increased the number of Chinese/white marriages. The 1906 "Act respecting the Immigration of Chinese Persons (the Chinese Immigration Act) placed a "head tax" on Chinese immigrants.[122] Bassler claims this legislation was prompted by the colonial elite's fear of "uncontrollable social changes" and blames the media for alarming the public with exaggerated stories of aliens using Newfoundland as a "'halfway-house' for reaching the United States or Canada." It also portrayed the Chinese as pagans "importing leprosy, opium, and criminality, forming 'the cruellest and most devilish secret societies,' and living in filthy and subhuman squalor."[123] According to Bassler this "inaugurated the practice - though no authorization existed for this in the act - to limit the local Chinese community to fewer than 200 members and to exclude Chinese women altogether."[124] Only eighteen Chinese women lived in Newfoundland in 1945 as compared to 146 Chinese men. The majority of the men were married, and, of the forty-five men who were

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[121]Newfoundland's Minister of Justice "admitted that the entire bill was a verbatim copy of an act introduced in Britain in 1905." Bassler, Sanctuary Denied, 55.

[122]Cullum and Baird, "A Woman's Lot," 128.

[123]Bassler, Sanctuary Denied, 56.

[124]Bassler, Sanctuary Denied, 56.

single when they immigrated, ten married Newfoundland women.[125] A few women also lived with Chinese men without marriage possibly because the men had wives in China.[126]

Unlike the majority of west-coast Chinese, who largely lived in Chinatowns at least until the 1940s'', the Chinese in St. John's never lived in a separate district. Many of the cafe owners lived beside white neighbours above their cafes on Water St. employing white domestics from the outports.[127] No legislation prevented Chinese/white relationships and cafe owners could employ white waitresses without protest, unlike in much of Canada. This type of legislation, known collectively as the 'White Women's Labour Law', was enacted in several Canadian provinces. It is significant, Constance Backhouse writes, as it marks "the first overt racial recognition of 'whiteness' in Canadian law."[128] As well as "test-case prosecutions," Backhouse documents resistance to the 1912 'An Act to Prevent the Employment of Female Labour in Certain Capacities, by Saskatchewan's Chinese community.[129] She also notes the longevity of this racist

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[125]Aggregate Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1945. PANL MG 364, Margaret Change papers, Box 1.

[126]Nominal Census 1945 Census of Newfoundland and Labrador.

[127]1945 Census of Newfoundland and Labrador (Nominal).

[128]Constance Backhouse, Colour-Coded: A Legal History of Racism in Canada, 1900-1950 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) 136.

[129]Backhouse, Colour-Coded, Chapter 5, 'Mesalliances' and the 'Menace to White Women's Virtue': Yee Clun's Opposition to the White Women's Labour Law,

legislation; "Manitoba was the first to repeal its act in 1940, with Ontario following in 1947, but British Columbia let the statute stand until 1968. The Saskatchewan statute, veiled in racially-neutral language, was not repealed until 1969."[130]

In 1919 British Columbia passed the 'Women and Girl's Protection Act' to prevent white women from working for Chinese employers. The act was only enforced "sporadically" until a Chinese restaurant owner was accused of the murder of a female employee in 1931. Through the late 1930s the city government tried to enforce the 1919 Act, but the waitresses joined with the Chinese Benevolent Association in protesting against it by hiring a lawyer and marching on city hall. In 1939, as a concession, the city allowed white women to work in Chinese-owned restaurants that served "English meals to English customers."[131] Kay Anderson argues that the separateness engendered by the creation of Chinatowns reinforced the idea that the Chinese could not assimilate into the dominant society; in addition, the taint of decadent sexuality which was behind British Columbia's 'Women and Girl's Protection Act' put up a barrier reinforcing the separation of Chinese and white communities.[132] A physical separation is clearly not a requirement;

Saskatchewan, 1924, 132-172; quote: 147.

[130]Backhouse, Colour-Coded, 172.

[131]Kay Anderson, Vancouver's Chinatown (Montreal: McGill, Queen's University Press, 1991) 159-163.

[132]Kay Anderson, "The Idea of Chinatown: The Power of Place and Institutional Practice in the Making of a Racial Category," in Challenge of Modernity: A Reader in Post-Confederation Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill - Ryerson, 1992) 156-186.

Canadian cities, which had no Chinatowns, also passed segregationist legislation. "Legal measures to ensure the separation of Chinese men and white women...were commonplace" in 1926 when Sudbury passed segregationist legislation, according to Karen Dubinsky.[133]

Due to its largely homogeneous population, racism in Newfoundland has not prompted much discussion. An exception is Bassler's research on the wartime restriction of Jewish immigrants, which also covers Newfoundland's anti-Asian policies.[134] Some reminiscences of wartime Newfoundland also obscure the historical record. In her brief account of the Caribou Hut, a serviceman's hostel in St. John's, Margaret Duley recalls its policies as colour-blind; she claims the Hut represented "a new order where English... Canadian, and American soldiers and sailors, an occasional dark-skinned visitor, were milling around..."[135] The Caribou Hut, which "exemplified the gallant spirit of wartime St. John's" also represented the position black servicemen had in 1940s'' Newfoundland.[136] They may have been welcome at the hostel but overnight accommodation was still difficult to find. "Many people are very averse to taking in 'aliens' or coloured men in their private boarding houses" wrote the chairman of the

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[133]Dubinsky, Improper Advances, 139.

[134]Bassler, Sanctuary Denied, 56-63.

[135]Duley, The Caribou Hut, 36.

[136]Neary, Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 121.

customs department.[137]

Wartime race relations were reflected on in 1950 when the Attorney General wrote to General Whitten of the U.S. Forces in response to a "confidential enquiry from Major McCarry as to the attitude the Newfoundland Government would take were coloured troops to be stationed in Newfoundland." Newfoundland, he wrote, "has no race problem and...there is no anti-negro feeling here. Indeed, when the Troop Ship Alexander arrived some ten years ago she was crewed largely by negroes and I do not remember that there was any feeling of resentment." Nevertheless, the Attorney General tried to dissuade the Americans from sending "negro troops." With echoes of the white slave panic, anxiety over inter-racial sexuality arose. Many Newfoundland women had married American soldiers, the Attorney General wrote, adding that he did "not know the attitude in the United States of mixed marriages...but our understanding is that such unions are not to be desired." Newfoundland lacked a "coloured population," therefore he feared "problems of racial inter-marriage or the influx of illegitimate children of mixed breeding which might create a very serious problem for us in future years."[138] These sentiments coupled with Newfoundland's restrictive immigration laws raise the possibility that as in Hawaii during the Second World War, the possibility of inter-racial relationships and the

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[137]Letter from chairman of the customs department to Puddester, PANL GN13/1/B Box 50-28, 'Proposed Annex to General Hospital for hospitalisation of men of Merchant Marine.'

[138]Letter dated July 26, 1950. Margaret Chang Papers, PANL MG 364-1.

resulting mixed-race children played a large part in the drafting of further immigration legislation.[139]

Despite their relative absence in Newfoundland historiography, the presence of prostitutes in police reports and the frequent references to "women of the town" in the Magistrates Court column indicate that the keeping of brothels and shebeens flourished in the 1940s''. There is also some evidence that the presence of the military sustained the sex-trade long after the war's end.[140] The history of prostitution exposes its links with the military, but the 'amateur prostitutes' of World War One and the 'Victory Girls' of World War Two are not the 'campfollowers' of earlier conflicts. Not dependent on income from commercial sex they more closely resemble the "casual prostitutes" of the nineteenth-century, young women who used prostitution to supplement their very low earnings.[141]

Large numbers of young women free from parental observation working in domestic service in St. John's prompted fears that they would drift into sexual relationships with servicemen. It appears that they did not see themselves as 'casual' or

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[139]Racism in Second World War Hawaii, and restrictions on black servicemen are detailed in Bailey and Farber, The First Strange Place, esp. Chapter 4. 'Strangers in a Strange Land' 133-166.

[140]"Convict Airman in Bootlegging: Six Girls Testify in Bawdy House Charge" *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Jan. 28, 1955, 3.

[141]In nineteenth-century New York, "[c]asual prostitution, exchanging sexual favors with male escorts for money or food and drink...may have been one way young women on the town got by." Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1789-1860 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986) 176.

'amateur' prostitutes. The young women might receive money or other gifts from men, but if they became pregnant they would almost certainly expect financial help to support the child. To this end they might take the father to court to force support payments, as Margaret P. did in 1948. As Margaret P. was unsure which man was the father of her child, she sued four former lovers for support. She admitted that the men usually met her in her mother's shop where she worked and paid her one dollar. Margaret also testified that she had sex with two of the defendants on the same evening. One of the defendants said he had gone out with Margaret on four consecutive nights but quit when he saw her with other men. Another defendant said Margaret "encouraged me to have connections with her" and also said "they have a name for the girl The Black Panther."[142]

Margaret P. was only in her teens, but youth, as well as parental objections, did not prevent sexual experimentation or advances from servicemen. In 1943 "a Canadian naval rating was sentenced to six months imprisonment for an offence against a young girl resident of Bay Bulls [a community near St. John's]." The girl was fourteen and brought the sailor to her parents' home, the mother said in her testimony, where he was told that "the daughter was not allowed to keep his company." Further, her mother said she "did all she could and did not allow her daughter out in the night."[143] Margaret admitted upon questioning to being a prostitute, but it is quite possible she did not think

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[142]Margaret's mother and her midwife also testified in the case. PANL GN5/3/A/1 -enquiries 1948.

of herself that way before the trial. Perhaps, she saw similarities between herself and the young women in Helen Porter's memoir of her youth in wartime St. John's:

> [s]ome of them were married, with husbands overseas, but they were taking full advantage of their freedom. None of them would ever have admitted to being prostitutes. They would just have said they were very popular with men.[144]

St. John's, Dawson City, Montreal and Hawaii are thousands of kilometres apart and studies done of these places span over half a century; and yet some similar themes emerge in investigations of prostitution in these four locations: the medical/moral dimension of prostitution control and the focus on 'dangerous foreigners' by moral reformers. Moral panics, especially those motivated by fears of inter-racial sex, give new impetus to reform movements; and while those in authority may support the elimination of vice, the community is generally satisfied by a geographical limitation of 'red-light' districts. The police also tend to favour regulation over a complete crackdown, although its policy aimed at the containment of prostitution is almost certain to aggravate existing inter-ethnic tensions; this is particularly evident in the case of Hawaii which had to deal with a multi-racial society of its own visited by both black and white servicemen. St. John's experienced a similar tension between the its white and Chinese communities, especially over the Chinese cafes used as 'pick-up' places. The experience of Chinese

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[143] *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Nov. 26, 1943, 3.

restaurant owners in St. John's shows them to be under suspicion and occasionally under surveillance.

