

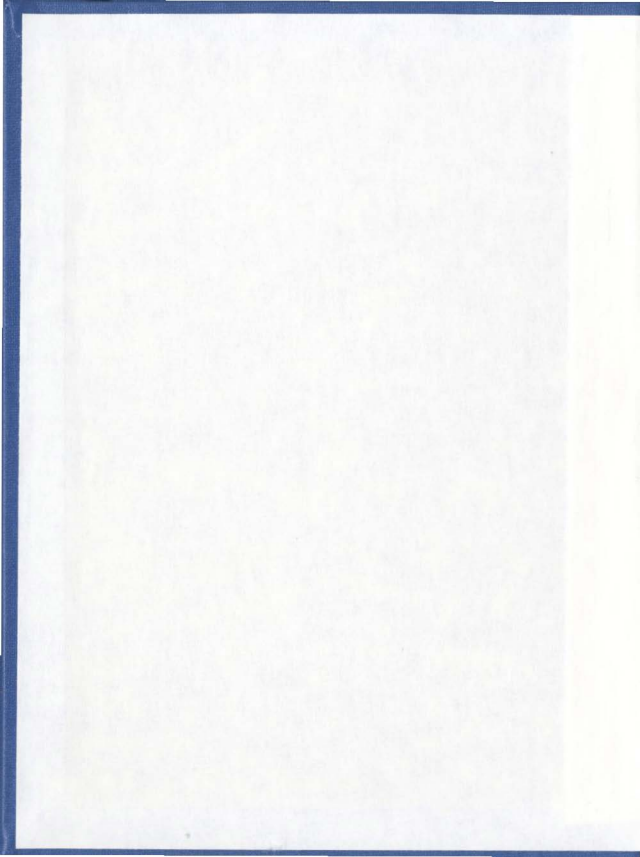
LIVING UNDER ONE ROOF:
HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIES IN THE BAY OF ISLANDS,
NEWFOUNDLAND, 1900-1935

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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**Living Under One Roof: Household Economies
in the Bay of Islands, Newfoundland, 1900-1935**

Janice Reid Boland

**submitted to the Department of History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of a
Master of Arts Degree**

August, 2001

Abstract

This thesis examines household economies in the Bay of Islands from 1900 to 1935. Simple demographic and statistical techniques are used to explore changing household economies in a rapidly populated and exploited frontier region before, during, and just after the industrial revolution arrived on Newfoundland's west coast in the guise of a railway in 1898, and a large pulp and paper mill and associated power plant in the 1920s. Bay of Islands settlers had access to economic resources and opportunities that were somewhat different than those available on Newfoundland's east coast. There was considerable variation in how households in different communities used these resources to survive. The resulting patterns of resource utilization were very different on the surface than those of the east coast traditional Newfoundland economy. So too were the structures of interaction with the formal economy.

The underlying logic from the household perspective, however, was the same on east and west coasts - to use a combination of whatever resources were at hand to ensure survival and well being - a universal logic that required the ability to continually adapt to changing needs, circumstances and resources. Newfoundland household economies have been so intricately intertwined with the local ecology that they are best understood through detailed local analysis. This is the only way to uncover the strategies that allow them to be resilient in the face of constant change.

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That said, I cheerfully accept responsibility for any errors and omissions in the work that follows.

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Introduction

The collapse of Atlantic cod stocks has deeply affected Newfoundland society, economy, politics and culture. For some time now, the contribution of politics and bureaucratic mismanagement, precipitated by Confederation and industrialization (overfishing), to the cod stocks' demise has been heatedly discussed in public and private. The relocation of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Newfoundland households in search of new livelihoods will bring urbanization into this discussion as well. Confederation, urbanization, and industrialization are key themes in Newfoundland's twentieth century history. How can their effect on Newfoundland household economies best be examined?

The traditional Newfoundland economy entrenched on the island by the turn of the last century is almost non-existent today. This, however, is not sufficient evidence that urbanization and industrialization - nurtured by Canadian money - were the foreign 'villains' that destroyed the traditional Newfoundland way of life. It was Newfoundland politicians, after all, who chose to promote industrialization and the (limited) urbanization that followed. Newfoundlanders continued to elect these politicians, and voted in favour of Confederation with Canada in 1949. People living in the traditional Newfoundland economy in the twentieth century were active participants in the transitions that presumably destroyed their traditional way of life. From the late nineteenth century to the present day, Newfoundland households have continued to live, work and adapt in changing economic, social, political and physical environments. How else would they have survived?

How and why do household survival strategies change over time? Households make economic choices about how to survive based on the economic opportunities available to them. There is a growing body of international literature addressing household economies that cuts across many disciplines, methodologies and geographies. Although Newfoundland historiography has been dominated by the politics and fisheries of the Avalon peninsula, in the past thirty years academic attention to Newfoundland household economies has been slowly increasing. Historically in Newfoundland, people moved elsewhere if local economic opportunities were not sufficient for social, economic, or personal reasons. If urbanization and industrialization were chosen *at the household level* as better alternatives than the traditional ("cod fishery") way of life or moving away, then perhaps there were good economic reasons for this. To find and understand these reasons we need to investigate Newfoundland household economies as the transitions took place.

The research presented here provides a statistical profile of how the key components of household economies evolved in the Bay of Islands, on Newfoundland's west coast, from 1900 to 1935. In the first decades of this century increasing numbers of Bay of Islands households were challenged to adapt quickly to an emerging regional economy shaped by abundant natural resources on land and sea, and the people, governments and industrialists that sought to exploit them. The industrial revolution arrived in the Bay of Islands in the guise of a railway in 1898, and a large pulp and paper mill and associated power plant in the 1920s. As there is to date relatively little historical

work about the west coast, this thesis uses census data to lay the groundwork of population and economic patterns in the Bay of Islands in the early twentieth century. Simple demographic and statistical techniques provide the means to begin to explore changing household economies in a rapidly populated and developed region. This statistical analysis is the necessary first step for mapping the transitions that took place in household economies in the Bay of Islands, and for understanding the underlying logic and survival strategies of these household economies and the people active within them.

The prerequisite literature review presented in Chapter 1 highlights how household economies have been investigated in various disciplines, discusses household economies in Newfoundland historiography, and examines historical work about the Bay of Islands to date. Chapter 2 summarizes what we know of the Bay of Islands' development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and uses census data and demographic techniques to investigate population growth and settlement patterns in the Bay of Islands from 1891 to 1935. Chapter 3 uses per household analysis of census data to outline changing patterns of economic activity in the Bay of Islands during the study period. The conclusion discusses what the material presented in Chapters 2 and 3 adds to the study of Bay of Islands history and the questions it raises for the investigation of household economies in the traditional Newfoundland economy.

Chapter 1: Living Under One Roof: Literature Review of Household Economies

A detailed analysis of all the literatures and approaches to studying households would be well beyond the scope of this master's thesis. However, since many of the relevant academic approaches to households, their economies and inhabitants have not been widely used in the Newfoundland literature to date, section 1.1 presents an overview of ideas and concepts about household economy from several disciplines. This provides context for discussion of household economies in Newfoundland historiography in section 1.2 Section 1.3 provides a brief discussion of historical works about the Bay of Islands.

1.1 Household Economies in Economics, Sociology and History

Intuitively, we all are familiar with what a household economy is, because we live within one, and have perhaps lived in several in our lifetimes. Household economies are basic to our lives.¹ It is not surprising, then, that household economies are also an important analytical unit for several humanities disciplines, including economics, sociology, women's history, demographic history, and family economic history.² In this

¹J. Schmidt, for example, prefaces his discussion this way: "Household is a very sombre term for what is actually a basic human need." J. Schmidt, "Principles emerging from sociology for definitions and typologies of household structures," in Niko Keilman, Anton Kuijsten and Ad Vossen, eds., *Modelling Household Formation and Dissolution*. (Oxford Press: New York, 1988), p. 13.

²Richard E. Bilsborrow and Martha Geores, "Population Change and Agricultural Intensification," in Niko Keilman, Anton Kuijsten and Ad Vossen, eds., *Modelling Household Formation and Dissolution*. (Oxford Press: New York, 1988). Bilsborrow and Geores, for example, not only discuss the importance of households to many disciplines, but also identify it as the "level that full multidisciplinary collaboration in both the data collection phase and the analysis phase—involving ecologists, agriculturalists, and social scientists—can be most useful and is most needed." p. 202.

section these disciplines are briefly discussed in relation to household economies, to provide context for literature specific to Newfoundland.

In economic and sociological literature, the concept of an 'informal economy' encompasses much household economic activity.³ The informal economy is difficult to define. This is partly because the economic literature defines it in relation to the 'formal economy' which is the object of most economic enquiry, and partly because the generally accepted definition allows the term 'informal economy' to be applied to a very wide range of activities. Formal economic systems are recognized, protected, regulated and taxed by governing institutions.⁴ Formal economies exist because capitalists need them to create wealth, and the working class (perhaps partly as a result of urbanization and industrialization) needs them to survive.⁵ The exchange of work for wages is beneficial to

³Marilyn Waring, for instance, argues that most household economic activity is informal, and asks "How can the true motives of households be observed when the vast proportion of their consumption, throughout the world, is of production and services that never enter the [formal] market?" Marilyn Waring, *Counting For Nothing: What Men Value and What Women Are Worth*. (Allen and Unwin: Wellington, 1988), p. 49.

⁴People working in formal economies have certain rights and responsibilities. For example, in the present modern capitalist system workers' rights include a minimum wage and a 'healthy' work environment, and their responsibilities include working a set number of hours per day or pay period, and abiding by the rules and regulations of their employer. Alejandro Portes, et al, *The Informal Economy in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*. (The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1989), pp. 12, 26-27; David P. Ross and Peter J. Usher, *From The Roots Up: Economic Development as if Community Mattered*. (Vanier Institute of the Family: Ottawa, 1986), pp. 22-27. Also see Rosemary Ommmer, *Lecture to the Sea Education Association*. (Memorial University of Newfoundland, July 22, 1992).

⁵Harold Lubell, *The Informal Sector in the 1980s and 1990s*. (Development Centre of the Organisation For Economic Co-operation and Development: Paris, 1991), p. 21. William Nicholls and William Dyson, *The Informal Economy Where People Are The Bottom Line*. (Vanier Institute of the Family: Ottawa, 1983) identify "network[s] of families and persons" in a "mutual support system" as the fundamental basis of informal economies. pp. 27, 29. Ross and Usher, *From The Roots Up: Economic Development*, emphasise the distinction between informal economies existing for "maintenance and

capitalists because it is not an equal exchange, and therefore generates wealth. It is nevertheless beneficial to workers because it contributes to household economies.

In 1972, 'informal economy' was introduced to the study of economics as

a way of doing things, characterised by: a) ease of entry; b) reliance on indigenous resources; c) family ownership of resources; d) small scale of operation; e) labour-intensive and adapted technology; f) skills acquired outside the formal school system; g) unregulated and competitive markets.⁶

This definition has been the guideline for subsequent use of the term in economics and much sociology.⁷ The informal economy is categorised as a combination of activities that fall outside the boundaries of formal (usually seen as commercial) economies to include black market and subsistence activities, barter, skills exchange, and voluntary and cooperative endeavours of various scales.⁸ Informal economies, which may or may not be commercially based, are not officially recognised or taxed by governing institutions.⁹

survival" and formal economies existing for "accumulation and growth," pp. 37-40. Waring, *Counting For Nothing*, says that formal economic studies and accounting overlook the informal economy altogether, Chapters 1, 3 and 9.

⁶International Labour Organization, *World Employment Program: Kenya Report*. 1972, quoted in Lubell, *The Informal Sector*, p. 17.

⁷See Lubell, *The Informal Sector*.

⁸See Lubell, *The Informal Sector*; Nicholls and Dyson, *The Informal Economy*; Ross and Usher, *From The Roots Up: Economic Development*; Portes et al, *The Informal Economy*. Waring, *Counting For Nothing*, identifies the informal economy as a grey area between the labour market and the housewife, and characterizes the bartering, trading goods, "off the books" and "under the table" employment, volunteer work, "home based activities" and "deviant [illegal] work activities" that make up the informal sector as "invisible" to economic theorists. p. 22.

⁹Government and business see the informal (they call it "underground") economy as a tax dodge, abusive of the 'system', and immoral. See Lubell, *The Informal Sector*, pp. 21, 69, 97-8.

While this makes them more flexible than formal economies from an economist's point of view (since they are not required to adhere to specific rules, regulations, and structures), it is argued that without government protection informal economies are more vulnerable than formal economies.¹⁰ Economists try to analyse the flow of goods in and out of the informal economy, while sociologists investigate relations between different groups engaged in informal economic activity.¹¹

Most of the economic and sociological literature about the informal economy focuses (in practice, if not in theory) on the urban poor of third world countries, and is concerned with the reasons for avoidance of regulations, what this means for workers in the informal sector, and how small a given operation must be to be classified as informal. In other words, the informal economy literature to date is concerned primarily with the commercial sector of the urban informal economy, and how it relates to, and supports, the formal economy.¹²

There is a common theme in the 'informal economic' literature: everyone agrees that there is an urgent need to dispel the myth that 'the' economy and the formal economy are synonymous. Both economists and sociologists have identified the informal economy

¹⁰Portes et al, *The Informal Economy*, pp. 12, 26-27; Ross and Usher, *From The Roots Up: Economic Development*, pp. 22-27. See also Ommer, *Lecture to the Sea Education Association*, and Waring, *Counting For Nothing*.

¹¹See Lubell, *The Informal Sector*, and Portes et al, *The Informal Economy*.

¹²Lubell, *The Informal Sector*, p. 11. Lubell reviews literature that is almost exclusively about informal sectors in African, Asian and Latin American economies.

as a new phenomenon which enables huge populations to cope with the uncertainties and hardships of unstable and or undeveloped formal economic systems.¹³ This characterizes the informal sector as a 'refuge of last resort' - a 'secondary' economic system which is utilized only when it is impossible to survive exclusively in the formal economy.

This characterization does not, however, ring true at the household level. Distinguishing between economic systems and economic activities helps clarify this conundrum. While the respective logics of the formal and informal economic *systems* are different, both formal and informal economic *activities* undertaken by people in household economies are for survival and well-being. If informal economies are turned to when formal economies fail a particular household or community, then these informal economies are more reliable than the formal economy *at the household level*. Waring clarifies this:

Households do, and have at all times, combined labour, capital goods (land or reproducible fixed assets), and intermediate goods to produce what is required to satisfy their needs when the market fails to do so. In times of crisis, when markets are disrupted, household production largely substitutes for organised market output.¹⁴

¹³Lubell, *The Informal Sector*, p. 17. All of the articles Lubell, *The Informal Sector*, and Portes et al, *The Informal Economy*, review address the informal economy as a new development. Portes et al. *The Informal Economy*, refer more than once in their introduction to the fact that they have 'discovered' the informal economy in North America, p. 2. Nicholls and Dyson, *The Informal Economy*, refer to the informal economy as a "new ecology now arriving on the scene" and a "new institutional development," p. 6. Ross and Usher, *From the Roots Up*, also refer to the difficulty of "identifying a 'new' phenomenon that we do not know much about," p. 36.

¹⁴Waring, *Counting For Nothing*, p. 231. People in all known societies have made choices about which resources to use, and how to best use them, to ensure their 'economic well-being'. This type of trade-off is what economists refer to as a 'calculation of opportunity costs'.

The informal economy is not new.¹⁵ There have always been informal economies no matter what the formal economy has been. In most of the modern world informal economies continue to be paramount to household survival. Perhaps the issue of how informal economies have developed has been obscured by the characteristics of the third world informal economies that the literature investigates, together with the assumption that the informal economy is a modern urban phenomenon.¹⁶

The questions that the economic and sociological investigations do not ask are those that would help identify the informal economy as an ongoing historical phenomenon. When historical questions are asked of informal economies the apparent contradictions in the literature may be more readily resolved. It is important to understand how a particular

¹⁵Economists are seeing the informal economy for the first time, and trying to make it fit neatly into their formal economic theories. This approach seems rather backwards, as economists were, after all, the people who "formalized" the formal economy, and left out the informal economy in the first place. See Waring, *Counting For Nothing*, which challenges the "skewed definitions of work and labour that are used by economists [which] result in an equally skewed concept of production." p. 22. According to Waring, economists define labour as "only those activities that produce surplus value"; consequently, reproductive activities - "growing and processing food, nurturing, educating, and running a household" - are not productive by economists' definitions, p. 22-23.

¹⁶Informal economic activity is also an important aspect of first world (as distinct from third world) and rural ways of life. Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns 1880-1950*. (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1982), for instance, recognizes, through her studies of women's history that informal economic activities "in fact make up the greater part of total social labour even in advanced capitalist societies." p. 242. According to Lubell, *The Informal Sector*, informal economies that have been recognised and studied in Western Europe and the United States have much in common with their counterparts in the third world, p. 106. Most of these studies focus on the urban poor and/or recent immigrants from third world countries. See, for example, Saskia Sassen-Koob, "New York City's Informal Economy," in Alejandro Portes *et al*, *The Informal Economy in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*. (The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1989), and Alex Stepick, "Miami's Two Informal Sectors," in Alejandro Portes *et al*, *The Informal Economy in Advanced and Less Developed Countries*. (The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 1989).

informal economy developed in relation with a particular formal economy and vice versa. This makes it necessary to examine how formal and informal economies, and the relationship between them, have changed or remained the same in a particular place, over time. This can be effectively accomplished by examining household economies as they evolve.

It is within household economies that all definitions of economic activity - formal, informal, commercial, non-commercial, subsistence, and household production - interact at the most basic level. Household economies are the common ground that all of these share. It is in response to the needs of a given household economy that the decision to embark upon various forms of economic activity is undertaken by members of that household - who move from economy to economy as they see fit, given the opportunities available in a particular time and place. Using a household perspective (as opposed to a large scale governmental, corporate or capitalist perspective) helps clarify the relationship between the informal and formal economy.

Households and their economic activities are much more visible in women's history and family history, which address the concept of household economy very directly in many cases. Much women's history identifies informal economic activity, particularly that of women and children, as equally important as waged contributions to the household. This holds true in many times and places.¹⁷ Two family history methodologies -

¹⁷Sonya O. Rose, "Proto-industry, Women's Work and the Household Economy in the Transition to Industrial Capitalism," *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 13 (2,1988), pp. 181-193. Rose says that

demographic and economic family history - are especially helpful to the study of household economies.¹⁸

Historical demography is important and useful to the study of households for several reasons. Historical demography encompasses whole populations, not just an elite group or random sample, and is thus as representative as possible of a particular society.¹⁹ Historical demography can help interpret a population's changing social, economic and

much research in proto-industrial communities "has confirmed the importance of the work of women and children to the household economy." p. 181. Martha May, "The 'Good Managers': Married Working Class Women and Family Budget Studies, 1895-1915," *Labor History*, Vol. 25 (1984), discussing 19th century Britain, describes a "complex family economy" in which men, women and children all engaged in economic activity that was important to the family's survival, with occasional help given to or received from friends, neighbours and relatives, p. 355. Mark Rosenfield, "'It was a Hard Life': Class and Gender in the Work and Family Rhythms of a Railway Town, 1920-1950," *Historical Papers* (Canadian Historical Association: Ottawa, 1988), found that the household economic strategies of Barrie, Ontario from 1920 to 1950 were "collective endeavours" among all family members, involving "emotional and physical burdens" for everyone in the household, p. 279. Leah Leneman, "Fit For Heroines? Women and Scottish Land Settlement After World War 1," *Oral History*, Vol. 19 (Autumn, 1991), argues that the informal economic activity of each family member - not wage labour - was the "essential unit on a small holding", pp. 55-58. Joy Parr, *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, (McLelland and Stewart: Toronto, 1982), includes several articles that highlight the importance of children to the economic survival of their households. See for example Peter Moogk, "Les Petites Sauvages: The Children of Eighteenth Century New France," in Joy Parr, *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, (McLelland and Stewart: Toronto, 1982), which highlights the importance of the economic contribution of children to the "success of the family as an economic unit" p. 43; and Bettina Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885," in Joy Parr, *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, (McLelland and Stewart: Toronto, 1982), which emphasises the centrality of waged labour force participation by all family members to the survival of the household, with men being primary participants, and wives participating only as a last resort.

¹⁸Lawrence Stone, "Family History in the 1980s: Past Achievements and Future Trends," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 12 (1981), identifies five genres of family history - legal, demographic, economic, social and behavioural, pp. 55, 64-66.

¹⁹David Gagan and Herbert Mays, "Historical Demography and Canadian Social History: Families and Land in Peel County, Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. LIV (March, 1973), pp. 30-31; and E. A. Wrigley, *Population and History from the traditional to the modern world*, (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1986), p. 13.

natural environments, and vice versa.²⁰ Households, as the “basic decision-making units” of life,²¹ and “the level at which the role of women in environmental management and its linkages to her economic [and social] activities”²² are best examined, are an appropriate target for demographic and historical enquiry - and indeed a necessary one. The four central components of historical demography are births, deaths, immigrants and emigrants.²³ Demography studies human populations with respect to their size, structure,

²⁰“The pressures of hard times and the opportunities of happier periods are reflected in historical demography.” Wrigley, *Population and History*, p. 13.

²¹Households are “the basic decision-making units” regarding “housing amenity use, consumption, and the use of social security provisions and fertility, nuptiality, divorce and migration.” according to Anton Kuijsten and Ad Vossen, “Introduction,” in Niko Keilman, Anton Kuijsten and Ad Vossen, eds., *Modelling Household Formation and Dissolution*, (Oxford Press: New York, 1988), pp. 4-5. Bilsborrow and Geores, “*Population Change and Agricultural Intensification*,” argue that the “household is the locus for both demographic and resource-use decisions, so households are the immediate actors whose behaviour must be better understood to address the rural land use and environmental problems of developing countries.” p. 202.

²²Bilsborrow and Geores, “*Population Change and Agricultural Intensification*,” p. 202.

²³Natural increase (the excess of births over deaths), net migration (the difference between the number of immigrants and emigrants) and population composition (the distribution of individuals in a population according to characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, and so on) are the basic building blocks of demographic analysis, and use simple statistical techniques, such as ratios, in addition to population pyramids, growth rates and cohort analysis. A. H. Pollard, *Demographic Techniques*, (Pergamon Press Pty Ltd.: Rushcutters Bay, 1974), p.14-15.

A population’s age-sex distribution is represented using a population pyramid, which allows for comparison of different populations in different years. See Pollard, *Demographic Techniques*, pp. 13, 90-1; Michael Drake, *Historical Demography, problems and projects*, (The Open University Press, 1974), pp. 11-40. Cohort Analysis helps establish how a given population grew between census years, and when it experienced losses that are not apparent from examining growth rates and/or population pyramids. See T. K. Hareven, “Cycles, courses and cohorts: reflections on theoretical and methodological approaches to the historical study of family development,” *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 12, and also Rosemary Ommer, *Annex: Socio-economic Profile of Selected South Coast Communities: Newfoundland, 1845-1945*, (Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John’s, n.d.), p. 3.

and development, often using the family as the base unit.²⁴ Some argue that population growth is best understood in relation to growth rates “in the consumption of natural and human-made resources”²⁵ and in relation to other processes, such as urbanization and resource extraction.²⁶

There is a debate in the family history literature as to what precisely constitutes a household, and the problems inherent in defining and investigating each. This literature also has its own terminology, methodology, and theories.²⁷ The most common definition of a household is ‘a group of people sleeping under one roof’²⁸ who work together towards some end. This may be to “achieve given social goals,”²⁹ to “produce what is required to satisfy their needs,”³⁰ or to create “‘outputs’ at least some of which are shared

²⁴Kuijsten and Vossen, *Introduction to Modelling Household Formation and Dissolution*, p. 3; Pollard, *Demographic Techniques*, pp. 1-2.

²⁵Lourdes Arizpe and Margarita Velazquez, “The Social Dimensions of Population,” in Niko Keilman, Anton Kuijsten and Ad Vossen, eds., *Modelling Household Formation and Dissolution*, (Oxford Press: New York, 1988), p. 17.

²⁶Lourdes Arizpe, M. Priscilla Stone, and David C. Major eds., “Introduction,” *Population and the Environment: Rethinking the Debate*, (Westview Press: Oxford, 1994), pp. 8-9.

²⁷See, for example, Olivia Harris, “Households and Their Boundaries,” *History Workshop*, Vol. 13 (Spring, 1982), pp. 143-152; and Rayna Rapp, Ellen Ross and Renate Bridenthall, “Examining Family History,” in *Sex and Class in Women’s History*, Judith L. Newton, Mary P. Ryan and Judith R. Walkowitz eds. (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1983), pp. 232-258.

²⁸D. J. Casley, and D. A. Lury, *Data Collection in Developing Countries*, (Clarendon Press: New York, 1987), p. 187, quoted in Waring, *Counting For Nothing*, p. 72; and Schmidt, “Principles emerging from sociology,” p. 14. See also Harris, “Households and Their Boundaries”.

²⁹Schmidt, “Principles emerging from sociology,” emphasises that a household does not exist in a vacuum, but “function[s] as permanent institution” within the community, p. 14.

³⁰Waring, *Counting For Nothing*, p. 231.

among its members" for their satisfaction.³¹ Family economic history generally studies poor and/or peasant families, the effects of urbanization and industrialization upon them, and to some extent women's participation in the formal labour force.³² Usually household economy is addressed with respect to the wage contributions of men, women, children or the aged to the household economy.³³ Households are most often viewed in family economic history as units of production up until the seventeenth century, with members working mostly in or around the home, or increasingly since that time as units of consumption, with waged labour carried out by individual family members outside the home.³⁴ Much family history relates social class and access to means of production to household formation and economic strategies. This is especially the case in studies of "the transition of peasant societies to industrial capitalism."³⁵ Rose and others argue that

³¹J. Ermisch, "An Economic perspective on household modelling," in Niko Keilman, Anton Kuijsten and Ad Vossen, eds., *Modelling Household Formation and Dissolution*, (Oxford Press: New York, 1988), p. 23.

³²Stone, "Family History," p. 64. For an overview of the state of family history in Canada, see, Bettina Bradbury, ed. *Canadian Family History: Selected Readings*, (Copp Clark Pittman: Toronto, 1992). Other examples of family history addressing the issue of household economy are Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs Cows and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival Among Montreal Families, 1861-1891," *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 14 (Fall, 1984); and John Bullen, "Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in LateNineteenth Century Urban Ontario," *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 18 (Fall, 1986).

³³Stone, "Family History," pp. 64-66.

³⁴Stone, "Family History," pp. 55, 64.

³⁵Jose Miguel Martinez Carrion, "Peasant Household Formation and the Organization of Rural Labor in the Valley of Segura During the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 13 (1. 1988), p. 91. Rosenfeld, "It was a Hard Life," for example, argues that "class and gender conditions and relations of the period set limits to what was available and possible for the men and women" to contribute to the household economy, and furthermore, that men and women were aware of these constraints, p. 237.

family strategies, those arrangements which adjusted family labour and household composition to prevailing opportunities and constraints, did not change in a uniform way during the transition to modern industrial organization.³⁶

This transition is central to family economic literature, as are changes in the strategies households used to deal with industrialization and urbanization.

Urbanization was very much a part of the industrial revolution, and affected rural as well as urban areas.³⁷ During the industrial revolution economic changes were local or regional phenomena, and so there were many different coping and survival strategies. Employment structures, lifestyles and household economies were “revolutionized” in small areas at a time by industrialization and urbanization.³⁸ Urbanization and industrialization both required a hinterland.³⁹ Growing cities required a steady supply of migrant workers, natural resources and food. As urbanization expanded across countries and continents it created hinterlands further and further afield of its cities, with the result that new frontiers were repeatedly being sought out, settled and transformed.⁴⁰ In these frontiers,

³⁶Rose, “Proto-industry, Women’s Work and the Household Economy,” p. 182.

³⁷Brian R. Roberts, “Urbanization and the Environment in Developing Countries: Latin America in Comparative Perspective” in Niko Keilman, Anton Kuijsten and Ad Vossen, eds., *Modelling Household Formation and Dissolution*, (Oxford Press: New York, 1988), argues that “urbanization is a global process that not only concentrates population in cities but transforms rural areas, and thus has substantial implications for the environment of both.” p. 303.

³⁸Wrigley, *Population and History*, p. 154.

³⁹William Cronon, *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, (W. W. Norton and Company: New York and London, 1991), p. 105.

⁴⁰Roberts, “Urbanization and the Environment in Developing Countries,” p. 305.

subsistence agriculture was an extremely important part of the informal economy that developed in conjunction with emerging and expanding formal economies.⁴¹ At the same time subsistence agriculture decreased in importance in urban areas. As the frontier stage arrived, took root, and then passed, household economies changed in both city and countryside.⁴²

⁴¹In the hinterland of Chicago, for example, the farming economy depended heavily on produce not sent to market to supply the family diet, while the "cash crop" provided "clothing, instruments of husbandry, medicine and spiritous liquors" and so on. Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, p. 104. Cronon describes how farmers and storekeepers "each performed an essential function for the other." Without farmers storekeepers would have had no business. Without storekeepers' credit and "willingness to purchase produce" farmers would not have had access to the formal economy. The informal economy that supplemented these efforts was extensive. Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis*, p.105.

See for example, Beatrice Craig, "Agriculture and the Lumberman's Frontier in the Upper St. John Valley, 1800-1870," *Journal of Forest History*, (July, 1988), pp. 125-137. Craig discusses logger-farmers, highlighting the importance of male formal and informal activity to the household economy. "Farmers' participation in the lumber industry varied by time, place and the needs of the individuals involved." Agriculture and forest industries supported each other, as "farmers needed the supplementary income from winter work in the lumber camps, as their farms could not sell enough farm products to provide for their needs; and the lumber industry needed the cheap labour the farmers represented." Craig, "Agriculture and the Lumberman's Frontier," p. 125. "The [lumber] industry created direct opportunities for entrepreneurs, expanded the available range of wage-earning occupations, and opened a market for agricultural products. Because logging also accelerated population growth by attracting immigrants, who, after a few years at least, might have difficulty living wholly off the land, the lumber industry indirectly boosted the demand for consumer goods and services. This boost may have been just enough to sustain local small-scale industries." Craig, "Agriculture and the Lumberman's Frontier," p. 132. See also F. K. Donnelly, *Family and household in mid-nineteenth century New Brunswick*, (Division of Social Science, University of New Brunswick: Saint John, 1986), who describes household economies in nineteenth century New Brunswick that encompassed logging, coupled with some combination of family farming and fishing. The formal economy had an impact on the development of remote regions which had very substantial informal activities completing the household economies. Donnelly, *Family and Households*, pp. 20-22.

⁴²Chad Gaffield, "Schooling, the Economy, and Rural Society in Nineteenth Century Ontario," in Joy Parr ed. *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, (McClelland and Stewart Ltd.: Toronto, 1982), describes a combination of agriculture and logging in rural nineteenth century Ontario, in which children played an important role in the family's economic activities. This changed after the 1850s, as land became in shorter supply, and the area "lost its frontier character." As the farming-lumbering economy broke down so too did the demand for child labour within the family, pp. 74-75. Alan A. Brookes, "Family, Youth and Leaving Home in Late Nineteenth Century Nova Scotia: Canning and the Exodus, 1868-1893," in Joy Parr ed. *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, (McClelland and Stewart Ltd.:

This transformation is the origin of many of the questions raised about household economic activity. Whether to understand what has changed, or to point out what has remained the same, the effects of urbanization and industrialization on households and families are underlying themes in economics, sociology, women's studies, family history and demography. The transition to capitalism and the development and transformation of frontiers are important issues in all of these literatures. These are also key themes in Newfoundland historiography, as discussed next in section 1.2.

