

INTERTWINED: THE LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT OF A. JOB HALFYARD
ONE EDUCATOR'S SOCIAL HISTORY NARRATIVE ACCOUNT OF EDUCATIONAL
AND COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND
(1949-1987)

by © Sharon Halfyard

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Abstract

What do Raymond Williams, Paulo Freire, Philip Warren, Herb Kitchen, and my research subject, A. Job Halfyard, have in common? They were male children of the Great Depression born in the 1920s and early 1930s. They lived through some of the most traumatic events of the first half of the 20th century at a most vulnerable stage of their lives. As adolescents, they had the opportunity to attend universities, a privilege once only awarded to the elite. They studied Marxist thought. They came to understand that politics is power, that intellectual knowledge—education—provided possibilities for new directions in life. They had reached a ‘turning point.’ They became socialist in their philosophy, values, and viewpoints. They listened, debated, and expressed opinions. They learned to become ‘actors’ and ‘change agents’ in a traditional institutional system that shaped their lives, their culture. They joined modern organizations. They became part of movements in their quest for a more just, equitable, and humane society. They encouraged experimentation and new ways of looking at the world. They became leaders who mentored and taught others. But Halfyard lived his goals and vision in one small corner of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador (NL) as an ordinary, obscure, and unsung foot soldier who had the ‘call to serve’ reflective of so many others of his generation.

Through this case study of A. Job Halfyard, who taught in rural ‘outport’ Newfoundland for nearly 35 years from 1949 to 1987, I also explore factors that may have contributed to the leadership development of other educators in rural NL. During these post-Confederation years, the role of education was to prepare young people to take their place in a rapidly changing, increasingly industrialized, and more urban-centred society (Atlantic Development Board, 1969, p. vii). Using social history narrative and drawing from aspects of oral history, life histories, autoethnography, and visual auto/biography narrative inquiry methods, I examine the emergence

of educational and community leadership identities—how and why so many teachers of that generation became leaders in outlying rural areas of the province (Giddens, 1991; p. 126; Sugrue, 2005, p. 10).

My aim is to record and chart the institutional, community, personal factors and conditions that influenced the leadership development of teachers like Halfyard. My ultimate goal is to document some of those significant contributing influences to better understand the role of educators in post-Confederation Newfoundland. This study also provides insight into the alternative practices and policies envisioned within the educational landscape from 1949 to 1987. It was a time when the ‘welfare state’ ideology reigned supreme, a time when the social and economic well-being of all citizens was a paramount focus of governments. During this time, more professionally trained teachers were being groomed to assume rural leadership roles traditionally held by merchant families and church officials. They were given autonomy and inspired to adopt practices to meet the specific needs of the students and families in the rural places where they taught. This decentralized place-based educational approach would change with the introduction of the neo-liberal economic model of the late 1980s and the massive out-migration of rural populations to urban centres. Yet, their lessons and their approaches have currency today as rural communities struggle to sustain themselves in light of ongoing economic development pressures.

Dedication

To my husband, Tony White, and our children, Alexander and Anita White.

And to my parents,

Job and Audrey Halfyard, for agreeing to embark on this long journey.

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I would like to thank my dear friends Marilyn Reid, Rae Fitzpatrick, Gail Collins, Marion Cheeks, Sharon Smith, and Elizabeth Cahill, those with whom I had coffee or lunch on a regular basis over this seven-year journey. They offered a welcoming ear, listened as I recounted what I was doing at each stage of the process, and were a sounding board for many of my ideas. There are many other friends who were also there with encouraging words, among them Tony Middleton, Tom Reid, Deanne Barrett, Shirley Jones, Kevin Redmond and his wife, Sophie, Lana Mah, Dale Blake, Barb Sacrey, and Cindy Tedstone. There were many other friends, teachers, film production colleagues, relatives, and acquaintances who were victims of my scholarly discourse. A special thank you to my massage therapists Christine and Heidi as well as my hairdresser Glenda who listened and perked me up when I desperately needed a lift.

Special thanks are also extended to Brian Cahill, Dr. Mary Kennedy, and the late Dr. Priscilla Renouf who wrote the letters of reference needed for my application to the Interdisciplinary PhD Program at Memorial University. I was 53 years old when I started exploring the option of pursuing a doctorate. When I broached the idea with Priscilla Renouf, whom I greatly admired, she said in her sardonic, tongue-in-cheek way, “Sharon, university is wasted on the young.” A special thank you is also extended to Dr. Faye Murrin, the acting head of Graduate Studies, who encouraged me to apply and helped me through the process and to former university professors whom I worked with over the years who encouraged this “old girl” to pursue a dream.