Prostitutes, and other women suspected of promiscuous or sexually deviant behaviour, have been stigmatised since ancient times. Shannon Bell argues that in the classical age Solon's legal code divided women into wives and mothers or prostitutes, and began the "process of othering" the prostitute body.[145] The next chapter shows women suspected of engaging in prostitution, as well as single mothers, depicted as "sources of [VD] infection." The 'grid of language' ensnared the prostitute and spread out to catch women not engaged in the sex-trade, with the invention of the 'amateur prostitute' and the Second World War's 'Amateur Girl.' Any hint of promiscuity was also enough to brand a servicewoman a member of the sex trade. The discourse of disease surrounding the prostitute employed the vocabulary of contamination to reinforce the image of sex-workers as social dangers, and stretched to slander all sexually suspicious women.

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[144]Porter, Below the Bridge, 89.

[145]Bell, Reading, Writing and Rewriting; Solon: 24; othering: 2.

Chapter 5

"an establishment for delinquent and diseased females"

The Incarceration of the Sexually Suspicious

Take a key and lock her up,
Lock her up, lock her up.
Take a key and lock her up,
My fair lady.
"London Bridge is Falling Down"

The British contagious diseases (CD) ordinances were the model for VD legislation throughout the British Empire, including Newfoundland. The CD Acts are regarded as nineteenth-century legislation; however, a survey of twentieth-century VD control shows that the spirit of those laws, which provoked so many Victorian feminists, survived while only the name died. Newfoundland's VD legislation was enacted in the 1930s, but only in the 1940s did the forced treatment of infected women become a harsh reality. Since sex became a commodity, the body of the prostitute has been submerged in discourses of disease and danger. Evidence gathered during the war, that most servicemen were not infected by a sex worker, should have deflected some of the liability for the spread of VD away from prostitution; instead the terminology of the sex-trade was extended to young sexually-active women. 'Promiscuous' women and girls were targeted as 'sources' of infection; women with more than one illegitimate child and delinquent girls were singled out as particularly suspicious.

This chapter focuses on the debate over VD control, and how the medical/moral discourse among politicians, physicians and other 'authority figures' moved from private to public as new information, with the aid of the media, entered general discourse. Young women searching for soldiers, sailors and sexual space were drawn into the web of discourse previously dominated by sex workers; the 'sex delinquent' and 'delinquent girl' became synonymous. The moral decline of young people was equated with a decline of society. As Mary Louis Adams observes: "[d]uring the Second World War, delinquency had often been taken up as a symbol of social fallout from global conflict."[1]

In a wartime article on delinquency, the *Globe and Mail* quoted a well-known Toronto Rabbi, Abraham Feinberg, "Juvenile Delinquency, not syphilis, is the crucial social disease of our civilization." Feinberg employs a certain elasticity with the term 'social disease' and compares delinquency to syphilis, immediately after a 'cure' for that condition was thought to have been found.[2] This section studies the motivating forces behind the creation of Newfoundland's first home for delinquent girls, strangely situated in the former lock hospital that was closed after the introduction of penicillin to the colony. It argues that one group of sexual suspects replaced another, as anxiety over the sexually-precocious built up during the war – with the influence of the media - while venereal disease became less of a threat.

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[1]Mary Louise Adams, The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997) 55.

[2]'Delinquency Seen as Main Ill' *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) 13 Mar. 1944; cited in

Four months before the first one thousand American troops sailed into St. John's harbour, a Board of Experts appointed by the Secretary of the Navy arrived in Newfoundland searching for promising base sites. They were also very concerned about disease and provisions for medical care, and thus the board included two physicians who prepared a detailed document.[3] In this report the doctors comment that government-funded medical facilities were "more effectively developed administratively than in any part of the United States." However, as one of their main concerns was the prevalence of venereal diseases on the island, they were very disappointed in the sorry state of treatment facilities. Assistant Surgeon General R.A. Vanderlehr claimed St. John's clinic was "the worst such treatment centre he had 'seen in a period of twenty years in the United States, the British Isles and on the continent of Europe'."[4]

The report concludes that the absence of organized prostitution suggests it could be greatly reduced. The authors hoped the military would make every effort to prevent a segregated district from developing in St. John's; this type of district, they wrote, would "make it possible for a potentially or actually infected woman to expose during a single night many times the number of men that the street-walker can...[and] would certainly

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Adams, The Trouble with Normal, 54.

[3]"Report of a Survey on Civil Health Services as they Relate to the Health of Armed Forces in Newfoundland," an edited version of this report appears in Candow, "An American Report."

[4]"Report of a Survey..." cited in Peter Neary, "Venereal Disease," 141.

aggravate the present venereal disease problem."[5] Among the other problems which received comment in the report, such as sloppy record-keeping at the VD clinic, the authors characterised St. John's streetwalkers as "young, ignorant and irresponsible women"[6] - placing the blame for the spread of VD on the most vulnerable. A contrasting report by another US army medical officer one year later described the previous effort as "alarmist", but added, "there are girls on the street who have an interest in sex other than financial."[7] It deflects some of the liability away from prostitutes, while insinuating that promiscuous young women were a noticeable presence in St. John's.

The gendered nature of VD control in Newfoundland arises in the medical discourse concerning potential carriers of sexually-transmitted diseases. It is also evident in the debate over proper facilities for the treatment of women, particularly those suspected of engaging in prostitution, and facilities for men, especially servicemen. Women had no voice in this debate; as Peter Neary points out, the Department of Public Health and Welfare, "like the Newfoundland government generally, was a male preserve." The 'maleness' of Newfoundland's "policy makers" led them to contemplate, but reject the idea of, confining infected men; according to Neary, "diseased women were considered primarily responsible for the spread of VD. Female prostitutes were the

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[5]"Report of a Survey..." cited in Candow, "An American Report," 232-233.

[6]"Report of a Survey..." cited in Neary, "Venereal Disease," 142.

[7]"Sanitary Survey of Newfoundland, March 29th-April 8th 1941" cited in Neary "Venereal Disease," 142.

'reservoir of infection.' Women, of course, had no say in planning the policies..."[8]

As with so many of the public health reforms of this era, VD control policies in Newfoundland mirror those in other parts of the British Empire. The gendered aspects of these policies also reflect 'the mother country', but it appears that during the war years Newfoundland was leaning toward North America and choosing Canada or the United States as role models. In terms of gender and sexuality, to quote Neary, "Newfoundland has been part of the main rather than an island unto itself." Comparing Newfoundland's VD control program with those found elsewhere shows that its policies were in line with those of the 'main' even if its budget was not.[9]

The first report prepared by the US army medical corps recognized that the largest public health problem in Newfoundland was tuberculosis, which in 1939 caused 191 deaths per 100,000 population. However, due to the military's preoccupation with the vulnerability of the troops to venereal diseases, the report devoted more space to syphilis and gonorrhoea than to the number one disease among Newfoundlanders.[10] No accurate records of the rate of syphilitic infection existed for St. John's, but antenatal tests on "women in the lower and middle classes" showed an infection rate of approximately eight percent. The report also notes a much lower rate of seven-tenths of one percent for women at the mental hospital, and quotes the Secretary of the Public Health and Welfare's

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[8]Neary, "Venereal Disease," 148.

[9]Neary, "Venereal Disease".

[10]Candow, "An American Report", 222

opinion that venereal diseases had become a major problem in Newfoundland only in recent years. The authors saw two major problems with venereal disease control in Newfoundland; one was a very high rate of infection in the local population, and the other was the lack of modern methods for the control of venereal diseases. They saw little evidence of a public education campaign and no evidence of the use of sulphonamide compounds for the treatment of gonorrhoea.[11]

A serious health problem in the early nineteenth century, gonorrhoea was cited in the medical literature as the cause of a range of illnesses including infertility and infant blindness. One 1902 committee studying venereal diseases estimated that 80 percent of men in New York City had been infected with gonorrhoea at some point in their lives. During the social purity movement, the suppression of prostitution along with other forms of vice was a top priority. However, in Canada prior to 1914, "none of the urban reform campaigns centred on venereal disease," according to Buckley and McGinnis, who also note that this changed in 1916 with the high rates of VD among soldiers returning from the First World War.[12] The American military was well aware of the prevalence of the disease. The US Army's admission rate for venereal disease infections in 1909 was nearly 200 per 1000 men, and this counted only the newly-infected. Because of new sulpha drugs developed in the 1930s for the treatment of gonorrhoea, the rate of infection was

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[11]"Report of a Survey" cited in Candow, "An American Report", 226.

[12]Suzanne Buckley and Janice Dickin McGinnis "Venereal Disease and Public Health Reform in Canada" *Canadian Historical Review*, 63:3, (1982). Quote 337.

already in decline before it was decimated by the introduction of penicillin.

The prevalence of gonorrhoea, and the relatively painless treatment, meant that it never provoked the same fears as syphilis. One member of the World War Two American Medical Corps, commenting on the lack of concern over gonorrhoea, said "most of them [the enlisted men] think as little of a gonorrhoeal infection as they do of the ordinary common cold."[13] The rate of gonorrhoeal infection at Fort Pepperell was approximately twenty five per 1,000 for the years 1941-3, and in 1944 the rate dropped to less than ten per 1,000. While the report blamed the "irresponsible" streetwalkers of St. John's as sources of infection, Candow's own examination of gonorrhoea rates at Fort Pepperell from 1941 to 1945 led him to conclude that "Newfoundland prostitutes had more to fear from American soldiers than vice-versa: the major source of venereal disease during the war years was soldiers arriving from continental North America."[14] Despite this, military propaganda always underscored the danger "loose" women were to the troops - never the reverse.