1.2 Household Economies in Newfoundland Historiography

There are many parallels between the international approaches to household economies and the way they have been studied to date in Newfoundland. This section provides an overview of several aspects of Newfoundland academic work, including economic history dealing with the formal aspects of the cod fishery and sociological works which have investigated the informal economy in late twentieth century rural Newfoundland. It also discusses household economic activity in Newfoundland as presented in historical geography, including demographic analysis and recent historical enquiries, which include the concepts of informal economy and household economy, women's studies, women's history and amateur biographies and autobiographies. This

Toronto, 1982), describes a similar chain of events in the depressed economy of post-1860s Nova Scotian households, when youths began a pattern of leaving school, home and the Maritimes in search of employment.

overview is presented to help assess how urbanization and industrialization, and to some extent confederation, are thought to have impacted traditional Newfoundland household economies, to provide the framework for my present research on the household economies of the Bay of Islands, Newfoundland.

Sadly, the most chronicled economic change in Newfoundland in the last hundred years has been the demise of the cod fishery.⁴³ Many Newfoundland households have managed to adapt, using survival strategies similar to those of households around the world.⁴⁴ These strategies are intimately interwoven with local economies, ecologies, cultures, and social structures. Survival is possible through a longstanding tradition of expedient adaptation to changing circumstances designed to obtain the greatest benefits from whatever combination of limited, or fragile, resources - formal and informal, commercial and non-commercial - are available.

However not all of these resources have received equal attention in Newfoundland historiography. More scholarly literature has focused on Newfoundland's formal economy - the cod fishery - after politics, than on any other aspect of Newfoundland life.⁴⁵ Local

⁴³Shannon Ryan, "The Newfoundland Salt Cod Trade in the Nineteenth Century," in James K. Hiller and Peter Neary eds. *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Essays in Interpretation*, (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1980). Ryan says that the cod fishery's nineteenth century decline "into greater and greater economic difficulties must be counted among the basic themes of modern Newfoundland history." Ryan, "The Newfoundland Salt Cod Trade," p. 63. See also James K. Hiller and Peter Neary, "Introduction," in James K. Hiller and Peter Neary. *Twentieth Century Newfoundland: Explorations*, (Breakwater: St. John's, 1994).

⁴⁴See footnote 17, this paper.

⁴⁵James K. Hiller, "The Newfoundland Credit System: An Interpretation," in Rosemary E. Ommer, ed. *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, (Acadiensis Press:

economic history has focused on the (cod) fishery.⁴⁶ Newfoundland's salt cod industry and Newfoundland's traditional economy developed together for centuries on Newfoundland's east coast, and became firmly entrenched in the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ Newfoundland's traditional economy had two main players - merchants and households. The cod fishery was the primary formal economic activity of both groups. It is not surprising, then, that the perceived health and vibrancy of the traditional Newfoundland economy at any given time has been intricately connected with the fate of the cod fishery. Ryan argued in 1980 that twentieth century Newfoundland is best understood "by first examining the history and legacy" of Newfoundland's traditional economy because the urban centres of twentieth century Newfoundland were established in the context of that economy, and in an attempt to deal with that economy's short comings.⁴⁸ By 1900 the "forces of modernization and industrialization" were, according to Ryan, already eroding "the

Fredericton, 1990), p. 86. For political histories, see S. J. R. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland*, (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1971); Peter Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World 1929-1949*, (McGill-Queen's University Press: Kingston and Montreal, 1988); Frederick W. Rowe, *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador*, (McGraw-Hill Ryerson: Toronto, 1980).

⁴⁶The literature about the salt cod industry in Newfoundland and Labrador is fairly extensive. See Shannon Ryan, *Fish Out of Water. The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814-1914*, (Breakwater: St. John's, 1986); David Alexander, *The Decay of Trade. An Economic History of the Newfoundland Saltfish Trade, 1935-1965*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1977); Shannon Ryan, *The Ice Hunters. A History of Newfoundland Sealing to 1914*, (Breakwater: St. John's, 1994). Harold Innes, *The Cod Fishery*, (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1954) was the first 'modern' enquiry into the cod fishery of Newfoundland.

⁴⁷Ryan, "The Newfoundland Salt Cod Trade," p. 3. Also see Ryan, *Fish Out of Water*. Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, provides an authoritative and concise history of the development of the Newfoundland Cod fishery from the beginning of the sixteenth century, pp. 25-59.

⁴⁸Ryan, "The Newfoundland Salt Cod Trade," p. 40.

ancient maritime economy of Newfoundland," precipitating the changes that were to take place in Newfoundland's economy in the twentieth century.⁴⁹ Newfoundland experienced diverse economic changes in the twentieth century which have been discussed in formal economic history, but have not been widely discussed in terms of household economies.

In the late 1880s and early 1890s there was a "crisis in the traditional economy" of Newfoundland.⁵⁰ More particularly, there was a crisis in the island's salt cod industry.⁵¹ Alexander, an economic historian, argued that this crisis was caused in part by expansion of individual fishing effort to what had become an unsustainable level by 1884, and was compounded by responsible government development strategies which emphasized inland settlement, industrialization, the construction of a railway and the introduction of foreign investment capital.⁵² These strategies, argued Alexander, failed to promote domestic entrepreneurship and capital investment, and largely ignored the fisheries, Newfoundland's

⁴⁹Ryan, "The Newfoundland Salt Cod Trade," p. 40. Also see Ryan, *Fish Out of Water*, and William Reeves. "'Our Yankee Cousins': modernization and the Newfoundland American Relationship 1896-1910," (Doctoral Thesis, University of Maine, 1971).

⁵⁰David Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934," in James K. Hiller, and Peter Neary, eds. *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Essays in Interpretation*, (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1980).

⁵¹David Alexander, *The Decay of Trade. An Economic History of the Newfoundland Saltfish Trade. 1935-1965*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research. Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1977).

⁵²The crisis in the fishery had been a central issue in a country where over one third of the labour force was employed in the fishery, as was the case in Newfoundland in the first half of the twentieth century. David Alexander, "Development and Dependence in Newfoundland," in *Atlantic Canada and Confederation*, E. W. Sager, L. R. Fisher and S. O. Pierson, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), pp. 8-11, 14, 32; and Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934," pp. 23-32.

largest (and perhaps only) viable economic resource.⁵³ Newfoundland government, business interests and society could not afford to reduce the size of the Newfoundland fishery in an attempt to reorganize and modernize because too many people depended on the fishery for their livelihood and there were simply no employment alternatives.⁵⁴ Ironically, the responsible government strategies outlined above were an attempt to provide employment alternatives to the fishery, to reduce dependence on the fishery and make room for restructuring.

Reeves has questioned Alexander's conclusions, pointing out that St. John's merchants were not effectively able to compete, and had no room to manoeuvre, even in the upswing in the Newfoundland economy from 1900 to the beginning of the First World War.⁵⁵ Addressing the fishery crisis using merchant ledgers from the late 1800s to the 1930s has added a new dimension to the literature. Cadigan, Sweeney and Bradley, for instance, all suggest that fishermen were not as powerless against the merchants as historiography has made them out to be.⁵⁶

⁵³Alexander, "Development and Dependence in Newfoundland," pp. 8-11, 14, 32; and Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934," pp. 23-32.

⁵⁴Alexander, "Development and Dependence in Newfoundland." p. 159.

⁵⁵William G. Reeves, "Alexander's Conundrum Reconsidered: the American Dimension in Newfoundland Resource development, 1898 - 1910," *Newfoundland Studies*, Vol. 5 (Spring, 1989), pp. 1-37. See also Reeves, "Our Yankee Cousins"; Robert Hong, "'An Agency For the Common Weal.' The Newfoundland Board of Trade 1909-1915," (Masters Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1998).

⁵⁶Bradley and Sweeney use Ryan's ledgers from Bonavista, while Cadigan used Battle Harbour ledgers. See David Gordon Bradley, "Smugglers, Schemers scoundrels and sleeveens: an analysis of merchant client relations in Bonavista, NF 1875-1895," (Masters Thesis, Memorial University of

Economic and political historians have acknowledged the importance of the informal economy in Newfoundland's traditional way of life, although few have addressed it directly. Within his analysis of the cod fishery, Alexander acknowledged "the non-market output which a rural community could generate through increasing familiarity with its environment" as important, but left it at that.⁵⁷ The relationship between the population and the environment is implicit in Alexander's work, but is not discussed in detail.⁵⁸ Neary has also referred to "the continuing erosion of the traditional, staple, subsistence outport economy of Newfoundland by the forces of urbanization and industrialism," an erosion which he suggests has been ongoing since 1949.⁵⁹ This acknowledges the importance of subsistence production, but again provides no detail. Ryan's most recent work includes informative sections about the development of agriculture on the island from 1814-1914, in the context of its relation to the development of the seal and cod fisheries, and points to the increasing importance of agriculture to the household economy during the

Newfoundland, 1994); Sean Cadigan, "Battle Harbour in Transition: Merchants, Fishermen and the State in the Struggle for Relief in a Labrador Community in the 1930s," *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 26 (Fall, 1990); Robert Sweeney, with David Bradley and Robert Hong, "Movement Options and Costs: Indexes as Historical Evidence, a Newfoundland Example," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XXII (Autumn, 1992); Rosemary Ommer and Robert Sweeney, "Which Ties Bound to Whom? Lessons Learned from Computerizing merchant ledgers for Bonavista Bay, Newfoundland, 1889-1891." (Paper presented to the Australia and New Zealand Conference on Canadian Studies, Wellington, New Zealand, December, 1992).

⁵⁷Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934," p. 21.

⁵⁸Alexander, "Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934," pp. 17, 21.

⁵⁹James K. Hiller and Peter Neary, eds. *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1980), p. 205. See also Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World 1929-1949*.

nineteenth century.⁶⁰

Some studies have branched out from the broader investigations of the fishery to investigate how the formal merchant-credit system worked at the community and household level, how subsistence agriculture interacted with the merchant-credit system and how all of this affected settlement of the island and Labrador.⁶¹ This work has been dominated by historical geographers such as Mannion, Hancock and Thornton and historians such as Ommer and Cadigan.⁶² Ommer, for instance, has done much work

⁶⁰Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*, pp. 94-98, 108-111.

⁶¹Works that have contributed significantly to the recognition of the importance of subsistence, household, and informal economies in the outport economies of Newfoundland and Labrador include A. P. Dyke, "Subsistence Production in the Household Economy of Rural Newfoundland," in Michael J. Skolnik, ed. *Viewpoints on Communities in Crisis*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1968); J. T. Omohundro, "Efficiency, Sufficiency and Recent Change in Newfoundland Subsistence Horticulture," *Human Ecology*, Vol. 13 (1985); J. T. Omohundro, *Rough Food. The Seasons of Subsistence in Northern Newfoundland*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1994); Rosemary E. Ommer, "Merchant Credit and Informal Economy, Newfoundland 1919-1929," *Historical Papers/Communications historiques Quebec 1989*, (Canadian Historical Association: Ottawa, 1989); Newfoundland, Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment, *Building on Our Strengths, Report of the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment*, (St. John's, 1986); Patricia Thornton, "Dynamic Equilibrium: Settlement, Population and Ecology in the Strait of Belle Isle, Newfoundland, 1840-1940," (Doctoral Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1979); Sean Cadigan, "The Staple Model Reconsidered: The Case of Agricultural Policy in Northeast Newfoundland," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XXI (Spring, 1992); Sean Cadigan, "Economic and Social Relations of Production on the North-east Coast of Newfoundland, with Special Reference to Conception Bay, 1785-1855," (Doctoral Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991); Sean Cadigan, "The Gender Division of Labour in the Households of the Northeast Coast Fishery of Newfoundland, 1785-1855," (Paper presented at an Institute of Social and Economic Research Seminar, St. John's, Newfoundland, April 19, 1991). Gerald Sider, *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History: A Newfoundland Illustration*, (Cambridge University Press: New York, 1986), examines household production and credit together, suggesting that merchants forced subsistence production on Newfoundland fishermen.

⁶²See, for example, Gordon W. Hancock, *Soe Longe As There Comes Noe Women. Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland*, (Breakwater Books: St. John's, 1989); J. J. Mannion, "Settlers and Traders in Western Newfoundland," in J. J. Mannion, ed., *The Peopling of Newfoundland. Essays in Historical Geography*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1977); Patricia Thornton, *Jack of All Trades*, (Royal Commission on

concerning the cod fishery in Newfoundland, most recently as co-editor and contributor of a volume about Canadian fisheries that for the first time brings together the issues of formal economic systems and people at the household level in Newfoundland and Canada.⁶³

Acknowledgement of the importance of subsistence activity is vital to the acknowledgement of women's economic contribution to household economies.⁶⁴

Thornton suggested that in Newfoundland a shortage of females retarded permanent settlement, as it must have in many frontier communities worldwide.⁶⁵ Hancock regards women as the "all essential ingredient for an inhabitant population with a self-perpetuating capacity" in Newfoundland: male settlers were more often than not fishing servants from

Employment and Unemployment: St. John's, 1986); Patricia Thornton, "The Problem of Outmigration from Atlantic Canada, 1871-1921: A New Look," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XV (Autumn, 1986); Patricia Thornton, "Newfoundland's Frontier Demographic Experience: The World We Have Not Lost," *Newfoundland Studies*, Vol. 1 (Fall, 1985); Patricia Thornton, "The Demographic and Merchantile Basis of Initial Permanent Settlement in the Strait of Belle Isle," in J. J. Mannion, ed., *The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography*; and Thornton, "Dynamic Equilibrium". For works by Ommer and Cadigan, see previous footnote.

⁶³Dianne Newell and Rosemary Ommer, *Fishing Places, Fishing People. Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fisheries*, (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1999). See also Rosemary Ommer, "One Hundred Years of Fishery Crises in Newfoundland," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XXIII (Spring, 1994).

⁶⁴It also puts men's formal economic activities in the context of their many informal economic undertakings.

⁶⁵A severe shortage of women during early settlement produced problems of order in St. John's and "prevented further settlement on frontiers." Marilyn Porter, "'She Was Skipper of the Shore Crew': Notes on the History of the Sexual Division of Labour in Newfoundland," *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 15 (Spring, 1985), p. 109. See also Thornton, "Newfoundland's Frontier Demographic Experience."

overseas who married local females and thus settled on the island to raise their families.⁶⁶ Women were not the only essential ingredient to permanent settlement however. On much of the coast, especially as population increased, secondary fisheries, such as the seal and Labrador fisheries, became essential to the household economy, as the cod fishery alone could not, in many cases, provide the credit or cash from the formal economy that the household needed. This perhaps was even more important in areas with a limited subsistence capability.⁶⁷ Given that settlement in Newfoundland did not enjoy significant increases until effective means to exploit the island's resources year-round were proven to be effective, and given the importance of subsistence activity to year-round survival, it is likely that women were the "all essential ingredient for an inhabitant population" not only because of their child-bearing capacity, but also because their economic contribution to the household economy was essential for the successful exploitation of the island's resources.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Handcock, *Soe Longe As There Comes Noe Women*, p. 31. See also Michael Staveley, "Population Dynamics in Newfoundland: The Regional Patterns," in Mannion, *The Peopling of Newfoundland*; Michael Staveley, "The Evolution of Settlement and Economy: fundamental themes in the Historical Geography of Newfoundland," (Public Lecture presented in the Department of Geography, University of Alberta, January, 1970); and Michael Staveley, "Migration and Mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador: A Study in Population Geography," (Doctoral Thesis, University of Alberta, 1973).

⁶⁷Chesley W. Sanger, "The Evolution of Sealing and the Spread of Permanent Settlement in North Eastern Newfoundland," in Mannion, *The Peopling of Newfoundland*; and Thornton, "The Demographic and Merchantile Bases,"; and Ryan, *The Ice Hunters*.

⁶⁸In Labrador, for instance, the first male European settlers married Inuit women, and depended on "the skills of their Inuit wives in order to lead a relatively independent life in Labrador." J. C. Kennedy, "Northern Labrador, An Ethno historical Account," in Robert Paine ed., *The White Arctic, Part Two: Labrador*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1985), pp. 273-274. The arctic environment required specialized survival strategies which the Inuit possessed. These strategies were effective means of exploiting Labrador's resources - of contributing

Thornton identified the family as the basic unit of economic and social organization in Newfoundland⁶⁹ and described four major phases of demographic development in the Strait of Belle Isle from 1840 to 1940.⁷⁰ In the nineteenth century the straits experienced an early frontier stage, followed by settling of the frontier before 1880, and the end of immigration after 1880.⁷¹ During each stage the formal and informal (commercial and subsistence) work of men and women were interrelated, as evident in the occupational pluralist pattern of subsistence activities of typical households in the Strait of Belle Isle.⁷² This highlights the great importance of subsistence activities in maintaining the economic integrity of the household. Thornton attributed “60 percent of the total household income” to “subsistence components of the economy in the form of basic items,”⁷³ arguing

to the household economy. Shmuel Ben-Dor, “Inuit-Settler Relations in Makkovik,” in Paine, *The White Arctic, Part Two: Labrador*, p. 306.

⁶⁹Thornton, “Newfoundland’s Frontier Demographic Experience,” p. 144.

⁷⁰ From 1840 to 1880 there was rapid population growth at 2.5 % per year. From 1880 to 1900 the population decreased to about 1% per year; from 1900 to 1920 the growth rate increased to 1.65 % per year; and from 1920 to 1940 the population growth slowed again. Thornton, “Newfoundland’s Frontier Demographic Experience,” p. 142.

⁷¹Thornton, “Newfoundland’s Frontier Demographic Experience,” pp. 142-143. Staveley, “Population Dynamics in Newfoundland,” also identifies the west coast of the island as a frontier.

⁷²Men were exclusively responsible for the construction of houses, boats, stages, wharves, stores, and so on from March to late May or early June, hunting and birding from September to April, woodcutting from October to January, subsistence fishing in late September, October, and during the winter, and knitting and mending nets during the winter. They also assisted the women with gardening (digging) in May and during the harvest and by cutting hay in August and September. Women were responsible for the care and maintenance of the vegetable garden(s) and any and all animals, the former from June until late August and the latter all year round. They were assisted by the children from August to October in berry-picking and preserving. During the winter months women produced clothes, footwear and a wide variety of household articles. Thornton, “Dynamic Equilibrium,” p. 132.

⁷³Thornton, “Dynamic Equilibrium,” p. 144.

that income earned by a household from commercial activity generated a larger income through noncommercial activity.⁷⁴ She also argued that rural economic activity has been grossly underestimated throughout the twentieth century in large part because “conventional statistics ignore subsistence income.”⁷⁵

Mannion described the many resources utilized by settlers on the west coast of the island in the mid to late nineteenth century.⁷⁶ He argued that by becoming as self-sufficient as possible with regard to provisions, including a substantial subsistence agricultural effort, settlers decreased their dependence on merchants for their winter food supply.⁷⁷ According to Ommer this system of occupational pluralism was important not only to settlers, but also to the merchant, who by encouraging the seasonal “labour force to blend commercial and non commercial activities...ensured year-round settlement as cheaply as possible.”⁷⁸ For the settler, a combination of commercial and non-commercial activity established an economic system in which the ‘cash’ or commercial component, instead of being exchanged only for goods, was also exchanged for the means to produce

⁷⁴Thornton, *Jack of All Trades*, p. 14.

⁷⁵Thornton, *Jack of All Trades*, p. 9. This is similar to the under representation of women’s economic activity as described by Waring, *Counting For Nothing*, in section 1.1.

⁷⁶These resources included salmon, herring and lobster fisheries, a timber trade, hunting, and farming all in addition to the more traditional seal and cod fisheries and trapping for furs. Mannion, “Settlers and Traders.”

⁷⁷Mannion, “Settlers and Traders,” p. 254.

⁷⁸Ommer, “Merchant Credit and Informal Economy,” p. 169. Alexander, “Development and Dependence in Newfoundland,” noted that “The logical way to maximize personal incomes was through occupational pluralism rather than specialization.” p. 11.

additional goods.⁷⁹ Ommer has defined the informal economy in Newfoundland as a combination of household commercial and subsistence activities.⁸⁰ Cadigan, discussing the gender division of labour and how it evolved in the traditional Newfoundland fishery, also highlighted the importance of subsistence agriculture to family survival.⁸¹ The development of this informal economy was crucial to the settlement of Newfoundland's frontier, and later, as a means of ensuring continued survival "in all but the worst times."⁸² Thus, as in many frontier regions, merchants and settlers were dependent on one another and a system of household production for survival.⁸³

The sociological literature concerned with these issues began to develop in the early 1960s, spurred on by the Smallwood government's re-settlement program. There was a growing body of studies, many conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Memorial University of Newfoundland, on how re-

⁷⁹Ommer provides details using account book analysis. Settlers "purchased flour, not bread; molasses, not sugar: they bought no vegetables or household furniture...no ties, shirts, skirts or blouses...". In addition, the settlers' credit income provided them with the various means of production — nets, hooks, line, guns, powder, axes, nails, baking pans, sewing and knitting needles, preserving jars and so on — required for various commercial and subsistence activities. Ommer, "Merchant Credit and Informal Economy," p. 180.

⁸⁰Ommer, "Merchant Credit and Informal Economy," p. 168.

⁸¹Cadigan, "The Gender Division of Labour."

⁸²Ommer, "Merchant Credit and Informal Economy," p. 189.

⁸³See Rosemary Ommer, "Introduction," in Rosemary Ommer ed., *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, (Acadiensis Press: Fredericton, 1990), for a discussion of the interdependence of merchants and settlers with the credit system, in Newfoundland and North America. See also John E. Crowley, "Empire vs. Truck: The Official Interpretation of Debt and Labour in the Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland Fishery," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. LXX (September, 1989).

settlement would affect those people being re-settled and, to a lesser extent, those communities into which people were being re-settled.⁸⁴ The discussion continued in the 1980s. Brox described the blending of commercial and non-commercial activities and its relationship to the merchant credit system as the “multiplier effect” of cash income on the household economy, but provided little detail.⁸⁵ He suggested that cash was the “nucleus around which the rest of the household economy is built” and also that cash income was not indicative of the actual standard of living in outport communities.⁸⁶ The economic strategy of households was to use cash to obtain whatever could not be produced within the household economic unit.⁸⁷ Felt and Sinclair made a similar argument.⁸⁸ According to Brox and Sinclair, the “dual economy” they observed in Newfoundland outports in the

⁸⁴See, for example, Michael J. Skolnik, ed., *Viewpoints on Communities in Crisis*, (Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers No. 1., Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1968); and Cato Wadel, *Marginal Adaptations and Modernization in Newfoundland: A Study of Strategies and Implications in the Resettlement and Redevelopment of Outport Fishing Communities*, (Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers No. 7., Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1969). A. P. Dyke, “Subsistence Production in the Household Economy of Rural Newfoundland,” in Skolnik, *Viewpoints on Communities in Crisis*, was one of the first to investigate the role of subsistence production in the everyday lives of rural Newfoundlanders.

⁸⁵Ottar Brox, *Newfoundland Fishermen in the Age of Industry—A Sociology of Economic Dualism*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1983), p. 17. See also James C. Faris, *Cat Harbour. A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1989).

⁸⁶Brox, *Newfoundland Fishermen in the Age of Industry*, p. 16.

⁸⁷Brox, *Newfoundland Fishermen in the Age of Industry*, p. 16, 14.

⁸⁸Lawrence R. Felt and Peter R. Sinclair, “Getting By on the Periphery. The Informal Economy on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland,” (Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Project Paper 1-3. Department of Sociology and Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1989).

1970s and 1980s developed from some combination of modernization and industrialization in the catching and processing of fish.⁸⁹ These are the same forces that Alexander, Ryan and others point to as having eroded the traditional Newfoundland economy in the early twentieth century.

There is a contradiction in the dual economy logic, however. If cash from the formal economy was the nucleus of the household economy, how is it that cash income was not an indication of the standard of living? Is it not more likely that household survival was the nucleus around which the dual output economy of the 1970s and 1980s was arranged? This “dual economy” may have been adapted to take economic opportunities made available by industrialization and urbanization into account, but nevertheless it was a modern version of the frontier economic system of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries described by Mannion, Thornton, and Ommer.

Interestingly, male sociologists describing male economic activity took this ahistorical approach.⁹⁰ Porter, a female sociologist discussing women’s economic activity in the 1980s, recognized the longstanding tradition of women’s economic contribution to

⁸⁹Brox, *Newfoundland Fishermen in the Age of Industry*, p. 6; Peter R. Sinclair, *From Traps to Druggers: Domestic Commodity Production in Northwest Newfoundland, 1850-1982*. (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John’s, 1985); Peter Sinclair ed., *A Question of Survival. The Fisheries and Newfoundland Society*. (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John’s, 1988). See also J. D. House, with Sheila White and Paul Ripley, *Going Away...And Coming Back. Economic Life and Migration in Small Canadian Communities*. (Institute of Social and Economic Research Report No. 2. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John’s, 1989). House was also the Chairman of the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment.

⁹⁰Sociologists such as Brox, Wadel, Faris and Sinclair.

Newfoundland's household economies.⁹¹ Porter framed her work in historical context, characterising both the household economy and the traditional cod fishery as interrelationships depending on men's and women's interdependent economic efforts.⁹² This strategy, moreover, was tied closely to the political, economic and natural environment at the local level. Porter and Thornton argued that "immediate local influences" were more important in shaping household economic strategies than national and international socio-economic forces.⁹³ Porter also suggested that the gender divisions of labour evident in the 1980s were rooted in traditional outport life, although "the precise connections still need to be specified."⁹⁴

Many of these connections have been made in Newfoundland's historiographical literature, as previously discussed. Women's studies in various disciplines recognize the

⁹¹Marilyn Porter, "'Women and Old Boats': the Sexual Division of Labour in a Newfoundland Outport," in E. Gwnamikow *et al.* eds., *Gender and Society: Public and Private*, (BSA Conference Papers: London., 1983); Marilyn Porter, "'She Was Skipper of the Shore Crew': Notes on the History of the Sexual Division of Labour in Newfoundland," *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 15 (Spring, 1985); Marilyn Porter and Sandy Pottle, *Women and the Economy in Newfoundland: A Case Study of Catalina*, (Women's Policy Office, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador: St. John's, 1987). See also Dona Lee Davis, "The Family and Social Change in the Newfoundland Outport," *Culture*, Vol. III (1, 1983).

⁹²Porter, "She Was Skipper of the Shore Crew," p. 120.

⁹³Porter, "She Was Skipper of the Shore Crew," highlights the importance of being cautious when applying whatever was the case on one part of the island's coast to another part of the island's coast, as regional differences were very important, p. 108. Thornton, "Newfoundland's Frontier Demographic Experience," says "...if we are going to learn anything significant about the economy, society and population.....we are going to have to depend upon case histories of small areas. Only at this scale can the lives of ordinary people in all their complexities be uncovered." pp. 141, 144.

⁹⁴Porter, "She Was Skipper of the Shore Crew," p. 122.

economic contribution of Newfoundland women to household economies.⁹⁵ There are several historical works specific to women's and gender history. Cadigan has investigated outport social and economic relations of production in the fishery, taking into account the importance of subsistence agriculture.⁹⁶ Ommer has directly addressed outport informal economy and household economy, as previously discussed.⁹⁷ Forestell and Chisholm have investigated urban women's involvement in the formal economy in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century.⁹⁸ Kealey's volume of historical articles about Newfoundland women and their legal status throughout Newfoundland's development illustrates the effect the law had on women's daily lives, and Duley has chronicled the Newfoundland women's suffrage movement.⁹⁹ Murray, a folklorist,

⁹⁵Deborah Gorham, "From Bonavista to Vancouver Island: Canadian Women's History as Regional History in the 1990s," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XXVIII (Spring, 1999), p. 119.

⁹⁶Cadigan, "The Gender Division of Labour,."; and Cadigan, "Economic and Social Relations of Production."

⁹⁷Ommer, "Merchant Credit and the Informal Economy," and Ommer, *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies*.

⁹⁸Nancy Forestell and Jessie Chisholm, "Working Class Women as Wage earners in St. John's, Newfoundland, 1890-1921," in Peta Tancred Sherriff ed., *Feminist Research: prospect and retrospect*, (McGill-Queen's for the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women: Kingston, 1988); Nancy Forestell, "Times Were Hard: The Pattern of Women's Paid Labour in St. John's Between Two World Wars," *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 24 (Fall, 1989). See also Helen Porter, *Below the Bridge Memories of the South Side of St. John's*. (St. John's Breakwater 1979); Theresa Heath Rodgers, "Work, household economy, and social welfare: the transition to modern lifestyles in Bonavista, 1930-1960," (Masters Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000); Janice Reid, "Changing with the Times: Women, Household Economy and Confederation," (Honours Dissertation, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1991).

⁹⁹Linda Kealey, ed., *Pursuing Equality. Historical Perspectives on Women in Newfoundland and Labrador*, (Social and Economic Papers No. 20. Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1993); Margot Duley, *Where once Our Mothers Stood, We*

described in detail household economic activities of outport women from 1900 to 1950.¹⁰⁰

Sociologists and folklorists have investigated many aspects of Newfoundland women's lives and roles in mid to late twentieth century, often through first person perspectives.¹⁰¹ Ellen Antler's work in the 1970s was one of the first academic investigations of Newfoundland women's contribution to the cod fishery.¹⁰² There are several good works about women and health care, particularly midwifery, which include an historical approach covering most of the nineteenth century.¹⁰³ Several autobiographies

Stand: Women's Suffrage in Newfoundland 1890-1925, (Gynergy: Charlottetown, PEI, 1993). See also Barbara Neis, "Doin' Time on the Protest Line: Women's political culture, politics and collective action in outport Newfoundland," (Department of Sociology, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1985).

¹⁰⁰Hilda Chaulk Murray, *More Than Fifty Percent. Woman's Life in a Newfoundland Outport*, (Breakwater Books: St. John's, 1979); Porter, "She Was Skipper of the Shore Crew," also highlights the importance of women's contributions to the household economy.

¹⁰¹See for example Carmelita McGrath, Barbara Neis and Marilyn Porter, eds. *Their Lives and Times: Women of Newfoundland and Labrador: A Collage*, (Killick Press: St. John's, 1995); Cecilia Benoit, "Mothering in a Newfoundland Community :1900-1940," in Katherine Arnp, Andre Levesque and Ruth Roach Pierson, eds. *Delivering Motherhood: Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (Routledge: London, 1990); Bonnie McCay, "Fish Guts, Hair Nets and Unemployment Stamps: Women and work in Co-operative Fish Plants," in Peter Sinclair, ed. *A Question of Survival. The Fisheries and Newfoundland Society*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1988); Marilyn Porter, "Mothers and Daughters. Linking Women's Life Histories in Grand Bank, Newfoundland," (Paper presented to RG 38 Biography and Society: World Congress of Sociology: New Delhi, August 1986); Karen Szala, "Clean Women and Quiet Men: Courtship and Marriage in a Newfoundland Fishing Village," (Masters Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1978).

¹⁰²Ellen Antler, "Women's Role in Newfoundland Fishing Families," (Paper deposited at Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1976).