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I would also like to extend a thank you to the talented and vivacious groups of Interdisciplinary and Geography graduate students whom I was fortunate to meet during my first few years in the program. Our monthly meetings were stimulating and provided a fountain of ideas. I would especially like to thank Ryan Gibson, Margot Maddison-MacFadyen, and Pam Hall who offered suggestions and pointed me to some valuable resource material.

Where is one today without technical computer support? Thank you to Chris Rose from Nerds on Wheels who promptly replied to my frenzied calls for ‘help.’ Thanks are also extended to my good friend Adrian McKeever who came over at odd hours when I was in a panic. Thanks to Derek Norman at the Digital Research Centre at Memorial University who provided the video equipment needed for fieldwork during the summer of 2012 and periodically during the data collection process. A thank you also goes out to Myron King at Grenfell College who developed the maps and to Erin McCarthy for developing diagrams and helping with the photos. Thanks are also extended to John Griffin with the Newfoundland and Labrador Collection, Provincial Resource Library at the Arts and Culture Centre.

I would like to thank my cousin Harve Burton and his wife, Val, those warm-hearted rural Newfoundlanders with whom I was fortunate to reconnect while renovating the cabin I insisted we needed to give me a quiet space to write away from the demands of a busy household

with teenage children. Instead of writing I became assistant carpenter to Harve, one of those old-time ‘baymen’ who could ‘put an arse in a cat.’

Finally, I would like to extend special thanks to my family, especially my parents Job and Audrey Halfyard, who put up with my almost constant questions, questions which sometimes became questioning. Unfortunately, as the research process dragged on, and general aging and other health and life challenges arose, tensions sometimes surfaced. Regrettably, the research process did change my personal dynamics with my father. I would also like to thank my siblings, Dr. Laura Halfyard, Job Halfyard Jr., Viola Rice, Joann Clausen, Deborah Kent, and Annette Walsh, and their spouses for their tolerance during the lengthy process when my needs sometimes seemed to take precedence over theirs. My husband’s parents, Millie and Clarence White, and his special aunt, Sister Joan White, were also always there with prayers or words of wisdom.

Last but not least, I extend special thanks to my calm, easygoing husband, Tony White, who tolerated my moods and held out as long as he could before retiring after 40 years of work. And to our children, Alexander and Anita, who were high school students then university students, while their mother sat for hours in front of her computer screen surrounded by stacks of books and articles in our family basement. They often complained that I did not listen to what they were saying; other more academic thoughts were prattling around in my head. Thankfully I can now put most of those thoughts to rest.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAU	Association of Atlantic Universities
ABE	Adult Basic Education
ADB	Atlantic Development Board
ADHD	Attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder
ANDCo	Anglo-Newfoundland Development Company
APEC	Atlantic Provinces Economic Council
ARDA	Agricultural and Rural Development Act
BVPHCC	Baie Verte Peninsula Health Care Centre
BVPRS	Baie Verte Peninsula Regional Study (1960)
BVPTF	Baie Verte Peninsula Task Force
CPRA	Canadian Parks Recreation Association
DEC	Denominational Educational Councils
DREE	Department of Regional Economic Expansion
ETVC	Educational Television Centre
FNI	Federation of Newfoundland Indians
GBEDA	Green Bay Economic Development Association
GBISB	Green Bay Integrated School Board
GOVNL	Government of Newfoundland and Labrador
IBNTA	Islands Branch Newfoundland Teachers' Association
IEC	Integrated Educational Council
ISER	Institute of Social and Economic Research
ISS	Integrated School System (see definition of Integration below)
IWA	International Woodworkers' of America
LSCHYC	La Scie Come Home Year Committee (2012)
MAU	Mount Allison University
MHA	Member of the House of Assembly (Provincial Government)
MUN	Memorial University of Newfoundland
MUNCAL	Memorial University of Newfoundland Calendar
MUNYB	Memorial University Yearbook
MP	Member of Parliament (Federal Government)
NAEA	Newfoundland Adult Education Association
NAIA	Newfoundland Aquaculture Industries Association
NLTA	Newfoundland and Labrador Teachers' Association
NLP/RA	Newfoundland and Labrador Parks/Recreation Association
NTA	Newfoundland Teachers' Association
NONIA	Newfoundland Outport Nursing Industrial Organization
NPLB	Newfoundland Provincial Libraries Board
NRSI	The Newfoundland Record Special Issue (1964)
NSA	Newfoundland Supervisors' Association
PC	Progressive Conservative Party
RRCEY	<i>Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth</i> (1967/1968) This is sometimes called the Warren Commission
RTANL	Retired Teachers' Association of Newfoundland and Labrador
SAANL	School Administrators Association of Newfoundland and Labrador