The US Army had been attacked for its ineffective VD campaigns. The Army's VD policies and programs, Elizabeth Fee writes, "were plagued by contradictions; publicly, it advocated chastity while privately, it provided prophylactics for the men." The managers of the army VD program were wedged between moralists who stressed "sexual

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[13]Allan M. Brandt, No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States Since 1880 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985) 13 and 161. Quote 164.

continence and the suppression of prostitution and the numerous Army officers who felt that 'Any man who won't f___, won't fight'"; Fee claims the army tried to choose a middle ground between these camps.[15] In both world wars, North American propaganda was aimed as much at protecting the moral standards of the men as it was at protecting the troops from possible infection.[16] VD propaganda often emphasized that men should return home healthy, thereby 'protecting' their wives and fiancées. In the First World War campaign, sexual abstinence was encouraged as "Over-exercise or excitement of the sex-gland may exhaust and weaken a man."[17] In the campaigns of the Second World War, the stress was more on condoms than continence; and their use was promoted with posters bearing slogans such as "Sex exposure without prophylaxis is a help to the Axis."[18] In the 1940's anti-VD campaigns, the immoral connotations of venereal disease continued even after the introduction of a much more effective cure: penicillin. The poster with the sad sailor and the slogan "VD can be cured, but there's no cure for regret" encourages guilt

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[14]Candow, "An American Report", 222.

[15]Elizabeth Fee, "Venereal Disease: The Wages of Sin?" Passion and Power: Sexuality in History, Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons eds. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989) 189. Fee quotes Parran and Vanderlehr's, Plain Words About Venereal Disease (1941).

[16]Brandt, No Magic Bullet, 52-95; Cassel, The Secret Plague, 122-144.

[17]'Keeping Fit to Fight' (Washington, 1918, lecture to troops) quoted in Claude Quetal, History of Syphilis trans. Judith Braddock and Brian Pike (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990) 188.

[18]Brandt, No Magic Bullet, 164-166; Pierson, "They're Still Women", 200.

and confirms, that "[a]nti-venereal discourse is not merely medical, but moral."[19]

While anti-VD campaigns were stepped up and imbued with patriotic messages in wartime, the inter-war period also saw an enormous jump in the attention paid to VD control. In Europe the prophylactic campaign against venereal diseases, especially syphilis, peaked between the wars.[20] And in the United States, venereal disease control gained renewed energy in 1936 with the appointment of Thomas Parran as Surgeon General. Parran published his views in broad-circulation magazines such as the *Reader's Digest*; his articles, like the 1940 film about the discovery of the anti-syphilitic drug Salvarson, 'Dr Ehrlich's Magic Bullet', sought to end the "conspiracy of silence" around venereal diseases.[21]

Just as much of the propaganda had both medical and moral messages, the discourse surrounding venereal disease has both a private and a public face. One discussion circulated among 'experts' such as the surgeons who came to Newfoundland in 1941, but another emerged aimed at heightening the public's awareness of the dangers of venereal disease. Unlike Canada, the Newfoundland government did not introduce anti-VD legislation until 1931; and there is no evidence of a public awareness campaign until 1938. It is possible that medical authorities in Newfoundland were inspired as much by

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[19]Quetal, History of Syphilis, 192. Also see Mort, Dangerous Sexualities for a more thorough discussion of the moral/medical discourse of sexually-transmitted diseases.

[20]Quetal, History of Syphilis, 189.

[21]Brandt, No Magic Bullet, 161; Quetal, History of Syphilis, 189-192.

Thomas Parran's work in the US, as they were by the increasing rates of congenital syphilis in the country. However a public awareness campaign would not be accomplished without some resistance to ending the silence; as elsewhere, the Newfoundland propaganda would contain moral codes along with medical knowledge. And as in continental North America promiscuous women and 'wayward' girls were often cited as potential carriers, or 'sources', of venereal disease.

In a report to the 1937 Child Welfare Association (CWA) annual meeting, Leonard Miller, a health officer of the Department of Public Health and Welfare claimed that in 1937 eleven deaths, mostly babies, were caused by syphilis. "Previous to 1937," said Miller, "there were never more than three deaths reported as being due to Syphilis in the entire country." The increased awareness among medical practitioners of the prevalence of syphilis may well have contributed to the reporting of higher rates. It was, however, the emphasis placed on the rise of syphilitic infection that encouraged the editor of the *Evening Telegram* to quote extensively from Dr. Miller's speech "A Scourge to Society".[22]

"It was quite time the customary disinclination to make any reference to this [venereal] disease should end," Miller said, as "one of the most effective means of combating this enemy of Society, the subject should be as freely discussed as any other

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[22]Excerpts from the Editorial, *Evening Telegram* (St. John's), 26 Jan. 1938, and extracts from medical reports presented to the CWA's annual meetings 1937-1940. PANL GN38/S6/5/3 - 28.

public evil." The editorial encouraged people to seek help now that "effective treatment is available" and stressed that it was a "public duty to do everything possible to wipe out this dreadful menace to society." A long discussion of Canada's campaign against venereal diseases was in the editorial, which credited Canadian authorities for preventing the spread of venereal disease throughout the Dominion after the Great War by returning troops. "Following the War," it claimed, "Canada proceeded by vigorous measures to stamp out the disease." The editor also congratulated the [Canadian] press which "lent its strongest influence to the campaign", and noted that the effectiveness of the campaign could be seen in the drop of positive responses at the Toronto General Hospital to "routine Wasserman tests" from 10.4 percent in 1916 to 1.7 percent in 1935. "Unfortunately, on the fallacious grounds of economy," the editorial concluded, the campaign lost its funding from the Federal Government, but public health officials were urging the resumption of the "movement against venereal disease."[23]

Since improving the general health of children and lowering infant mortality rates were two of the CWA's aims, it was very concerned about congenital syphilis; its medical officer encouraged members of the organization to see this as a disease spread by women who were streetwalkers, single mothers, or both. In his 1939 report to the CWA, Miller claimed that syphilis was flourishing in Newfoundland "because of insufficient publicity

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[23]Excerpts from the Editorial, *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Jan. 26, 1938, and extracts from medical reports presented to the CWA's annual meetings 1937-1940. PANL GN38/S6/5/3 - 28.

and an unawakened public." He called for "legal control and adequate facilities for treatment." Miller did not say who needed the legal control; but after expressing the need for it, he revealed his motives in his comment: "An unmarried girl may have two or more babies all of them affected with Syphilis, and continue to walk our streets spreading her disease far and wide." While Miller does not accuse single mothers of engaging in prostitution, it is implied in both his 1939 and 1940 reports. In the latter report, he makes a stronger connection between the two groups of women. In 1940 Miller claimed that ten of the forty cases of congenital syphilis in his files were not receiving treatment because their parents refused to bring them. Further he claimed that six of these ten negligent parents were single mothers, and "probably belong to that group who are responsible to a great extent for the spread of syphilis in the community." Miller alluded to sex-work in this blending of the single mother and the infected, claiming that as well as leaving their babies without treatment, they do not get treated themselves; and he foresees "the possibility is that some, if not all, of these young women will be bearing further illegitimate syphilitic infants in future years." Miller is clearly pushing for enforced treatment, although this was already allowed for in the 1931 legislation. In a series of talks to the CWA, Miller elaborated on the need for increased vigilance against venereal diseases. He claimed that Newfoundland was lagging behind Great Britain, Canada and the USA, where "great strides" have been made in venereal disease control, especially in the area of public education. One of Newfoundland's problems is the lack of public

interest in venereal disease control, Miller claimed, adding, "about the only lay interest is evinced when some housewife told by her family doctor that her domestic servant is suffering from Syphilis." Miller chose to target women with the lowest incomes, domestics, who also made up a large proportion of the single mothers in St. John's.[24]

The need for action was particularly important in St John's, according to Miller, because of "the dangers existing to hundreds of young men coming to the city for purposes of enlistment." He claimed that the untreated are a "danger to others", and drew attention to the need for a place of detention for those who refuse treatment. "Particularly is this true in respect of unmarried mothers who frequent homes that are suspected of being operated for immoral purposes," Miller opined, again linking single mothers with the sex-trade.[25] Leonard Miller was sent by the Department of Public Health and Welfare to speak to organizations about venereal disease control. The department also had posters, literature, and motion pictures available for any group who wanted to make use of them.[26] This was all part of the government's public awareness campaign that began in the late 1930s, and, with the advent of war, escalated into an all-out effort that made use of a new medium for the message: radio.[27]

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[24]See Chapter 3 for more on domestics as single mothers.

[25]"Social Hygiene in St. John's, Part 1" March 18, 1940. PANL GN38 S6/5/3-28.

[26]"Social Hygiene in St. John's, Part 1" March 18, 1940. PANL GN38 S6/5/3-28.

[27]An incomplete set of scripts of the radio broadcasts has survived; however, in a talk broadcast on November 22, 1941, "Is Silence Golden?", Miller said that "from time to time during the past few years, it has been the policy to include an occasional talk on

Many residents of St. John's disapproved of the use of the airwaves for the discussion of venereal disease. In a 1941 talk, Miller claimed that the reception to the talks was varied, but most of the comments were unfavourable. He said he was encouraged, however, by a "master mariner" of the Merchant Marine who, after witnessing conditions in St. John's, instructed him to "talk on this subject and talk, talk, talk." In this broadcast, Miller described the symptoms of syphilis and gonorrhoea, and encouraged people to seek treatment and not to believe that as the symptoms disappear so does the disease. On the subject of those likely to be infected, Miller claimed that "anybody may have them" and added that "those who risk catching them most often are the ones who are the most likely to contract them" - leaving it to the radio audience to decode his tautological argument.[28]

In 1941 Miller may have deliberately played down his opinions about the connection between "loose" women and venereal disease, because the broadcasts went out to the general public, some of whom were already unhappy about such subjects being discussed on the radio. In a broadcast a year later, Miller apparently felt less constricted. His 1942 talk repeats much of the same information: the prevalence of the diseases, the need to seek early treatment, and the resemblance to other diseases in that they can only be acquired from those already infected. To this later speech, however, Miller added that the symptoms of syphilis and gonorrhoea are often invisible and "the absence of signs, of

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venereal disease in these broadcasts." PANL GN38/S6/5/2-6.

course, makes such a person doubly dangerous." He continued his depiction of possible contagious persons as "the promiscuous and the depraved" and "a few women diseased in body and often in mind." Miller then makes the analogy that "just as stagnant water usually carries disease germs, so are there in many communities cesspools of infection to trap the unwary", combining the threat of the infected, as well as moral and mentally ill, woman with the imagery of social pollution.[29] Ruth Rosen's explanation for the image of the prostitute as sinister polluter is influenced by Mary Douglas's studies of symbolic anthropology. "In times of social or cultural crisis a society may feel compelled to redefine and reinforce its moral boundaries" writes Rosen, noting that this is often accompanied by the tendency to use "bodily symbols" to depict society.[30] Thus VDs were 'Social Diseases' and the discursive creation of the prostitute as a contagion to society made the sex trade 'The Social Evil.'