¹⁰³Joyce Nevitt, *White Caps and Black Bands. Nursing in Newfoundland to in 1934*, (Jespersion Press: St. John's, 1978); Dona Lee Davis, *Blood and Nerves. An Ethnographic Focus on Menopause*, (Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1983); Edgar House, *The Way Out: The Story of Nonia in Newfoundland 1920-1990*, (Creative Publishers: St. John's, 1990); Rhoda Maude Piercey, *True Tales: Memoirs of an Outport Midwife*, Janet McNaughton, ed. (Occasional papers in the history of Medicine No. 10. Faculty of Medicine, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, 1992); Janet McNaughton, "The Role of the Newfoundland Midwife in

have contributed tremendously to the store of empirical knowledge, and have provided a much needed 'first person' perspective, rich with the details of household economic activity of men and women, to balance the more scholarly approaches.¹⁰⁴

Through the work of many disciplines, the pieces of the puzzle are gradually being fit together, but the question still remains: what has really happened in twentieth century Newfoundland household economies - both inside and outside the traditional Newfoundland fishery? On the one hand historical study indicates that the economic activities of people involved in the cod fishery has changed over the past one hundred years or so (as the formal structure of the cod fishery has changed), while women's studies suggest that the economic contribution of women has not changed nearly as much. On the other hand, the underlying household logic of adapting in such a way as to best take

Traditional Health Care, 1900-1970," (Doctoral Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1989).

¹⁰⁴These autobiographies include Victor Butler, *The Little Nord Easter: Reminiscences of a Placentia Bayman*, Wilfred W. Wareham, ed. (Breakwater: St. John's, 1980); Victor Butler, *Harbour Buffet Before Nightfall*, (Jespersen Press: St. John's, 1982); Garry Cranford and Raymond Hillier, *Potholes and Drum Hoops. A Folk-history of New Harbour, Trinity Bay*, (Harry Cuff Publications: St. John's, 1983); Elizabeth Goudie, *Woman of Labrador*, (Peter Martin Associates Ltd.: Toronto, 1975); Greta Hussey, *Our Life on Lear's Room Labrador*, (Robinson-Blackmore: St. John's, 1987); Millicent Blake Loder, *Daughter of Labrador*, (Harry Cuff Publications: St. John's, 1989); Garry L. Saunders, *Rattles and Steadies. Memoirs of a Gander River Man*, (Breakwater: St. John's, 1986); Aubrey Tizzard, *On Sloping Ground. Reminiscences of Outport Life in Notre Dame Bay Newfoundland*, (Breakwater: St. John's, 1984).

Biographies include H. Gordon Green, *Don't Have Your Baby in the Dory: A Biography of Myra Bennett*, (Harvest House: Montreal, 1974); Stella Gladys Ryan, *Outport Girl: Growing Up in a Newfoundland Outport circa 1920-1935*, (Outport Publishing: Lewisporte, 1992); Ann Miller, "Narration and Life History of a Newfoundland Woman." (Masters Thesis, McMaster University, 1981).

David Sutherland, "Parish Perspectives: Recent Work in Community History Within Atlantic Canada," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XVII (Autumn, 1987), discusses amateur community history, suggesting that although these works do not theorize or analyse, they "should be seen as a compromised but nevertheless valuable source of insight into Atlantic Canada's historical experience." p. 144.

advantage of whatever resources are available in a given time and place seems to have remained constant in outport economies. The commercial cod fishery - part of the traditional Newfoundland economy - changed, but the logic of the household economies, it appears, did not. The struggle to balance formal and subsistence efforts to their optimal return was enduring.

The subsistence agricultural and informal economic activities of household economies varied chronologically, and geographically, according to what local resources were available for exploitation. It is important to remember that it was people in households, in these communities all along the coast who fished the fish, and tilled the fields, and bore another generation to do the same. These people, in household units, made choices about how their traditional Newfoundland household economies could best operate, given the opportunities available. If the opportunities were not appealing, people left in search of greener pastures, deeper oceans, and taller smoke stacks. Perhaps maintaining some sort of "dual economy," with one part being informal and the other whatever the formal economy offered, was, and is, the real strategy.¹⁰⁵ There is something much more universal here than a traditional Newfoundland outport economy - this household survival strategy is repeated by many peoples in many times and places.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵Ommer, "Merchant Credit and the Informal Economy," concludes that the maintenance of the symbiotic relationship between the informal economy and merchant capital can be considered as one of the 'constants' in the "historical continuum" of island life, p. 189. Ommer, *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies*, tentatively extends this conclusion to the history of merchant-credit relations in 'the New World' in general, pp. 14-15.

¹⁰⁶As discussed in Chapter 1.1.

In Newfoundland, economic historians have begun recently to include household and informal economies in their work, particularly as these related to the merchant credit relationship - a relationship typical of many frontier economies. Fortunately for the study of household economies, demographic history has focused on settlement patterns in Newfoundland. Industrialization and urbanization, along with confederation with Canada, are key issues in 19th and 20th century Newfoundland studies. The Bay of Islands, on Newfoundland's west coast, rapidly developed from a frontier region in the 1890s to an urban industrial centre in the 1920s. The purpose of the research presented here is to create a statistical profile of how household economies in the Bay of Islands responded to this changing environment.

1.3 Bay of Islands Historiography

Section 1.2 reviewed Newfoundland historiography's treatment of household economic literature. This historiography has focused scant attention on the island's west coast, although some work offers insight into the lives of Bay of Islands settlers. Most material about the Bay of Islands, however, has focused on three issues - completion of the trans-Newfoundland railway to the west coast in 1898 and the associated (and largely unrealized) promise of rich mineral deposits; an end to the ambivalent legal status of west coast settlers and the French fishing fleet's exclusive right to the west coast cod fishery in 1904; and the 'Humber Deal' - the construction of a pulp and paper mill and townsite in Corner Brook in the 1920s. This focus is hardly surprising, as the railway, the 'French

Shore question' and the 'Humber deal' were politically charged issues that captured east coast public, political and mercantile attention.

Historians, geographers and amateurs have contributed to the Bay of Islands' settlement history. Hiller, Janzen and Bartels have examined different aspects of the west coasts' early history. Hiller has described the early history of Bay of Islands and Bonne Bay, Janzen has recounted early European exploration of the west coast, and Bartels and Janzen described the Cape Breton Mi'kma's long history of seasonal contact with Newfoundland, in particular with the west coast.¹⁰⁷ The most comprehensive account of west coast settlement to date is that of John Mannion, who described the development of the western commercial economy in the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁸ Mannion emphasised the importance of household production, and distinguished the west coast economy from the "traditional" Newfoundland economy that developed on the east coast.

The French treaty shore has been seen as a major theme in the settlement of the

¹⁰⁷James K. Hiller, "Gros Morne National Park, Newfoundland: a preliminary human history," (Parks Canada, 1972); Olaf Janzen, "Showing the Flag: Hugh Palliser in Western Newfoundland, 1764," *Northern Mariner*, Vol. 3 (July, 1993). By 1763 an abundance of game to hunt, trap and fish, with relatively little British or French interference, brought the Micmac to the southwest coast of Newfoundland permanently. Dennis A. Bartels and Olaf Uwe Janzen, "Micmac Migration To Western Newfoundland," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, Vol. X (1, 1990).

¹⁰⁸Mannion, "Settlers and Traders in Western Newfoundland." Howard Brown also discussed the resources Curling residents used to make a living, and evolving settlement patterns from 1860 to 1920. Howard Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part I," *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. LXII (Winter, 1975); and Howard Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part II (Conclusion)," *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. LXII (July, 1975). See also Gerald Jones, "Bay of Islands' Historical Society," *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. LXVIII (Winter, 1972); A. B. Perlin, "Notes and Comments on Corner Brook," *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. LXXII (Fall, 1975); and N. F. Murphy, "An Outline of History of Western Newfoundland with emphasis on Bay of Islands," (Paper delivered to the Newfoundland Historical Society, October 21, 1970).

west coast. The French believed they had exclusive cod fishery rights on the west coast, but were not allowed to settle. French vessels tolerated British settlers as long as they did not interfere with the French cod fishery. Staveley suggested that while the west coast ecology attracted settlement, the French Shore question - specifically French landing rights and supposed uneasy relations between French fishermen and permanent settlers - inhibited population growth until the 1890s.¹⁰⁹ Mannion described "two distinct ecological zones" in the Bay of Islands. In the first, residents exploited "fur, timber, soil, salmon and herring in the shelter of the arms or inner bays", while in the second, on islands in the Gulf, the French prosecuted the summer cod fishery.¹¹⁰

Indirectly, the lack of government presence and institutions perhaps slowed migration to a "lawless area." Settlers' holdings were small, and as long as they stayed clear of the French fleets, they were safe. Settlement did take root, however, even though few merchant premises were set up until after the turn of the twentieth century. Hiller described the extension of authority of the Newfoundland government to the west coast,

¹⁰⁹Staveley, "The French Shore in the Settlement of Newfoundland," pp. 5, 11; Staveley, "Migration and Mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador," p. 53; Staveley, "The Evolution of Settlement and Economy," p. 24; Staveley, "Newfoundland: Economy and Society at the Margin," pp. 215-249. Additional geographic works about the Bay of Islands include Annette Beales, "Land Settlement in Bay of Islands." (Honours Dissertation, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1992); William Wonders, *Settlement in Western Newfoundland*, (Department of Mines and Technical Surveys: Ottawa, 1951); and William Wonders, *The Corner Brook Area, Newfoundland*, (Geographical Branch, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys: Ottawa, 1954).

¹¹⁰Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," pp. 248, 249.

including magistrates, land grants and political representation from 1878 onwards.¹¹¹

Even with these official governance mechanisms in place by 1878, tangle law and order took considerable time to establish. This may have inhibited permanent settlement to some extent, whether or not the French, or anyone else, had landing rights on the west coast. Larger developments - such as setting up merchant premises, mining exploration, the railway and so on - were riskier propositions, as they required more capital and time invested.¹¹²

The French shore and railway issues were interrelated in the last part of the nineteenth century, as discussed in Cramm's political history of railway construction - there was some political discussion about whether a railway terminal would interfere with French treaty rights on the west coast.¹¹³ Hiller's discussion of railway development in Newfoundland posits that right across the island the railway affected change in the economic and social prominence of some communities over others.¹¹⁴ This was no

¹¹¹James K. Hiller. "A History of Newfoundland 1874-1901." (Doctoral Thesis, Cambridge University, 1971).

¹¹²Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," pp. 248, 249, 252; Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part I," pp. 18, 19.

¹¹³Frank Cramm, "The Construction of the Newfoundland Railway 1875-1898," (Masters Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1961), pp. 133-134, 150-152.

¹¹⁴James K. Hiller, "The Railway and Local Politics in Newfoundland: 1870-1901," in Hiller and Neary, eds. *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Several books about the railway mention the west coast and Bay of Islands, including: Jeff Carter, *Robert Meade: AND SO I DID! The Biography of a Newfoundlander*, (Creative Publishers: St. John's, 1986); W. J. Chafe, *I've Been Working on the Railroad*, (Harry Cuff Publications: St. John's, 1987); A. R. Penney, *A History of the Newfoundland Railway Vol. 1 1881-1923*, (Harry Cuff: St. John's, 1988); and A. R. Penney and Fabian Kennedy, *A History of the Newfoundland Railway Vol. 2 1923 - 1988*, (Harry Cuff: St. John's, 1990).

different in the Bay of Islands. With the completion of the railway, Newfoundland's west coast became more easily accessible to east coasters, and sportsmen from mainland Canada and the United States, and tourism developed rapidly for a period of time. Pocius' academic work about Newfoundland tourism identified the west coast as a destination of choice for Canadian, American and St. John's tourists.¹¹⁵ Various contemporary writers also characterised the Bay of Islands as an ideal tourist destination, or an 'untrodden path' of Newfoundland.¹¹⁶ Prowse described the Bay of Islands as a sportsman's paradise.¹¹⁷ Contemporary tourist oriented publications usually had a relatively good section on the Bay of Islands.¹¹⁸

Thompson and Neary have outlined the political aspects and arguments of the

¹¹⁵Gerry Pocius, "Tourists, health seekers and sportsmen: luring Americans to Newfoundland in the early twentieth century," in James K. Hiller and Peter Neary, eds., *Twentieth Century Newfoundland: Explorations*, (Breakwater: St. John's, 1994).

¹¹⁶Most of these writers were men from St. John's and America. See for instance, L. F. Brown, "A Yankee's Impressions of Newfoundland," *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. V (July, 1905); Alex A. Parsons, "The Valley of the Humber And Its Vast and Varied Resources," *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. XXII (December, 1922); W. W. Blackall, "Untrodden Paths of Newfoundland," *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. XI (April, 1912) and Vol. XII (July, 1912).

¹¹⁷D. W. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records*, (1896) Third edition, (Dicks and Company: St. John's, 1971), pp. 354, 629, 632. Regarding the French Shore issue, Prowse includes an Appendix with much useful information about the lobster fishery on the west coast.

¹¹⁸See, for instance, R. H. Tait, *Newfoundland: A Summary of the History and Development of Britain's Oldest Colony from 1497 to 1939*, (The Harrington Press: New York, 1939); and Bay of Islands Businessmen's Association, "Curling, The Gem of Newfoundland," (Western Publishing Company Limited: Curling, n.d.).

French Shore question.¹¹⁹ The “question” was how the treaty was interpreted by different parties. The French argued that they had landing rights and exclusive cod fishing rights on the west coast. The Newfoundland government argued that the French had only concurrent fishing rights, and opposed the French fleet’s ‘abuse’ of landing rights.¹²⁰ The British government tried to placate both sides. Newfoundland politicians and settlers perceived French landing rights as a significant deterrent to settlement and development on the west coast. In 1904 (by which time the French fishing fleet off the west coast had considerably diminished) the British and French governments negotiated a new agreement which officially permitted settlement on the west coast, much to the delight of the Newfoundland government and west coast settlers.

Other academic sources provide additional insight into Bay of Islands development.¹²¹ Hiller and Neary have contributed to the political discussion of the Bay of

¹¹⁹F. F. Thompson, *The French Shore Problem in Newfoundland*, (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1961); Peter Neary, “The French and American Shore Questions as factors in Newfoundland’s History,” in Hiller and Neary, eds., *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*.

¹²⁰Prowse and other contemporary writers heatedly discuss the French Shore issue with a certain degree of self-righteousness. Prowse, *A History of Newfoundland*, pp. 354, 629, 632. *Newfoundland Quarterly* writers also addressed the French and American Treaty Shore issues. See D. W. Prowse, “The American Fishery Question in Newfoundland,” *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. VII (July, 1907); and Anon., “The Yarmouth Herring Fishery, and the Use of the Drift Net,” *Newfoundland Quarterly*, Vol. XIII (December, 1913).

¹²¹Anthony B. Dickinson and Chesley W. Sanger, “Modern Shore-Station Whaling in Newfoundland and Labrador: the Peak Season, 1904,” *International Journal of Maritime History*, Vol. 5 (June, 1993), briefly describe an unsuccessful whaling station established in Lark Harbour, Bay of Islands, in 1904. The modern shore station whaling technique arrived in Newfoundland in 1896. It was not established on the West coast until 1904 because of the French Shore Treaty, pp. 128, 138.

Cadigan, “Battle Harbour in Transition,” indirectly adds to our understanding of Bay of Islands merchant-settler relations when he describes how, without an arrangement with a merchant, settlers in Labrador, where many Bay of Islands settlers came from, experienced much difficulty in years when the

Islands in this era with their respective works on the career of Gordon F. Bradley, who was the representative of the Bay of Islands in Newfoundland's House of Assembly in the 1920s.¹²² Neary and Noel mentioned the paper mill in Corner Brook as Sir Richard Squires' 1923 election platform.¹²³ Hiller has also broken ground on the politics of newsprint on the island, with his examination of the Grand Falls and Corner Brook pulp and paper mills.¹²⁴ Horwood outlined the political history of Corner Brook, including the paper mill's executives, governmental representatives, and municipal councillors.¹²⁵

fishery failed. Cadigan says that fishermen were not necessarily tied to one merchant in Labrador, and often dealt with two or three merchants at the one time by the 1930s. A similar pattern emerged in the Bay of Islands much earlier than this. Many west coast settlers came via Labrador. See Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 239.

Dufferin Sutherland, "Newfoundland Loggers Respond to the Great Depression," *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 29 (Spring, 1992); and Malcolm Macleod, "A Death at Deer Lake," *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 16 (Fall, 1985), both describe winter woods work in the 1930s supplying the Corner Brook pulp and paper mill as absolutely miserable work with inadequate food, heat, and sanitation. Working conditions during construction of the power plant at Deer Lake also left something to be desired.

¹²²Peter Neary, "The Supreme Court of Canada and 'The Bowater's Law,'" *Dalhousie Law Journal*, Vol. 8 (January, 1984); Peter Neary, "The Bradley Report on Logging Operations in Newfoundland, 1934: A Suppressed Document," *Labour/Le Travail*, Vol. 16 (1985); James K. Hiller, "Biography of Gordon F. Bradley," (Paper deposited at the Centre For Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1994).

¹²³Neary, *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929-1949*, pp. 8, 13. Noel, *Politics in Newfoundland*, and Rowe, *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador*, have a few passing references to Bay of Islands.

¹²⁴See James K. Hiller, "The Origins of the Pulp and Paper Industry in Newfoundland," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XI (Spring, 1982), about the Grand Falls mill established in 1915, which provides important context. See also James K. Hiller, "The Politics of Newsprint: The Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Industry 1915-1939," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XIX (Spring, 1990), which picks up where the first article left off, and includes important information about the Corner Brook mill's development.

¹²⁵Harold Horwood, *Corner Brook. The Social History of a Paper Town*. (Breakwater: St. John's, 1986), is based loosely on some of the Bowater Oral History Project interviews. The title is a misnomer, as there is little social history here. Also see Heritage Committee, Humber Valley Development Association, *When I Was Young. History of the Humber Valley*. (Humber Valley Development Association: Corner Brook, 1989), concerning the development of the Deer Lake power house and Corner

Several amateur works are also important sources for Bay of Islands history.

Hackett's work focuses on people who settled Wood's Island and several west coast communities from the 1890s to the present.¹²⁶ Harley surveyed, in a conversational manner, Bay of Islands history from the geological formation of the west coast to the present day, with emphasis on the career of Captain James Cook and the French Shore question.¹²⁷ Important contemporary sources for these studies include several accounts of missionary activities.¹²⁸ The most important of these are by Rule, Jelf and Brosnan, all of

Brook pulp and paper mill.

¹²⁶Joseph Hackett, *Heartbeat, Bay of Islands*, (the author: Corner Brook, 1992); and Joseph Hackett, *Got a Story to Tell Ye*, (the author: Corner Brook, 1995), are compilations of interviews, along with some of Hackett's own reminiscences, original research, census data and so on. See also Don Downer, *Turbulent Tides: a social history of Sandy Point*, (ESP Press: Portugal Cove, 1997).

¹²⁷Brian J. S. Harley, *The Legacy of James Cook: The Story of the Bay of Islands*, (Harkim Enterprises Ltd.: Corner Brook, 1998), emphasizes the importance of James Cook's Newfoundland surveying and charting experiences (particularly those on the west coast) to Cook's later work. The French Shore question is discussed at length. Harley argues that Bay of Islands inhabitants were pawns in the games of the British, French, and St. John's governments and mercantile interests. Harley points out that the West coasts' development was significantly different than that of the rest of the island - with relatively late settlement that apparently did not displace indigenous peoples to the extent that settlement of other areas of the island did. He suggests that the pulp and paper mill was not the only enduring reason for Corner Brook's prosperity.

¹²⁸See Archdeacon F. Wix, *Six Months of a Newfoundland Missionary's Journal, February to August, 1835*, (Smith, Elder and Co.: London, 1836); Edward Field, *Life and Episcopate of Edward Field*, (W. Wels Gardner: London, 1877); U. Z. Rule, *Reminiscences of My Life*, (Dicks and Company Limited: St. John's, 1927); R. H. Jelf, *Life of Joseph James Curling, Soldier and Priest*, (Fox, Jones and Company: Oxford, 1910). Michael Brosnan, *Pioneer History of St. George's Diocese, Newfoundland*, (The Western Publishing Company Limited: Corner Brook, 1948). See also Burnham F. Gill, "Bay of Islands 1876," *Newfoundland Ancestor*, Vol. 7 (2, 1991); Terrence Carew, *Among the Eagles*, (Good Tidings Press: St. John's, 1988); J. W. Hammond, *The Joyful Sound: A History of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland and Labrador*, (Print 'N Press Ltd.: St. Stephen, N. B., 1982); Newfoundland Churchman, "Early Missionary Work on the West Coast," *Newfoundland Churchman*, Vol. 25 (2, 1981); Salvation Army Corner Brook Temple Corps, *From Victory unto Victory: Corner Brook Temple Corps Golden Jubilee*, (Creative Printers and Publishers: St. John's, 1974); Sister Basil M. McCormick, "The Educational Work of the Sisters of Mercy of Newfoundland," (Masters Thesis, Catholic University of America, 1956); Edgar House, *Edward Field - The Man and His Legacy*.

which included important first hand descriptions of Bay of Islands settlement and development.¹²⁹ There are some mid-twentieth publications about the pulp and paper mill, including publications by business groups¹³⁰ and several works published or commissioned by Bowaters.¹³¹ The most significant of these commissioned works is the Bowater Oral History Project, co-ordinated by Lewis Fisher from 1979 to 1980.¹³²

(Jesperson Press: St. John's, 1987); Jane Hutchings and Sharon Buehler, *Early Settlers on the Southwestern Shore of Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula*, (Memorial University of Newfoundland: St. John's, 1984); and Sister M. Williamina Hogan, *Pathways of Mercy - History of the Foundation of the Sisters of Mercy in Newfoundland*, (Harry Cuff Publications: St. John's, 1986).

¹²⁹Jelf, *Life of Joseph James Curling: Rule, Reminiscences of My Life*; and Brosnan, *Pioneer History of St. George's Diocese*. Rule's personal account of his work as the first missionary in Bonne Bay and Bay of Islands in the mid nineteenth century includes much information about early settlers and regional development. Jelf's biography of Joseph James Curling describes the Church of England missionary work on the west coast of Newfoundland in the mid to late 1800s. Brosnan traces the history of the Catholic church on the west coast from the 1860s to the 1920s, focusing on correspondence of Thomas Sears. Gill, "Bay of Islands 1876," contains many letters, most written by Thomas Sears, with information concerning life on the west coast until the turn of the century.

¹³⁰Ewart Young and Bay of Islands Businessmen's Association, *Corner Brook, Newfoundland, (1923-1948): 25 Years of Progress*, (Western Publishing Company Limited: Corner Brook, 1948); R. Austin Parsons, "Chamber of Commerce Notes," *Newfoundland Journal of Commerce*, Vol. 17 (6, 1950); Michael Wardell, "A View From A Vantage: I. Sir Eric Bowater and the Birth of Corner Brook, Newfoundland," *Atlantic Advocate*, Vol. 47 (8, 1957); Corner Brook Chamber of Commerce, *Corner Brook 1961: Progress and Prosperity on Newfoundland's West Coast*, (E. C. Boone Advertising: St. John's, 1961).

¹³¹Bowater's Newfoundland Ltd., "Corner Brook, The City That Paper Built," *Bowater World*, Vol. 6 (Autumn, 1962); Bowater's Newfoundland Ltd., *40 Years of Progress, 1925-1965*, (Bowater's Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Mill Ltd., 1965); Bowater Newfoundland Ltd., *Bowater in Newfoundland*, (Bowater Newfoundland, 1983). W. J. Reader, *Bowater: A History*, (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1981), is a company history of the Bowater's many businesses, and includes some passing information about the Corner Brook mill.

¹³²*The Bowater Oral History Project*, (co-ordinated by Lewis Fisher, Sir Wilfred Grenfell College Library: Corner Brook, 1980). There are also collections of student papers which mostly focus on Corner Brook or the pulp and paper mill, or use the construction of the mill as a convenient closing or starting point. See, for example, A. Collins, "Corner Brook Political History." (Paper deposited at the Maritime History Archive, Memorial University of Newfoundland, n.d.); Llewellyn C Hounsell, "A Brief History of the Humber Valley Development, 1915 - 1927." (Paper deposited at the Maritime History Archive.

Together these historical and amateur works outline Bay of Islands' history, but many conspicuous gaps remain. Bay of Islands' history between the turn of the twentieth century and the establishment of the paper mill is largely untold. How the mill affected change at the community and household levels remains unaddressed. What has been accomplished has largely been confined to the communities of Curling and Corner Brook, and the influx of professionals and retail businesses, with little attention to the surrounding communities and the ecology of the bay. Clearly a tremendous amount of work remains to be done.

1.4 Summary

There are many parallels between the international literature and Newfoundland literature about household economies. Both literatures are multidisciplinary, including economics, sociology, and history. The standard method of 'accounting' under-represents the value and pervasiveness of the informal economy at both levels.¹³³ Newfoundland economic history identifies the subsistence economy as important, and has

Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971); W. Park, "McIvers," (Paper deposited at the Maritime History Archive, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973); Wayne Randell, "A History of Curling, 1822 - 1921," (Paper deposited at the Maritime History Archive, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973); David C. Sharpe, "A Condensed History of Corner Brook," (Paper deposited at the Maritime History Archive, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1973); Margaret Walsh-Chang, "Bay of Islands 1768-1923." (Paper deposited at the Maritime History Archive, Memorial University of Newfoundland, n.d.). See also Denise Crocker, *et al.*, "History of the Bay of Islands," (Paper deposited at the Western Regional Library, Corner Brook, 1972).

¹³³Waring, *Counting For Nothing*, p. 22; and Thornton, *Jack of all Trades*, p. 9.

even begun to integrate this into the formal economic history discussions.¹³⁴ General economic theory has recently begun to 'identify' the informal economy, but has not yet integrated this with formal economic literature. Both international and Newfoundland demographic enquiries identify families as the basic unit of analysis, and from this perspective offer important insights into how families - and thus how household economies - operated.¹³⁵

The international family literature analyses families in terms of access to means of production, and as units of production and consumption. In the Newfoundland literature, this has been the case with some of the more recent fisheries economy work.¹³⁶ Both the international and Newfoundland women's history identify the informal part of the household economy (often without identifying it as such) as an important part of the household economy. In both literatures sociologists identify the informal part of the household economy as a recent development. The Newfoundland literature provides relatively more historical background to subsistence issues than does the international literature. The effect of industrialization and urbanization on rural household economies,

¹³⁴See Alexander's and Ryan's economic histories of the cod fishery. Ommer and Thornton have both outlined at the household level how these relationships worked with formal economic systems.

¹³⁵Thornton, "Newfoundland's Frontier Demographic Experience," p. 144; and footnotes 19, 25 and 26 of this review.

¹³⁶For example, see much of Cadigan's work regarding staple theory and access to means of production in the Newfoundland fishery.

and the development of new ones, is also central to both literatures.¹³⁷

Wrigley and Rose respectively suggest that household adaptations to the industrial revolution were important regional developments, and that family strategies did not change significantly over time, although circumstances did. Ommer, Porter and Thornton suggest the same of Newfoundland's household economies. What implications does this have for the evolution of the traditional economy in rural twentieth century Newfoundland as household strategies took advantage as best they could of changing economic opportunities and realities? How did this play out on Newfoundland's west coast, and in the Bay of Islands in particular?

The Bay of Islands was settled relatively late in the island's history. Bay of Islands residents accessed a rich mix of marine resources where herring, lobster and salmon industries were often as important, or more important, than the salt cod industry.¹³⁸ Landward there were abundant forestry, agricultural, hunting and gathering opportunities. A pulp and paper mill was established in the 1920s. All of this combined to shape a regional economy that was not tied as tightly to the patterns dictated by the cod fishery as elsewhere in Newfoundland. This provides a unique opportunity to examine household economies that developed and adapted in a matter of a few decades in a rapidly changing economic environment.

¹³⁷See the family literature discussion and the Newfoundland economic literature discussion of this review.

¹³⁸Mannion, *The Peopling of Newfoundland*.

Chapter 2: Setting the Stage: Introduction to the Bay of Islands, Newfoundland

2.1 Introduction

The Newfoundland historiography of the Bay of Islands has focused on the west coast's status as a treaty shore, the railway, and the pulp and paper mill - all national political issues.¹³⁹ Mannion's investigation of 19th century settlement is the exception. Community and amateur histories also provide some important insight into the daily lives of Bay of Islands inhabitants in the first half of the 20th century. Nevertheless, the bay's 20th century economic and demographic development remain inadequately examined. This chapter helps fill in the gaps by outlining the Bay of Islands' demographic development from 1891 to 1935.¹⁴⁰ First, however, it is necessary to provide the context for these unfolding population patterns. Chapter 2.2 summarizes what is presently known about Bay of Islands history.

2.2 Bay of Islands History to 1935.

Salmon, herring, lobster and cod fisheries, good quality soil, forestry and

¹³⁹"National" refers to the country of Newfoundland.

¹⁴⁰Unless otherwise noted, all data in this chapter have been derived from the following censuses:

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891. St. John's, 1893.

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901. St. John's, 1903.

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911. St. John's, 1914.

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921. St. John's, 1923.

Tenth Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1935. Department of Public Health and Welfare. Newfoundland. St. John's, 1937.

abundant game attracted settlers to the west coast. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries the Innu and Mik'ma trapped, hunted and fished,¹⁴¹ and French fleets fished cod there. As early as the 1830s people from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia began to settle the south west coast.¹⁴² The earliest Bay of Islands settlers were predominantly from southwest England and Burin.¹⁴³ Also some French fishermen married local women and became residents.¹⁴⁴

For settlers, salmon was the most important fishery resource in the 18th and early 19th century. By mid-century summer salmon and cod fisheries, subsistence agriculture and winter hunting and trapping were the resource base of sparse settlement.¹⁴⁵ Although the salmon fishery and fur prices declined after 1840, trapping and the salmon fishery persisted throughout the century, along with the cod fishery.¹⁴⁶ From about 1800 to

¹⁴¹Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 245; Bartels and Janzen, "Mic Mac migration to Western Newfoundland,"; Horwood, *Corner Brook*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁴²Hackett, *Got A Story To Tell Ye*, pp. 7-8; Horwood, *Corner Brook*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁴³Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 237; Horwood, *Corner Brook*, pp. 10-11; and Bartels and Janzen, "Mic Mac Migration to Western Newfoundland." Hackett, *Got a Story To Tell Ye*, recounts how Edward and Ralph Brake, both from Dorset, England, came to settle in the Bay of Islands, pp. 12-19.

¹⁴⁴Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 239; Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part I," p. 18; Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part II (Conclusion)," p. 17. Hackett, *Got A Story To Tell Ye*, describes how Hayward Hillier's family, originally from the United Kingdom, came to settle in Patrie's, near Curling, by way of the Labrador fishery, pp. 36-37.

¹⁴⁵Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 243; Horwood, *Corner Brook*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁶Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," describes how trapping and the salmon fishery were undertaken in the second half of the nineteenth century predominantly by descendants of Bay of Islands' early settlers, who had secured rights to rivers and trapping lines. Early permanent settlement was centred on the mouths of good salmon brooks and rivers. Rights to rivers were handed down in the family, pp. 244-246.