SCMAU	Senior Class Mount Allison University
SMS	Self Memory System
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
SRBNTA	Springdale Regional Branch Newfoundland Teachers' Association

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Appendix A: Flowchart of A. Job Halfyard: Work and Volunteer Activities

Appendix B: Summary of Education Related Statistics: Newfoundland and Labrador (1951-1986)

Appendix C: Population Chart of Port Anson, Roberts Arm, La Scie, and Tilt Cove

Appendix D: Map of Integrated School Districts and Roman Catholic School Districts

Appendix E: Letter from Halfyard to the Chair, M. J. Boylan Hospital Board (February 26, 1971)

Appendix F: Interview Participants – Transcript List

Appendix G: Ethics Approval Letter – Memorial University

Appendix H: Research Consent Form

Appendix I: Interview Questions

Prologue

I start with my personal life. I pay attention to my physical feelings, thoughts, and emotions. I use what I call systematic sociological introspection and emotional recall to try to understand an experience I've lived through. Then I write my experience as a story. By exploring a particular life, I hope to understand a way of life. (Ellis & Bochner, 2000, p. 737)

In examining controversies and contradictions related to postmodern paradigms, Yvonna Lincoln, Susan Lynham, and Egon Guba (2011) caution that reflexivity, the process of reflecting critically, is needed and that it

demands that we interrogate each of our selves [supposedly there are three] regarding the ways in which research efforts are shaped and staged around the binaries, contradictions, and paradoxes that form our own lives. We must question ourselves, too, regarding how those binaries and paradoxes shape not only the identities called forth in the field and later in the discovery processes of writing, but also our interactions with respondents, in who we become to them in the process of *becoming* to ourselves. (Lincoln et al., 2011, p. 124; Mayan, 2009)

Therefore, it is fitting that I start this study by using autoethnography, described by Carolyn Ellis (2004) as the genre of writing and research that “displays multiple layers of consciousness” for writing about “the personal” as well as “focusing outward” on relationships to “social and cultural aspects of their personal experience” (p. 37). In this case, it is about revealing my researcher relationship to the subject of this social history narrative, my father, A. Job Halfyard, who profoundly shaped who I have become and my directions in life.

Researcher Relationship to Subject

This reflective account explores what has brought me to conduct this social history narrative of my father and his leadership development journey as a rural educator. It also exposes some of the biases inherent in my research. While my focus is on one subject, Halfyard's 'life and times,' his story is also a vehicle, a way to consider the leadership development journey reflective of other teachers in rural Newfoundland and Labrador at that time and place in history.

It is also very much about the bigger picture, the interwoven historical context of educational, social, cultural, economic, and political factors that influenced and shaped the lives of people within the new province of Canada from 1949 to 1987.

I am the second oldest of A. Job and Audrey Halfyard's seven children. The third oldest is Job Jr., the only boy. Our father was typical of many patriarchal Newfoundland males who, in many ways, values boys more than girls. My mother tried on four more occasions to have another boy. Hence, growing up in La Scie, the place that ultimately became our home community, the six girls were expected to do what any boy could do. We hauled cod traps, cleaned slub out of salmon nets, and dragged beef barrels or wheelbarrows full of soil for a small family garden. On the academic front, we were expected to work hard and be courteous in the school where our father was principal.

My siblings and I were encouraged to get a good education and do whatever our hearts desired in life. My oldest sister Laura went on to teach high school and then Adult Basic Education (ABE) at the college level before doing a PhD in Aquaculture and teaching at the Marine Institute in St. John's. My younger sister Viola started in nursing and then switched to social work before settling on teaching, which allowed her to return to La Scie to work. Prior to her retirement in 2016, she was the principal of Hill Side Elementary School, which was originally Cape John Collegiate where my father had been coordinating principal for most of his teaching career.