It was generally accepted that venereal disease propaganda was unsuitable for younger listeners, and the broadcasts were restricted until after 9.15 p.m. - but there were still many objections from some citizens of St. John's. In July 1943 the Board of Directors of the Newfoundland Broadcasting Corporation informed the Department of Public Health and Welfare that they could continue with their public health talks but without

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[28]"Is Silence Golden?" PANL GN38/S6/5/2-6.

[29]"The Great Imitator", Broadcast November 23, 1942. Script PANL GN38/S6/5/2-6.

[30]Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger, cited in Rosen, The Lost Sisterhood, 49.

references to syphilis or other venereal diseases.[31] The department questioned the board of directors about their decision and pointed out that venereal diseases were becoming "increasingly prevalent and constitute a grave menace not only to the well being of members of the Armed Forces stationed here, but to that of ordinary family life as well."[32] The plea had no effect on the board of directors and the department chose to discontinue all radio broadcasts.[33]

The Public Health and Welfare Department looked for other ways to raise public awareness about venereal disease, but they were often blocked in their efforts. They hoped that the St. John's Rotary Club would commit themselves to an island-wide campaign for "a health league for purposes of general propaganda in respect of tuberculosis, venereal disease and other maladies commonly affecting the public." The Rotary Club agreed to organize and disseminate "health propaganda" exclusive of any material dealing with venereal disease. Once again the connection between VD and immoral sexuality led to a "conspiracy of silence." Against the conspiracy theory, as Frank Mort argues, "medico-moral discourse is not a conspiracy... It is a distinctive regime of power/knowledge relations, rooted in institutions which circulate authoritative

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[31]Memorandum to Mosdell from Leonard Miller, July 23, 1943. PANL GN39/S6/5/2-6.

[32]Letter from Mosdell to the Board of Directors, Newfoundland Broadcasting Corporation, July 29, 1943. PANL GN39/S6/5/2-6.

[33]Letter from Puddester to the Board of Directors, Newfoundland Broadcasting Corporation, Sept 3, 1943. PANL GN39/S6/5/2-6.

representations of sex."[34] In 1940's Newfoundland, the medical community pushed for greater knowledge and encountered resistance from those who appointed themselves representatives of public opinion - radio broadcasters and a public service organization. Not all community groups were opposed to the dissemination of VD information: the Child Welfare Association encouraged the work of the public health department, perhaps because they saw themselves as voluntary health providers and aligned their opinions with the medical professionals.

The Public Health and Welfare Department may have lost access to the radio, but they continued to spread their message in St. John's newspapers. One of the last wartime speeches on VD was James McGrath's talk to the Rotary Club in February 1944, reprinted in the *Fisherman-Workers Tribune*.[35] McGrath repeated from other speeches much of the information on the symptoms of syphilis and gonorrhoea, and the need for prompt treatment. The increasing rate of venereal diseases was emphasized in this talk, which reviewed the previous four years in Newfoundland. McGrath concluded that overcrowding and "poor living conditions" contributed to the rise; however he emphasized "the lowering of sexual morals that always seem to accompany a state of war." McGrath acknowledged that soldiers were partially to blame for the spread of venereal disease. Before the war, he said, "there were large areas of the country entirely

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[34]Mort, Dangerous Sexualities, 217.

[35]"Venereal Disease in Newfoundland," *The Fisherman-Workers Tribune* (St. John's), 25 Feb.1944. This issue of the paper has not survived, clipping in PANL GN39/S6/5/2-6.

free from venereal disease" and soon there will be "very few settlements left where the Gonococcus and Spirochete will not have penetrated." Using this opportunity to dramatize venereal disease as a public health menace to all of Newfoundland, McGrath also shifts the responsibility for the spread of the diseases away from the serviceman, who "is more likely than any one else to get prompt treatment," and on to "commercial prostitutes" and the "deplorable number of young girls who are technically not prostitutes only because they do not solicit money." He called the girls "prostitutes in everything but the name. In conduct, in promiscuity, and...in disease." This opinion was not based on research for McGrath admitted he had no "accurate figures for Newfoundland." Instead, he based it on research done in other countries that revealed the "shocking social significance" that "85 per cent of the infections occurring in the armed forces come not from prostitutes but from so-called 'decent girls'." A comparison of this speech with earlier ones shows that in Newfoundland, as in the rest of North America, the blame for the spread of venereal diseases extends out from prostitutes to encompass sexually-active women and girls as well. "Sexual 'good times' - and especially the sexuality of women," argue Lucy Bland and Frank Mort, "have at various historical moments been perceived as a dangerous threat to the health of the nation."[36] As the two authors have it, promiscuity was linked to prostitution as another form of deviant sexuality; and the VD panic before

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[36]Lucy Bland and Frank Mort,"Look Out for the 'Good Time' Girl: Dangerous Sexualities as a Threat to National Health" in Formations of Nation and People (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984) 131.

and during the First World War led to the perception of the VD rate as "an index of the nation's sexual immorality."[37] McGrath's comments show that, at least as far as the Department of Public Health and Welfare was concerned, one moral panic was underway before the other began to wane.

The military's medical officers, both prior to and during World War Two, regulated prostitution when they could as a method of venereal disease control. Studies of servicemen, however, revealed that the vast majority did not name a prostitute as a contact. In the American Third Command, only 19 per cent of infected men blamed a prostitute, and some studies revealed an even lower percentage.[38] While some medical authorities echoed McGrath's opinion that these young women were 'amateur prostitutes', US Army doctors used the term "patriotute" for women who deliberately chose servicemen as sexual partners.[39] Other new labels coined for women who had sex with servicemen during World War Two included 'khaki-wackier', 'good-time Charlottes', and the popular 'victory girls'.[40] In the 1940s, the Andrews sisters popularized the label "The Good Time Girl" in a song of the same name; its lyrics alluded to hidden dangers: "She'll communicate a sore, Like you've never seen before, Look out for the 'good time' girl."[41]

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[37]Bland and Mort, "Look Out for the 'Good Time' Girl," 139.

[38]Brandt, No Magic Bullet, 166-167.

[39]Pierson, "They're Still Women", 211.

[40]Brandt, No Magic Bullet, 167.

[41]Four verses of the song are reproduced in Bland and Mort, "Look Out for the 'Good

The discourse of disease, implicating women in and out of the sex-trade, is voiced in anti-VD propaganda posters such as "She May Look Clean - But", which featured the picture of a young girl-next-door type and below, in smaller print, read "Pick-ups, 'Good-Time' Girls, Prostitutes Spread Syphilis and Gonorrhoea". This alteration in propaganda was accompanied by a change in military regulations. American army policy since 1912, and an official statute since 1926, was to withhold pay from soldiers for any injury or disease obtained "not in the line of duty." In 1943, the Surgeon General of the army asked for this statute to be repealed, partly to encourage servicemen not to hide symptoms. After 1944, men who became infected during the war years would not lose any pay.[42] In Canada, there was a clear gender dimension to the treatment of service personnel with venereal disease, as Ruth Roach Pierson demonstrates. Before the integration of the Canadian Women's Army Corps and the Canadian Army (Active), military officials of the Army, Navy and Air Force favoured a policy of immediate discharge on medical grounds for female personnel. Male personnel, however, would be given treatment not a discharge. This policy created a split between medical officials who felt discharge was preferable as "VD was a greater cause of shame in women" and those doctors who maintained that servicewomen could be treated more quickly and with the minimum of public knowledge while still in the service.[43]

Time' Girl," 131.

[42]Brandt, No Magic Bullet, 169.

[43]Pierson, "They're Still Women", 190-191.

In pre-war Newfoundland, as part of the 1930s campaign for VD control, the Secretary of the Department of Public Health and Welfare, H. M. Mosdell, advocated the institutionalization of "two classes of female delinquent": women who had more than one illegitimate child, and women infected with venereal disease. Mosdell claimed that these "moral incorrigibles" needed "constant surveillance" as "practically all these women are mentally subnormal, and, therefore, not capable of self-protection." He called for separate wards for the two types of delinquent while claiming that some of the women belonged in both categories. Further, he claimed that a "mental subnormal, whose illegitimate offspring are a charge on the public and likely to remain in the dependent category" should be made a ward of the state. Because, although "mentally below par," they were not the sort to be committed to a hospital for the insane, but protected against those who would "take advantage of their mental childishness and irresponsibility." Mosdell called for changes in legislation to make the detention of female delinquents possible, and for the construction of an institution which would provide "wholesome and reformative discipline" under "penal conditions."[44] In the 1930s the Government said it could not afford to finance this type of institution, usually referred to as a lock hospital.[45]

Studies of VD control in the British Empire show that, although the medical regulation of prostitution requires an institution to enforce treatment, in general lock

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[44]Letter from Mosdell to Puddester, February 8, 1938. PANL GN38 S6/1/2-3.

[45]Letter to Puddester from the Commissioner for Finance, March 10, 1938. PANL GN38 S6/1/2-3

hospitals existed before the passing of the CD Acts.[46] The first lock hospitals did not forcibly detain patients. Early sufferers of VD found it difficult to find refuge, and impossible to find treatment as the diseases were not well understood. Indeed, syphilis and gonorrhoea were regarded as the same disease until 1793.[47] As the incidence of leprosy was in decline while syphilis was on the increase, lazar houses began to care for syphilitics. Infected women were suspected of having contracted VD through prostitution; they became, according to Judith Walkowitz, "the social lepers of the eighteenth century, as syphilis replaced leprosy as one kind of dreaded social contagion."[48]

In the eighteenth century, lock hospitals were built exclusively for VD patients. One of the best-known clinics, the London Lock Hospital, was built in 1746. The only lock hospitals in England in 1790 were in London and Plymouth, but over the course of the nineteenth century five more had been built.[49] Scotland's first lock hospital opened in Glasgow in 1805. In the absence of any type of CD Act, it did not have the authority "to detain patients against their will," according to Linda Mahood, but despite this, "in its management practice and style it resembled a reformatory or prison." A shift occurred in all lock hospitals in the middle of the nineteenth century toward treating men as out-

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[46]Hyam, Empire and Sexuality.

[47]Linda Mahood, The Magdalenes: Prostitution in the Nineteenth Century (London: Routledge, 1990) 36-37.

[48]Walkowitz, Prostitution and Victorian Society, 59.