1850, there were two main ways of getting products to market. One merchant (Bird, of Sturminster, Newton and Poole) operated from Bonne Bay and Labrador until 1840, and travelled to Bay of Islands to collect local produce and distribute provisions each spring and fall.¹⁴⁷ In addition, some locally owned family schooners travelled to Halifax with local products, and brought back supplies.¹⁴⁸ In the first half of the 19th century the Sheppard family from Lark Harbour (on the southern shore of the outer bay) was heavily involved in the cod fishery, and regularly sent their schooner to Halifax with fish, and acted as local distributors for some Halifax firms.¹⁴⁹

Most local settlers fished for cod, but they were not as dependent on it as people on the east coast.¹⁵⁰ Settlement in the Humber Arm was relatively far from the cod fishing grounds in the outer bay, but was close to fishing grounds for salmon and herring, and fur and timber resources. The cod fishery continued to decline after 1875.¹⁵¹ The

¹⁴⁷Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 257. In spring provisions were distributed, and winter produce collected (fur, staves and barrels) in fall ships collected cod, oil, salmon, and other fish. This was very much the old migratory fishery that had begun to die out on the east coast. As settlement expanded there was less involvement in the old ship fishery. With settlers exchange was usually a non-cash basis. Bird did not have an agent in Bay of Islands, and so when fishermen "in debt and badly in need of supplies sometimes turned to interloping traders willing to pay cash for cargo," the merchant could do nothing to prevent it. Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 258.

¹⁴⁸Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 258; Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920. Part I," p. 18.

¹⁴⁹Clarence Dewling, "Lark Harbour, Bay of Islands," (Paper deposited at Sir Wilfred Grenfell College Geography Laboratory, Corner Brook, 1973), p. 19.

¹⁵⁰Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 246. Herring and salmon were more important in the development of the bay than cod. Woods Island and Lark Harbour were the main cod centres. Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 247.

¹⁵¹Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 247.

traditional Newfoundland economy included settling up with the local merchant in spring and fall. For the most part, west coast settlers and merchants preferred more regular contact, and after 1860 independent resident traders dominated retail trade on the west coast, and in the Bay of Islands.¹⁵² These independent traders were often in debt to the non-resident merchants who supplied them. Resident traders could not afford to specialize, and so accepted produce of all kinds as payment for provisions. There was no developed legal system or local government. This, coupled with the French presence, helped prevent large monopolistic merchant firms from setting up shop on the coast - there were none after the Bird enterprise left.¹⁵³

Settlement was sparse in Bay of Islands well into the 1850s. After 1860 herring became the commercial staple in all bays on the west coast, and Bay of Islands experienced a small wave of in-migration. Most new settlers were from Carbonear, Harbour Grace, other areas in Conception Bay, and England, and many arrived in the Bay of Islands via the Labrador stationer fishery.¹⁵⁴ The Labrador link was a major factor in the settlement of the Bay of Islands and Bonne Bay. The west coast was a shorter distance to migrate each year, afforded abundant fuel in sheltered bays, and offered winter

¹⁵²Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 261.

¹⁵³Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 263.

¹⁵⁴Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part I," pp. 18, 22; Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 239.

employment in commercial herring, logging and lobster enterprises.¹⁵⁵ The inability of the east coast economy to sustain all of its inhabitants, coupled with exaggerated reports of the west coast's resources, were also factors in Bay of Islands settlement.¹⁵⁶ As the century progressed a number of saw mills were established all around the bay. This led to the construction of schooners and barrel making as winter commercial activities.¹⁵⁷ Increased American demand for herring resulted in increased catches in the 1860s, but herring migration fluctuated, and a series of bad seasons discouraged additional immigration.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless herring, particularly fall and winter herring, remained the main fishery in Bay of Islands supplemented by cod, lobster and salmon fisheries.¹⁵⁹

In addition to the herring fishery, forestry was an important pull factor for Bay of Islands settlers in the 1860s. In 1865, Mr. Silver of Nova Scotia established a saw mill at

¹⁵⁵Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 239.

¹⁵⁶Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," pp. 250, 252; Fritz L. Bulker, "Meadows; 1860-1973 A Case Study," (Paper deposited at Sir Wilfred Grenfell College Geography Laboratory: Corner Brook. 1973), pp. 5, 6; Horwood, *Corner Brook*, p. 25.

¹⁵⁷Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 253.

¹⁵⁸Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," pp. 250-1. Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," pp.249 -50, and Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part II (Conclusion)," have both suggested that this was partly because the export taxes on Newfoundland bait to Nova Scotia and America were repealed in 1846 and 1854, respectively. The introduction of the trawl line in the 1850s was partly responsible for the growth of the Nova Scotian and American banking fleets, which required an ever increasing supply of bait. Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part II (Conclusion)," p. 20. Given that one customs agent could do very little to prevent export of bait without proper taxes being paid, this suggestion has perhaps been overdrawn. According to Mannion, in the 1850s the "illicit" bait trade with the French cod fishery, for which residents could also receive provisions, or cash, was significant. Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 261.

¹⁵⁹Howard H. Hoddinott, "Gillams," (Paper deposited at Sir Wilfred Grenfell College Geography Laboratory: Corner Brook. 1973), p. 21.

Corner Brook, where two or three families had already settled to fish.¹⁶⁰ Loggers from Nova Scotia's south shore and northern New Brunswick arrived in 1865, and eventually settled in Corner Brook year round.¹⁶¹ These settlers included Christopher Fisher, who originally managed the mill for Mr. Silver, and then purchased the mill in the 1880s.¹⁶² The Fisher family's farm, in addition to providing for the family's own needs, supplied hay to many of the families in the surrounding area, and sent surplus crops to supply woods camps during the winter.¹⁶³ The Fishers brought in many supplies from Nova Scotia, including cheese, apples and meats.¹⁶⁴ The first families in Corner Brook, whether they settled to fish, or work in the saw mill, all had subsistence gardens.¹⁶⁵ Corner Brook's fishing families dealt with trading vessels, and occasionally exchanged fish for lumber, fruits and meats with the Fisher family.¹⁶⁶

During downturns in the herring fishery, hunting and trapping continued to be important economic activities.¹⁶⁷ Agriculture was increasingly important, especially after

¹⁶⁰Hackett, *Got A Story To Tell Ye*, p. 27.

¹⁶¹"Bay of Islands," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume 1.

¹⁶²Horwood, *Corner Brook*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁶³Solomon Lake, "Corner Brook 1860-1921. A History of Corner Brook and the West Coast," (Paper deposited at Sir Wilfred Grenfell College Geography Laboratory: Corner Brook, n. d.), pp. 46-7.

¹⁶⁴Lake, "Corner Brook." pp. 48-9.

¹⁶⁵Lake, "Corner Brook." p. 44.

¹⁶⁶Lake, "Corner Brook." pp. 62-3.

¹⁶⁷Lake, "Corner Brook." pp. 34-5.

1870. Even for subsistence production, good soil was important in increasing the amount of food and forest products a family could produce for itself.¹⁶⁸ The agricultural base widened as the century progressed.¹⁶⁹ Berries were important to the family's food supply. Strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, partridgeberries and blueberries grew locally, and people travelled by boat to pick whatever was not at hand.¹⁷⁰ Settlers could not exploit all Bay of Islands resources at once, but no one resource could support a family. Different families and communities chose different combinations of activities - farming was important in all combinations.¹⁷¹

By the 1880s there were more ways to access trade: some Bay of Islands families continued to bring their produce to Halifax in exchange for provisions, and also functioned as traders in their respective communities. Halifax traders travelled to Bay of Islands collecting fish and produce and providing provisions either via resident traders, or directly with fishermen. Some Halifax firms set up agents on the coast.¹⁷² There was increasing

¹⁶⁸Hoddinott, "Gillams," pp. 17-18.

¹⁶⁹Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 255.

¹⁷⁰Lake, "Corner Brook," p. 40.

¹⁷¹Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 256.

¹⁷²Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part II (Conclusion)," p. 23; Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 259-260. The dominant trading method early in the century was family owned schooners making the trip to Halifax, and this continued throughout the 19th century. From the earliest settlement on the west coast, Halifax merchants out-competed British and St. John's merchants, because Halifax was so much closer. Halifax traders had more serious competition from New England than St. John's. The rise of the herring fishery consolidated these lines of trade. Residents still had no political representation in St. John's, and Halifax merchants provided more consistent steamer service along the coast, paid more for produce and charged less for provisions. Water Street merchants began to be involved in Newfoundland's

competition from Gloucester merchants in the 1870s onwards, especially after 1890, when smoked herring became a popular food item in the United States.¹⁷³

In the 1880s some relief from the fluctuating herring fishery was afforded by the establishment of Birchy Cove as a government service centre, and by a growing lobster fishery. In 1878 Birchy Cove, later renamed Curling, became the centre of government services in the Bay of Islands, with a post office, courthouse, magistrate's residence, jail, policeman and customs collector.¹⁷⁴ By the 1880s Wood's Island had become the centre of American trade in the Bay, under the auspices of a Gloucester firm that had set up shop there in 1875.¹⁷⁵ During the 1880s Nova Scotian businessmen set up lobster-canning factories all along the west coast, employing men, women and children during the summer.¹⁷⁶ Lobster was caught on cod grounds, mostly in the outer bay, during the cod

west coast trade after 1875. By then Halifax and Gloucester merchants were firmly established as suppliers on the coast. Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 259-60. Hackett, *Got A Story To Tell Ye*, describes how the Furlong family of Cook's Brook owned and operated their own vessel, caught and cured their own fish, and went to Halifax each year to sell it, p. 39.

¹⁷³Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 260-1. After the 1871 Treaty of Washington American transactions with settlers increased, as an increase in the demand for bait prompted American ships to gather on Newfoundland's west coast. Americans paid for herring with gold, sometimes exchanged fishing gear for produce, and often sold provisions at lower cost. Gloucester was the centre of this trade, and a Gloucester firm established premises on Woods Island in 1875. Also see Prowse, "The American Fishery Question in Newfoundland."

¹⁷⁴Hackett, *Got A Story To Tell Ye*, p. 30. See also Hiller, "A History of Newfoundland."

¹⁷⁵Horwood, *Corner Brook*, p. 15. See also Hackett, *Got A Story To Tell Ye*.

¹⁷⁶Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part II (Conclusion)," pp. 18-9; Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 251. Gradually local fishermen began to tin their own lobster. Some winter employment manufacturing lobster pots and packing cases also enhanced the year-round employment possibilities.

season, and some conflict with the French occurred.¹⁷⁷ In the late 1890s a government wharf and bond store were erected on the waterfront in Curling, which facilitated regular calls from coastal boats.¹⁷⁸ These developments provided short term construction work, a growing focal point for trade, and an additional market for surplus agricultural produce.

Small sawmills also provided temporary employment and building materials in many communities in the Bay of Islands during this period.¹⁷⁹ In the early 1890s, for instance, Charlie Parsons of Nova Scotia set up a sawmill and planer in Gillams, on the north shore of the Humber Arm. This saw mill employed local men as workers and loggers to produce lumber, shingles and barrel staves.¹⁸⁰

In addition to sawmills, railroad construction employed many Bay of Islands men in the late 1890s, and created new economic opportunities. By 1894 twenty families had settled (or resettled) on the inner Humber Arm at Riverhead to better take advantage of opportunities for employment with the railway.¹⁸¹ In the small community of Nicholsville, for instance, railway construction prompted the expansion of the local lumbering industry. After construction, a railroad station near Nicholsville became a supply depot for residents

¹⁷⁷Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 248; Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part I," p. 18.

¹⁷⁸Hackett, *Got A Story To Tell Ye*, p. 30.

¹⁷⁹Horwood, *Corner Brook*, p. 18.

¹⁸⁰Hoddinott, "Gillams," p. 35. Parsons' sawmill operated until the 1950s.

¹⁸¹Hackett, *Got a Story To Tell Ye*, p. 26; Horwood, *Corner Brook*, p. 26.

in 1898.¹⁸² Throughout the region the railway provided a ready market for lumber, and also provided employment in a variety of capacities from snow shoveller (to keep the track clear in winter) to machinist.¹⁸³ Riverhead became the rail centre, and Birchy Cove/Curling's status as a major trading centre was enhanced by its proximity to Riverhead.¹⁸⁴ Even railway disaster provided unforeseen benefits to local residents. In 1899, a massive railway fire burned for days near Cook's Brook. After the fire, the burnt over (and now cleared) land was taken over by settlers as farmland.¹⁸⁵

Subsistence agriculture remained an important underpinning of changing economic opportunities in the bay, and settlers informally exchanged farm and forest products, often with relations.¹⁸⁶ In Cox's Cove, subsistence gardens grew potato, turnip, carrot and cabbage for the household. Occasionally, a surplus was sold to schooners, especially when they got stuck in the ice.¹⁸⁷

Although the cod fishery had declined in the 1890s, it continued as part of the

¹⁸²MUNFLA 79-684, Lawrence Head, "Folk Narrative Supernatural Legends," (1979), p. 2.

¹⁸³Hackett, *Got a Story To Tell Ye*, p. 26; Horwood, *Corner Brook*, p. 26.

¹⁸⁴Horwood, *Corner Brook*, p. 26.

¹⁸⁵Hackett, *Got A Story To Tell Ye*, p. 37.

¹⁸⁶Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," p. 263; Brown, "A Study of the Curling Area, 1860-1920, Part I," pp. 22-24.

¹⁸⁷Bob Simms and Karen Cooper, "The Fishery at Cox's Cove, Before and Today," (Paper deposited at Sir Wilfred Grenfell College Geography Laboratory: Corner Brook, n.d.), p. 5. Lark Harbour residents were also known to have sold potatoes to schooners caught in the ice, for cash. Dewling, "Lark Harbour," p. 11.

seasonal round of resource exploitation, and remained particularly important in Lark Harbour. In 1905, Moultons began to engage in the trap fishery from Lark Harbour, hiring local men, and chartering vessels to carry fish across the Atlantic and to the south. Moulton's operation was similar to the east coast merchant-credit relationship, supplying food and other items in exchange for a fisherman's dried cod, hiring sharemen and carrying fishermen's families during bad seasons.¹⁸⁸

The regional economy began to diversify during the first decade of the twentieth century with several short-lived industrial endeavours, including the establishment of a copper mine in York Harbour in 1904, two short-lived slate quarries from about 1904 to 1906, and a herring curing plant in Middle Arm in 1907.¹⁸⁹ Norman Fisher operated a fox farm in Corner Brook from 1901 to 1914. He lost his business in a fire in 1914. Hunters and trappers continued to be paid well for pelts of foxes, beaver and otter.¹⁹⁰ In 1905 the first south-west coastal service was inaugurated from St. John's to Birchy Cove every second Tuesday.¹⁹¹ In Cox's Cove a herring plant was established in 1911, and endured as a major source of employment in that community until the 1970s.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸Dewling, "Lark Harbour," pp. 19-20.

¹⁸⁹"Bay of Islands," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume 1.

¹⁹⁰Lake, "Corner Brook," pp. 35-38.

¹⁹¹Hoddinott, "Gillams," pp. 47-8. Before this, people could obtain passage on a trading vessel.

¹⁹²MUNFLA 83-277, Anne Budgell, "Community Profiles of 26 Small Towns Inventory — PD714," (Scripts written for CBC Radio. Research by Anne Budgell and Nigel Markham, 1979), folder 2, p. 52.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century herring remained the most important fishery. Herring was caught for export as food, for bait for other fisheries and as part of the local diet.¹⁹³ Herring was exchanged with Halifax firms for supplies.¹⁹⁴ Sometimes Lunenburg vessels also paid in gold, as well as fishing gear such as rope, nets, hooks and anchors.¹⁹⁵ American trade was increasingly important in the early twentieth century, and the herring fishery expanded from 1900 to 1910.¹⁹⁶ From 1900 to 1928 herring was sold to American buyers and a Scottish firm. American vessels paid for herring with gold, and then hired a few local men to load the herring aboard before the 8-10 man crew sailed back home (usually Gloucester). During World War I, Bay of Islands enjoyed high herring prices and access to American markets without competition from Scottish and Norwegian firms. After the war, herring prices fell dramatically.¹⁹⁷

By the early 1920s Bay of Islands communities had begun to firmly establish seasonal rounds of economic activity. Subsistence farming, including animal husbandry, and the herring fishery were key activities, as were hunting, gathering, and other fisheries including cod, salmon and lobster. A few industrial enterprises and the railway provided a

¹⁹³Hoddinott, "Gillams," p. 23)

¹⁹⁴Dewling, "Lark Harbour," pp. 16-17. See also Simms and Cooper, "The Fishery at Cox's Cove," p. 5.

¹⁹⁵Lake, "Corner Brook," pp. 56-7.

¹⁹⁶"Bay of Islands," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume 1.

¹⁹⁷"Bay of Islands," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume 1: Lake, "Corner Brook," pp. 57-61.

small amount of economic diversification. World War I precipitated a temporary increase in the demand and price for herring, which rose to an unprecedented high during the war, and then quickly plummeted in 1918. A period of adjustment followed which included some economic diversification into other fisheries and forestry, as well as increased effort in subsistence farming. In 1920, for instance, a Pictou firm began to purchase live lobsters, creating the need for speedy transport in the lobster fishery.¹⁹⁸ In 1921 a saw mill was constructed in Goose Arm by two Manuel brothers from Notre Dame Bay.¹⁹⁹

In 1923 the local economy began to rapidly expand as a direct result of construction of a pulp and paper mill in Corner Brook. From 1923 to 1925 thousands of people worked to build the pulp and paper mill, town site, and powerhouse, or to feed and clothe the people who did.²⁰⁰ In Deer Lake and Nicholsville, on the Humber River, construction of a hydro-electric power plant for the Corner Brook mill, a new rail terminal, and the many businesses associated with an influx of workers between 1923 and 1926, dramatically changed the community. After the construction phase, many men stayed to work in the power plant, or settled in the area.²⁰¹

The most dramatic change, however, occurred in and around Corner Brook. The

¹⁹⁸Dewling, "Lark Harbour," pp. 18-19.

¹⁹⁹"Goose Arm," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume 2. The Manuel's saw mill operated until 1940.

²⁰⁰Horwood, *Corner Brook*, pp. 30-39.

²⁰¹MUNFLA 79-684, Head, "Folk Narrative," pp. 2-3.

pulp and paper mill created new sources of waged employment for men and women from many Bay of Islands communities, during the construction of the mill and town site, and later during operations.²⁰² Many of these people moved from other Bay of Islands communities to Corner Brook and the surrounding area. Management and foremen's families lived in the specially built town-site houses with concrete basements, running water, sewers and electricity. Mill labourers were left to build or lodge wherever they could, and hastily built shanty towns with no amenities quickly developed. Sanitation quickly became a problem in the unserved areas - in 1925 there was an outbreak of typhoid fever.²⁰³ The new Bay of Islands Board of Trade fought for government and company assistance to address this, and other social problems.²⁰⁴ A business district outside townsite provided goods and services to Corner Brook's new population, and Broadway became home to over 40 businesses in just 15 months.²⁰⁵ Unions were established during construction and the early years of mill operations, and organized short strikes for improved wages in the late 1920s. Other new organizations included sports and literary clubs, theatres, an ice rink, a 22-bed hospital, churches and a modern

²⁰²"Bay of Islands," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume 1; "Gillams," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume 2.

²⁰³*The Western Star*, September 23, 1925, p. 2.

²⁰⁴*The Western Star*, July 15, 1925, p. 2; *The Western Star*, September 23, 1925, p. 2.

²⁰⁵*The Western Star*, October 29, 1924, p. 3.

school.²⁰⁶ Corner Brook had become an industrial town.²⁰⁷

While Corner Brook expanded, households in other Bay of Islands communities, as well as a few in Corner Brook, continued to fish and farm for a living. In the years immediately following the mill's construction, subsistence farming, hunting, trapping, fishing, logging and berry picking were still the seasonal round of economic activities in fishing communities. The herring fishery remained the major fishery in the Bay, but cod, lobster and salmon fisheries were still important, as in years earlier. Lark Harbour, for instance, remained a fishing community - the pulp and paper mill had little effect on local employment there.²⁰⁸ Even so, the mill had an impact on household economies in many Bay of Islands communities, even if no one in the household worked in Corner Brook. The growth of the Corner Brook area created a previously unavailable local supply of goods, services and amenities. It also provided the option of temporary and seasonal waged work for both men and women that was not available ten years earlier.²⁰⁹

Corner Brook was also a ready market for agricultural produce. In Meadows,

²⁰⁶*The Western Star*, April 1, 1925.

²⁰⁷Horwood, *Corner Brook*, pp. 42-55.

²⁰⁸Dewling, "Lark Harbour," p. 25.

²⁰⁹Horwood, *Corner Brook*, p. 55. This became significant as the fisheries began to decline later in the twentieth century. In 1945-50, with the decline of the herring fishery, Cox's Cove inhabitants began to look to the pulp and paper mill for employment. Simms and Cooper, "The Fishery at Cox' Cove," p. 33. After 1935, a general decline in the fisheries, followed by improvements in land based transportation encouraged the migration of Meadows inhabitants from houses along the shoreline to houses being built along the main road, providing easier access to employment and services in Corner Brook by the 1960s Bulkers, "Meadows," pp. 21-22.

from 1901 to the 1940s, subsistence farming grew into a small scale commercial activity.²¹⁰ From 1928 onwards Mr. Banks of Gillams farmed potatoes, turnip, cabbage, carrot, hay, cattle and milk cows, selling all of his products locally in the Bay of Islands.²¹¹ Chimney Cove's population and fisheries both began to decline after World War I, and by the 1930s and 1940s farming was the main source of employment.²¹² When the Great Depression hit home in the Bay of Islands the new mill operated at reduced capacity, reducing work hours, and wages, for mill workers and loggers. This had a depressing effect on Corner Brook's new economy, and across the board - from mill workers to secretaries to teachers to store keepers to loggers - pay decreased. Nevertheless, families with a steady, if decreased, income, managed to make ends meet.²¹³ For those without a steady income, however, things were far from easy.

Downtime at the mill had a far-reaching negative impact in the Bay of Islands, because a significant amount of winter logging was done by men from around the bay for contractors who supplied the mill (such as Charlie Parsons in Gillams). Subsistence farming, hunting, fishing, and berry picking increased in importance in the seasonal round in fishing communities from 1930 to 1935. Because the soil in the area was too poor to

²¹⁰Bulkers, "Meadows," pp. 23-24. After World War Two this practice began to decline, and was at a very low point in the 1960s.

²¹¹Hoddinott, "Gillams," p. 33.

²¹²"Chimney Cove," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume 1.

²¹³Horwood, *Corner Brook*, pp. 56-60.

support large scale farming (to help compensate for lost fishing income) Lark Harbour was particularly hard hit during the Depression.²¹⁴

Throughout Bay of Islands several attempts were made to diversify community economies to deal with the effects of the Depression. In the 1930s and 1940s the caplin fishery became increasingly important in Lark Harbour, when two fish meal plants were established in the Bay of Islands.²¹⁵ In the 1930s, Charlie Parsons began to cut birch to be shipped to the United States to make spools, and later set up a mill in Gillams to turn the wood into spools.²¹⁶ In Cox's Cove a sawmill was established and operated for a short time in the 1930s.²¹⁷ Even though Corner Book's pulp and paper mill had an undisputed impact on the regional economy and society, other Bay of Islands communities were able to retain their own economy and character, and develop small scale industries as well.

In the span of one hundred years the Bay of Islands developed from a sparsely populated frontier society focused on the salmon fishery, trapping and subsistence agriculture having little contact with the outside world in 1840, to a bustling international centre for a herring fishery, supported by lobster and cod fisheries, agriculture and forestry by the start of World War I, to a booming industrial centre which maintained some of its

²¹⁴Dewling, "Lark Harbour," p. 25.

²¹⁵Dewling, "Lark Harbour," p. 18. These fishmeal plants were established by two merchant firms from St. John's - Dunphy's and Crosby's.

²¹⁶Hoddinott, "Gillams," p. 35. This enterprise lasted only until the late 1930s.

²¹⁷"Cox's Cove," *Encyclopaedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*, Volume 1.

traditional economic activity by the 1930s. This is the context in which the demographic development described in Chapter 2.3 and the household economic activity analysed in Chapter 3 took place.

2.3 Bay of Islands Population Composition and Growth, 1891-1935

This section provides a demographic description of the changing composition of the Bay of Islands population during important years in its settlement history. Presenting Bay of Islands' population composition in each census year, and analysing how this composition changed from year to census year, from 1891 to 1935, establishes important context for the economic activities and patterns described in Chapter 3.

2.3.1 1891 Population Composition

The majority of the 1,898 recorded inhabitants in the Bay of Islands in 1891 were young.²¹⁸ There were more males than females in the general population, with a sex ratio of 1.2.²¹⁹ The most pronounced gender imbalances in the 1891 population were expressed in the 5 to 15, and 20 to 25 year age groups.²²⁰ The Bay of Islands 1891

²¹⁸See Appendix Two, Table 1: Bay of Islands population, sex ratios, child-woman ratios and dependency ratios; 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935.

²¹⁹ See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²²⁰See Appendix Three, Figure 1: Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1891, for population composition by age in this paragraph.

population had a disproportionately large number of people aged 5 and under, and a very large 5 to 25 year age group. About 66 % of the population was aged 25 or younger, and 21 % was aged 5 or younger.²²¹ The gender imbalance was most pronounced in these younger age groups, and only slightly evident in the 40 plus groups. The 1891 child-woman ratio was 1.05, or about one child aged 5 and under for every woman aged 15 to 45.²²² The 1891 dependency ratio was 0.91. In other words there were fewer people aged 15 and under, plus those aged 60 and over, than potential members of the labour force aged 15 to 60.²²³ In Bay of Islands in these years, the vast majority of these dependents were children.

2.3.2 1891-1901 Population Change and 1901 Population Composition

From 1891 to 1901 the Bay of Islands population grew at an average rate of 3.58 % per year.²²⁴ There were 831 births, and the population increased by 819 persons.²²⁵ The population lost 149 persons through death or emigration, and gained 137 persons through immigration. 60 of 91 male losses were aged between 10 and 20 years,

²²¹ See Appendix Three, Figure 1: Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1891.

²²² See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²²³ See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²²⁴ See Appendix Four, Table 10: Bay of Islands Average Annual Population Growth Rates 1891-1901, 1901-1911, 1911-1921, 1921-1935. for growth rates and formula discussed in this paragraph.

²²⁵ See Appendix 5, Table 11: Bay of Islands Cohorts 1891-1901, for statistical information discussed in this paragraph.

and were most likely out-migrants.²²⁶ Male losses in the 40 and older groups may have been deaths or migrations. There were some female losses in all cohorts, except 20 to 25, 70 to 75, and 75 to 80. All but 4 of 83 male immigrants were aged 20 to 40. Female immigrants were all aged 20 to 30. It is most likely that males aged 10 to 20 were leaving Bay of Islands, while males aged 20 to 40 arrived. Very many young men who were born in the Bay of Islands left, but very few young women did so, with the result that by 1901 the net number of people in the 10 to 20 year age cohort was roughly equal in terms of gender. Two demographic measurements suggest that young couples emigrated to the Bay of Islands - young male and female age groups (from 15 to 40 years) grew at the same rate, and there was a large number of 20 to 30 year old immigrants. The population was stable enough to replenish losses, and also expand.

Different age and sex groups grew at different rates during the same period. The number of males aged 40 to 65, males and females aged 65 and older, and males and females aged 15 to 40, grew faster than the average growth rate, at 6.62, 5.24 and 4.46 percent per year respectively. The population was slowly beginning to mature. The number of children aged 15 and under, and females aged 40 to 65, grew slower than the average, at 2.75 and 2.62 percent per year respectively. The growth rate for children in this decade was lower than the growth rate for women of child-bearing age, suggesting a relative increase in the number of women that had no young children from 1891 to 1901.

²²⁶See Appendix 5, Table 11: Bay of Islands Cohorts 1891-1901, for statistical information discussed in this paragraph.

The Bay of Islands population of 2,713 recorded inhabitants was still very young in 1901.²²⁷ While the 1901 sex ratio was 1.2, as in 1891, the gender imbalance had shifted to different age groups. The gender imbalance was also far from consistent across the population, as there were more females than males in the 5 and under, 15 to 20, and 65 to 75 age groups.²²⁸ The 5 and under, 20 to 25, 30 to 35, and 35 to 40 age groups had significantly more males than females in 1901. In 1901 about 61 % of the Bay of Islands population was aged 25 and under, with the 5 and younger group making up approximately 16.5 % of the total population. The number of elderly people remained relatively small, fewer dependent children entered the population relative to the previous census year, and the maturing population meant that more young people entered the labour force. All of this translated to decreased child-woman and dependency ratios of 0.81. and 0.83 respectively in 1901.²²⁹ The Bay of Islands 1901 population was still very young, with marked gender imbalances in the labour force.

2.3.3 1901-1911 Population Change and 1911 Population Composition

From 1901 to 1911 the Bay of Islands population grew an average 4.56 % per

²²⁷See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²²⁸ See Appendix Three, Figure 2: Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1901, for this and the next paragraph.

²²⁹See Appendix Two, Table 1.

year.²³⁰ The Bay of Islands population increased by 1,524 persons, including 1,308 births, which accounted for most of the population growth.²³¹ Migration also contributed to this population increase, adding 337 people to the population between 1901 to 1911.²³² Three groups - the elderly, children, and females aged 40 to 65 - grew faster than the population average, at 6.52, 5.31, and 4.65 percent per year respectively. The increased growth rate of children and females aged 40 to 65 helped even out the age distribution of the population. The growth rate of children was higher from 1901 to 1911 than the growth rate of women of child-bearing age. The opposite had been true for 1891 to 1901.

Most immigrants were young, aged 10 to 30, and there were almost twice as many male immigrants as female immigrants. The 10 to 20 male cohort remained in the Bay of Islands from 1901 to 1911, even though there were 90 more males than females in this age group by the end of the decade. Natural increase together with immigration kept the Bay of Islands population expanding rapidly from 1901 to 1911, particularly as there were relatively few losses during this decade.

By 1911 the Bay of Islands population had increased to 4,213 - more than twice

²³⁰ See Appendix Four, Table 10: Bay of Islands Average Annual Population Growth Rates 1891-1901, 1901-1911, 1911-1921, 1921-1935, for growth rates discussed in this paragraph.

²³¹ See Appendix 5, Table 12: Bay of Islands Cohorts 1901-1911, for statistical information discussed in this paragraph.

²³² See Appendix Four, Table 10: Bay of Islands Average Annual Population Growth Rates 1891-1901, 1901-1911, 1911-1921, 1921-1935, for the remainder of discussion in this paragraph.

the 1891 population.²³³ The sex ratio, at 1.16, was slightly lower than the previous two census years, and was for the most part consistent across the entire population.²³⁴ The number of single young males was no longer exaggerated relative to the rest of population. The population was still very young, with almost 63 % aged 25 or younger. The 1911 child-woman ratio of 0.75 suggests a lower birth rate from 1907 to 1911 than 1897 to 1901.²³⁵ The dependency ratio of 0.93, however, was higher in 1911 than in either 1891 or 1901, even though the 1911 child-woman ratio was much lower.²³⁶ In other words, the population composition had begun to stabilize. A slight increase in the percentage of elderly people in the population, normal as the population matured, and an increase in the number of people aged 5 to 10 relative to those aged five and under, account for this.²³⁷

2.3.4 1911-1921 Population Change and 1921 Population Composition

From 1911 to 1921 the population's growth rate slowed to an average 1.09 % per

²³³See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²³⁴See Appendix Three, Figure 3: Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1911.