Job Jr. took advantage of the new vocational schools set up around the province in the 1970s and completed an electrical trade in nearby Baie Verte. He worked as an electrician at mines in Ming's Bite and Labrador City before returning home to La Scie, where he worked in the fish plant for a few years in the 1980s. Seeing the writing on the wall for the fishing industry,

and in partnership with my father and uncle, he bought a struggling mineralogy company in Springdale, which now employs over 30 workers. The third youngest, Joann, followed her dream of becoming a ‘Quincy,’ a character in the popular 1980s TV show about a medical examiner. She trained as a lab technologist, joined the Canadian military, and now works with Health Canada in Ottawa. My two youngest sisters, Deborah and Annette, resisted the traditional family higher education path. Like my mother, they had a flair for fashion, and both became hair stylists and moved outside the province.

When I graduated from Cape John Collegiate in 1973, the accepted options, especially for a girl, were still relatively limited—primarily to being a teacher or nurse. I wanted to be a physical education teacher, or that is what I felt confident telling people at that time. I secretly wanted to become a documentary filmmaker. At Cape John Collegiate, where my father was principal, every second Friday afternoon was slated for art activities, everything from still-life drawing to viewing National Film Board (NFB) films. My father adopted this pedagogical practice to give students a taste of the creative arts and to give both teachers and students a break from the academic demands of school. I loved the poignant NFB documentaries that my father played on those Friday afternoons. I was captivated by real people’s stories and the creative process of storytelling through film.

Growing up, I had great admiration for my father. Perhaps it was because we were ‘come-from-aways’ in the rural communities where we lived. There is a saying in Newfoundland, “If you are not born in a place you will never be from that place.” That was how most of us older Halfyard children felt, especially during our teenage years when our father was the school principal. Consequently, we often felt the brunt, real or imagined, of both student and teacher chagrin that was generally aimed at our father, who could be an authoritarian-style

principal. I developed an intense loyalty to my father. In many ways, unlike my other siblings, I idolized him. He was my major role model and mentor in life. I soaked up every word he said in the geography, English, and biology courses I took from him.

I followed in my father's footsteps and became a teacher. When I graduated from university in 1978, I got a much sought-after job teaching physical education in what was considered to be a prestigious high school in St. John's. Like my father, I was athletic, competitive, adventurous, and had a passion for the creative arts. But after three years teaching physical education, biology, and the new Newfoundland Studies courses at Bishops College I knew it was time for a change. The Avalon Consolidated School Board's modern media centre was located in the school where I taught. Because of my interest in photography and film, the staff encouraged me to go into media studies. I wanted to try something new, something more creative, and something closer to the production work possible through the NFB. I applied to do a Master of Education at Memorial University with a focus on instructional design and audiovisual production. Librarian/resource specialists were in demand within the province's public education system.

With my Master's thesis not completed, I took a full-time position as the librarian/resource specialist at Mount Pearl Central High School, then one of the largest schools in the province with a population of over 1,000. After five years, everything was running smoothly. In April 1987, I applied for a one-year leave of absence from my teaching position to explore film production options, and in late June I completed my Master of Education. As luck would have it, a producer was about to shoot Newfoundland's first locally produced feature film, *Finding Mary March*. I offered my services for free. That was the beginning of my apprenticeship as a PA, or film production assistant. It would take me from Newfoundland to Toronto and Alberta.

My journey to finding myself eventually led me back to Newfoundland where I worked as an educational video producer/director at Memorial University and later as an independent filmmaker. During my production career, I took every opportunity to produce videos that would capture both the stories of ordinary and extraordinary individuals. These stories always seemed to have an aspect of educational learning but were not solely instructional in tone or style; they were stories that would hopefully motivate students and appeal to the general public.

During my 20 years as a documentary filmmaker, I did not produce videos about the people or places where I grew up. That notion always made me uncomfortable. In applying for the Interdisciplinary Doctor of Philosophy program in 2011, I brainstormed a list of about 15 social history–related topics that I found interesting. My father’s story was not on that list. Who would possibly be interested in a story about a rural school principal? He had never become a Member of the House of Assembly (MHA), president of the Newfoundland Teachers’ Association (NTA), a school board superintendent, or a professor at Memorial University. He had not even, like many aspiring educators, got to teach in St. John’s, the province’s capital city. What in his story could possibly be of interest?