[49]Oriel, The Scars of Venus, 172-3.

patients if possible, and toward "punitive and coercive" regulations for women in the lock wards. [50] This shift coincides with the introduction of the CD Acts that allowed patients, usually prostitutes as they were forcibly inspected, to be incarcerated for treatment.

The first English CD Acts were passed in 1864 to cover eleven garrison and seaport towns in England and Ireland. The 1866 and 1869 versions of the acts extended their jurisdiction to more districts, lengthened the detention period, and added occupational training and 'moral reformation' to the remedies. The first recorded organized opposition to the Acts was mounted in 1869, by a group that initially excluded women but, according to Frank Mort, quickly changed its policy; however, some women had already left to form their own Ladies National Association (LNA) under the leadership of Josephine Butler.[51]

In India, as in Britain, CD and VD acts of all types were preceded by lock hospitals. The first appeared in 1805 and "for the next fifty years hospitals were opened and closed in Madras and Bengal," writes Antoinette Burton. India's 1864 Cantonments Act permitted the medical regulation of prostitution in military cantonments, although the registration and inspection of prostitutes had been compulsory for three years. The Indian CD Act of 1868 extended the legislation to cities and seaports. Abolitionists, such as the LNA, recognized that versions of the CD Acts were in place in self-governing colonies; but they concentrated their efforts on colonies, like India, that were under the

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[50]Mahood, The Magdalenes, 37.

administration of the colonial office.[52]

While it might appear that the British CD Acts were quickly copied in other outposts of Empire, Phillipa Levine claims, "Hong Kong anticipated domestic CD legislation by seven years, passing an ordinance in 1857." It differed from the British act as it allowed for "the compulsory medical examination of women prostitutes...and the regulation of brothels." This second provision, Levine continues, "had no parallel in the domestic legislation where such *de jure* legislation of the trade would have produced even greater uproar." In 1870 the Straits Settlements passed an ordinance almost identical to Hong Kong's.[53]

Walkowitz, Levine and other scholars who have investigated the effects of, and repeal campaigns against, the CD Acts demonstrate a strong connection between VD legislation and a military presence.[54] They also show that armed forces physicians could be very influential. Kay Daniels suggests that a Royal Navy surgeon was instrumental in the passing of Tasmania's 1879 CD Act. The surgeon suggested that the State, "ought to help provide prostitutes free of disease for the visiting British Navy."[55] Daniels and other

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[51]Mort, Dangerous Sexualities, 67.

[52]Antoinette Burton, Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1986-1915. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994) 130.

[53]Levine, "Modernity, Medicine and Colonialism," 35

[54]See discussion of the CD Acts in Chapter 4.

[55]Kay Daniels, "Prostitution in Tasmania During the Transition from Penal Settlement

historians of prostitution in Australia show that Queensland, Tasmania, and South Australia all had lock hospitals before those colonies passed their CD Acts. They also show that several Australian colonies considered the medical regulation of prostitution very shortly after the passing of the first British CD Act in 1864, and that in some states Australian women's groups were inspired by Josephine Butler's organization to press for the repeal of the Acts.[56]

The military were also the driving force behind twentieth-century VD legislation. Lucy Bland claims "the 'amateur prostitute' became the scapegoat for the incidence of VD amongst the troops" during the First World War, when "commanders of Colonial forces stationed in Britain...pushed the government towards more repressive measures looking suspiciously like the widely reviled Contagious Diseases Act of the 1860's." Despite the opposition of feminist groups to "repressive proposals" in Criminal Law amendments and the Sexual Offences Bill of 1918, the government passed regulation 40d under the Defense of the Realm Act (DORA) in March 1918. DORA 40d made it a criminal offence "for a woman with transmittable VD to have, solicit or invite sexual intercourse with any member of HM [His Majesty's] forces." Feminist-led forces

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to 'Civilized' Society" in So Much Hard Work, see Daniels ed.; quote: 46.

[56]Daniels, "Prostitution in Tasmania During the Transition,"; Susan Horan, "'More Sinned Against than Sinning?': Prostitution in South Australia, 1836-1914"; Raymond Evans, "'Soiled Doves': Prostitution in Colonial Queensland," all in So Much Hard Work, see Daniels ed.

launched an all-out attack on this piece of legislation, which was rescinded at war's end.[57] Opposition by women's groups to DORA 40d did not prevent the enactment during the Second World War of similar British legislation, which

> provid[ed] for compulsion where necessary to bring under treatment a group of persons - small in number but responsible for much harm - who are impervious to methods of education and persuasion and refuse to attend for treatment although known to be infected and to be spreading infection.[58]

This piece of legislation came to the attention of Newfoundlanders through the local newspaper, as did the protest it engendered. In 1942 the front page of the *Evening Telegram* featured the story of one female MP's struggle against this new Act: "The regulation known as 33-B provides for the compulsory examination of any person named by two sufferers as their source of infection. Labourite Dr. Edith Summerskill, leading the attack, said that this was a miserable little measure aimed at a few prostitutes."[59]

In Newfoundland during the Second World War, VD treatment of members of the armed forces was outside the scope of the Department of Public Health and Welfare; it remained in the hands of the medical officers of the American and the combined Canadian and Newfoundland forces. The health department cared for Newfoundlanders who were not enlisted personnel. This division of responsibility left out the Merchant

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[57]Bland, "Guardians of the Race," 382-383.

[58]'Compulsory Treatment Venereal Disease,' *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) April 1, 1943, 2.

[59]'Motion on Venereal Disease is Defeated,' *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Dec. 16, 1942, 1

Marine. Various government departments discussed the problem of the rising number of distressed members of the merchant marine, and infected visiting seamen. In 1940, the Commissioner for Public Health and Welfare wanted improvements made to Sudbury, the Merchant Marine hospital, and a special ward added for VD patients. The Commissioner for Public Utilities responded that the budget did not allow for major changes to the building, and Sudbury should not continue to be used as a VD clinic as it was "in a very good residential district, [and] it was unfair to the residents...to have in their midst a building used for purposes which bring to the neighbourhood a number of characters of low repute."[60]

There was some internal debate in the Public Health and Welfare Department over the future of the Sudbury hospital, which had contained a VD clinic for some years. The Secretary of the Department, Mosdell, was in favour of improvements to Sudbury and wrote to the Commissioner that he "resent[ed] very strongly the implication that undertakings of ours must be relegated to back streets." Mosdell also said that he knew "certain objections could reasonably be raised to the creation in this section of an establishment for delinquent and diseased females" but he would not advocate accommodating "such persons" on Water Street West (very close to the centre of St. John's). Ideally, Mosdell claimed, a building to accommodate female VD patients would be outside the city on "plenty of land on which to set inmates to work." The department

[60]Letter from the Commissioner for Public Utilities to Puddester, June 11, 1940. PANL GN38/S6/1/3-66.

needed Sudbury for "baby clinics, prenatal and ante-natal clinics and child welfare work," as well as for the "men of the Fighting Forces [who] will be invalided home" and "none would be too good for citizens such as these." Mosdell stressed that patriotism should inspire the government to improve Sudbury, which would also be an ideal environment to teach "mothers and little children from the poorer quarters of the city...the principles of the preservation of health." He also stressed that the city was no place for "females of the diseased and delinquent type," as that part of the department's work was "subject to an ostracism." Mosdell claimed that female inmates needed to be kept under "custodial as well as remedial conditions" - emphasizing that the hospital should provide training as well as treatment.[61]

Later in 1940 the Sudbury Hospital was consigned for other purposes. Mosdell used the opportunity to ask Puddester, the Commissioner of the Department of Public Health and Welfare, to consider establishing both male and female institutions of a type "usually referred to as 'a lock hospital'." For the seamen, he claimed that an institution with 10 beds "on or near the water front" would be enough as the men could be treated in six to eight weeks, and the men's lock hospital was a "minor part of the program." For venereal disease control "the infection must be traced to its source" and according to Mosdell, the source was defined in a memorandum that came to the department from the Child Welfare Board. This document "dealt with existing problems in respect to

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[61]Letter from Mosdell to the Commissioner for Public Health and Welfare, June 12, 1940. PANL GN38/S6/1/3-66.

delinquent, disorderly and diseased females" and asked for an institution to house 65 females, 25 with venereal disease. The Salvation Army, Mosdell claimed, would help with the costs of operating a women's institution, and both lock hospitals could be funded by the government for $35,000 per anum.[62]

The Commissioner responded that the War Services committee had taken over part of the building Mosdell wanted, but some space could be found for a VD Hospital. He told Mosdell that his plans were more appropriate for a "country ten times the size" of Newfoundland. "The growing sentiment in the country," according to Puddester, was "that on the return of Responsible Government some of the Social Services will have to 'go by the board'." The Government was no longer taking Grants-in-Aid from the British government, and so this increased spending on "VD cases, juvenile delinquents and homes for fallen girls" would not be possible.[63] This exchange occurred before the building boom brought on by the Americans' arrival, and it looked for a time as if a budget shortfall would save St. John's "sexual suspects" from incarceration.[64]

The American military arrived in Newfoundland early in 1941, but, as the survey by the two American medical officers shows, the military's concern with the VD control preceded their arrival. At the invitation of the Commission of Government, the Canadians

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[62]Letter from Mosdell to Puddester, Oct. 30, 1940. PANL GN38/S6/1/3-66.

[63]Letter from Puddester to Mosdell, Nov. 1, 1940. PANL GN38/S6/1/3-66.

[64]"Sexual suspects" is borrowed from John Irving, The World According to Garp, (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1976).

had a military presence in Newfoundland since June 1940.[65] The Canadian military were equally concerned with venereal disease prevention, as they did not want a repeat of their First World War experience when Canadian soldiers in Britain had the dubious distinction of having one of the highest VD rates of all the Dominion forces overseas.[66] The Canadian military had begun to discuss official policy with regard to VD cases in 1941, and according to Ruth Pierson, "by 1943 official concern over VD in the civilian and military population reached a high pitch" when Divisions of Venereal Disease Control were established both within the Army Medical Corps and within the federal department of Pensions and Public Health.[67]

In Newfoundland, as in Canada, the Canadian military began in 1941 to organize VD control. The medical officers at Lester's Field asked infected men to name their contacts and send this list of fifty names to the public health department suggesting that the law allowing for compulsory treatment be enacted against the persons on the list.[68] The descriptions of the contacts did not always allow the department to identify the alleged source of the infection, and Mosdell complained to the Commanding Officer of the Canadian Troops that the department did not have the facilities to detain anyone

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[65]Neary, "Venereal Disease", 140.