²³⁵See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²³⁶See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²³⁷See Appendix Three, Figure 3: Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1911.

year.²³⁸ From 1911 to 1921 there were population losses in every age and sex group, and no traceable immigration to the Bay of Islands. Natural increase of 1,489 live births offset losses of 1,043 persons so that there was a net population gain.²³⁹ Most striking were the losses in both male and female 10 to 40 age groups. The population was just able to sustain itself in the face of a massive loss.

The lower growth rate was concentrated in the 15 to 40 year old age groups. The number females aged 15 to 40 grew only 0.33 % per year. The number of males aged 15 to 40 decreased by 0.57 % per year from 1911 to 1921. The low and negative growth rates of young men and women in this decade, combined with the higher growth rates of children and elderly, meant an increasingly higher dependency ratio in the years leading to 1921.

In 1921 the Bay of Islands had 4,697 inhabitants - 484 more people than in 1911.²⁴⁰ The sex ratio had decreased to 1.1, with significantly more males than females in the 20 to 25, and 25 to 30 age groups.²⁴¹ However, the number of females was equal to the number of males in the 15 to 20 year age group, and there were more females aged 30

²³⁸See Appendix Four, Table 10: Bay of Islands Average Annual Population Growth Rates 1891-1901-1901-1911, 1911-1921, 1921-1935, for growth rates discussed in this paragraph.

²³⁹See Appendix 5, Table 13: Bay of Islands Cohorts 1911-1921, for statistical information discussed in this paragraph.

²⁴⁰See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²⁴¹See Appendix Two, Table 1, and Appendix Three, Figure 4: Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1921, for the rest of this paragraph.

to 35 than males. The child-woman ratio was 0.89, increased from the previous two census years.²⁴² The 1921 dependency ratio of 0.97 was the highest of all five census years.²⁴³ Just over 64 % of the population was aged 25 and under. Just over 10 % of the population was aged 25 to 30. This was a significant decrease for the 25 to 35 group relative to 1891, 1901 and 1911.²⁴⁴ The percentage of the population aged 65 and older was consistent with 1911. In 1921 there was increased pressure on the labour force to support dependents. This was partly due to the increased birth rate.

A slowed growth rate, increased birth rate, higher dependency ratio, and smaller 25 to 35 age group relative to previous census years all indicate that the Bay of Islands had, by 1921, largely outgrown its frontier character, and become a young established population. There were likely several contributing factors, including the effects of the First World War, and the ensuing decline in the herring fishery.

2.3.5 1921-1935 Population Change and 1935 Population Composition

The number of females and males aged 15 to 40 grew faster than the average, at 9.91 and 9.26 % per year respectively. These two groups had the lowest, and a negative growth rate, respectively, from 1911 to 1921. The number of females and males aged 40

²⁴²See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²⁴³See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²⁴⁴See Appendix Three, Figure 4: Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1921.

to 65 grew slower than the average, at 7.81 and 6.83 % per year respectively. The number of children and elderly also increased slower than the average, at 7.79 and 7.08 % per year respectively. From 1921 to 1935 the average growth rate of females of reproductive age was higher than the growth rate of children aged 15 and under, suggesting that the birth rate was declining. Unfortunately, cohort analysis is not possible from 1921 to 1935.²⁴⁵ Bay of Islands' population tripled between 1921 and 1935, growing at an average of 8.39 % per year from 1921 to 1935.²⁴⁶ The large number of people in the 25 and older age groups in 1935 indicates that the majority of this population increase was due to in-migration that took place largely from 1923 to 1927, as a direct result of the establishment of a pulp and paper mill in Corner Brook.

By 1935 the Bay of Islands had 14, 513 inhabitants.²⁴⁷ The sex ratio was almost 1, although there were significantly more males than females in the 50 to 55 and 55 to 60 year old groups, and more females than males in the 15 to 30 age groups.²⁴⁸ This suggests a large number of single young women, which is also what the gender imbalance in the 15 to 30 age group suggests. Clearly then, very many of these young women did not have

²⁴⁵Cohort analysis is not possible from 1921 to 1935 because the age groups in each year are in fives (and thus multiples of five are possible), but there are 14 years between 1921 and 1935.

²⁴⁶See Appendix Four, Table 10: Bay of Islands Average Annual Population Growth Rates 1891-1901, 1901-1911, 1911-1921, 1921-1935, for growth rates discussed in this paragraph.

²⁴⁷See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²⁴⁸See Appendix Two, Table 1, and Appendix Three, Figure 5: Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1935, for the remainder of the statistical information in this paragraph.

children. The child-woman ratio was 0.69 - the lowest it was in all five census years.²⁴⁹ 61.5 % of the 1935 population was aged 25 and under, with just over 15.5 % aged 5 and younger. Almost 16 % of the population was aged 25 to 30. This was the largest age group, as a percentage of the total population, in any census year studied. A lower dependency ratio of 0.83 was not surprising in this context.²⁵⁰

2.4 Summary

From 1891 to 1935 the Bay of Islands had a youthful demographic profile. In all census years approximately 80 % of the population was aged 40 or under. A combination of successful settlement leading to natural increase and continued in-migration were ongoing in the Bay of Islands well before the turn of the century. While the Bay of Islands population increased by about 800 people from 1891 to 1901, the 1901 sex ratio remained close to the 1891 ratio. This suggests that a frontier stage was still in effect. The sex ratio in the Bay of Islands grew progressively more balanced from 1901 to 1935, suggesting that these years were critical in the transition from a frontier to a stable settlement.²⁵¹

From 1901 to 1911 the age range of immigrants broadened to people aged ten to forty, as distinct from the 1891 to 1901 decade, in which it appeared most immigrants

²⁴⁹See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²⁵⁰See Appendix Two, Table 1.

²⁵¹See Thornton, "Newfoundland's Frontier Demographic Experience."

came as single people or very young families. There was not as large a loss in the 10 to 20 male cohort as there had been in the previous census year. There were 90 more males than females in this age group in 1901.

The increased growth rate between 1901 and 1911 was possibly a result of increased pull factors for the Bay of Islands as a destination for emigrants, as social, government and mercantile services improved after the turn of the century.²⁵² In 1904 changes to the French Shore treaty removed the last official barrier to settlement in the Bay of Islands. Generally speaking, the 1911 population experienced significant change over the population patterns and composition of the previous two census years. There was a more even population distribution across age groups. The gender imbalance was slightly lower, and distributed much more evenly across the entire population compared to the previous two census years. With a more mature population, the youthful base remained, but was proportionately older, and the older age cohorts had begun to fill out. It is possible that the higher dependency ratio was partly the reason for the lower child-woman ratio, which may have been an effort on the part of inhabitants to keep number of dependents to a manageable level. The 1911 population exhibits significant change in population structure and composition from previous two census years.

From 1911 to 1921 the population's growth rate was slower than in previous years, especially in the male 15 to 40 year old labour force. This is possibly a result of the

²⁵²See Hancock, *Soe Longe As There Comes Noe Women*, for traditional push and pull factors.

First World War, or a poor fishery that caused younger people to go elsewhere seeking richer waters or paid employment. From 1911 to 1921 the number of births rose relative to previous census years, but it seems that young families, and young people, who flocked to the Bay of Islands from 1901 to 1911, either left, or (more likely) delayed marriage as a response to the first world war and/or a fisheries crisis. The Bay of Islands' extremely high average annual growth rate (8.39%) from 1921 to 1935 was most certainly a reflection of the establishment of the pulp and paper mill in Corner Brook in the late 1920's. The increased availability of waged positions for women in the late 1920's accounts for the increase in the female 15 to 25 year old population.

Bay of Islands' development from 1891 to 1935 followed a pattern similar to that of the Strait of Belle Isle from 1840 to 1940, as analysed by Thornton.²⁵³ By 1891 the Bay of Islands had been through a "true pioneer phase," and the frontier stage appears to have begun.²⁵⁴ By 1901 the frontier stage was well underway, and reached its height from 1901 to 1911 when tremendous immigration and natural increase dramatically expanded the population and its economy. This period of accelerated growth was followed by a reassessment period from 1911 to 1921, with a dramatically slower population growth rate. Between 1921 to 1935 Bay of Islands' development pattern diverged from the Strait of Belle Isle pattern, and entered a stage of rapid industrial development.

²⁵³Thornton, "Newfoundland's Frontier Demographic Experience."

²⁵⁴Mannion, "Settlers and Traders."

Chapter 3: Bay of Islands Per Household Economic Activity and Production

3.1 Introduction

Bay of Islands inhabitants pursued a wide range of economic activities in their year-round search for a living. Herring, cod and lobster fisheries, agriculture, trapping and forestry were the most pervasive components of a complex economic resource mix in the nineteenth century. How this 'mix' changed from 1891 to 1935 is addressed here, by examining statistical households.²⁵⁵ To 'create' statistical households, the number of occupied houses enumerated in each census year was used as a surrogate for households, in keeping with the literature's generally accepted definition of 'household' as 'living together under one roof', as discussed in Chapter 1.1. Census data for fisheries and agricultural production, occupations, and so on, were divided by the number of occupied houses providing an approximation of economic production and activity per household.²⁵⁶ Regional per household statistics were calculated from the sum of data for all Bay of Islands communities enumerated in each census year, thereby taking all Bay of Islands communities into account. However, as resources and households varied from one

²⁵⁵Unless otherwise noted, all data in this chapter have been derived from the following censuses:

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891. St. John's. 1893.

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901. St. John's. 1903.

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911. St. John's. 1914.

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921. St. John's. 1923.

Tenth Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1935. Department of Public Health and Welfare. Newfoundland. St. John's. 1937.

²⁵⁶See Appendix 6, *Production and Economic Activities Per Household, Bay of Islands and Communities, 1891-1935*, and Appendix 7, *Value of Per Household Production, Bay of Islands 1891-1901*.

community to the next, per household statistics for eight sample communities are also included in this discussion, to provide the detail that the regional data cannot. (Please see maps in Appendix 1 for reference.) These sample communities - Lark Harbour, Halfway Point, Curling, Corner Brook, Meadows, McIvers, Goose Arm and Chimney Cove - represent different geographic regions, or ecological zones, in the Bay of Islands.²⁵⁷ Fisheries production is addressed first, followed by agriculture and animal products, forestry, and other professions.²⁵⁸ Establishing a regional picture of Bay of Islands economic activities helps make sense of Bay of Islands' population growth from 1891 to 1935, as outlined in Chapter 2. Examining per household economic activities at the community level illustrates how varied household economies were in the Bay of Islands during this period.

²⁵⁷Mannion, "Settlers and Traders," describes three ecological zones on the west coast in the nineteenth century - inner bays, outer bays, and "in between." In the discussions that follow, references to "most communities" or the range of activity or production in different Bay of Islands communities, refers specifically to the following eight communities: Lark Harbour and Chimney Cove, on the south and north shores of the outer Bay of Islands respectively; Halfway Point, Meadows, and McIvers, about halfway in the Humber Arm; Curling (formerly known as Birchy Cove) and Corner Brook, in the inner Humber Arm; and the community of Goose Arm, mid-way in Goose Arm. See Appendix 1, Figure 1, *Bay of Islands* map.

²⁵⁸There are some difficulties with the census data which resulted in some gaps in the discussions that follow. The 1921 census, for instance, contains no detailed information concerning the fishery. The 1935 census provides no information concerning forestry, and does not categorize fishery data according to specific fisheries, as do the earlier censuses. Per household analysis of economic production was not undertaken past 1935 as the 1945 census does not indicate the number of households in each community, making per household analysis inaccurate at best, and the 1951 census provides no information other than the total population for each community.

3.2 Bay of Islands Per Household Fisheries Production

This section examines the number of people and boats involved in the fisheries, and the per household catch of many Bay of Islands fisheries, and how all of this changed from 1891 to 1935 at the community and regional levels. Some census fisheries data, such as the number of males catching and curing fish, are not fishery specific. Other data, such as 'herring products value', are fishery specific beyond doubt. The general fisheries information provides important information about the fisheries' economy. This is examined first, followed by fishery specific data. Unfortunately there is no community specific data for fisheries in the 1935 census.

3.2.1 1891 Fisheries

There were 0.91 males catching and curing fish from 1.29 boats per household in the Bay of Islands in 1891.²⁵⁹ Most communities had as many or more boats as fishermen, with the exception of two north shore communities.²⁶⁰ Curling had 0.83 fishermen per household, while Chimney Cove had two. McIvers had 0.9 boats per household compared to 1.73 in Lark Harbour.²⁶¹ There were no women recorded as curing fish in 1891 in any

²⁵⁹See Appendix 6, Tables 23 and 41. 'Boats' refers to boats that could hold between 4 and 30 quintals of cod, as enumerated in the censuses. A 'quintal' measures 112 pounds.

²⁶⁰See Appendix 6, Tables 24 - 31 and 42 - 49.

²⁶¹See Appendix 6, Tables 23 - 31 and 42 - 49. While the census indicates that Meadows had no fishermen at all, this was obviously a census error, as Meadows did have Newfoundland shore fishery and herring catches in 1891 (according to the census), and also had more than one boat per household on the average.

community.²⁶² Fisheries were worth an average \$66.03 per household and \$72.82 per fisherman in the Bay of Islands in 1891, and from \$118.50 to \$478.00 per household in the sample communities.²⁶³

The average cod and herring catches per Bay of Islands household were 17.34 quintals and 57.71 barrels respectively in 1891.²⁶⁴ The cod fishery was undertaken in all sample communities, and the herring fishery in all but one.²⁶⁵ The catch of both fisheries varied dramatically from community to community. Curling, for instance, caught 9.24 quintals of cod per household, while Lark Harbour caught 58.67 quintals.²⁶⁶ There was no herring fishery in Chimney Cove in 1891, while the Meadows herring catch was 106.5 barrels per household. The average Bay of Islands lobster catch per household was 37.14 cases. Only three sample communities caught lobster in 1891.²⁶⁷ Chimney Cove, with 75 cases per household, had the biggest lobster fishery in 1891. None of the sample

²⁶²See Appendix 6, Tables 42-49.

²⁶³See Appendix 6, Tables 23-31 and Appendix 7, Table 50.

²⁶⁴See Appendix 6, Tables 23 - 31 for data referred to in the remainder of section 3.2.1. A barrel is equal to 32 gallons. A quintal is equal to 112 pounds. Exact measurements for lobster cases and salmon tierces are unclear. Lobster was canned, and the cans packed in cases for export. "Salmon tierces," *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, 2nd ed. G. M. Story, W. J. Kirwin and J. D. A. Widdowson, eds., (University of Toronto Press: Toronto, 1990), reads: "wooden cask for the export of split and cured salmon".

²⁶⁵Goose Arm was not enumerated in the 1891 census.

²⁶⁶Gallons of Cod Oil produced followed the same pattern. The average production was 12.78 gallons. Curling produced 7.63 gallons per household, Lark Harbour produced 40 gallons, and Chimney Cove produced 42 gallons.

²⁶⁷These were Chimney Cove, Curling and Lark Harbour.

communities recorded a salmon catch in 1891, although the average salmon catch was 0.14 tierces per household in the Bay.

Bay of Islands fisheries were male endeavours in 1891. The wide range of fishermen, boats and fisheries products value per household suggests that fishing effort was far from uniform throughout the Bay. Households depended on herring and cod, along with lobster and salmon in different combinations. Outer bay communities produced more cod and lobster than the other sample communities. Inner bay communities produced the least fish per household.

3.2.2 1901 Fisheries

In 1901 there were 1.35 fishermen and 0.92 boats per household in the Bay of Islands.²⁶⁸ The number of fishermen per household ranged from 0.65 in Corner Brook to 2.83 in Chimney Cove.²⁶⁹ Goose Arm had 0.67 boats per household, and Meadows had 1.4.²⁷⁰ Most communities had more fishermen per household than boats.²⁷¹ A few Bay of Islands women - 0.05 per household - cured fish in 1901.²⁷² This effort was concentrated in a few communities, and in most of the Bay the fisheries remained a predominantly male

²⁶⁸See Appendix 6, Tables 23 and 41.

²⁶⁹See Appendix 6, Tables 42 - 49.

²⁷⁰See Appendix 6, Tables 24 - 31.

²⁷¹See Appendix 6, Tables 24 - 31 and 42 - 49.

²⁷²See Appendix 6, Table 41.

undertaking.²⁷³ The exception was Chimney Cove, where there were 1.5 women per household involved in the fisheries. Chimney Cove's women were apparently much more active in the cod fishery than women in other Bay of Islands communities. This suggests that the cod fishery was particularly important to Chimney Cove household economies in 1901.

From 1891 to 1901 the average value of the Bay of Islands fisheries per household and per fisherman increased dramatically to \$307.17 per household and \$228.30 per fisherman.²⁷⁴ Fisheries value per household also increased in most communities, ranging from \$134.35 in Corner Brook to \$453.80 in Meadows.²⁷⁵ Herring and cod catches were enumerated in all communities in 1901. The salmon fishery was enumerated in six communities, the lobster fishery in the outer bay, and the Labrador fishery in Meadows. From 1891 to 1901 the average Bay of Islands herring catch almost doubled, to 148.13 barrels per household. This was evident in all sample communities, where the catch ranged from 43.5 barrels per household in Chimney Cove to 258.7 barrels in Meadows.

In 1901 the average Bay of Islands cod catch decreased to 9.44 quintals per household, to just over half the 1891 catch. This decrease occurred in all communities, where the cod catch ranged from 3.06 quintals per household in Corner Brook to 31.17

²⁷³See Appendix 6, Tables 42 - 49.

²⁷⁴See Appendix 7, Table 50.

²⁷⁵See Appendix 6, Tables 23 - 31, for data referred to in the remainder of section 3.2.2.

quintals in Chimney Cove. The Bay of Islands per household lobster catch also decreased from 1891 to 1901, by about two-thirds, to 12.62 cases per household. Chimney Cove was particularly affected, as its lobster catch decreased from 75 cases per household in 1891 to 14.67 in 1901. The average per household salmon catch increased from 0.14 to 0.25 tierces from 1891 to 1901. Five Humber Arm communities participated in the salmon fishery in 1901, with per household catches ranging from 0.04 tierces in Corner Brook to 0.75 tierces in Meadows. These averages mostly likely represent the catch of a few households in each community, as fishery rights on salmon rivers were owned by certain families.²⁷⁶ In 1901 the Bay of Islands Labrador fishery catch averaged 3.10 quintals per household, and Meadows had an average catch of 5 quintals of Labrador cod per household. Statistics for the Bay of Islands Labrador fishery also most likely represent the effect of a few households' catch averaged out over the entire community, as some fishermen, often with their families and/or sharemen, travelled to their berths in Labrador in the spring to fish, returning to Bay of Islands in the fall.

From 1891 to 1901 Bay of Islands cod and lobster catches declined per household, while herring and salmon catches increased. At the community level there were still variations in the fisheries mix. Lobster was caught only in the outer Bay communities and salmon was caught only in Humber Arm communities. Unlike any other communities, Chimney Cove had over 4 people per household involved in the fishery during the course

²⁷⁶Mannion, Thornton and Brown all indicate that the salmon fishery was severely depleted by overfishing in the mid-1800s. This could represent the first sign of commercial salmon activity in some time.

of the year - 2.83 men and 1.5 women. Chimney Cove was closer to cod fishing grounds than most Bay of Islands communities, and so increased activity in this fishery makes. In Bay of Islands in 1901 most communities were heavily dependent on herring catches. This was less so in the outer bay. Overall, there was less differentiation in the fishery resources mixes of the communities in the Bay of Islands in 1901 than in 1891.

3.2.3 1911 Fisheries

In 1911 there were 1.06 fishermen and 0.12 boats per household in the Bay of Islands.²⁷⁷ The number of fishermen ranged from 0.6 to 1.64 per household, and women had become more involved in the fisheries.²⁷⁸ About 1 woman in every second Bay of Islands household cured fish in 1911.²⁷⁹ There were women curing fish in all communities, ranging from 0.3 to 0.91 per household.²⁸⁰ There were consistently about half as many women per household curing fish as fishermen in each of the sample communities and in the region. There were no boats enumerated in the census for five of the sample communities, and from 0.09 to 0.95 per household in three communities.²⁸¹

²⁷⁷This latter number is possibly a reflection of poor enumeration in this census category in that year, as fishermen obviously needed boats to catch fish. It is also possible that fish was caught using boats not from the area, or boats larger than 30 quintals. See Appendix 6, Tables 23 and 41.

²⁷⁸See Appendix 6, Tables 23 - 31.

²⁷⁹See Appendix 6, Tables 42 - 49.

²⁸⁰See Appendix 6, Tables 23 - 31, for data referred to in the remainder of section 3.2.3.

²⁸¹See Appendix 6, Table 41. This is possibly census error.

The average value of the Bay of Islands fisheries declined over \$100 per household to \$201.06 in 1911. Almost half of this amount - \$91.83 - was income from the herring fishery.²⁸² Fisheries products value varied greatly in the sample communities, from \$14.44 per household in Halfway Point to \$543.79 in Meadows. Herring fishery value per household ranged from \$3.16 in Lark Harbour to \$458.50 in Goose Arm.²⁸³

By 1911 the average cod catch per household declined to 4.47 quintals. The cod fishery disappeared from south shore communities, and remained most productive in Lark Harbour, which landed 25.09 quintals per household. The average herring catch per household also decreased to 63.75 barrels, ranging from 0 in Chimney Cove to 185.26 in Meadows. The average per household lobster catch increased to 16.20 cases in 1911, ranging from 0 in Corner Brook to 6.53 in Meadows. The Labrador fishery catch per household also increased to an average 2.85 quintals per household, and ranged from 0 in four communities to 5.25 quintals in Meadows. The salmon fishery declined from 1901 to 1911, to 0.05 tierces per household, ranging from none in five sample communities to 0.76 in McIver's.

In the 1911 sample, all communities except Chimney Cove landed herring catches, all but Corner Brook landed lobster catches, five were involved in the cod fishery, four in the Labrador fishery, and three in the salmon fishery. In 1911 more females cured fish

²⁸²See Appendix 6, Table 23.

²⁸³This 1911 value of the herring fishery for Goose Arm is more than the total fisheries products value of all Goose Arm fisheries. This is a census error.

than in previous years. The per household yield of cod and herring declined, although herring remained the predominant fishery in the region. The lobster fishery was prosecuted in more communities in 1911 than either 1901 or 1891, perhaps in response to declining herring, cod and salmon fisheries. The prosecution of secondary fisheries geographically expanded to include people from more communities in the region. This per household decline in yield makes sense in the context of the rapidly expanding population from 1901 to 1911. There were many more people depending on the fisheries than a decade earlier.

3.2.4 1921 Fisheries

The 1921 census recorded the number of people active in the fisheries and little else. There was just under 1 fishermen per household in the Bay of Islands region in 1921, ranging from 0.43 in Curling to 2.25 in Chimney Cove.²⁸⁴ There were 0.5 women curing fish per household, ranging from 0.03 in Corner Brook, to 0.9 in Melvers.²⁸⁵ As in 1911, most communities still had about half as many women per household involved in the fisheries as men, with the exception of inner bay communities. Corner Brook had very few women curing fish compared to the 1921 average, and Curling had many more.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴Appendix 6, Tables 41 - 49.

²⁸⁵Appendix 6, Tables 41 - 49.

²⁸⁶Appendix 6, Tables 41 - 49. These communities were close to each other in the inner Humber Arm. It is possible that women from Curling were curing fish caught by Corner Brook fishermen, that a Curling Merchant was drying Corner Brook fish, or that the census enumerator got it mixed up. See Appendix 1,

Other than this, fisheries data is available only for Lark Harbour and Curling in the 1921 census.²⁸⁷ Even though the herring fishery did decline after the first world war, it did not disappear altogether, and so the 1921 fisheries data for the Bay of Islands is suspect, to say the least.²⁸⁸ This lack of fisheries information is unfortunate, especially as 1921 was the last census year before the construction of the pulp and paper mill.

3.2.5 1935 Fisheries

Omissions in the 1921 census make comparisons between 1921 and 1935 fisheries production meaningless. Comparisons between 1911 and 1935 indicate a decline in the number of fishermen per household in 1935 at the regional level.²⁸⁹ This is not surprising, given the population influx from 1921 to 1935. In 1935 there were about 1/4 of the number of boats per household as in the Bay of Islands in 1911, or 0.25 boats per household.²⁹⁰ 1935 regional per household data are weighted heavily towards Corner Brook. The 1935 census does not provide fisheries product information at the community

Figure 1.

²⁸⁷See Appendix 6, Tables 23 - 31.

²⁸⁸This is an error on the part of the census, as we know from other sources such as Brown and Hackett that there were people fishing and that the fisheries were fairly good in 1921.

²⁸⁹See Appendix 6, Table 41. This was relative, however, to the influx of thousands of people to work at the pulp and paper mill and its support/service sectors.

²⁹⁰See Appendix 6, Table 23.

level. In 1935 the value of herring in the Bay of Islands was \$20.10 per household.²⁹¹ Lobster, cod and salmon earnings per household also declined significantly.

The population influx of the late 1920s in Corner Brook statistically overshadows per household production of other Bay of Islands communities. Even though the regional per household value of fisheries was very low in 1935, earnings per fisherman remained much as they had been.²⁹² Many households continued to rely heavily on the fisheries as the formal part of their household economies for at least a decade after the mill opened in 1925.

3.2.6 Fisheries Summary

The average number of males catching and curing fish in the Bay of Islands region was around one per household in all census years, but this varied considerably from community to community and year to year. The number of boats per household followed a similar pattern. Chimney Cove consistently had the most men per household involved in the fisheries from 1891-1921. Given Chimney Cove's isolation, this perhaps reflects an absence of alternate commercial employment and a greater dependency on the cod fishery. The number of fishermen per household was most stable in Lark Harbour, ranging from

²⁹¹See Appendix 6, Table 23.

²⁹²This was determined by calculating the value of fisheries earnings per fisherman, as opposed to per household, for each of the five census years. The fishery was worth \$228.30 per fisherman in 1901, \$189.38 in 1911, \$44.23 in 1921 and \$199.45 in 1935. This strongly suggests that households that continued to expend a great deal of effort on the fisheries were doing as well, on average, as in previous years. See Appendix 7, Table 50.

1.32-1.38 per household from 1891 to 1921. Curling, evolving as the service centre of the Bay, and Corner Brook, where the Fisher mill had expanded into a very large saw mill operation, had the fewest fishermen per household from 1891 to 1935.

There were very few women curing fish in 1901, but by 1911 there were approximately 0.5 per household. The number of males catching and curing fish per household decreased in 1911.²⁹³ It is not entirely clear why this happened, although it may partially be attributed to the increased gender balance in the population. If there were fewer men per household than in 1901, then it makes sense that there were also fewer fishermen per household. The population influx between 1901-1911 from other areas of the island and Labrador may have included economic traditions where women were active in cod curing. The increase in female participation in the cod fishery may also have been in part a reflection of the increasing equalization of the male/female balance in the population from 1911-1921. The number of people - males and females - catching and curing fish per household peaked in 1921, but unfortunately the census provides almost nothing in the way of catch data for 1921.

The Bay of Islands per household value of the fisheries in 1891 was \$66.03 per household. The value for the sample communities were much higher than this average. This suggests that the strongest fishery communities were selected as examples. On the other hand, the Bay of Islands average does coincide well with community numbers of

²⁹³It has been assumed that this refers to the cod fisheries only. People working in lobster factories, for instance, would have been categorized as undertaking factory work.

average total value of the fisheries per household from 1901-1921. From 1891 to 1935 fisheries product value decreased per household on the south shore of the Humber Arm and in the two outer Bay communities, and increased on the North Shore and in Goose Arm.

The average Newfoundland shore catch in the Bay of Islands decreased continually from 17.34 quintals per household in 1891 to 2.86 in 1921.²⁹⁴ It is likely that the fisheries value per fisherman increased partly because the absolute number of fishermen decreased to less than the 1901 absolute number of fishermen, when the Bay of Islands herring fishery produced the most per household.²⁹⁵ Without exception the cod fishery declined on average and in the eight communities per household, from 1891 to 1901 to 1911 to 1921. More cod was consistently caught per household in the two outer bay communities than any other sample communities. The absolute number of fishermen gradually increased as the absolute number of quintals caught decreased. The rapid decline of the quintals of cod per fisherman and per household indicates increasing pressure being out on the cod resource.

The relative importance of the herring fisheries to different communities remained fairly stable in each census year, even as dramatic increases and decreases per household occurred in each community. The total value of the fisheries per household in the Bay of

²⁹⁴See Appendix 6, Table 23. Gallons of cod oil produced per household followed suit.

²⁹⁵See Appendix 6, Table 23, and Appendix 7, Table 50.

Islands follows the herring fishery more closely than any other fishery. The per household herring catch remained the highest in northern communities such as Meadows and Goose Arm, and lowest in outer bay communities.²⁹⁶

The Bay of Islands per household lobster catch increased from 1891 to 1901 and peaked in 1911. Between 1901 and 1911 the participation in the lobster fishery expanded to such an extent that only Corner Brook did not participate in 1911. Given the population increase, this represents a much increased lobster fishing effort on the part of Bay of Islanders from 1901-1911. This increase in the lobster fishery occurred in the years both cod and herring fisheries declined dramatically from 1901 levels. Lark Harbour and Chimney Cove were consistently involved in the lobster fishery. Lobster and cod are caught during the same season, and in the same location. Perhaps the outer Bay communities had turned to lobster as the cod fishery failed, or perhaps the cod catch decreased because outer bay fishermen chose to fish lobster instead.

There were a small number of Bay of Islands fishermen engaged in the Labrador fishery from 1891 to 1935. These represent the vestiges of the 1860s migration of Labrador fisher-families to the Bay of Islands as well as some families who immigrated to the Bay of Islands from the east coast via the Labrador fishery between 1901 and 1911.²⁹⁷ Labrador Fishery production per household decreased from 1901 to 1921. Curling and

²⁹⁶Perhaps Chimney Cove was producing Scotch Pack herring exclusively, which fetched a much better price, or perhaps there was a census error.

²⁹⁷As discussed in Chapter 2.2.

Meadows were more involved in the Labrador fishery than any of the other eight communities. The Bay of Islands salmon fishery appears to have been a supplementary resource in all census years. This was most likely one or two families depending heavily on the salmon fishery, particularly in McIvers, rather than many families depending on it a little. In 1911 the Banks fishery was enumerated in the Bay of Islands. This, perhaps reflects an attempt to broaden the resource base in the face of declining cod and herring catches. It is also quite possible that connections to the Banks fishery travelled to the Bay of Islands with new immigrants.

While the cod fishery declined from 1891-1901, the herring fishery grew. The peak per household production of herring and salmon from census years 1891 to 1935 for all communities was in 1901, before the massive population influx that occurred from 1901 to 1911. In 1911, when the number of females curing fish increased significantly, the shore fishery significantly declined, and disappeared altogether in the 3 south shore communities. These developments were likely partly a result of the 1901 to 1911 immigration. Developments from 1921 to 1935 are unclear from the census data. Earnings per fishermen, however, indicate that the fisheries remained a viable commercial activity for at least some households in the Bay of Islands. Even though the 1935 census does not indicate which communities these households were in, the pattern from previous census years indicates that changes in fishery activity at the regional level were experienced differently in different regions of the Bay.

The regional description of fisheries activity and production confirms that the formal aspects of Bay of Islands' fisheries were distinct from those of the east coast.²⁹⁸ Continual adjustment of fishing effort is apparent at the regional level - as one fishery declined, effort increased in another. Regional adaptation strategies described through regional averages, however, are not sufficient to illuminate household fisheries strategies. From community to community, emphasis was placed on different fish species, and this emphasis changed from year to year - not always in accordance with the regional average. This is significant, as it appears that a multitude of fisheries strategies, which took advantage of the same regional fisheries resources at different times and places, were the key to allowing Bay of Islands' households to take optimum advantage of fisheries resources.