Yet, there was something about the strange matrix of life’s events and coincidences that serendipitously led me back home to the places and people who helped shape my values, attitudes, and beliefs—who I had become. I was born and raised ‘around the bay’ and I have a deep passion for rural Newfoundland. That pride and those values and beliefs were shaped and inspired by my father, a school teacher. After my father retired from teaching, he became a mussel farmer. He looked to the modern aquaculture industry as an alternative way to provide employment for rural people displaced by the Cod Moratorium of 1992. In recent years, I saw how much he struggled, on a daily basis, to maintain the businesses and industry he felt would

provide jobs and a better quality of life for rural people and places. I also felt his grandchildren and even his children did not fully appreciate what he had tried to do, let alone accomplished, during his lifetime.

One night while I was brainstorming possible thesis research topics my eyes popped open. I grabbed a pen and sketched a flowchart of the many activities my father had been involved in during the course of his life (see Appendix A). It ran the gamut from teacher, to principal, fisher, miner, entrepreneur and business owner, aquaculture pioneer, community leader, and volunteer. In my gut, I realized his life, his story, had relevance for more than just our family. Still not convinced it was a valid topic I consulted a number of university professors. They liked the idea. As a result of their affirmation, I gained confidence in the idea that my father's life and times were worthy of exploration and documentation. Thus began the journey into what was a time of monumental change in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The life history, if fully documented, records how the manifold social, economic, and psychological influences of particular historical periods intrude on the individual's action and consciousness. In short, the life history challenges us to situate each life within its wider historical background. (Goodson, 1980–81, p. 71)

Introduction

This study will explore the factors that contributed to the leadership development of educators in rural Newfoundland during the post-Confederation years from 1949 to 1987.¹ Using social history narrative and drawing from oral history, life history, autoethnography, and visual auto/biography narrative inquiry methods, I examine the emergence of one educational and community leader, A. Job Halfyard—and consider how and why so many teachers became leaders in rural areas of Newfoundland during this period. By looking at the relationship between culture, place, and identity, I endeavour to better understand the complex intertwining of factors, circumstances, influences, and strategies involved in their leadership development. In turn, this study provides a better understanding of how to nurture diverse kinds of leaders for complex community needs (Kelly, 1993, p. 84) as well as offer insights for rural and educational stakeholders struggling during these global times (Giddens, 1991, p. 126; Sugrue, 2005, p. 10).

There are decades of scholarly studies yielding countless definitions and classification systems that explore the intricacies of leadership from traits, skills, and style to transformational approaches. In *Leadership: Theory and Practice*, Peter G. Northouse (1997/2007) defined leadership as a “process whereby an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal” (p. 3). He underscored the four following concepts as central to the leadership

¹ It was December 2001 before the Government of Canada officially changed Newfoundland's name to Newfoundland and Labrador within the Constitution (CBC, 2001). Because the timeframe of this study was prior to that date, the term Newfoundland will be used when referring to the province.

phenomenon: (1) it is a *process* that includes interactive, transactional events between the leader and his or her followers; (2) it involves *influence*; (3) it occurs in *groups* and “involves influencing a *group* of individuals who have a common purpose”; and, (4) it is context oriented and involves working towards the achievement of specific *goals* (p. 3). Northouse shifted his earlier research focus from “leadership as a trait”, and the notion that people need “special inborn qualities,” to the notion that leadership is “a process that can be learned and that it is available to everyone” (p. 12). Similarly, James Kouzes and Barry Posner (2007) emphasize that:

Leadership is not a gene, and it’s not a secret code that can’t be deciphered by ordinary people. The truth is that leadership is *an observable set of skills and abilities* that are useful whether one is in the executive suite or on the front line, on Wall Street or Main Street, in any campus, community, or corporation. And any skill can be strengthened, honed, and enhanced, given the motivation and desire, along with practice and feedback, role models, and coaching. (pp. 339-340)

Like Northouse (2007), Kouzes and Posner (2007) contend that “leadership is learnable” (p. 341), that “effective leaders are constantly learning,” and that it starts with “your own belief in yourself and in others” (p. 431). This case study of A. Job Halfyard is very much about the collective ‘process’ of leadership development suggested by these writers, not the grand achievements of one individual.