[66]Cassel, The Secret Plague, 123.

[67]Pierson, "They're Still Women" 189.

[68]Letter to Mosdell from P. Earnshaw, Brigadier Commanding Canadian Troops in Newfoundland, November 18, 1941. PANL GN 38 S6/1/2-3

"negligent or recalcitrant...regarding personal conduct or personal treatment."[69] A conference was then held with medical authorities from the services and those from the Department of Public Health and Welfare, and a joint decision was reached that venereal disease could only be controlled with an institution for the detention "of certain classes of females with VD infection."[70]

Shortly after the conference an officer of the Canadian Medical Corps visited the Department of Public Health and Welfare to ask if any progress had been made in providing for the treatment of women infected with VD.[71] The Canadian military also asked the Justice Department to encourage the Government to provide a lock hospital. Complaints were made that the number of infected servicemen had increased in St. John's and at Gander in the past month, and that women with VD should be "taken out of circulation," as the men they were infecting were needed for "the defence of this colony."[72] The Commissioner for Justice suggested to Puddester that funds for a lock hospital could be taken out of the war surplus, and he hoped he would "obtain a vote to

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[69]Letter from Mosdell to P. Earnshaw, Brigadier Commanding Canadian Troops in Newfoundland, November 18, 1941. PANL GN 38 S6/1/2-3.

[70]Letter from Mosdell to Puddester Jan. 22, 1942 regarding a December 10, 1941 conference. PANL GN 38 S6/1/2-3.

[71]Letter from Mosdell to Puddester Jan. 30, 1942. PANL GN 38 S6/1/2-3.

[72]Letter from Major General Page of the combined Canadian and Newfoundland Forces Jan. 27, 1942. PANL GN 38 S6/1/2-3.

deal with what I consider a very serious menace, at the earliest possible moment."[73]

The department began to search for properties suitable for use as a lock hospital; it was decided that constructing a building would take too much time;[74] and they still had to persuade the Government to fund such an institution. Puddester argued that a lock hospital was needed as rates of VD infection had risen sharply since the arrival of the troops, and this was now a major public health concern. "Sexual promiscuity usually increases with the stationing of garrison forces in any locality," he said, adding that Newfoundland was "unlikely to prove an exception to the rule." Puddester also forecast, wrongly as it turned out, that a VD hospital would still be required after the war.[75]

The lock hospital that H.M. Mosdell had been advocating for years opened in the middle of 1943.[76] The courts immediately began to send recalcitrant VD patients to Sydney. As this hospital operated for a relatively short time, little is known about the institution or the inmates. However, it appears that some of the women incarcerated at Sydney were unhappy, and willing to defy the law and plot an escape. In August 1944, the local paper reported that "[l]egal complications entered the case of two young girls

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[73]Letter to Puddester from L.E. Emerson, Commissioner for Justice and Defence, Jan. 29, 1942. PANL GN38/S6/1/2-3.

[74]Letter from Mosdell to Puddester, February 2, 1942. PANL GN38/S6/1/2-3.

[75]Memorandum to the Commission of Government from the Commissioner of the Department of Public Health and Welfare, July 4, 1942. PANL GN38/S6/1/2-3.

[76]Neary "Venereal Disease." 129.

charged with escaping from lawful custody (a 'break' from Sydney Hospital)."[77] Next month the paper reported that police had been called to Sydney as three inmates were "acting disorderly." They had broken some glass and their rooms contained "a considerable number of cigarette butts."[78] In another case the same month, "four antagonistic female inmates of Sydney Hospital were accused of causing wilful malicious damage and breaking a window." The paper also reported that when "asked about their disorderly conduct," the women

> sullenly retorted that they were denied many advantages which, they thought, were customary to hospital, and all four vowed that were they returned to the institution they would continue their disorderly conduct. A matron from the hospital testified that the girls had been allowed many privileges but these had been suspended when they refused to behave themselves by trying to run away and generally acting disorderly.[79]

The displeasure of the women consigned to the lock hospital made no impact on the military, whose only concern appears to be a reduction in the VD rate. The Commanding Officer of the American Forces, Major General Brooks, urged the health department to send VD cases from all over Newfoundland to the Sydney Hospital.[80] Brooks claimed that for the first six months of 1943, the medical officers had been able to reduce the VD rate with an extensive information campaign aimed at "enlisted

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[77]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's), August 12, 1944, 3.

[78]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's), Sept. 5, 1944, 3.

[79]*Evening Telegram* (St. John's), Sept. 12, 1944, 3.

[80]Brooks was under the impression the hospital held 35 patients.

personnel." With the advent of summer, however, the rate had begun to rise again, especially at Harmon Field. The military at Harmon dealt with the situation by declaring Stephenville and West Corner Brook off -limits, and, as in St. John's, reporting the names of all contacts to local officials.[81]

Additional lock hospitals in Grand Falls and in the St. George's District were discussed seriously by the Department of Public Health and Welfare. It was felt that Grand Falls also needed a treatment centre that would serve that area in Central Newfoundland - and they had convinced the A.N.D. Company (the pulp and paper company that was the town's main employer) to make a contribution of a site for the new lock hospital.[82] It was finally decided that the A.N.D. Company would construct the hospital on a cost plus basis on land already leased to the government, and, at the urging of the Justice Department, the new building would include a morgue.[83] This plan, and others for the expansion of lock hospitals across Newfoundland, stalled; there was a new drug, penicillin, which made the hospitalization of VD patients for months at a time unnecessary.[84]

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[81]Letter from Major General John Brooks to Puddester, June 16, 1943. PANL GN38/S6/1/3-6.

[82]Letter from James McGrath, Director of VD Control, to the Commissioner Public Health and Welfare, Sept 17, 1943. PANL GN38 S6/5/2-6.

[83]Letter from James McGrath to the Commissioner Public Health and Welfare, March 23, 1944. PANL GN38 S6/5/2-6.

[84]VD patients were usually sentenced to three months in the Sydney Hospital, probably because this considered sufficient time to cure gonorrhoea with sulphonamide

When penicillin was first introduced in 1943, the armed forces had most of the supply. It was only in limited civilian use. In Canada because of shortages of the drug, even among military VD cases, it was only used on sulphonamide-resistant cases of gonorrhoea. Early in 1944, needs were priorized so that overseas use came first, urgent civilian cases next, and military personnel still in the country last. Newfoundland was considered an overseas posting, and yet it probably still suffered from the short supply that lasted in Canada through March 1944.[85]

A much larger supply of penicillin was expected in Canada in the spring of 1944. A medical officer with the Department of Public Health and Welfare urged Puddester to contact Ottawa through the High Commissioner's Office in St. John's and ask for a supply of the drug for "limited use in civilian cases."[86] The High Commissioner responded that "as an act of friendship for Newfoundland," his government would make a small supply available for urgent civilian cases; and that, as in Canada, requests would have to come from specific hospitals, and go to the committee set up to control distribution of penicillin.[87] Puddester told the High Commissioner that, on his medical officer's advice,

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compounds. For more on the use of 'sulpha' drugs, see Cassel, The Secret Plague, 58.

[85]Pierson, "They're Still Women", 196.

[86]Memo to the Commissioner Public Health and Welfare from the Medical Health Officer, May 6, 1944. PANL GN38/S6/5/3-20.

[87]Letter from the High Commissioner for Canada to Puddester, July 26, 1944. PANL GN38/S6/5/3-20.

he thought he would need five million units.[88] The Secretary for Supply was already negotiating with the Americans for a supply of penicillin direct from the manufacturer,[89] and the first shipment of penicillin arrived in Newfoundland in September 1944. Puddester was asked to set up a committee to oversee the drug's distribution and complete monthly reports on its use.[90] The Americans allocated five million units per month for civilian use in Newfoundland. This might have reduced the amount from Canada, according to the High Commissioner, as they could not have both unless the demand made getting a supply from two sources necessary.[91] Puddester responded that getting the drug from two sources was going to confuse the situation; he quoted his medical officer, who also said that since some of the Ottawa supply came from Washington, "it would be as well not ask the Canadian High Commissioner for anything further in this respect at present."[92]

Initially venereal disease infection did not constitute an 'urgent' civilian case. But

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[88]Letter from Puddester to the High Commissioner for Canada, July 1944. PANL GN38/S6/5/3-20.

[89]Letter from the Newfoundland Supply liaison Frank Hue to the Secretary for Supply, July 31, 1944. PANL GN 38/S6/5/3-20.

[90]Letter to Puddester from the Commissioner for Supply, Sept 19, 1944. PANL GN38/S6/5/3-20.

[91]Memo from the High Commissioner for Canada to Puddester, Oct. 6, 1944. PANL GN38/S6/5/3-20.

[92]Letter from Puddester to the High Commissioner for Canada, Oct 9, 1944, quoting a memo to Puddester from a medical health officer of the department dated Oct. 7, 1944. PANL GN38/S6/5/3-20.

as the supply increased, penicillin began to be used for sulpha-resistant strains of gonorrhoea and, in combination with other drugs, for syphilis cases as well.[93] The first VD case treated with penicillin in Newfoundland occurred on November 28, 1944: a three-year-old girl with gonorrhoea. Penicillin treatments of adult VD cases began at the Lock hospital, Sydney, two weeks later.[94] Of the first 80 cases treated with penicillin at the St. John's General Hospital, 47 were syphilis or gonorrhoea; and the first report of penicillin usage included this note: "practically all the cases of syphilis and of gonorrhoea are in females reported as sources of infection."[95]

In 1945 the Sydney Lock and the Merchant Navy Hospitals used almost half of the supply of penicillin for St. John's hospitals.[96] From its introduction, penicillin was used for a wide variety of infections including pneumonia, gangrene and peritonitis.[97] It was estimated that when restrictions were lifted, Newfoundland would use a hundred million

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[93]The supply increased from an initial 5 million units to 50 million units per month by April, 1945. Memo from medical health officer to Puddester March 27, 1945 PANL GN 38/S6/5/3-20.

[94]Letter from McGrath to Puddester, Dec. 12, 1944. PANL GN 38/S6/5/3-20.

[95]"Penicillin Case Record" for the months of November and December 1944 and January 1945 at the General Hospital. When this record was sent by the medical health officer to the Commissioner Public Health and Welfare, he noted there was "still too large an amount of the drug not accounted for." memo dated Feb. 14, 1945. PANL GN 38/S6/5/3-20.