3.3 Bay of Islands Per Household Production of Agriculture and Animal Products

The number of people involved in agricultural pursuits is a crude indication of how much effort households in different communities were willing to invest in subsistence agriculture. The result of this labour, measured in produce per household, and what this produce was worth, provides important detail about agricultural efforts. This section examines the number of people other than farmers cultivating land, land use, and

²⁹⁸See discussion in Chapter 1.2.

production of garden produce and animals products in the Bay of Islands. Some census data, such as the number of people cultivating land, are not specific to a particular product, and do not indicate gender. Other census data, such as value of potatoes in a given year, or the number of chickens kept, are very specific. All of this is examined for each census year from 1891 to 1935. There are some inconsistencies in the census data, and unfortunately there is no community specific data in the 1935 census.

3.3.1 1891 Agriculture and Animal Products

An average 0.58 persons other than farmers per household cultivated land in the Bay of Islands in 1891.²⁹⁹ This varied significantly in the sample communities. In the outer bay over 2 people per household cultivated land, while none did in Halfway Point.³⁰⁰ Inner arm communities had fewer than one person cultivating land per household. Acres improved averaged 2.36 per household, and acres in pasture averaged 1.33 per household.³⁰¹ All sample communities except Lark Harbour had more than 2 improved acres and more than 1 acre in pasture per household in 1891.³⁰² Acres under cultivation

²⁹⁹See Appendix 6, Table 41. There were 0.006 farmers per household in the Bay of Islands in 1891. It is not clear from the census if the categories "farmers" and "persons other than farmers cultivating land" included women or not. For the remainder of this chapter, unless otherwise noted, the majority of produce and animal products are assumed to have been produced by persons other than farmers on a subsistence basis.

³⁰⁰See Appendix 6, Tables 42 - 49.

³⁰¹See Appendix 6, Table 32.

³⁰²See Appendix 6, Tables 32 - 40, for data used in the rest of this paragraph.

ranged from none in some communities to 0.47 in Lark Harbour.

All sample communities grew potatoes and hay, which were the two staple agricultural outputs of the Bay of Islands in 1891. Generally, communities in the inner bay and northern communities produced more barrels of potatoes than other communities, except Birchy Cove/Curling, which produced the fewest barrels of potatoes per household in 1891. Potato production averaged 13.88 barrels per household, varying from 8.74 barrels in Curling to 22.5 in Chimney Cove.³⁰³ Turnips and other vegetables were also grown in the Bay of Islands, with an average 0.46 barrels of turnips per household, and a few other root crops. Most turnips and other crops were grown in the inner arm communities and Meadows. The Bay of Islands also produced an average 2.33 tons of hay per household in 1891, ranging from 1.2 tons in Lark Harbour to 4.75 tons in Chimney Cove.

In 1891 the average household owned one ox, 5 sheep and 4 chickens, and produced 19.27 pounds of butter and 16.28 pounds of wool.³⁰⁴ Three in four households had a pig, just over every second household had a milk cow, and one in ten households had a horse. In other words, animals and animal products were a significant part of the household economy and household diet. The number of oxen and milk cows per household ranged from 0.87 to 2.5, and 0.1 to 1.25 respectively. Communities with the

³⁰³See Appendix 6, Tables 33 - 40, for data used in the rest of this paragraph.

³⁰⁴See Appendix 6, Tables 14 - 22, for data discussed in this paragraph.

most cows produced the most butter, as is to be expected. Chimney Cove, in the outer bay, had far more oxen, cows and sheep than any other community. Communities in the outer bay kept few or no chickens. Inner Humber Arm communities had a distinct animal ownership pattern: fewer sheep and more chickens, horses and pigs per household.

3.3.2 1901 Agriculture and Animal Products

In 1901 there were 2.14 people cultivating land per household in Bay of Islands, and the number of people cultivating land per household increased in every community.³⁰⁵ This was a significant increase from 1891. In the sample communities the number of persons cultivating land ranged from 1.39 per household in McIvers to 3.5 in Chimney Cove.³⁰⁶ As in 1891, communities in the northern arms and on the Humber Arm's north shore had the most people per household cultivating land in 1901, and inner Humber Arm communities had the fewest.

Acres improved per household increased slightly from 1891 to 1901 and varied from 1 acre in Goose Arm to 3.83 acres in Chimney Cove.³⁰⁷ Acres cultivated almost doubled from 1891 to 1901, from 0.23 to 0.45 per household in the bay, and in most sample communities, with the exception of Halfway Point and Lark Harbour. During the

³⁰⁵See Appendix 6, Table 41. There were 0.02 farmers per household in the Bay of Islands in 1901.

³⁰⁶See Appendix 6, Tables 42 - 49.

³⁰⁷See Appendix 6, Tables 32 - 40, for data used in the rest of this paragraph.

same period acres in pasture decreased by almost half, to 0.71 per household in 1901, with 0.33 acres in pasture in Goose Arm and 1.82 acres in pasture in Halfway Point.

Per household production of potatoes decreased from over 13 barrels in 1891 to 8.71 barrels in 1901, and a similar decrease occurred in all sample communities, where production ranged from 5.33 barrels in Goose Arm to 19.17 in Chimney Cove. While potato and hay production decreased per household, production of turnip, other root crops, and cabbage increased. All communities grew turnip and cabbage in 1901, but only inner Humber Arm communities grew other root crops. Hay produced per household decreased in the Bay of Islands from 2.33 tons in 1891 to 1.74 tons in 1901, and decreased in all sample communities except Halfway Point and Chimney Cove.

In 1901 the average Bay of Islands household kept almost 2 oxen, 4 sheep, and 8-9 chickens, and 4 in 10 households kept milk cows, 1 in 10 kept horses, 1-2 in 10 kept pigs and there were even a few goats in Curling.³⁰⁸ Chimney Cove had 4.83 oxen per household in 1901, the most of any sample community, and Lark Harbour had 0.47, the least. The increase in oxen per household may have been related to the increase in people per household cultivating land, as oxen were work animals. The number of milk cows per household ranged from 0.11 in McIvers to 2.17 in Chimney Cove. The production of butter increased on average and in all communities except Corner Brook and Lark Harbour, even though the number of milk cows declined. Butter made ranged from 4.71

³⁰⁸See Appendix 6, Tables 14 - 22, for data discussed in the rest of this paragraph.

lbs in Corner Brook to 150 lbs in Chimney Cove. Households in all communities made butter.

The number of sheep per household ranged from 2.35 in Curling to 9.17 in Chimney Cove. With the exception of Meadows, wool production decreased in all communities, even in Chimney Cove, where the number of sheep had doubled in the previous decade. It is possible that women were sending their wool away to be spun in factories, or that the census is incorrect with regards to the amount of wool made in Chimney Cove. Chimney Cove also had more poultry than any other sample community in 1901 - 13.67 per household. Lark Harbour, with 5.82 chickens per household, had the fewest. The distribution of horses in the bay remained similar to the 1891 distribution, and there were fewer pigs.

Furs were worth about 65 cents per household in the region, but this average is misleading, as most of the trapping took place in Meadows, Goose Arm and Chimney Cove, and was likely part of only a few household economies in these communities. While many households likely hunted for meat - rabbits, birds and caribou - unfortunately there is no census data regarding this.

3.3.3 1911 Agriculture and Animal Products

The number of people cultivating land decreased from 2.14 per household in 1901

to 1.27 in 1911.³⁰⁹ All communities except Curling and Corner Brook also had fewer people cultivating land per household than in 1901, ranging from 1.02 in Curling to 1.64 in Chimney Cove. Acres improved per household increased to 4.7 per household in 1911. This makes sense given the population influx from 1901 to 1911 - recent settlers were busy clearing land and building homes and barns and stores.

Acres improved per household were greatest in Corner Brook (10.59 acres per household) and possibly associated with a commercial farm.³¹⁰ Unlike the regional trend, in McIvers and Chimney Cove acres improved per household decreased from 1901 to 1911, suggesting that the new wave of settlers bypassed these communities. Acres cultivated per household also increased in 1911 - to over six times the 1901 average. Four farms accounted for some of this, but acres cultivated per household increased in every sample community without exception, from 0.66 in McIvers to 3.74 in Meadows (which did not have a farm). While acres improved and acres under cultivation increased, acres in pasture per household decreased from 0.71 in 1901 to 0.54 in 1911. Only Curling and Corner Brook were enumerated as having any acres in pasture in 1911.

Potatoes were by far the most abundant garden produce. Per household production of potatoes decreased slightly from 1901 to 8.05 barrels per household in

³⁰⁹See Appendix 6, Tables 41 - 49, for data discussed in the rest of this paragraph. In the sample communities, there were two farmers in Curling, 1 in Corner Brook, and 1 in Goose Arm.

³¹⁰See Appendix 6, Tables 32 - 40, for data discussed in this paragraph.

1911.³¹¹ From 1901 to 1911 potato production, like hay production, increased in four northern communities and decreased in four communities on the south shore, ranging from 5.5 barrels per household in Curling to 16.55 in Chimney Cove. The average value of potatoes per households was \$16.10 in 1911. Regional production of turnips remained fairly constant from 1901 to 1911, with small increases in six communities and a large decline in Chimney Cove.

The volume and cash value of vegetables and fruits produced per household varied considerably from community to community.³¹² For example, an average 119.52 heads of cabbage was worth \$3.36 per household in the Bay of Islands in 1911, but in McIvers 300 heads of cabbage were worth \$14.29 per household. Compared to the Bay of Islands average per household yield of 0.72 gallons of fruit worth 33 cents, Curling and Corner Brook both grew over one and a half gallons of fruit, worth 75 to 85 cents per household, and McIvers grew almost half a gallon, worth 19 cents, per household. From 1901 to 1911 there was also a decline in hay production per household, from 1.74 to 1.45. In the four most northern communities per household hay production increased, while in the southern part of the bay per household hay production decreased. Hay was worth about \$15.00 a ton, and \$23.58 per household - from \$8.91 in Lark Harbour to \$110.91 in

³¹¹Appendix 6, Tables 32 - 40, for data used in this paragraph.

³¹²Appendix 6, Tables 32 - 40, for data used in this paragraph. Fruit includes wild berries and domestically grown apples, plums, currants, berries and the like. These numbers seem low - it is uncertain what criteria the census takers used to determine which fruits were enumerated.

Chimney Cove.

From 1901 to 1911 the average number of animals per Bay of Islands household declined. In 1911 there were 0.39 oxen, 0.35 milk cows, 3.15 sheep, 7.36 chickens, 0.16 horses, 0.15 goats and 0.06 pigs per household in the Bay of Islands.³¹³ Only the average number of horses and goats increased from 1901 to 1911. There was much variation in animal holdings in the sample communities. McIvers's was the only sample community in which the number of oxen increased per household, and the number of oxen ranged from 0.17 in Curling to 3 in Chimney Cove. The number of milk cows increased slightly in Corner Brook, Meadows and McIvers, and declined in all other sample communities, in which the range of milk cows per household was from 0.1 in Goose Arm to 1.09 in Chimney Cove. There were an average 25.13 gallons of milk produced per household in the Bay of Islands in 1911, ranging from 6.49 gallons in Lark Harbour to 154.55 gallons in Chimney Cove. The amount of butter made per household also decreased on average, and in most sample communities, except Meadows and Corner Brook.

The number of sheep increased in Meadows and McIvers, and decreased elsewhere in the Bay.³¹⁴ Chimney Cove, with 8.64 sheep per household, had the most sheep per household of the sample communities, and Curling, with 1.84 sheep per household, had the least. With a decline in the average number of sheep per household came a decline in

³¹³See Appendix 6, Tables 14 - 22, for data used in this paragraph.

³¹⁴See Appendix 6, Tables 14 - 22, for data used in this paragraph.

the pounds of wool produced per household. The average was 6.62 pounds per household, ranging from 2.98 in Lark Harbour to 18.91 in Chimney Cove. Poultry per household decreased everywhere except Meadows. All communities had chickens, but eggs were enumerated only in Curling, Meadows and Goose Arm. The number of horses increased slightly per household in the Bay, and all but the two most northern communities had at least one horse in 1911. Meadows had 0.42 horses per household. The number of pigs decreased on average, while the number of goats increased. There were few of either in the Bay of Islands in 1911, and they were not present in every community. Most of the goats were in Lark Harbour, which had just over 1 goat per household in 1911. This was a departure from the usual pattern, and appeared in 1911 only.

The number and value of furs increased from 1901 to 1911, which suggests a much increased effort in this economic activity, given the increased number of households. Furs were enumerated in Meadows, Goose Arm and Chimney Cove in 1911. Chimney Cove had the greatest output, with 2.09 furs per household, worth an average \$3.18 per household. Goose Arm's fur was worth 40 cents per household, and Meadows' was worth 79 cents. Again, this likely reflect the activities of one or two households averaged out over the entire community.

3.3.4 1921 Agriculture and Animal Products

An average 0.80 persons other than farmers per household cultivated land in the

bay of Islands in 1921, compared to an average 1.27 persons in 1911. This decline was evident in all sample communities, and ranged from 0.77 persons per household in Goose Arm, to 1.25 persons in Halfway Point.

Acres improved per household declined overall - not surprising, since the population grew very little from 1911 to 1921. There was tremendous variety in the number of acres improved per household throughout the bay, however - from 0.86 in Lark Harbour to 5.47 in Halfway Point - and the average increased significantly in Chimney Cove, McIvers, and Halfway Point - all in different areas of the Bay.³¹⁵ Acres in pasture increased slightly per household from 1911 to 1921, and increased significantly to 2.63 acres in Halfway Point, but decreased in most of the sample communities. Acres under cultivation increased per household in 1921, but again there were significant differences from community to community per household, ranging from 0.15 acres in Goose Arm and Curling to 6.53 in Halfway Point. While the average increased, there were decreases in Chimney Cove, Goose Arm, Meadows, Curling, and Lark Harbour, and significant increases in Halfway Point, Corner Brook, and McIvers.

In the Bay of Islands the average barrels of potatoes produced per household increased in 1921 to 10.97 barrels per household, ranging from 5.4 barrels in Curling to 19.42 in Halfway Point. Curling and Corner Brook households grew fewer potatoes in 1921 than in 1911. In Chimney Cove and Goose Arm per household production of

³¹⁵See Appendix 6, Tables 32 - 40, for data discussed in the rest of this paragraph.

potatoes substantially declined. All other communities had a per household increase in potato output - production almost doubled in Lark Harbour, Halfway Point and McIvers. In 1921 potatoes were worth much more per household than in 1911, ranging from \$18.84 in Curling to \$45.43 per household in Halfway Point. The value and amount of turnips, cabbage and fruits also varied from community to community, but with few exceptions was worth more per household in 1921.

Hay produced per household decreased slightly, averaging 1.32 tons per household, and ranging from 0.73 in Curling to 2.79 in Halfway Point.³¹⁶ This declined in some communities and increased in others. The value of hay, however, had more than doubled per household from 1911 to 1921 averaging \$59.57 per household, and ranging from \$33.06 in Curling to \$125.53 in Halfway Point. It is likely that the increased value of agricultural products were partly a reaction to the post-war depression and the coinciding downturn in the herring fishery.

The average cattle, milk cows and milk produced per household all increased in 1921.³¹⁷ In 1921 the average Bay of Islands household had 0.42 cattle, 0.36 milk cows, and produced 167.73 gallons of milk and 7.81 pounds of butter. The number of cattle per household ranged from none in Chimney Cove to 1.25 in McIvers, the range of milk cows per household was none in Chimney Cove to 0.84 per household in Meadows, the range

³¹⁶See Appendix 6, Tables 32 - 40, for data used in the rest of this paragraph.

³¹⁷See Appendix 6, Tables 14 - 22, for data discussed in the rest of this paragraph.

of milk produced was none in Chimney Cove to 420 gallons per household in Meadows, and the range of butter made was none in three communities to 69.6 in Meadows. These data for Chimney Cove are suspect - if they are correct, then very significant changes in agricultural effort had occurred in Chimney Cove which had owned the most cattle and milk cows per household in 1911.

The average number of sheep and pounds of wool per household increased to 3.25 and 71.33 per household respectively. This varied from none to 6.8 sheep in Meadows, and no wool in Goose Arm to 16.28 lbs in Meadows. Sheep kept and wool produced per household decreased in Curling and Goose Arm, while wool produced decreased in Curling, Corner Brook and Goose Arm. Poultry kept per household decreased in 1921, but the number of eggs produced appears to have increased substantially.³¹⁸ In 1921 chickens per household ranged from 2.72 in Lark Harbour to 8.78 in Curling, while eggs produced ranged from 9.98 dozen per household in Lark Harbour to 43.87 in Curling. Poultry kept per household decreased in Lark Harbour, Curling, Corner Brook and Meadows. The number of horses increased to 0.26 per household, with a range of none in the northern two communities to 0.65 in McIvers. All communities that had horses had the number of horses per household increase from 1911 to 1921. The number of pigs per household also increased, while the number of goats declined. Lark Harbour, which had 1 goat per household in 1911, had none at all in 1921.

³¹⁸This is possibly the result of poor enumeration of eggs produced in the 1911 census, which recorded no eggs for many communities, even though there were chickens there.

The census data indicates a shift in trapping activities in the Bay of Islands from 1911 to 1921. Trapping continued in Lark Harbour in 1921, but according to the census trapping ceased in the northern communities. Lark Harbour produced 0.12 furs per household, compared to 0.13 for the average of the bay, but the Lark Harbour furs were worth \$3.37 per household, as compared to \$1.60 per household in the Bay.

3.3.5 1935 Agriculture and Animal Products

There is no census information about people other than farmers cultivating land in the Bay of Islands in 1935. The average number of acres improved and acres cultivated per household decreased significantly from 1921 to 1935, but the average acres in pasture decreased only slightly.³¹⁹ This varied tremendously around the bay, however. Acres improved increased in Lark Harbour, Meadows, McIvers, Goose Arm and Chimney Cove, and declined only slightly in Halfway Point. The biggest change in acres improved per household were in Curling and Corner Brook, which is to be expected, where acres improved per household in 1935 declined to 0.31 and 0.13 respectively. Acres under cultivation decreased dramatically in the region. This occurred in all sample communities, ranging now from 0.14 in Curling to 1.5 in Halfway Point. Acres in pasture decreased in most sample communities, but increased in Chimney Cove, Goose Arm, Lark Harbour and Corner Brook.

³¹⁹Appendix 6. Tables 32 - 40.

Barrels of potatoes grown declined to 6.77 barrels per household in 1935, from 10.97 in 1921.³²⁰ The value of potatoes per household also declined. While overall potato production decreased, it increased in northern and outer bay communities (Lark Harbour, Meadows, McIvers, Goose Arm and Chimney Cove) and declined in the other communities. For example, potato production ranged from 2.6 barrels per household in Corner Brook to 34.9 barrels per household in McIvers. Turnip production declined overall, but did increase dramatically in McIvers. The range was 0.31 barrels of turnips per household in Corner Brook to 5.24 in McIvers. Other root crops were more commonly grown in many Bay of Islands communities in 1935 than in 1921, and cabbage was grown in all communities. Fruit was enumerated in all but the two most northern communities. Hay production per household declined by half in the Bay of Islands, but ranged from 0.31 tons per household in Curling to 6.45 tons per household in Chimney Cove. The value of hay production per household declined from 1921 to 1935.³²¹

The number of animals kept per household decreased from 1921 to 1935, but the number of chickens and egg production increased.³²² There was an average 7.53 poultry per household in 1935, and this varied from 3.33 in Goose Arm to 22.97 in Meadows. Chickens required very little space compared to other animals, and were easily kept in the

³²⁰See Appendix 6, Tables 32 - 40.

³²¹Value of agricultural output is not available at the community level in the 1935 census.

³²²See Appendix 6, Tables 14 - 22, for data discussed in this paragraph.

small gardens in and around Corner Brook as a subsistence effort during the depression. In addition to chickens, there was an average 0.18 cattle per household in the Bay of Islands in 1935, ranging from 0.008 per household in Corner Brook to 2.73 in Chimney Cove. There were 0.23 milk cows per household on average, ranging from none in Goose Arm to 1.91 in Chimney Cove. Milk produced per household decreased to 54.99 gallons per household, which was much lower than per household production in 1921, but higher than per household production in 1911. Milk production ranged from none in Goose Arm to 261.36 in Chimney Cove. Butter made per household also declined on average, but increased in Chimney Cove, McIvers, Corner Brook, Curling and Halfway Point and Lark Harbour, ranging from none in Goose Arm to 54 pounds per household in Chimney Cove. By 1935 the average number of sheep per household in the Bay of Islands had declined to 1.28, ranging from 0.002 in Corner Brook to 9.18 in Chimney Cove.³²³ The average number of horses per household increased to 0.24 in the Bay of Islands ranging from 0.09 per household in Lark Harbour to 0.68 in Halfway Point. There were fewer pigs and goats than 1921. The number and value of furs per household also declined from 1921 to 1935, and trapping output in sample communities was centred in Corner Brook and Chimney Cove.

³²³See Appendix 6, Tables 14 - 22, for data discussed in this paragraph.

3.3.6 Agricultural Summary

In 1891 twice as many people cultivated land (more than 2 per household) in outer bay communities than inner bay communities. All communities except Lark Harbour had more than 2 improved acres per household and more than one acre in pasture. Potatoes and hay were by far the most abundant crops in the Bay of Islands in 1891. Inner bay and northern communities produced more potatoes per household than outer bay and southern shore communities, even though these communities had relatively fewer people cultivating land per household. Chimney Cove residents kept more cattle and sheep per household than other communities. Outer bay communities had fewest chickens, while inner arm communities had fewer sheep and more chickens, pigs and horses. Generally inner bay communities appear to have undertaken the least amount of agricultural effort of the sample communities. Chimney Cove, in the outer bay, had the greatest agricultural output, while all other sample communities except Birchy Cove/Curling and Corner Brook produced closer to the Bay of Islands' average per household production.

In 1901, northern communities continued to have more people per household cultivating land, and inner arm again had the fewest. In 1901 most communities had more people cultivating land per household than in 1891. That acres in pasture decreased by half and acres under cultivation doubled per household is additional evidence of increased agricultural effort. This increased effort, however, did not appear to result in increased production, as the quantities of the two staple crops - potatoes and hay - decreased per

household. Despite the decline in production, potatoes and hay remained dominant crops in the Bay of Islands, although turnip and cabbage had become more common. There were also fewer milk cows, sheep and pigs (all food producing animals) and more oxen (work animals) and chickens. Chimney Cove continued to keep the most sheep and chickens per household. There were also a few furs sold on the north shore.

In 1911 the northern and mid arm communities generally had more people cultivating land than the inner Humber communities and Lark Harbour. Per household output, especially potatoes and hay, increased in the northern part of the bay, and decreased in southern communities. The number of animals kept generally decreased, except in Meadows. The 1911 pattern, with more people cultivating land per household on the north shore of the Humber arm, represents a significant evolution from the 1891 pattern, when north shore communities had the fewest people per household cultivating land. Factors which likely influenced the number of people cultivating land per household in 1911 include the quality of the land cultivated, and the stage of settlement of a particular community in a particular census year. Given the large influx of settlers to the Bay of Islands between 1901 and 1911, and the decrease in hay production and animals kept, that potato production remained close to 1901 level illustrates how important potatoes were to household economies.

In 1921 inner Humber Arm communities still had the fewest number of people per household cultivating land. This appears to be the one consistent trend carried over from

earlier census years. The per household agricultural output had increased significantly by 1921. In 1921 hay and potatoes remained the staple crops in all Bay of Islands communities. Much more milk was produced per household, and trapping appears to have shifted geographically. There were a few less chickens and goats and a few more pigs. McIvers's subsistence activity greatly increased, but other than this averages per household were fairly close to averages in 1911.³²⁴ The most significant change from previous census years was that produce was worth a great deal more per household than it had been in earlier years.

The average number of acres improved and acres cultivated per household decreased significantly from 1921 to 1935. In Curling and Corner Brook acres improved per household in 1935 declined dramatically, which is not surprising given the dramatic increase in the number of households in Corner Brook and surrounding communities. This was not the case throughout the bay, however, as acres improved increased in outer bay and northern communities. Acres under cultivation per household decreased in all sample communities from 1921 to 1935. While the volume and value of potatoes per household declined on average from 1921 to 1935, potato production increased in northern and outer bay communities. Hay production declined by half per household in the Bay of Islands.³²⁵ Agricultural products included more fruits and vegetables in most communities

³²⁴There was no agricultural produce recorded at all for Chimney Cove in 1921. This is a census error, as there were still people living there in 1921, and there were still people cultivating land.

³²⁵Value of agricultural output is not available at the community level in the 1935 census.

than in previous census years. The number of animals kept per household decreased from 1921 to 1935, but the number of chickens increased.³²⁶ The number and value of furs per household also declined from 1921 to 1935. Clearly, the introduction of the pulp and paper mill affected the average per household agricultural production of the Bay of Islands - statistically, the Corner Brook area had the majority of families in the Bay in 1935. Per household agricultural output increased in northern and outer bay communities between 1921 to 1935.

Potatoes and hay were the staple agricultural crops of the Bay of Islands, as they were elsewhere in Newfoundland. The geographical pattern of the number of persons other than farmers cultivating land per household remained almost the same from 1891 to 1901, and then changed significantly from 1901 to 1911. From 1911 to 1921 the geographical pattern remained roughly intact, and the per household value of agricultural produce increased throughout the region. The 1921 pattern shifted slightly from 1921 to 1935.

Again, the regional average does not necessarily illuminate the differences in household subsistence efforts from community to community and household to household. For instance, Chimney Cove households were consistently much more self-sufficient in agriculture and animal products than any of the others communities from 1891 to 1921.³²⁷

³²⁶See Appendix 6, Tables 14 - 22. for data discussed in this paragraph.

³²⁷While the census indicates agriculture declined in 1921, other sources indicate that farming gradually increased in Chimney Cove after the first world war, and became the main employer in the community by

Meadows and McIvers households increased agricultural production gradually during this period, while Birchy Cove/Curling's and Corner Brook's diminished. Local trends were more indicative of the logic of household economic strategies than regional averages.

3.4 Other Employment and Forestry

Fishing and cultivating land were primary economic activities for all sample Bay of Islands communities. Other economic activities were nevertheless very important in Bay of Islands household economies well before the influence of Corner Brook's pulp and paper mill. In the formal economy the 'other' activities included waged employment in lumbering, factory, office and shop work, and many other things. Most of this 'other' employment was in the forestry industry.

In 1891 there were as many as 0.633 people per household employed in an "other" occupation in the region.³²⁸ No 'other' employment was recorded in Lark Harbour, Halfway Point, McIver's or Goose Arm in 1891. There were 0.95 persons per household in Birchy Cove/Curling, 0.93 in Corner Brook, 0.84 in Meadows, and 2.75 in Chimney Cove employed in 'other' professions. In these four communities there were more people employed per household in an 'other' category than people involved in fishing or cultivating land.

the 1940s. See Chapter 2.2.

³²⁸See Appendix 6, Tables 41-49, for data discussed in this paragraph. This 'other' employment included lumbering, factory, office and shop work, and many other things.

By 1901 the average number of people per household employed in an 'other' category decreased to 0.41 per household.³²⁹ As in 1891, there was no alternate employment recorded in Halfway Point, McIver's or Goose Arm. Whatever industry had been established in Chimney Cove appears to have discontinued. In Lark Harbour an average 0.23 people per household were employed in the 'other' category in 1901. The number of people employed in an other category decreased to 0.72 persons per household in Birchy Cove and 0.2 persons per household in Meadows, but increased to 1.06 persons per household in Corner Brook in 1901.

In 1911 there was an average 0.5 people per household employed in an 'other' category in the Bay of Islands. Chimney Cove was the only sample community which did not have some sort of other employment for part of its population.³³⁰ Birchy Cove/Curling and Corner Brook, as in the previous two census years, had more people per household employed in this category than any other community, with 0.8 and 0.64 persons per household respectively. In the other sample communities the number of people per household employed in an other category ranged from 0.05 in McIver's to 0.33 in Halfway Point in 1911.

By 1921 the average number of people per household in the Bay of Islands employed in an 'other' category had increased to 0.61 per household. As in 1901 and

³²⁹See Appendix 6, Tables 41-49, for data discussed in this paragraph. This 'other' employment included lumbering, factory, office and shop work, and many other things.

³³⁰See Appendix 6, Tables 41-49, for data discussed in this paragraph.

1911, there was no alternate employment enumerated in Chimney Cove, and as in 1911 there were 0.05 people per household involved in 'other' employment in McIver's. Birchy Cove/Curling and Corner Brook continued to have the highest amount of per household 'alternate' employment, with 1.37 and 0.88 people per household respectively. In both communities this was greater than the number of people per household involved in either the fishery or cultivating land. In Halfway Point the number of people per household involved in other employment decreased to 0.26. In Lark Harbour, Meadows and Goose Arm the number of people per household increased to 0.4, 0.44 and 0.39 persons per household respectively.

There is no community occupational data for 1935. The regional data, given the statistical significance of the population of Corner Brook, is much more representative of that town than of any of the other Bay of Islands communities in 1935. This data indicates an occupational structure based predominantly on 'other'- mostly industrial and service - occupations.

From 1891 to 1901 Birchy Cove/Curling and Corner Brook had more people per household involved in other employment than the other sample communities. This was overwhelmingly so in 1935. After 1891, Chimney Cove consistently had no other employment, McIver's had almost none, and there was a gradual increase in all other sample communities except Halfway Point. Additionally, from 1891 to 1921 teachers, clergy, merchants and traders were enumerated in Birchy Cove/Curling, Chimney Cove

(1891 only), Meadows, Lark Harbour and Corner Brook.³³¹ Together, all of this suggests that the local economies of most Bay of Islands communities gradually diversified from 1891 to 1935.

Much of the other employment described above was in forestry. Forestry was, and is, a significant resource in the Bay of Islands, and was an important resource during Bay of Islands' settlement and development.³³² Informal forestry activities provided building material for a multitude of sheds, houses, barns, boats, fences, root cellars, wharves and stages, and fuel for the fires that enabled cooking, baking, bottling, laundrying, cleaning, bathing, cups of tea, and warmth. The forests were also the location of other economic activities such as hunting, trapping and berry picking. Unfortunately census statistics provide little information in this regard. It appears that these informal economic activities were enumerated only if the products were sold. Commercial aspects of forestry were much better recorded in the censuses. Several saw mills were established throughout the Bay of Islands during the study period.³³³ Most of these sawmills were small, seasonal, and/or operated for only a few years, and so were not captured in the census statistics. Corner Brook was the centre of commercial forestry activity in the Bay of Islands from 1891 to 1935.

³³¹1891, 1901, 1911 and 1921 *Censuses of Newfoundland and Labrador*.

³³²See Chapter 2.2.

³³³As was discussed in Chapter 2.2.