Global Era of Progress and Development

The third quarter of the 20th century was a time of massive change and development, not just in Newfoundland but also in much of the Western world. My research will bridge a gap in knowledge related to the impact of modernity on rural leadership development, specifically as it relates to teachers in Newfoundland during the three decades of major transition from 1950 to 1980, through an examination of the lived experiences of my father and subject, A. Job Halfyard, whose teaching career spanned the years 1949 to 1987. This timeframe overlaps with the 30-year period of extraordinary international growth known as *Les Trente Glorieuses*.

Les Trente Glorieuses (1945–1975), coined by the French demographer Jean Fourastie, was marked by a major shift of the population from rural to urban areas and massive infrastructure development. It reflected the period of growing prosperity and social change driven by intense post-war “reconstruction and reorganization” especially in Europe and North America (Harvey, 1990/2011, p. 68). It was fostered by the Keynesian welfare state economic model that promoted full employment and comprehensive social protection designed to raise the standard of living of ordinary citizens (Harvey, 1990/2011, pp. 129–136).

Political leaders knew it was imperative that the war-ravaged world not return to the social unrest and political instability characteristic of the Great Depression and Second World War period, where unemployed and starving people rioted in the streets. Thus, government policy makers, city planners, and financiers developed models and procedures “to promote equality (or at least of opportunity), social welfare, and economic growth” (Harvey, 1990/2011, p. 69). Infrastructure development included the building of roads, bridges, public housing, schools, and hospitals equipped with the modern conveniences of electricity and water, and sewage. The intense construction provided major employment through much of the 1950s to 1970s. In the Canadian hinterland, resource-based extraction industries (mining and forestry) were expanded (Martin, 1983/1998, p. 84). The raw materials were used to manufacture cars and new modern appliances, thus generating revenue while providing employment. Government buildings, shopping malls, and factories were built in cities and larger towns.

The post-war period in Newfoundland had its own unique set of circumstances. When Newfoundland entered Confederation in 1949 only a few population centres had roads, electricity, telephones, or water and sewage (Rowe, 1980, p. 525). Most people lived in rural and remote villages scattered over 29,000 kilometres of rugged coastline and still practised the

centuries-old non-industrialized inshore fishery and subsistence lifestyle (Cadigan, 2009, p. 231; Wright, 2001).

Historical Overview – Newfoundland, 1497 to 1949

For centuries prior to the westward migration of Norse, Basque, British, and Spanish explorers the Maritime Archaic Indians, the Dorset and Groswater Paleoeskimo and other Indigenous hunter-gatherer cultural groups migrated to the shores of what is now called Newfoundland and Labrador from the west and north (Renouf, 1999). The island of Newfoundland is the ancestral home of the Beothuk and Mi'kmaq; and, Labrador the ancestral home of the Innu and Inuit. The European settler history of Newfoundland dates back to 1497 when John Cabot is believed to have landed on the island of Newfoundland (Cadigan, 2007, 30). The European history of the island of Newfoundland revolved around the British mercantile interest in cod (Cadigan, 2009, p. 30).

Permanent settlement was a gradual process marked by great resistance from the large British merchant houses who wanted to maintain control over the migratory fishery (Cadigan, 2009, p. 61). From its earliest days, the fishing economy was based on a barter or credit system that tied fishers to merchants (MacLeod & Brown, 2005, p. 57; McCann, 1994, p. 16; Rowe, 1980, p. 353). Literacy levels were low and fishers often felt powerless to challenge this unfair system. This cashless form of trade, called the truck system, was outlawed in Britain in the early 19th century but continued in Newfoundland (MacLeod & Brown, 2005, p. 56; Sider, 2003, p. 20). On the other hand, merchants were at the mercy of fluctuating international market prices and the financial risk of not being able to collect debts owed by fishers (Cadigan, 2009, p. 85).

As a colony of the British Empire, the people of Newfoundland were governed from London. Starting in 1729, the commanding officer of the British Naval Squadron, in

Newfoundland for the fishing season, was appointed Naval Governor. He was responsible for military, political, and judiciary matters (MacLeod & Brown, 2005, pp. 70–71). By 1824, however, the population of Newfoundland had reached approximately 50,000, and ambitious local political reformers, discontent with the indifferent Naval Governor system, began petitioning the British government for political institutions like those granted other colonies (Cadigan, 2009, pp. 120–123; MacLeod & Brown, 2005, pp. 70–71). In 1832, the British government granted the island of Newfoundland and the Labrador territory official British Crown Colony status (Story, Kirwin, & Widdowson, 1982/2004, p. 110). The appointed civil governor and council answered to Britain.