[96]Memo from the medical health officer, to the Commissioner of the Department of Public Health and Welfare, May 4, 1945. PANL GN 38/S6/5/3-20.

[97]"Penicillin Case Record" PANL GN 38/S6/5/3-20.

units and half the amount would be "for Government purposes" a category that included hospitals and VD clinics.[98] Newfoundland continued to get a supply from Washington; and, by the middle of 1945, it no longer had to worry about restricted amounts or providing reports of the use of penicillin.[99] In 1946 Sydney, later to reopen as a training home for delinquent girls, was no longer used as a lock hospital. Due to penicillin, writes Neary, "Newfoundland had left behind the nineteenth-century world of the lock hospital and entered the antibiotic age."[100]

The post-war age also brought Newfoundland its first court for minors. St. John's first juvenile court began in January 1945, specifically for unmarried males and females under seventeen involved in youth crime or in neglect cases.[101] One of its main responsibilities was to enforce the 1942 School Attendance Act and the 1944 Welfare of Children Act, modelled in part after the Canadian Juvenile Delinquents Act (1929). Since the passing of the 1942 Act to make school attendance compulsory, enforcement was the responsibility of the welfare officers of the Department of Public Health and Welfare. As Newfoundland's "traditional life-style of early school-leaving" lasted until 1949, when

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[98]Letter to the Secretary of Supply from the medical health officer of the Department of Public Health and Welfare, March 27, 1945. PANL GN 38/S6/5/3-20.

[99]Memo from the medical health officer to the Commissioner of the Department of Public Health and Welfare, June 5, 1945. PANL GN 38/S6/5/3-20.

[100]Neary, "Venereal Disease," 148.

[101]'Division of Child Welfare Report...No. 2 - 1946' in The Newfoundland National Convention 1946-1948, Vol. 2. See Hiller and Harrington eds., 301.

school attendance determined the payment of the federal family allowance, truancy was a major problem and greatly increased the workload of the welfare officers. Truancy could also bring a young person in front of the juvenile court. One aim of the separate juvenile court was to provide young people in trouble with the law with an alternative to prison. As well as plans for a girls home, in 1945 a reformatory for boys was established at Whitbourne. The first judge of the new court was also the director of Child Welfare, H.L. Pottle. The decision to combine the head of the Division with the head of the new court was widely criticized and discontinued after several years.[102]

If we accept Newfoundland's status as "part of the main," we gain a new appreciation of many of the simultaneous developments on the island and the mainland.[103] Newfoundland inaugurated its first juvenile court in 1945, the same year New York City renamed its Wayward Minor Court "Girl's Term." In 1945 subdivisions had been added to the Wayward Minor Act of 1925 which expanded the minor court's legal jurisdiction; one of these defined a wayward minor as anyone who "deserts his or her home" or behaves ""himself or herself as to wilfully injure or endanger the morals or health of himself or herself or others." A decade after the renaming, Girl's Term was described as a court for the diagnosis and rehabilitation of "the sexually promiscuous

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[102]Godfrey, Human Rights, 159-166. Quote: 166

[103]Quote from Neary, "Venereal Disease," 130.

girls, the runaway, the undisciplined, defiant youngster, the neglected girl."[104] This "socio-legal tribunal" was not intended for young women in trouble with the law, who would be directed to the Criminal Court. In 98 percent of cases girls were brought in by their parents to this new version of the Wayward Minor Court, which, suggestively, grew out of a juvenile division of the Women's Night Court - a court principally for prostitutes.[105]

Franca Iacovetta, and other scholars interested in delinquent girls, have noted working-class parents' use of the juvenile delinquent's court to discipline their disobedient daughters.[106] In America and Canada this type of court was instituted much earlier than Newfoundland, as young women in larger urban centres were the first to taste the liberation that economic freedom bring and the restrictions that quickly followed this new-found autonomy. In her study of delinquent girls in southern California, Mary Odem notes, "anxiety about adolescent female sexuality stemmed from profound changes in the lives of young working-class women and girls that increased their opportunities for social and sexual autonomy."[107] Toronto started Canada's first women's court in 1913. Strange

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[104]Bernard Fischer quoted in Rachel Devlin, "Female Juvenile Delinquency and the Problem of Sexual Authority in America, 1945-1965" in Delinquents and Debutantes: Twentieth-Century American Girls' Cultures, see Inness ed., 94.

[105]Devlin, "Female Juvenile Delinquency," 94-5.

[106]Franca Iacovetta, "Parents, Daughters, and Family Court Intrusions into Working-Class Life," in On the Case: Explorations in Social History. Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) 312-337.

[107]Mary Odem, Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female

and Loo find that, "[a]lthough no more than a score of women's and juvenile courts were established in Canada by War's end, they signalled that the movement for socialized justice had been launched - beginning with women and children, the guinea pigs in an emergent welfarist approach to criminal justice."[108]

The struggle for sexual autonomy could make the family home a battlefield. In Montreal after the First World War, "girls found that precocious romance was met by parent's threats of juvenile court and reform school" writes Tamara Myers, who also finds that the courts were unsympathetic to tales of domestic abuse and in these cases "upheld male sexual prerogative in families and punished errant female sexuality."[109] Anxieties about adolescent misbehaviour appear to have intensified in the 1940s; as Christabelle Sethna notes, "Juvenile Delinquency was identified as a major symptom of the war's assault on family life." Working mothers were blamed for "the legions of 'latch-key' boys and girls who got into trouble with the law." Moreover, maternal neglect was seen as particularly dangerous for daughters who needed more careful supervision, as it was a period of great anxiety over unrestrained female sexuality. "Over the course of the war, the female juvenile delinquent came to be seen as synonymous with the amateur

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Sexuality in the United States. 1885-1920. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995) 2.

[108]Strange and Loo, Making Good, 97.

[109]Tamara Myers, "Qui t'a débauchée? Family Adolescent Sexuality and the Juvenile delinquent's Court in Early-Twentieth-Century Montreal," in Family Matters: Papers in Post-Confederation Canadian Family History. Lori Chambers and Edgar-Andre Montigny

prostitute," writes Sethna.[110] The discourse of disease surrounded all women connected to the sex trade. Dorothy Chunn writes that British Columbia's VD campaign during the Second World War, shows that "[l]ongstanding conceptions of prostitutes as 'undeserving' women, who infected unsuspecting men, clearly remained engrained in the public culture."[111]

In Ontario, before and during the Second World War, women between sixteen and thirty-five could be incarcerated for up to two years "for immoral behaviour" under the Female Refuges Act (FRA); as Joan Sangster illustrates, "the meanings of normal female heterosexuality constructed and circulated through laws like the FRA [which] imprisoned all women's psyches, for this knowledge pervaded wider social groups, ordering all women's self-discipline and self-repression."[112] Recent studies of post-war Canada diagnose the regulation of delinquents as a restraint on female sexuality in the broader population. "In the late 1940s and the 1950s," writes Adams, "discourses about

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eds. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1998) 390.

[110]Christabelle Sethna, "Wait Till Your Father Gets Home: Absent Fathers, Working mothers and Delinquent Daughters in Ontario during World War II," in Family Matters. See Chambers and Montigny eds., 19-38.

[111]Dorothy E. Chunn, "A Little Sex Can Be a Dangerous Thing: Regulating Sexuality, Venereal Disease, and Reproduction in British Columbia, 1919-1945," in Challenging the Public/Private Divide: Feminism, Law, and Public Policy, Susan B. Boyd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) 77.

[112]Joan Sangster, "Incarcerating 'Bad Girls': The Regulation of Sexuality through the Female Refuges Act in Ontario, 1920-1945," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 7:2 (1996), 240-242.

delinquency - the threat of being labelled a delinquent - worked to control expressions of sexuality and to justify the sexual regulation of all young people."[113] As Mariana Valverde simplifies, "moral regulation involves routine processes affecting everyone, not just coercive measure affecting the few." Valverde also uncovers the guiding principle of post-war regulation: "the anxiety-filled faith in modernity of the social and moral engineers."[114]

Newfoundland's Girl's Home and Training School, which in 1944 was discussed as part of the new home for unmarried mothers, began operation in the former Sydney Hospital.[115] In 1946 the home was only in "part-time" use; it had not been "formally opened...due to the impossibility of securing the necessary staff."[116] The lock hospital that became a home for delinquent girls is a tangible example of the constraints placed on women who defied sexual norms. Institutions for 'wayward' women have two functions: they incarcerate and ostracize the delinquent, and their physical presence is a warning to all women of the consequences of 'immorality.' Although some of the young women who found themselves in the delinquent girls' home were convicted of other offences, such as truancy or disobeying their parents, it was the fear that they were becoming 'out of

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[113]Adams, The Trouble with Normal, 60.

[114]Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities,"; quotes: 23 and 40.

[115]For plans to combine a delinquent girls' and maternity home, see 'Salvation Army Campaign Underway' *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) September 12, 1944, 3.

[116]'Division of Child Welfare Report...No. 3 - 1946' in The Newfoundland National Convention 1946-1948, Vol. 2. See Hiller and Harrington eds., 304.

control' which led to their imprisonment - a fear directly related to their burgeoning sexuality. The political and then public discussion of VD control in St. John's demonstrates the role of discourse in the categorization, then incarceration, of the sexually suspicious.

Discourses "crystallize into institutions, they inform individual behaviour, they act as grids for the perception and evaluation of things," according to Foucault.[117] Following his theories, discourse creates 'the social', it does not reflect it, and the essence of social relations can by found in competing discourses.[118] In the St. John's anti-VD campaign, the advocates of enforced medical treatment had strident voices and the increasingly important access to the media. The community can be seen as repressive as they were determined to keep discussions of VD off the radio; perhaps they realized that discussions, even condemning ones, would result in VD and ultimately sex itself becoming widely discussed topics. The medical authorities may have appeared vindictive as they targeted the sexually suspicious, but they also delineated new areas for debate. The sexual climate was changing to one that encouraged more open discussions, although it did so in very gendered and moralistic ways. As Chunn observes, "Social Hygiene required the suppression of 'undeserving' women - 'Hitler's Girlfriends.' This approach

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[117]Foucault quoted in Adams, The Trouble with Normal, 6.

[118]Weeks, "Foucault for Historians," 111.

was the old moralism in technocratic guise."[119] It had serious repercussion for young women accused of 'sex delinquency', or, as Newfoundland's director of VD suggestively called them, "prostitutes in everything but the name." The medical discourse around VD control focused on the sexuality and sexual danger of women, and also reinforced the status of physicians as gatekeepers of medical/moral knowledge.