Most Bay of Islands lumberers enumerated in the censuses lived in Corner Brook, the site of the Fisher sawmill.³³⁴ From 1891 to 1921 the number of Corner Brook lumberers steadily decreased from 25 in 1891 to 13 in 1921. There were a few lumberers enumerated in Curling in 1891 and 1911, and 1 in 1921. In Goose Arm there were 2 lumberers enumerated in 1911 and 4 in 1921. Between 1921 and 1935 commercial forestry quickly dominated the inner Bay of Islands economy with the construction of the pulp and paper mill in 1923. After 1925 mill operation created temporary seasonal logging work for inhabitants of many Bay of Islands communities. Spin-off economic activities created a multitude of support and service employment. By 1935 the 'Humber Development' had dramatically increased the relative importance of forestry to the economy of Corner Brook and immediately surrounding communities such as Birchy Cove/Culing, Petries and Riverhead, and had encouraged many service and support sectors for the forest industry.

In 1935, 0.27 Bay of Islands women per household (682 women representing 17 percent of the female labour force) reported working.³³⁵ Of these 682 women, 514 worked in the service industry, mostly (434) as domestic servants. The trade, wholesale and retail industry employed another 160 women in 1935. These women earned more

³³⁴For data in the remainder of this paragraph, see 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935 *Censuses of Newfoundland and Labrador*.

³³⁵For data in the remainder of this paragraph, see the 1935 Census of Newfoundland and Labrador. In 1935 there were 4,003 females aged 15-65. 682 of these women, roughly 17 percent, were enumerated as employed in the 1935 census.

money than domestic servants. In 1935, 1.55 men per household (3,932 men representing 95 percent of the male labour force) reported working in 1935.³³⁶ This compares to 0.1 persons per household (242 total) engaged in the herring fishery and 0.12 persons per household (316 total) engaged in the cod fishery. In other words, most males in the region worked as labourers, loggers and mill workers. Although the 1935 census does not break these employment data into communities, other sources indicate (and it makes sense) that most of these jobs for women and men were in Corner Brook, Birchy Cove/Curling and the immediate area.³³⁷

Waged employment in the formal economy - in forestry and other industries - decreased from 1891 to 1901, increased from 1901 to 1911 and again from 1911 to 1921, and became the dominant formal economic activity in the Bay of Islands by 1935. At the community level this was not the case. Throughout the entire period commercial forestry was concentrated in particular communities, particularly Birchy Cove/Curling and Corner Brook. Again, the regional average does not reflect community realities.

3.5 Summary

Chimney Cove and Lark Harbour, both outer bay communities, exhibited similar usage of fisheries resources from 1891 to 1935 - cod and lobster were more important

³³⁶For data in the remainder of this paragraph, see the 1935 Census of Newfoundland and Labrador. In 1935 there were 4,126 males aged 15-65. 3,932 of these men, roughly 95 percent, were enumerated as employed in the 1935 census.

³³⁷See Chapter 2.2.

than in any other sample communities, herring catch per household was the lowest of all sample communities and per household fisheries product value decreased from 1891 to 1935. Patterns of agricultural production and the availability of 'other' employment were very different in Chimney Cove and Lark Harbour from 1891 to 1935, however. Chimney Cove households were much more self-sufficient in agriculture and animal products than any of the others communities, including Lark Harbour, from 1891 to 1935. In 1935, however, acres improved and potato production increased per household in both outer bay communities. In 1891 Chimney Cove households had more people involved in 'other' employment per household than in either the fishery or cultivating land. There was no alternate employment recorded in Lark Harbour in 1891. From 1901 to 1935 the situation gradually reversed. After 1891, Chimney Cove consistently had no other employment, and there was a gradual increase in Lark Harbour.

Goose Arm, Meadows, McIvers and Halfway Point are mid bay communities.³³⁸ From 1891 to 1935 per household fisheries product value decreased in Halfway Point and increased in northern communities. The herring fishery was more important in mid bay communities than any other sample communities, and the cod and lobster fisheries were less significant in the mid bay than they were in the outer bay. From 1891 to 1921 mid bay communities' agricultural production was closer to the Bay of Islands' per household

³³⁸See Appendix I for map. Halfway Point is on the southern shore of the Humber Arm, Meadows and McIvers are on the north shore of the Humber Arm, and the community of Goose Arm is named for the northern arm of the Bay of Islands in which it is located.

average than any of the other sample communities. Per household agricultural production in Meadows and McIvers gradually increased from 1891 to 1935. There was also a gradual increase in 'other' employment available in northern communities, but this decreased slightly in Halfway Point from 1911 to 1921. Northern communities' household economies slowly diversified from 1891 to 1935.

Birchy Cove/Curling and Corner Brook lie on the southern shore of the Humber Arm, near the mouth of the Humber River. These inner arm communities had the least fishermen per household from 1891 to 1935, and were less dependent on the fisheries than other areas in the bay. Nevertheless, the fisheries remained an important part of the inner bay economy. Birchy Cove/Curling and Corner Brook also had the least amount of agricultural effort of the sample communities, particularly in 1935. From 1891 to 1935 Birchy Cove/Curling and Corner Brook had more people per household involved in 'other' employment than the other sample communities. Much of this employment was railway and forestry related. Corner Brook was the centre of commercial forestry activity in the Bay of Islands from 1891 to 1921. The number of Corner Brook lumberers steadily decreased until 1921. Between 1921 and 1935 commercial forestry quickly dominated the inner Bay of Islands economy with the construction of the pulp and paper mill in 1923, and associated support and service employment.

Despite the different emphasis on resources by households in different geographic areas of the bay, several trends were common to the economic endeavours of all sample communities. From 1891 to 1935 the herring fishery was Bay of Islands' most important

fishery. The peak per household production of herring and salmon during the study period was 1901. Bay of Islands' per household lobster catch peaked in 1911, when both herring and cod fisheries declined, and the number of females curing fish increased significantly. Bay of Islands' per household production of cod gradually declined from 1891 to 1921. While the relative importance of the fisheries to the region's economy declined from 1921 to 1935, earnings per fisherman suggest that the fisheries remained an important commercial activity for some Bay of Islands households.

Potatoes and hay were the staple crops in the Bay of Islands from 1891 to 1935. Agricultural products gradually diversified to include more types of vegetables from 1891 to 1935. In 1901 agricultural effort per household increased in Bay of Islands communities, but the amount of potatoes and hay produced per household decreased. Produce was worth a great deal more per household in 1921 than it had been in earlier years. In 1935 per household agricultural production decreased in Bay of Islands communities near the pulp and paper mill, but increased in northern and outer bay communities. Employment in industries other than fisheries and agriculture gradually increased in most Bay of Islands communities from 1891 to 1921. This 'other' employment was most significant in inner arm communities, especially after construction of the mill.

Many combinations of fisheries, agriculture, forestry and 'other' employment came together in household economies in the Bay of Islands from 1891 to 1935. Differences in fisheries, agricultural and waged employment strategies are important indicators for how

household economies prioritized and took advantage of the economic opportunities available to them. Communities in different geographical areas in the bay emphasized different resources in their search for a living. While several regional trends and patterns have been identified, so too have a multitude of community differences. Because households operate at the most local of levels, it is the detail of these differences which are so important to grasping the complexity of household economies.

Conclusion

Bay of Islands' historiography outlines the pull factors - salmon, herring, lobster and cod fisheries, forestry, good soil and abundant game - that gradually attracted European and aboriginal settlement to the west coast of Newfoundland and the Bay of Islands during the nineteenth century. Bay of Islands household economies used these resources in many different combinations over the years. The west coast slowly developed as a frontier region for Canadian, American, and a limited number of St. John's merchants. While the politics of the 'French Shore Question' and the 'Humber Deal' and subsequent 'Humber Development' have found their way into Newfoundland historiography, the same cannot be said of the Bay's local history in the twentieth century.

By 1891 Bay of Islands' had 1898 inhabitants - a young population with many more males than females in the young adult age groups. The cod fishery contributed to household economies in all sample communities, and the herring fishery was important to all communities except Chimney Cove, which had the biggest (per household) lobster fishery. Households in outer bay communities produced more cod and lobster than inner bay communities, which were further from the cod and lobster fishing grounds. Potatoes and hay were staple crops, and the average household had a fairly wide range of livestock. The number of people per household cultivating land varied dramatically from community to community; outer bay communities had about twice as many people involved in subsistence agriculture per household as the other communities. Even so, inner bay and

north shore communities produced more potatoes per household than outer bay communities, suggesting that they had better agricultural land. The exception, again, was Chimney Cove, which had much greater agricultural output than any other sample community in 1891. Outer bay communities kept more cattle and sheep, with few or no chickens, while inner bay communities had more chickens, horses and pigs per household. Birchy Cove/Curling, Corner Brook and Meadows - inner bay communities which were closest to forestry resources - each had close to one person per household involved in 'other' employment in 1891, while Chimney Cove had 2.75. It is uncertain what this 'other' industry in Chimney Cove was - a temporary saw mill seems the most likely explanation. All in all, the many resources that attracted settlers and trading vessels to the Bay of Islands in the nineteenth century were aggregated by household economies in many different ways in 1891. Subsistence agriculture, with potatoes and hay as staple crops, were as important in the Bay of Islands as elsewhere in Newfoundland. The cod fishery was not the dominant fishery, as it was elsewhere in Newfoundland at the time.

Between 1891 and 1901 the Bay of Islands population grew an average 3.35 % per year. 137 people immigrated to the Bay of Islands during this time - mostly males aged 20 to 40, and females aged 20 to 30, many of whom arrived as young families. Between 1891 and 1901 railway construction prompted immigration of young families and single young men to the Bay of Islands, and temporarily promoted the expansion of lumbering. There were still significant variations in the fisheries used at the household

level. Chimney Cove had the most people, including women, involved in the fisheries in 1901. Per household production of herring, the dominant fishery in Bay of Islands in 1901, increased. Per household production in the lobster fishery, prosecuted only in outer bay communities in 1901, declined. Per household production in the salmon fishery, prosecuted only in inner bay communities in 1901, increased. This multi-species approach may have insulated Bay of Islands inhabitants from the Newfoundland cod fishery crisis of the late 1890s. It is also likely that the cod crisis functioned as a push factor for some immigrants to the Bay of Islands between between 1891 and 1901. By 1901 the number of people per household cultivating land had increased, but this increased effort did little to increase production, as quantities of potatoes and hay produced decreased per household. There were also fewer milk cows, sheep and pigs (the larger meat animals), and more oxen and chickens. Forestry continued to provide alternate employment in Birchy Cove/Curling and Corner Brook. 'Other' employment declined significantly in Meadows and dropped off altogether in Chimney Cove. There were fewer employment opportunities per household outside the fisheries than in 1891, possibly because railway construction was complete.

Completion of the railway made the west coast much more accessible to east coast business and government interests, and vice versa. Perhaps this encouraged and helped facilitate Bay of Islands' population growth during the first decade of the twentieth century. The Bay of Islands population growth rate increased significantly from 1901 to

1911, to 4.5% per year. Most of this increase was due to births in the settled population, but 337 people also immigrated to the area. Again, most immigrants were young. Young male cohorts were no longer exaggerated relative to the rest of the population. By 1911 women in many communities had become involved in the fisheries. Herring still remained the dominant fishery. The lobster fishery increased per household, while herring and cod yields per household declined. Perhaps the cod crisis finally reached the west coast. Per household output of potatoes and hay increased in northern communities, and decreased in south shore communities. This represents a significant evolution - in the previous two decades the north shore had relatively fewer people per household cultivating land, and relatively less agricultural produce per household than other sample communities. The number of animals kept per household generally decreased, except in Meadows. 'Other' employment per household increased, especially in Birchy Cove/Curling and Corner Brook.

Newfoundland and Bay of Islands historiography suggest that after 1904 when settlement was officially recognized and sanctioned by the British, French and Newfoundland governments, Bay of Islands development began in earnest. New merchants set up shop to deal in the many fisheries, and several short-lived industrial endeavours were established. Was the 1901 to 1911 population growth solely a result of the settling of the French Shore question in 1904, or were other factors involved? Certainly both the Newfoundland government and St. John's merchants encouraged

industrialization as a way to create alternate economic activities during the turn of the century cod fishery crisis. Again, the crisis in the Newfoundland cod fishery may have acted as a push factor for immigrants to the Bay of Islands between 1901 and 1911.

From 1911 to 1921 Bay of Islands population growth rate slowed to 1.09 % per year. During this decade there were just enough population gains through births to offset high population losses of males and females aged 10 to 40. There was no traceable immigration during this period. This is similar to what Thornton identified as a reassessment period after a frontier region has undergone a period of rapid settlement. These losses in the young adult age groups may partly be explained by the effects of the First World War. The Bay of Islands war effort, and the other effects of the war on the region, has not been directly addressed in the literature. The census statistics provide almost no fisheries information for 1921. There were just as many people per household - men and women - involved in the fisheries as in 1911. Earnings per household and per fishermen were low, however. There were few changes in agricultural output per household in the communities and Bay of Islands region from 1911 to 1921. The one significant change was that roughly the same amount of agricultural produce was worth a great deal more per household in 1921 than it had been in 1911. The number of people involved in employment other than the fishery also increased in the region. All of this suggests stress on household economies, possibly partly due to a post war slump in fisheries prices which affected the entire Atlantic region.

From 1921 to 1935 the Bay of Islands population tripled, with a growth rate of 8.39% per year over 14 years. By 1935 there were 14 513 inhabitants in the Bay of Islands - most of these were resident in or around Corner Brook. There is no question as to why the population grew so dramatically in so short a time. The Corner Brook pulp and paper mill and the many businesses that were established to service it attracted workers from all over Newfoundland and the Atlantic region. The population growth was more sudden than the statistics suggest, however, since it did not begin in earnest until 1923, with mill construction, and began to taper off around 1927 or 1928, when the mill had a large enough labour force - a period of just five or six years.

This had a tremendous effect on Bay of Islands inhabitants. The exploding population supplied a ready market for almost any kind of goods, and housing was at a premium for many years. Industrialization created new opportunities for year round and seasonal participation in the waged formal economy for men and women. Fisheries production per household decreased dramatically, but the value of the fisheries *per fisherman* remained high. The regional agricultural production per household also declined dramatically from 1921 to 1935, but this was not the case throughout the bay. Potatoe production increased in northern and outer bay communities, as a result of increased demand from Corner Brook. Animal husbandry also declined per household in the region, but remained an important component of household economies in most communities other than Curling and Corner Brook. The exception was an increased

number of chickens per household. Chickens were easily kept in small town gardens. Even in the new urban environment, this small measure of the more traditional household economic survival strategies found a niche. Household economic strategies seem to have maintained the status quo in the communities and households that did not take up the industrial way of life, at least in the short term. How the choice, at the household level, whether or not to embrace a new industrial lifestyle (inside or outside the fishery) affected the labour of children, women and men within the household economy needs to be explored. In both Corner Brook and the remainder of the Bay, the effect of the mill on individual choices and lifestyles needs to be more thoroughly examined.

Because the difference in the 1921 and 1935 population was so great, and a new industry developed in the intervening years, it is difficult to statistically assess the effect of the Great Depression on urban and rural Bay of Islands inhabitants, and how this compared to what was going on in the rest of the Newfoundland. For instance, how did urban Corner Brook and urban St. John's fare during the depression, and what elements of the traditional Newfoundland economy were adapted to a more urban way of life? Similarly, how did the changing survival strategies of outports on the Avalon peninsula and in the Bay of Islands compare?

What this thesis has contributed to the study of the Bay of Islands in the backbone of population and per household economic production data which will be important as questions are asked of Bay of Islands history and the history of west coast development.

This statistical analysis, in its imperfection, reveals questions and considerations for the Newfoundland household economic literature to date. The local history of Bay of Islands' early twentieth century fisheries, agriculture, forest industry and inhabitants have been largely ignored by Newfoundland historiography, with the result that the development of Bay of Islands household economies has not been sufficiently differentiated from the traditional cod fishing household economy of Newfoundland. This thesis has begun to rectify this. Bay of Islands settlers adapted to economic opportunities that were more varied than those available on the east coast. Bay of Islands settlers dealt and worked directly with American and Nova Scotian trading vessels, were paid in cash or goods, and had less opportunity to participate in the safety net of the traditional merchant-credit system. The resulting patterns of resource utilization were distinct from those of the east coast traditional Newfoundland economy. So too were the means of interaction with the formal economy. Would similar distinctions arise if a similar localized approach were taken to studying household economies in other Newfoundland bays?

With the construction and operation of a pulp and paper mill in Corner Brook in the early 1920s, industrialization and urbanization had an immediate impact on Bay of Islands' household economies. People from Newfoundland, Canada, and the Bay of Islands chose to move to Corner Brook and the surrounding area to work and live in the new, large, international, industrial economy. In doing so they made choices about the economic resources they would use to facilitate their household economies' survival, and

in the process participated in the transition to industrial capitalism in the Bay of Islands, and in Newfoundland. How did all the changes that came with industrialism - a labour movement, unions, electricity, new class distinctions, urban lifestyle and expectations - shape Corner Brook, and how did Corner Brook's population interact with the rest of the Bay? The long term effects of the mill need analysis.

By 1935 the region's households did not depend on subsistence agriculture to the same extent they had in 1921, and even fewer were involved in the fisheries. Even so, for those households that continued to choose the old, local, ecologically driven economic activities, the strategy remained intact, at least in the short term. Because these household strategies were so intricately intertwined with the local ecology, they are only visible using a detailed, local, analysis, as has been presented here. This type of analysis is the only way to uncover the strategies that allowed these households to remain flexible in the face of constant change - a regional approach would have missed the distinctions altogether. Understanding and respecting differences in the survival strategies of communities and households at the local level is the key to understanding the universality of household survival strategies. The crucial element - adaptability - is often hidden in the practical ways that households apply these strategies in their daily lives. It is here that the logic of household survival can truly be understood.

It is important that household economies in their local environment be addressed in other regions and eras of Newfoundland and Labrador. This could, for example, provide

important indicators of the immediate and longer term results of industrialization, urbanization and Confederation in Newfoundland and Labrador. In doing so we might also come much closer to discovering how the traditional Newfoundland economy changed during the twentieth century. What aspects of the traditional household economic strategies remained intact? Which were adapted to changing circumstances? Which were discarded? We need to reach out in search of both the unique *and* the universal elements that make up household economies and community economies in Newfoundland and Labrador, and how these evolved in the twentieth century. This would greatly assist our understanding of how present day Newfoundlanders expect to continue to cope with the cod moratorium, and declining catches in other fisheries.

Admittedly there is a fair distance between the household economies of the Bay of Islands from 1901 to 1935 and the present day crisis in the Newfoundland fishery. But this distance is bridged by the coping mechanisms used by households past and present for household survival. Newfoundland communities have an ecologically sensitive culture and tradition which allows for resilience under constant change.

In Newfoundland the cod moratorium is in many ways the symbolic result of the transition to industrialism. As far as Newfoundland's cod fishery is concerned, this transition has been a dismal failure. The regional pattern, however, does not necessarily reflect reality in communities and households. Some Newfoundland households adapted to the moratorium by harvesting new species of fish, undertaking waged employment,

learning new trades and professions, by migrating, or by adapting to less income from the formal economy. Whatever the specifics, Newfoundland households are surviving the depletion of the cod stocks, in large part because of the strength of their informal economies and the adaptability of their household economic strategies in changing circumstances. This ability was, and is, an essential part of Newfoundland's traditional economy, an ability which has survived the setbacks and taken full advantage of the opportunities presented by industrialization, modernization and Confederation in Newfoundland in the twentieth century.

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Appendices

Map of Communities in the Bay of Islands, 1901-1935.

Sources (Maps):

"Bay of Islands", 1899 (QE II Call #: Nfld G 3436 P1 1899 56 Map).

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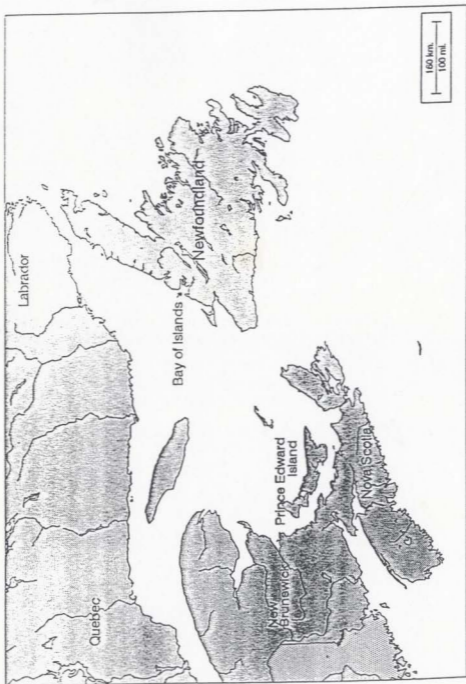


FIGURE 2: ATLANTIC CANADA

Appendix 2

Table 1: Bay of Islands population, sex ratios, child-woman ratios and dependency ratios, 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935.

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
population	1898	2713	4213	4697	14 513
sex ratio ¹	1.2	1.2	1.16	1.10	1.03
child-woman ratio ²	1.05	0.81	0.75	0.89	0.69
dependency ratio ³	0.91	0.83	0.93	0.97	0.83

Notes:

- ¹ *Sex ratio*: Calculated as the number of males divided by the number of females in each census year.
- ² *Child-woman ratio*: Calculated as the number of children aged 0-5 divided by the number of women aged 15-45 in each census year.
- ³ *Dependency ratio*: Calculated as the number of people aged 0-15 years plus the number of people aged 60 and over, divided by the number of people aged 16-59 in each census year.

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- Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.*, St. John's, 1893.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901., St. John's, 1903.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911., St. John's, 1914.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921., St. John's, 1923.
Tenth Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1935., Department of Public Health and Welfare, Newfoundland. St. John's, 1937.

These notes and sources are applicable to the remainder of Appendix 2 (Tables 3-9).

Appendix 2

Table 2: Lark Harbour population, sex ratios, child-woman ratios and dependency ratios; 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935.

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
population	97	195	362	295	352
sex ratio ¹	1.2	1.27	1.1	1.2	1.4
child-woman ratio ²	0.86	1.23	1.1	1	0.75
dependency ratio ³	0.73	1.03	1.3	1.2	0.93

Table 3: Halfway Point population, sex ratios, child-woman ratios and dependency ratios; 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935.

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
population	57	60	101	89	105
sex ratio ¹	1.2	1	1.06	1.17	1.28
child-woman ratio ²	0.92	0.64	0.54	0.6	0.55
dependency ratio ³	0.73	0.76	0.94	0.65	0.75

Table 4: Curling (Birchy Cove) population, sex ratios, child-woman ratios and dependency ratios; 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935.

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
population	306	313	1048	569	981
sex ratio ¹	1.2	1.07	1.09	1	0.96
child-woman ratio ²	0.89	0.47	0.7	0.81	0.6
dependency ratio ³	0.95	0.62	0.92	1	0.82

Appendix 2

Table 5: Corner Brook population, sex ratios, child-woman ratios and dependency ratios; 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935.

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
population	198	256	382	411	6374
sex ratio ¹	1.3	0.98	0.9	1.03	0.98
child-woman ratio ²	0.75	0.82	0.66	0.78	0.64
dependency ratio ³	0.71	0.9	0.93	0.92	0.77

Table 6: Meadows population, sex ratios, child-woman ratios and dependency ratios; 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935.

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
population	34	116	111	110	199
sex ratio ¹	1.43	1.1	1.36	1.5	1.1
child-woman ratio ²	0.55	0.96	0.46	0.56	1.15
dependency ratio ³	0.7	0.93	0.57	0.59	0.97

Table 7: McIvers population, sex ratios, child-woman ratios and dependency ratios; 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935.

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
population	40	79	101	107	182
sex ratio ¹	1	0.92	1.06	1.14	1.07
child-woman ratio ²	0.82	1	0.95	0.86	0.68
dependency ratio ³	0.82	1.2	1.04	0.87	0.8

Appendix 2

Table 8: Goose Arm population, sex ratios, child-woman ratios and dependency ratios; 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935.

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
population	—	17	44	70	61
sex ratio ¹	—	1.13	0.76	1.26	1.54
child-woman ratio ²	—	1	1.13	1.63	0.82
dependency ratio ³	—	1.13	1.59	1.5	1.04

Table 9: Chimney Cove population, sex ratios, child-woman ratios and dependency ratios; 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935.

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
population	29	47	69	75	61
sex ratio ¹	1.2	1.35	1.2	1.27	0.97
child-woman ratio ²	0.75	1.14	0.92	0.92	0.75
dependency ratio ³	1.9	0.81	1.3	0.97	0.79

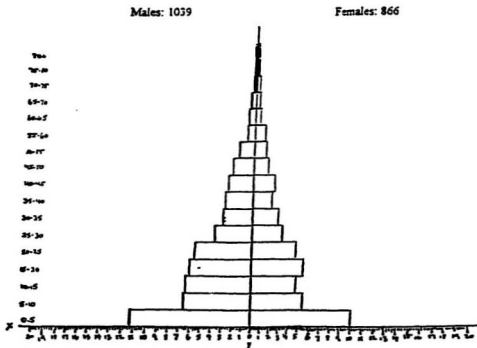


Figure 2: Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1891.

Notes: ¹x axis: Percentage of total population in each age/sex group.

²y axis: Age groups as enumerated in censuses.

³The number of people in each age/sex group has been converted to the percentage of the total population the groups represents as follows:
people in each group divided by total population.

Source: *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891*, St. John's, 1893.

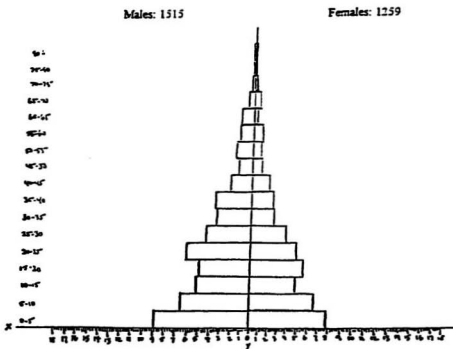


Figure 4. Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1901.

Notes: ¹x axis: Percentage of total population in each age/sex group.

²y axis: Age groups as enumerated in censuses.

³The number of people in each age/sex group has been converted to the percentage of the total population the groups represents as follows:
people in each group divided by total population.

Source: *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901*, St. John's, 1903.

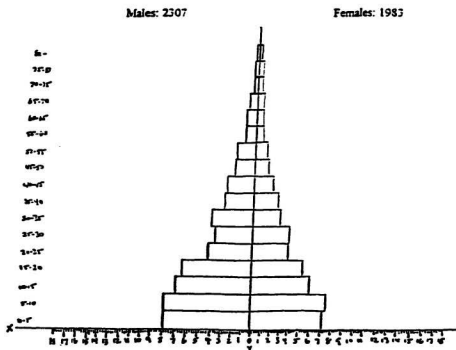


Figure 5: Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1911.

Notes: ¹x axis: Percentage of total population in each age/sex group.

²y axis: Age groups as enumerated in censuses.

³The number of people in each age/sex group has been converted to the percentage of the total population the groups represents as follows:
people in each group divided by total population.

Source: *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911*, St. John's, 1914.

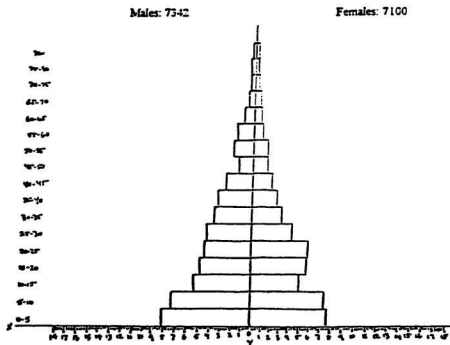


Figure 7 **Bay of Islands Population Pyramid, 1935.**

Notes: ¹x axis: Percentage of total population in each age/sex group.

²y axis: Age groups as enumerated in censuses.

³The number of people in each age/sex group has been converted to the percentage of the total population the groups represents as follows:
people in each group divided by total population.

Source: *Tenth Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1935*, Department of Public Health and Welfare, Newfoundland. St. John's, 1937.

Appendix 4

Table 10: Bay of Islands Average Annual Population Growth Rates 1891- 1901, 1901-1911, 1911-1921, 1921-1935.

	1891-1901	1901-1911	1911-1921	1921-1935
total population	+3.58%	+4.56%	+1.09%	+8.39%
children 0-15	+2.74%	+5.31%	+1.06%	+7.79%
adult males 15-40	+4.46%	+3.87%	-0.57%	+9.26%
adult females 15-40	+4.46%	+4.01%	+0.33%	+9.91%
adult males 40-65	+6.62%	+2.12%	+2.81%	+6.83%
adult females 40-65	+2.62%	+4.55%	+3.04%	+7.81%
adults 65 +	+5.24%	+6.52%	+1.27%	+7.08%

Notes: Growth rate formula from: Rosemary Ommer, *Annex: Socio-economic Profile of Selected South Coast Communities: Newfoundland, 1845-1945*, p 17. As a point of comparison, at a 1% growth rate, a population will double in 70 years.

Growth rates are calculated as follows: $r = \left[\frac{P_t}{P_{t-1}} \right]^{1/n} - 1$

Where r = annual rate of growth

P_t = population of second census year

P_{t-1} = population of preceding census year

n = number of years between t and $t-1$

Growth rates have been expressed as percentages (ie multiplied by 100).

Sources:

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891., St. John's, 1893.

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901., St. John's, 1903.

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911., St. John's, 1914.

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921., St. John's, 1923.

Tenth Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1935., Department of Public Health and Welfare, Newfoundland. St. John's, 1937.

Appendix 5
Bay of Islands Cohort Analysis 1891-1901-1911-1921

Table 11: Bay of Islands Cohorts 1891-1901

	Males 1891	Males 1901	Males +/-	Females 1891	Females 1901	Females +/-
0-9	341	427		293	404	
10-19	237	281	-60	189	286	-7
20-29	178	288	+57	148	243	+54
30-39	112	200	+22	93	153	-15
40-49	85	99	-13	74	83	-10
50-59	48	84	-1	41	60	-14
60-69	25	52	+4	13	34	-7
70-79	9	18	-13	8	13	no change
80+	4	5	-4	2	3	-5

1891-1901 Males

Births:	427
Immigration:	83
Losses:	91
Gain:	419

1891-1901 Females

Births:	404
Immigration:	54
Losses:	58
Gain:	400

1891-1901 Total Population

Births:	831
Immigration:	137
Losses:	149
Gain:	819

Notes: Births equals number of live births.

Cohort Analysis tracks the number of people in a location as they move through various age sex cohorts. Thus, someone born in 1891 will be 10 in 1901. See, for a similar analysis, Rosemary Ommer, *Annex: Socio-economic Profile of Selected South Coast Communities: Newfoundland, 1845-1945*.

Sources: *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.*, St. John's, 1893.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901., St. John's, 1903.

Appendix 5
Bay of Islands Cohort Analysis 1891-1901-1911-1921

Table 12: Bay of Islands Cohorts 1901-1911

	Males 1901	Males 1911	Males +/-	Females 1901	Females 1911	Females +/-
0-9	427	676		404	632	
10-19	281	568	+ 141	286	478	+ 74
20-29	288	342	+ 61	243	323	+ 42
30-39	200	299	+ 11	133	233	- 10
40-49	160	192	- 8	83	141	+ 8
50-59	84	110	- 50	60	87	no change
60-69	52	72	- 12	34	52	- 8
70-79	18	34	- 18	13	31	- 3
80+	5	14	- 4	3	5	- 8

1901-1911 Males

Births:	676
Immigration:	213
Losses:	92
Gain:	797

1901-1911 Females

Births:	632
Immigration:	124
Losses:	29
Gain:	727

1901-1911 Total Population

Births:	1308
Immigration:	337
Losses:	121
Gain:	1524

Notes: Births equals number of live births.