During the 23 years of representative government (1832–1855), reformers continued to pressure the British government for responsible government. Under that more democratic system instituted in 1855, the political party with the most elected seats in the assembly formed the government (MacLeod & Brown, 2005, pp. 70–73). Unfortunately, under responsible government, the appointed legislative council was still made up of wealthy merchants who held most of the power. The two-party political system of Conservatives and Liberals generally reflected the Protestant/English (Liberal) and Roman Catholic/Irish (Conservative) religious divides plus the St. John's (Conservative) and outport (Liberal) merchant/fisher divides that delineated the centuries-old English and Irish sectarian and racial divisions (Hiller, 1993/2001, p. 353).

In 1909, Newfoundland was recognized as a self-governing 'dominion' of the British Empire like Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (MacLeod & Brown, 2005, p. 75). The elected colonial government struggled with reoccurring economic problems created by local and global cyclical downturns in the fishing industry. Economic struggle was compounded by overspending

on railway construction in the late 1800s and growing national debt—much of it accrued as a result of the First World War (Cadigan, 2009, pp. 132–133; Rowe, 1980, p. 399). The mounting costs of social programs during the Depression years and accusations of mismanagement of public funds sparked riots in St. John's in 1932 (McGrath, Halfyard, & Cheeks, 2008, pp. 64–65; Neary, 1997, p. 4). There was not enough money for poor relief—Newfoundland was financially broke.

Britain was not prepared to have Newfoundland default on its public debt, and banks in Canada were no longer prepared to lend the country more money. A joint Royal Commission of inquiry, chaired by Lord Amulree of Britain, was called to look into Newfoundland's financial affairs (Cadigan, 2009, p. 206; Rowe, 1980, p. 403). The Commission recommended suspension of democratic self-government until the Dominion of Newfoundland was self-supporting (MacLeod & Brown, 2005, p. 170; Neary, 1997, p. 5). For the 15-year period from 1934 to 1949, Newfoundland was governed by an appointed six-person Commission of Government and a Governor. During that time, no elections took place and no legislature met.

The opportunities of a new economic order were unexpectedly thrust upon Newfoundland during the Second World War (1939–1945). The island's strategic geographical position in the North Atlantic, combined with the development of transatlantic flight, made Newfoundland a much sought-after location for the construction of five major air, naval, and army bases by the Canadian, American, and British governments (Cadigan, 2009, p. 224). A huge workforce was needed to construct the bases during the war and subsequent Cold War period. In 1942, one fifth of the total labour force of Newfoundland was employed in base construction (Major, 2001, p. 371).

Many of the local men and women who flocked to those military bases earned cash

wages for the first time in their lives. Political pressure was applied by fish merchants and the operators of the large paper mills to keep wages for Newfoundland workers well below that of their American or Canadian counterparts. At the same time, local labour unions became upset with how “war-induced inflation was eroding workers’ wages in other sectors” (Cadigan, 2009, p. 232). Newfoundlanders working on the military bases had been exposed to new industrial practices, consumerism, and lifestyle possibilities (Cadigan, 2009, pp. 226–228).

In the meantime, there was growing discontent with the lack of democratic self-government in light of institutional changes happening among British and French imperial colonies around the world (Cadigan, 2009, p. 232). It was a time when many colonies of the British Empire “imagined a modernity of their own” (Holden, 2008, p. 26). By 1942, local business and political leaders were making a concerted effort to explore the possibilities of returning to responsible government or joining the Canadian Confederation. Some expressed an interest in Newfoundland joining the United States. After the war, Newfoundland was faced with a return to a state of poverty and underemployment. Widespread illiteracy² made it difficult for Newfoundlanders to meet the challenges of the new social order, where higher education and training was needed for the shift to skilled labour jobs (Conrad, 1993/2001, p. 398; Hiller, 1993/2001, p. 353).