[119]Chunn, "A Little Sex Can Be a Dangerous Thing," 77.

Chapter 6

"dangerous territory": Conclusion

> Because women are more defined by sexuality than men,
> sexuality is for us a more dangerous territory.
> Mariana Valverde[1]

"The state has no place in the nation's bedrooms" Pierre Trudeau declared in 1967, when as minister of justice he introduced legislation to decriminalize adult same-sex relationships.[2] It appears Trudeau understood the use of political discourse to form and inform public opinion. In contrast to Trudeau's famous statement, studies of moral regulation show that the state has trouble staying out of the bedroom and in many nations it is a short distance from the bedroom to the courtroom. As Jeffrey Weeks reminds us:

> All societies, find it necessary to organize the erotic possibilities of the body in one way or another. They all need...to provide the permissions, prohibitions, limits and possibilities through which erotic life is organized. But they do so in a wide variety of ways. The study of sexuality therefore provides a critical insight into the wider organization of a culture.[3]

St. John's, Newfoundland shared many similarities with the rest of post-war North

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[1]Mariana Valverde, Sex, Power and Pleasure (Toronto: Women's Press, 1991) 37.

[2]Trudeau quoted in Mordecai Richler, "The Man Behind The Mania," *Saturday Night,* Sept 23, 2000, 32.

[3]Weeks, "Sexuality and History Revisited," 130 -131.

America. For all its cultural distinctiveness it was still part of a common culture, befitting its heritage as a British colony. One shared aspect was widespread anxiety over young women slipping parental bonds and becoming sexually active before marriage. With the outbreak of the Second World War and the arrival of the Canadians and Americans, the general economic picture in Newfoundland greatly improved. Many young women experienced the financial independence that is so often a prerequisite for personal, or sexual, autonomy. However, sexual freedom came with dire consequences in the pre-birth control era.

Newfoundland restricted all forms of sex-related information, including birth control. One American physician claimed that "vertical intercourse" was Newfoundland women's favourite method of contraception. It does not appear to have been very effective, and neither were the condoms that were issued to servicemen - despite the law. The number of single mothers in St. John's rose dramatically in the early 1940s; many of them went back to their parents' home with the baby, but women with more than one illegitimate child rarely had this opportunity. This group of mothers was regarded by the more vocal members of the Department of Public Health and Welfare as having fallen so far they could not hope to get back up. The Secretary of the Department claimed they were mentally deficient and suggested they should be incarcerated, though they had committed no crime, as they were a public danger.

St. John's home for unmarried mothers was strained to capacity during the war. A

new orphanage was built by the city to care for the increasing numbers of illegitimate children, partly because most of the orphanages attached to religious organizations did not want the children of "unmarried parents." Newfoundland introduced adoption legislation during the war, and hoped that adopting children would become as popular as it was in Canada and the United States. Lone mothers, who could not return to the family home, were thrown on their own resources. Some gave up their children, often to the father of the child or his family. Many lone mothers sought child support through the courts, bringing a suit against the alleged father. Success was, however, no guarantee of financial independence as the funds were filtered through the Department of Public Health and Welfare. The department's social workers monitored the women in receipt of these funds to ensure they, like the wives of Newfoundland soldiers overseas, were not engaging in 'immoral' behaviour.

The 1940s was an anxiety-ridden decade. Fear of the decline of moral values replaced the threat of fascism - but other threats loomed on the horizon. Women in general had gained a type of independence during the war, through military, economic and other opportunities. But it was female 'sex delinquency' that was regarded as a growing and dangerous social problem. The "wildness" of young women, according to Rachel Devlin, signified "the breakdown of the boundaries of gender as much as of civil behavior."[4] The 'amateur prostitute' of the First World War had become the "Non-

[4]Devlin, "Female Juvenile Delinquency," 95.

Commercial Girl" of the Second, with the realization that perhaps amateurs had encroached on the territory of the professionals.[5] The fear that women were entering the sex-trade were getting younger, was only one of the anxieties surrounding wartime prostitution in St. John's. As Chinese restaurants were popular meeting places, the Chinese also were targeted as sexual suspects as they were suspected of brothel-keeping. While they could do little to divert the racist discourse that implicated them in deviant sexuality, Chinese cafe owners protected their livelihoods by hiring a lawyer to protest an unfair piece of Newfoundland legislation. Single mothers at the Salvation Army home, and women incarcerated in the lock hospital also leave evidence that they were not docile bodies. The police were called to both institutions to charge 'unruly' women with disorderly behaviour, and there were several escape attempts from the Sydney Hospital for uncompliant VD patients.

As in the Victorian period, when the CD Acts were passed to control VD and therefore 'protect' soldiers, at the army's urging St. John's created a lock hospital to incarcerate women and forced them to comply with VD treatment. Historians, primarily women's historians, have shown that while the domestic CD Acts were rescinded after much protest, legislation very similar to the CD Acts lived on in other parts of the British Empire - and returned to Britain during both World Wars. This legislation depended on

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[5]"Non-Commercial Girl is No. 1 Wartime Menace to VD fight" *Evening Telegram* (St. John's) Aug. 19, 1943; also see Ch. 4. As a common expression 'amateur girl' replaced 'amateur prostitute' in the Second World War. Devlin, "Female Juvenile

men infected with VD naming their sources; it also legalized forced inspections and treatment and was usually aimed at sex-trade workers as they were frequently viewed as the contagion. Prostitution as a profession had existed since ancient times, as had the ties between soldiers and the sex-trade. "Because it contravened the sexual mores of Victorian society" writes Myra Trustram, the army felt constrained to condemn while condoning prostitution "because it kept middle class homes pure [as] it kept the all-male regiment pure from the taint of excessive numbers of women and domestic demands."[6] The military's pragmatic, if somewhat hypocritical, attitude continued into the Second World War.

Methods of VD control, and the debate over VD propaganda and prostitution, demonstrate how discourse constructs a social category. In Newfoundland's anti-VD propaganda, the single mother was targeted as deviant, as a prostitute, and as a potential 'source' of VD infection. Single mothers and prostitutes were characterized as young and careless, although that was not always the case. It is significant, but not unusual, that two immediate post-war developments in Newfoundland were the conversion of the lock hospital into a home for delinquent girls and the construction of a new and much larger home for unwed mothers. The new home's location, outside the city of St. John's, was in keeping with a general trend of removing the pregnant single women from public view.

Delinquency," 95.

[6]Myra Trustram, Women of the Regiment: Marriage and the Victorian Army (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 137.

The sharp rise in illegitimate births during the Second World War contributed to the anxiety surrounding single mothers. The children of unmarried mothers were seen as a societal problem that would need support by state intervention. Single mothers and prostitutes signified a deterioration of both moral and gender boundaries as they represented unfettered female sexuality. Delinquent girls represented another type of gender rebel - women developing 'masculine' attributes. The nineteenth century has been described as period when ideas of masculinity and femininity crystallized into 'separate spheres.' In the twentieth century, especially during and after the First World War, fractures began that cracked the gender-spheres. During both wars women took on occupations traditionally occupied by men, and, in the Second World War, formed units within the military. Women occasionally were seen in positions of authority inside and outside the military. Gendered modes of behaviour were therefore facing many challenges beyond the sexual. The contributions women made to the war effort were celebrated in Canadian National Film Board documentaries such as, 'Wings on her Shoulder' (1943) and 'Proudly She Marches' (1943), but, as David Frank points out, they "depicted the situation in not-so-subtle ways that identified women's roles as abnormal, secondary and temporary." Further Frank notes, "the promises of women's equality implied in wartime films were not central to Canada's plans for reconstruction."[7]

Many wartime and post-war changes were informed by medical opinion and are

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[7]David Frank, "Short Takes: Canadian Workers on Film," *Labour/Le Travail* 46

evidence of the rise of physicians and psychoanalysts as authority figures.[8] With the rise of the teenager and the new youth culture of the post-war world, indications of gender breakdown continued to pose challenges. These changes were concurrent with the elevated status of psychiatry and psychology. "The influence of the psychoanalytic paradigm" to quote Devlin, "can hardly be overstated. Its reach crossed boundaries of disciplines and institutions."[9] The influence of psychoanalytic ideas is apparent in many of McGrath's comments about single mothers in St. John's, who, like single mothers elsewhere, were being recategorized as deviant. In the twentieth century the medical profession turned its attention from the body and toward the mind; thus psychiatry gained new respect, at a time when the medical profession as a whole was making full use of its status as safe-keepers of knowledge.

Foucault compels us not to see our own time as the result of "liberating forces," but to see that "sex may be more openly discussed. But sex is still regulated and controlled, though by the more subtle means of medicine and social surveillance rather than by brute interdiction."[10] The medical regulation of sex is visible in the discourses

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(Fall 2000) 417-437; quote: 425.

[8]See Gleason, Normalizing the Ideal, esp. Ch. 1. 'Prelude to the Postwar Agenda: Psychology in Early Twentieth-Century Canada,' 19-36.

[9]Devlin, "Female Juvenile Delinquency," 99.

[10]Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish, cited in Weeks, "Foucault for Historians," 118.

surrounding single motherhood, the sex-trade, VD control and the delinquent girl; and the language of psychoanalysis was making an impact on social welfare providers as well as on physicians. Newfoundland's Director of Public Health and Welfare used the vocabulary of psychology to both condemn clients and confirm his own position as a 'progressive' professional, thereby securing the status of social workers as fellow authority figures.

Providers of social welfare were able to make use of more than surveillance as a coercive measure. Just as the family allowance cheque could be held out or held up to insure school attendance, the welfare office used the threat of withholding affiliation account funds, as they would later use welfare cheques, to secure appropriate behaviour from single mothers. Instead of the carrot of welfare funds, women suspected of prostitution, spreading VD, or juvenile delinquency were threatened with the stick of incarceration. The methods used are consistent with those in Canada and the United States, as is the discourse that evolved and surrounded these women. If, as Foucault theorized, discourse shapes reality and does not merely reflect it, then the incarceration of women is a reminder to venture beyond the verbal and examine the links between discourse and social practices. One part of discourse is the defining of the delinquent girl caught in the "grid of language" capturing the contagious, the sexually-precocious, the sex-trade worker and the single mother; discourse is also capable of shaping the

institutions, and the view of those institutions, which incarcerate or otherwise ostracize the sexually suspicious.[11]

[11]Quote: Weeks, "Foucault for Historians," 120.

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