Sources: *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901.*, St. John's, 1903.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911., St. John's, 1914.

Appendix 5
Bay of Islands Cohort Analysis 1891-1901-1911-1921

Table 13: Bay of Islands Cohorts 1911-1921

	Males 1911	Males 1921	Males +/-	Females 1911	Females 1921	Females +/-
0-9	676	761		632	728	
10-19	568	588	- 88	478	553	- 79
20-29	342	359	- 209	328	312	- 166
30-39	299	237	- 105	233	229	- 99
40-49	192	248	- 51	141	187	- 46
50-59	110	155	- 37	83	115	- 26
60-69	72	78	- 32	52	64	- 19
70-79	34	48	- 24	31	27	- 25
80+	14	13	- 21	5	15	- 16

1911-1921 Males

Births: 761
Immigration: none
Losses: 567
Gain: 194

1911-1921 Females

Births: 728
Immigration: none
Losses: 476
Gain: 252

1911-1921 Total Population

Births: 1489
Immigration: none
Losses: 1043
Gain: 446

Notes: Births equals number of live births.

Sources: *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911.*, St. John's, 1914.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921., St. John's, 1923.

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

For Tables 32-40:

The 1891, 1901, 1911, and 1921 censuses measured potatoes and other root crops by the barrel, while the 1935 census measured these in bushels. The 1935 data has been converted from bushels to barrels for ease of comparison. There were/are 4 bushels in a barrel. The 1935 data measured in bushels has been divided by 4 to give the number of barrels. See *Encyclopedia Britannica* vol. 1 A-B 1771 (1968 reprint) "Barrel".

For all tables in Appendix 6 (Tables 14-49):

All per household data was derived by dividing the absolute quantity or number of people or produce in the census in a given year by the number of households in that community in that same year.

"na" means not applicable, and is used when there was no information at all for a particular community in a particular census year.

"un" means unknown, and is used when the census for a given year did not enumerate a particular category.

"..." indicates what was actually printed in the census for a given year. In most instances, this can be assumed to equal "zero" - however, due to possible enumeration and printing errors during census compilation, this certainly was not always the case. The 1921 fishery returns, in particular, are suspect.

- Sources: *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891*, St. John's, 1893.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901, St. John's, 1903.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911, St. John's, 1914.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921, St. John's, 1923.
Tenth Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1935, Department of Public Health and Welfare, Newfoundland: St. John's, 1937.

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 14: Bay of Islands Per Household Production of Animals and Animal Products 1891-1935.

Animal/Product	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
horses	0.10	0.10	0.16	0.26	0.24
milk cows	0.54	0.44	0.35	0.36	0.23
other horned cattle	1.01	1.92	0.39	0.42	0.18
sheep	5.08	4.02	3.15	3.25	1.28
swine	0.75	0.16	0.06	0.13	0.08
goats	...	0.03	0.15	0.10	0.07
fowl/poultry	4.30	8.51	7.36	5.67	7.53
cattle killed	0.003	0.16	0.06	0.20	un
sheep killed	0.05	1.33	0.59	0.81	un
swine killed	0.006	0.02	0.004	0.04	un
milk produced, gal	un	un	25.13	167.73	54.99
butter made, lbs.	19.27	24.06	10.30	7.81	5.43
wool, lbs.	16.28	9.89	6.62	7.33	un
eggs, doz	un	un	5.09	25.93	32.88
# furs	...	0.09	0.12	0.13	0.09
furs, value, \$\$	...	\$0.65	\$0.73	\$1.60	\$0.45

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 15: Lark Harbour Per Household Production of Animals and Animal Products, 1891-1935.

Animal/Product	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
horses	...	...	0.017	0.16	0.092
milk cows	0.4	0.24	0.175	0.37	0.91
other horned cattle	0.867	0.47	0.35	0.55	0.57
sheep	5.13	3.82	1.93	2.98	3.66
swine	0.33	0.059	0.087	0.02	...
goats	...	...	1.02	...	...
fowl/poultry	2.8	5.82	3.28	2.72	4.69
cattle killed	...	...	...	0.326	un
sheep killed	...	0.38	...	1.12	un
swine killed	...	...	...	0.02	un
milk produced, gal	un	un	6.49	183.67	58.23
butter made, lbs.	18.67	14.97	2.81	1.75	3.71
wool, lbs.	11.87	8.15	2.98	6.92	un
eggs, doz	un	un	...	9.98	17.28
# furs	...	...	...	0.12	...
furs, value, \$\$	...	...	...	3.37	...

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 16: Halfway Point Per Household Production of Animals and Animal Products 1891-1935.

Animal/Product	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
horses	0.09	0.18	0.17	0.37	0.68
milk cows	1	0.82	0.28	0.26	0.32
other horned cattle	1.36	1	0.33	0.42	0.36
sheep	10.9	9	5.39	6.47	7.09
swine	0.36	...	..	...	0.41
goats	...	...	0.06	...	...
fowl/poultry	5.27	7.55	4.17	6.53	19.77
cattle killed	...	0.18	0.61	0.21	un
sheep killed	....	2.36	0.56	2.53	un
swine killed	...	...	...	...	un
milk produced, gal	un	un	20.55	131.58	107.73
butter made, lbs.	29.09	41.82	5.55	17.37	29.41
wool, lbs.	40.18	20.73	9.5	13.84	un
eggs, doz	un	un	...	34.47	108
furs	...	...	...	...	...
furs, value, \$\$	...	...	...	...	...

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 17: Birchy Cove/Curling Per Household Production of Animals and Animal Products 1891-1935.

Animal/Product	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
horses	0.15	0.13	0.005	0.23	0.16
milk cows	0.48	0.38	0.33	0.28	0.19
other horned cattle	0.78	0.63	0.17	0.14	0.06
sheep	4.48	2.35	1.84	1.08	0.25
swine	1.18	0.17	0.04	0.13	0.07
goats	...	0.06	0.16	0.01	0.02
fowl/poultry	5.37	13.1	9.12	8.78	10.1
cattle killed	0.02	0.1	0.01	0.1	un
sheep killed	0.11	1.15	0.03	0.12	un
swine killed	...	...	...	...	un
milk produced, gal	un	un	9.18	137.76	20.87
butter made, lbs.	14.78	24.66	3.94	0.15	0.55
wool, lbs.	14.02	8.76	3.34	1.1	un
eggs, doz	un	un	0.15	43.87	18.39
# furs	...	0.016	...	...	...
furs, value, \$\$	...	0.16	...	...	...

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 18: Corner Brook Per Household Production of Animals and Animal Products 1891-1935.

Animal/Product	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
horses	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.25	0.23
milk cows	0.56	0.29	0.36	0.16	0.04
other horned cattle	0.88	0.49	0.09	0.1	0.008
sheep	4.66	3.94	2.64	2.87	0.002
swine	1.16	0.2	0.016	0.05	0.05
goats	...	...	0.03	0.05	0.036
fowl/poultry	7.09	7.57	5.98	5.44	6.27
cattle killed	....	0.02	0.22	0.016	un
sheep killed	...	0.29	0.94	0.1	un
swine killed	...	...	0.016	...	un
milk produced, gal	un	un	21.72	81.96	36.86
butter made, lbs.	20.31	4.71	9.98	...	1.24
wool, lbs.	16.38	7.61	7.19	4.36	un
eggs, doz	un	un	...	32.65	28.95
# furs	...	...	...	...	0.02
furs, value, \$\$	...	...	...	...	0.14

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 19: Meadows Per Household Production of Animals and Animal Products 1891-1935.

Animal/Product	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
horses	0.17	0.1	0.42	0.36	0.45
milk cows	0.83	0.8	0.84	0.84	1.58
other horned cattle	1.5	2.2	1.11	0.92	0.82
sheep	6.33	4.55	6.89	6.8	7
swine	0.17	...	0.21	0.12	0.39
goats	...	...	...	0.08	...
fowl/poultry	5.67	12.3	14.95	7	22.97
cattle killed	...	1.2	0.11	0.56	un
sheep killed	...	2.65	1.95	2	un
swine killed	...	...	...	0.32	un
milk produced, gal	un	un	131.05	4.2	191.84
butter made, lbs.	30	39.35	76.05	69.6	42.82
wool, lbs.	5.83	13.6	16.32	16.28	un
eggs, doz	un	un	56.05	35	54.87
# furs	...	0.15	0.21	...	...
furs, value, \$\$	...	1.5	0.79	...	...

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 20: Melver's Per Household Production of Animals and Animal Products 1891-1935.

Animal/Product	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
horses	...	...	0.14	0.65	0.45
milk cows	0.1	0.11	0.38	0.75	0.95
other horned cattle	1.1	0.78	1	1.25	0.89
sheep	6.6	4.67	5.1	6.55	6.26
swine	0.4	...	...	0.2	0.13
goats	...	...	0.14	0.4	...
fowl/poultry	4.4	6.17	4.76	5.2	13
cattle killed	...	0.05	...	0.2	un
sheep killed	...	1.05	0.86	0.5	un
swine killed	...	...	...	0.35	un
milk produced, gal	un	un	47.62	375	73.95
butter made, lbs.	4	11.67	10.48	16.75	19.66
wool, lbs.	25	11.33	11.05	12.6	un
eggs, doz	un	un			45.53
furs	...	...	...	...	...
furs, value, \$\$	...	...	...	...	...

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 21: Goose Arm Per Household Production of Animals and Animal Products 1891-1935.

Animal/Product	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
horses	na	...	...	...	0.55
milk cows	na	1	0.1	0.23	...
other horned cattle	na	1.3	0.4	0.23	0.11
sheep	na		4.8	2.38	6.11
swine	na	...	...	...	0.11
goats	na	...	...	...	...
fowl/poultry	na	10.67	2.3	4.54	3.33
cattle killed	na	...	...	0.08	un
sheep killed	na	0.67	1	0.15	un
swine killed	na	...	...	...	un
milk produced, gal	na	un	30	115.38	...
butter made, lbs.	na	30	6.8	...	...
wool, lbs.	na	8	10.5	...	un
eggs, doz	na	un	2.8	22.69	...
# furs	na	0.67	1.2	...	...
furs, value, \$\$	na	3.33	0.4	...	...

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 22: Chimney Cove Per Household Production of Animals and Animal Products 1891-1935.

Animal/Product	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
horses	...	...	...	...	0.27
milk cows	1.25	2.17	1.09	...	1.91
other horned cattle	2.5	4.83	3	...	2.73
sheep	9.25	9.17	8.64	...	9.18
swine	...	2.5	...	...	...
goats	...	...	...	...	...
fowl/poultry	...	13.67	8.91	...	11.09
cattle killed	...	0.33	0.09	...	un
sheep killed	...	3.5	2.09	...	un
swine killed	...	0.83	...	...	un
milk produced, gal	un	un	154.55	...	261.36
butter made, lbs.	45	150	72.73	...	54
wool, lbs.	28.75	24.33	18.91	...	un
eggs, doz	un	un	un	un	28.09
# furs	...	0.33	2.09	...	0.09
furs, value, \$\$	un	1.67	3.18	...	2.27

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 23: Bay of Islands Per Household Production of Fisheries Products 1891-1935.

Fisheries Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Boats 4-30 quintals	1.29	0.92	0.12	0.11	0.25
fishery products total value, \$\$	\$66.03	\$307.17	\$201.06	\$44.07	\$46.34
Bank fishery catch, quintals	...	...	1.05	...	un
Labrador Fishery catch, quintals	...	3.10	2.85	0.82	un
Nfld shore fishery catch, quintals	17.34	9.44	4.47	2.86	un
Lobster fishery catch, cases	37.14	12.62	16.20	2.07	un
Salmon fishery catch, tierces	0.14	0.25	0.05	0.004	un
Herring fishery catch, barrels	57.71	148.13	63.75	1.78	un
Herring fishery, total value, \$\$	un	un	\$91.83	\$17.85	\$20.10
Cod Oil, gallons	12.78	9.23	1.64	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 24: Lark Harbour Per Household Production of Fisheries Products 1891-1935.

Fisheries Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Boats 4-30 quintals	1.73	1.21	...	...
fishery products total value, \$\$	478	382.44	218.58	178.16	un
Bank fishery catch, quintals	...	...	...	...	un
Labrador Fishery catch, quintals	...	...	...	...	un
Nfld shore fishery catch, quintals	58.67	27.06	25.09	23.75	un
Lobster fishery catch, cases	33.33	12.56	3.14	1.06	un
Salmon fishery catch, tierces	...	...	0.017	...	un
Herring fishery catch, barrels	2	115.35	1.58	...	un
Herring fishery, total value, \$\$	un	un	3.16	...	un
Cod Oil, gallons	40	18.79	5.7	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 25: Halfway Point Per Household Production of Fisheries Products 1891-1935.

Fisheries Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Boats 4-30 quintals	1.45	0.91	...	...	un
fishery products total value, \$\$	185	302	14.44	...	un
Bank fishery catch, quintals	...	...	...	...	...
Labrador Fishery catch, quintals	...	...	...	...	...
Nfld shore fishery catch, quintals	35	14.36	...	...	un
Lobster fishery catch, cases	...	...	0.44	...	un
Salmon fishery catch, tierces	...	0.27	...	...	un
Herring fishery catch, barrels	43.64	152.09	2.78	...	un
Herring fishery, total value, \$\$	un	un	5.56	...	un
Cod Oil, gallons	29.45	9.91	...	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 26. Birchy Cove/Curling Per Household Production of Fisheries Products 1891-1935.

Fisheries Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Boats 4-30 quintals	1.37	0.8	...	0.17	un
fishery products total value, \$\$	207.83	245.33	80.72	88.93	un
Bank fishery catch, quintals	...	...	...	...	un
Labrador Fishery catch, quintals	...	...	0.46	5.05	un
Nfld shore fishery catch, quintals	9.24	5.7	...	...	un
Lobster fishery catch, cases	11.3	...	0.05	0.16	un
Salmon fishery catch, tierces	...	0.06	...	...	un
Herring fishery catch, barrels	90.22	156.7	46.34	6.37	un
Herring fishery, total value, \$\$	un	un	77.69	63.67	un
Cod Oil, gallons	7.63	7.7	0.56	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 27: Corner Brook Per Household Production of Fisheries Products 1891-1935.

Fisheries Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Boats 4-30 quintals	0.94	0.9	0.09	...	
fishery products total value, \$\$	124.06	134.35	125.72	...	un
Bank fishery catch, quintals	...	...	...	...	un
Labrador Fishery catch, quintals	...	...	5.25	...	un
Nfld shore fishery catch, quintals	17.63	3.06	...	...	un
Lobster fishery catch, cases	...	...	...	...	un
Salmon fishery catch, tierces	...	0.04	...	...	un
Herring fishery catch, barrels	53.81	90.71	61.28	...	un
Herring fishery, total value, \$\$	un	un	99.48	...	un
Cod Oil, gallons	14.66	3.37	0.79	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 28: Meadows Per Household Production of Fisheries Products 1891-1935.

Fisheries Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Boats 4-30 quintals	1.33	1.4	0.95	...	
fishery products total value, \$\$	222	453.8	543.79	...	un
Bank fishery catch, quintals	...	...	...	...	un
Labrador Fishery catch, quintals	...	5	0.63	...	un
Nfld shore fishery catch, quintals	27.5	8.8	4.68	...	un
Lobster fishery catch, cases	...	...	6.53	...	un
Salmon fishery catch, tierces	...	0.75	...	...	un
Herring fishery catch, barrels	106.5	258.7	185.26	...	un
Herring fishery, total value, \$\$	un	un	195.37	...	un
Cod Oil, gallons	22.67	7	...	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 29: McIver's Per Household Production of Fisheries Products 1891-1935.

Fisheries Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Boats 4-30 quintals	0.9	0.94	...	...	un
fishery products total value, \$\$	118.5	253.28	302.76	...	un
Bank fishery catch, quintals	...	...	...	...	un
Labrador Fishery catch, quintals	...	...	...	...	un
Nfld shore fishery catch, quintals	19	8.1	6.29	...	un
Lobster fishery catch, cases	...	...	1.95	...	un
Salmon fishery catch, tierces	...	0.17	0.76	...	un
Herring fishery catch, barrels	42.5	145.44	121.66	...	un
Herring fishery, total value, \$\$	un	un	214.96	...	un
Cod Oil, gallons	16.1	6.5	...	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 30: Goose Arm Per Household Production of Fisheries Products 1891-1935.

Fisheries Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Boats 4-30 quintals	na	0.67	0.8	...	un
fishery products total value, \$\$	na	306.67	424.2	...	un
Bank fishery catch, quintals	na	...	...	...	un
Labrador Fishery catch, quintals	na	...	0.1	...	un
Nfld shore fishery catch, quintals	na	7.67	1.6	...	un
Lobster fishery catch, cases	na	...	4.0	...	un
Salmon fishery catch, tierces	na	...	0.1	...	un
Herring fishery catch, barrels	na	183.33	160.5	...	un
Herring fishery, total value, \$\$	na	un	458.5	...	un
Cod Oil, gallons	na	9.33	1.0	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 31: Chimney Cove Per Household Production of Fisheries Products 1891-1935.

Fisheries Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Boats 4-30 quintals	2.75	1	...	...
fishery products total value, \$\$	180	342.33	287.82	...	un
Bank fishery catch, quintals	...	...	...	...	un
Labrador Fishery catch, quintals	...	...	...	...	un
Nfld shore fishery catch, quintals	45	31.17	13.73	...	un
Lobster fishery catch, cases	75	14.67	6.36	...	un
Salmon fishery catch, tierces	...	...	...	...	un
Herring fishery catch, barrels	...	43.5	...	...	un
Herring fishery, total value, \$\$	un	un	78.18	...	un
Cod Oil, gallons	42	23	...	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 32: Bay of Islands Per Household Production of Agricultural and Forestry Products, 1891-1935.

Product/Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Forestry products total value, \$\$	un	un	\$35.23	\$17.56	un
Acres improved	2.36	2.82	4.70	2.81	0.87
Acres in pasture	1.33	0.71	0.54	0.59	0.53
Acres under cultivation	0.23	0.45	3.26	3.50	0.87
Hay, tons	2.33	1.74	1.45	1.32	0.58
Hay, value, \$\$	un	un	\$23.58	\$59.57	\$14.02
potatoes, brls	13.88	8.71	8.05	10.97	6.77
potatoes, value, \$\$	un	un	\$16.10	\$38.49	\$18.96
turnips, brls	0.46	1.07	1.01	1.72	1.00
turnips, value, \$\$	un	un	\$1.48	\$4.33	\$1.51
other root crops, brls	0.003	0.13	0.03	0.05	0.3
other root crops, value, \$\$	un	un	\$0.05	\$0.22	\$0.9
cabbage, heads/lbs	...	182.42	119.52	96.62	106.06 lbs.
cabbage, value, \$\$	un	un	\$3.36	\$4.45	\$2.12
fruit, gallons	un	un	0.72	2.78	2.56
fruits, value, \$\$			\$0.33	\$2.78	\$1.71

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 33: Lark Harbour Per Household Production of Agricultural and Forestry Products, 1891-1935.

Product/Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Forestry products total value, \$\$	un	un	...	6.63	un
Acres improved	0.87	1.29	2.46	0.86	1.63
Acres in pasture	0.27	0.38	...	0.31	0.46
Acres under cultivation	0.47	0.35	1.51	0.75	0.32
Hay, tons	1.2	0.74	0.59	1.08	1.15
Hay, value, \$\$	un	un	8.91	48.67	un
potatoes, brls	10.06	7.38	4.72	12.98	13.24
potatoes, value, \$\$	un	un	9.44	45.43	un
turnips, brls	...	0.15	0.16	1.37	1.38
turnips, value, \$\$	un	un	0.3	4.1	un
other root crops, brls	...	...	...	...	0.24
other root crops, value, \$\$	un	un	...	...	un
cabbage, heads/lbs	...	295.59	120.18	184.67	147.92 lbs
cabbage, value, \$\$	un	un	2.4	9.24	un
fruit, gallons	un	un	...	0.04	0.29
fruits, value, \$\$	un	un	...	0.04	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 34: Halfway Point Per Household Production of Agricultural and Forestry Products, 1891-1935.

Product/Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Forestry products total value, \$\$	un	un	...	9.42	un
Acres improved	2.27	1.73	2.27	5.47	5.23
Acres in pasture	1.54	1.82	...	2.63	0.91
Acres under cultivation	0.45	0.45	1.11	6.53	1.5
Hay, tons	2.91	3.64	1.11	2.79	2
Hay, value, \$\$	un	un	16.39	125.53	un
potatoes, brls	12.73	11.73	8.55	19.42	14.59
potatoes, value, \$\$	un	un	17.11	67.95	Un
turnips, brls	...	2.09	2.22	4.26	3.36
turnips, value, \$\$	un	un	4.28	12.79	un
other root crops, brls	...	...	...	...	0.1
other root crops, value, \$\$	un	un	...	...	un
cabbage, heads/lbs	...	259.09	180.55	216.84	4713.64 lbs
cabbage, value, \$\$	un	un	3.61	10.84	un
fruit, gallons	un	un	...	1.58	12.27
fruits, value, \$\$	un	un	...	1.58	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 35: Birchy Cove/Curling Per Household Production of Agricultural and Forestry Products, 1891-1935.

Product/Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Forestry products total value, \$\$	un	un	...	31.49	un
Acres improved	2.7	2.6	4.1	1.6	0.31
Acres in pasture	1.5	0.47	0.07	0.77	0.35
Acres under cultivation	0.11	0.28	2.02	0.15	0.14
Hay, tons	2.33	1.6	0.86	0.73	0.31
Hay, value, \$\$	un	un	13.47	33.06	un
potatoes, brls	8.74	7.85	5.5	5.4	4.5
potatoes, value, \$\$	un	un	10.7	18.84	un
turnips, brls	0.5	0.82	0.44	0.44	0.56
turnips, value, \$\$	un	un	0.79	1.32	un
other root crops, brls	...	0.2	0.02	...	0.23
other root crops, value, \$\$	un	un	0.046	...	un
cabbage, heads/lbs	...	180.5	98.74	61.94	28.12 lbs
cabbage, value, \$\$	un	un	2.04	3.09	un
fruit, gallons	un	un	1.64	10.02	7.99
fruits, value, \$\$	un	un	0.75	10.02	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 36: Corner Brook Per Household Production of Agricultural and Forestry Products, 1891-1935.

Product/Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Forestry products total value, \$\$	un	un	152.43	...	un
Acres improved	2.09	2.8	10.59	2.34	0.13
Acres in pasture	1.28	0.76	3.3	...	0.31
Acres under cultivation	0.03	0.33	2.8	7.7	
Hay, tons	2.34	1.65	1.55	1.15	0.04
Hay, value, \$\$	un	un	23.94	51.64	un
potatoes, brls	18.13	10.76	9.34	7.9	2.6
potatoes, value, \$\$	un	un	18.66	27.66	un
turnips, brls	0.75	0.51	0.83	0.39	0.31
turnips, value, \$\$	un	un	1.33	1.18	un
other root crops, brls	0.03	0.43	0.14	...	0.1
other root crops, value, \$\$	un	un	0.19	...	un
cabbage, heads/lbs	...	60.41	120.78	64.75	0.14 lbs
cabbage, value, \$\$	un	un	2.45	3.23	un
fruit, gallons	un	un	1.75	4.1	0.23
fruits, value, \$\$	un	un	0.85	4.1	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 37: Meadows Per Household Production of Agricultural and Forestry Products, 1891-1935.

Product/Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Forestry products total value, \$\$	un	un	33.49	...	un
Acres improved	3	3.45	3.74	3.2	3.55
Acres in pasture	1.67	1.35	...	1.24	0.47
Acres under cultivation	0.33	0.5	3.74	2.84	0.47
Hay, tons	2.67	2.45	3.79	2.48	2.89
Hay, value, \$\$	un	un	56.84	111.6	un
potatoes, brls	20.83	6.25	9.05	10.68	14.2
potatoes, value, \$\$	un	un	18.11	37.36	un
turnips, brls	0.67	0.5	1.74	0.96	2
turnips, value, \$\$	un	un	2.58	2.88	un
other root crops, brls	un	un	0.05	...	0.2
other root crops, value, \$\$	un	un	0.11	...	un
cabbage, heads/lbs	...	25	144.74	82	240.79 lbs
cabbage, value, \$\$	un	un	4.79	4.08	un
fruit, gallons	un	un	...	1.2	10.21
fruits, value, \$\$	un	un	...	1.2	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 38: McIver's Per Household Production of Agricultural and Forestry Products, 1891-1935.

Product/Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Forestry products total value, \$\$	un	un	17.71	...	un
Acres improved	2.2	2.2	0.66	2.45	2.68
Acres in pasture	1.2	0.55	...	0.35	0.21
Acres under cultivation	...	0.28	0.66	2.4	0.63
Hay, tons	1.4	1.22	1.71	2	1.89
Hay, value, \$\$	un	un	25.71	42.75	un
potatoes, brls	19.5	6.9	9.05	22.9	34.9
potatoes, value, \$\$	un	un	18.09	80.15	un
turnips, brls	...	0.11	1.71	1.35	5.24
turnips, value, \$\$	un	un	2.52	4.05	un
other root crops, brls	...	...	...	...	...
other root crops, value, \$\$	un	un	...	...	un
cabbage, heads/lbs	...	213.89	300	25	70
cabbage, value, \$\$	un	un	14.29	1.25	un
fruit, gallons	un	un	0.48	...	0.56
fruits, value, \$\$	un	un	0.19	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 39: Goose Arm Per Household Production of Agricultural and Forestry Products, 1891-1935.

Product/Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Forestry products total value, \$\$	na	un	30.5	...	un
Acres improved	na	1	3.5	1.54	4.22
Acres in pasture	na	0.33	...	...	1.78
Acres under cultivation	na	0.67	3.5	0.15	0.44
Hay, tons	na	1	2	0.85	2.67
Hay, value, \$\$	na	un	30	38.08	un
potatoes, brls	na	5.33	15	8.08	13.51
potatoes, value, \$\$	na	un	30	28.23	un
turnips, brls	na	0.67	2	1.54	2.55
turnips, value, \$\$	na	un	3.1	4.62	un
other root crops, brls	na	...	...	...	...
other root crops, value, \$\$	na	un	...	...	un
cabbage, heads/lbs	na	33.33	30	61.54	111.11 lbs
cabbage, value, \$\$	na	un	1.5	3.08	un
fruit, gallons	na	...	...	...	un
fruits, value, \$\$	na	un	...	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 40: Chimney Cove Per Household Production of Agricultural and Forestry Products, 1891-1935.

Product/Item	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
Forestry products total value, \$\$	un	un	21.45	un	un
Acres improved	3.5	3.83	2.27	3.54	5.91
Acres in pasture	1.5	1.67	...	...	1.55
Acres under cultivation	...	0.67	2.27	0.54	0.45
Hay, tons	4.75	4.83	5.55	2.23	6.45
Hay, value, \$\$	un	un	110.91	100.38	un
potatoes, brls	22.5	19.17	16.55	10.69	18.43
potatoes, value, \$\$	un	un	33.09	37.38	un
turnips, brls	...	6.33	0.82	1.85	2.27
turnips, value, \$\$	un	un	0.82	5.54	un
other root crops, brls	...	...	...	...	0.2
other root crops, value, \$\$	un	un	...	...	un
cabbage, heads/lbs	...	350	463.64	176.92	213.73
cabbage, value, \$\$	un	un	9.27	8.85	un
fruit, gallons	un	un	...	...	...
fruits, value, \$\$	un	un	...	...	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 41: Bay of Islands Per Household Professions, 1891-1935.

Profession	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
farmers	0.006	0.02	0.02	0.001	un
others cultivating land	0.58	2.14	1.27	0.80	un
males catching and curing fish	0.91	1.35	1.06	0.996	un
females curing fish	...	0.05	0.53	0.50	un
all others	0.633	0.41	0.497	0.61	un

Table 42: Lark Harbour Per Household Professions, 1891-1935.

Profession	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
farmers	...	...	...	...	un
others cultivating land	2.13	2.24	1.47	0.89	un
males catching and curing fish	1.33	1.38	1.32	1.37	un
females curing fish	...	...	0.70	0.67	un
all others	...	0.23	0.29	0.40	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 43: Halfway Point Per Household Professions, 1891-1935.

Profession	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
farmers	un
others cultivating land	...	3.45	1.44	1.25	un
males catching and curing fish	1.82	2	1.39	1.11	un
females curing fish	0.72	0.63	un
all others	0.33	0.26	un

Table 44: Birchy Cove/Curling Per Household Professions, 1891-1935.

Profession	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
farmers	...	...	0.01	0	un
others cultivating land	0.57	2.47	1.02	0.67	un
males catching and curing fish	0.83	1.1	0.6	0.43	un
females curing fish	...	0.05	0.3	0.31	un
all others	0.95	0.72	0.8	1.37	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 45: Corner Brook Per Household Professions, 1891-1935.

Profession	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
farmers	...	...	0.016	0	un
others cultivating land	0.03	1.69	1.23	0.8	un
males catching and curing fish	0.91	0.65	0.88	1.3	un
females curing fish	...	...	0.45	0.03	un
all others	0.93	1.06	0.64	0.88	un

Table 46: Meadows Per Household Professions, 1891-1935.

Profession	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
farmers	...	...	....	0	un
others cultivating land	0.83	2.7	1.53	0.04	un
males catching and curing fish	...	1.75	1.53	1.16	un
females curing fish	...	...	0.74	0.68	un
all others	0.84	0.2	0.2	0.44	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 47: McIver's Per Household Professions, 1891-1935.

Profession	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
farmers	...	...	...	0	un
others cultivating land	0.3	1.39	1.14	0.95	un
males catching and curing fish	1.1	1.28	1.14	1.35	un
females curing fish	...	...	0.57	0.9	un
all others	...	...	0.05	0.05	un

Table 48: Goose Arm Per Household Professions, 1891-1935.

Profession	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
farmers	na	...	0.2	0	un
others cultivating land	na	3	1.1	0.77	un
males catching and curing fish	na	1.67	1.1	1.23	un
females curing fish	na	...	0.5	0.54	un
all others	na	...	0.2	0.39	un

Appendix 6
Per Household Production in the Bay of Islands, 1891-1935

Table 49: Chimney Cove Per Household Professions, 1891-1935.

Profession	1891	1901	1911	1921	1935
farmers	...	...	...	...	un
others cultivating land	2.25	3.5	1.64	0.92	un
males catching and curing fish	2	2.83	1.64	2.15	un
females curing fish	...	1.5	0.91	0.77	un
all others	2.75	...	...	...	un

Appendix 7

Table 50: Value of Fisheries/Household and /Fishermen, Bay of Islands 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1935

	<u>males c/c fish</u>	<u>value of fishery /hhold</u>	<u>value of fishery /fisherman</u>
1891	282	66.03	72.82
1901	666	307.17	228.30
1911	809	201.66	189.38
1921	843	44.07	44.23
1935	612	43.34	199.45

Notes: Value of fishery per household was calculated by dividing the total value of fishery in a given census year by the total number of households in the same census year.

Value of fishery per fisherman was calculated by dividing the total value of the fishery in a given year by the total number of males catching and curing fish in that same census year.

Sources: *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1891.*, St. John's, 1893.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1901., St. John's, 1903.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1911., St. John's, 1914.
Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1921., St. John's, 1923.
Tenth Census of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1935., Department of Public Health and Welfare, Newfoundland. St. John's, 1937.