In June 1946, a public vote was held to elect the 45 representatives of the National Convention, which was tasked with exploring governance options for the once British Crown colony (Cadigan, 2009, p. 235; Gwyn, 1968/1972, p. 83). Among the group were about 15 merchants, plus “a cross-section of professional and clerical classes – teachers, trade union

² In 1900, about one third of Newfoundlanders were considered totally illiterate. In 1950, Newfoundland was the poorest province in Canada (Conrad, 1993/2001, p. 402).

leaders, co-operative field-workers, lawyers, journalists and magistrates” (Rowe, 1980, p. 447). Also elected was Joseph R. Smallwood, a pig farmer and former radio broadcaster. As usual, there was a marked division between the largely Anti-Confederate, Roman Catholic, Progressive Conservative voters on the Avalon Peninsula who supported a return to responsible government and the largely Protestant, Liberal voters scattered in fishing villages along the coastline of Newfoundland who supported Confederation with Canada (Cadigan, 2009, p. 238).

Smallwood, a charismatic speaker, used anti-Water Street mercantile rhetoric to solidify support for Confederation from outport Newfoundlanders. Smallwood promised to provide outport people with a better standard of living, thus reducing poverty by rectifying the centuries-old social inequalities thrust upon fisherfolk through the archaic mercantile ‘credit system’ (Cadigan, 2009, p. 239; Sider, 2003, pp. 94–95). Smallwood’s vision was to modernize the outdated family-based salt cod fishery and to transform the new province of Newfoundland into a modern urban industrial society. At the stroke of midnight on March 31, 1949, Newfoundland joined the Canadian Confederation, becoming the 10th province of Canada and Smallwood its first premier. According to biographer Richard Gwyn (1968/1972), Smallwood looked to school teachers and cooperative workers to provide local administrative support and leadership (p. 132). Other historians emphasized how Smallwood’s dreams for a more prosperous Newfoundland revolved around education (Andrews, 1985b, pp. 336–337; Fowler, 2003, p. 5; Rowe, 1980, p. 515). The first step was to educate a central core of teachers who would go into the outports to teach the growing number of children in the public education system.

The Problem and Knowledge Gap

There is a gap in the knowledge about how and why so many teachers of the early post-Confederation years became both educational and community leaders in rural outport

Newfoundland during the first 30 years after Confederation. Questions arise about the extent to which teacher recruits were independent agents advocating for change and a better way of life or indoctrinated instruments of government sent out to assimilate the masses into a predetermined order through the education system (Corbett, 2007; Freire, 1970/2012; Kelly, 1993; McKay, 1994/2009). Whatever the case, Frederick Rowe (1980), a former teacher and Minister of Education in the Smallwood Liberal government, emphasized the radical results of their efforts. He claimed, “Between 1949 to 1980, there was a revolution that was physical, social and psychological” (p. 525).

The deep changes in Newfoundland were part of a larger movement. Anthony Giddens (1991), whose work became popular among sociologists and human geographers in the 1980s, analyzed the nature of interconnections in the social world and provided conceptual language to think about the profound changes that were taking place as traditional societies (such as Newfoundland) transitioned to modern societies (Giddens, 1991, pp. 32, 243; Warf, 2011, p. 18).

Modern institutions differ from all preceding forms of social order in respect of their dynamism, the degree to which they undercut traditional habits and customs, and their global impact. However, these are not only extensional transformations: modernity radically alters the nature of day-to-day social life and affects the most personal aspects of our experience. Modernity must be understood on an institutional level; yet the transmutations introduced by modern institutions interlace in a direct way with individual life and therefore with the self. (Giddens, 1991, p. 1)

My research contributes to an increased understanding of the nature of the dynamic forces that shaped the educational, political, economic, and sociocultural changes in rural Newfoundland during those pivotal 30 post-Confederation years. It was a time of rapid development that saw technological advances, the rise of organizations, urbanization, and the regulated control of social relations as part of a profound period of social change known as modernity, more specifically the Late Modern age (Giddens, 1991, p. 16). David Harvey (1990/2011) argues,

Modernity, therefore, not only entails a ruthless break with any or all preceding historical conditions, but is characterized by a never-ending process of internal ruptures and fragmentations within itself. (p. 12)

As part of this process, traditional community leadership models were being replaced by modern institutions, leadership practices and modes of behaviors (Blake, 2015; Cohen, 1975; Fullan, 2011; Giddens, 1991). The welfare state years of modernity or development ended in the 1980s with the rise of global neo-liberal ideologies and practices introduced by the Reagan and Thatcher administrations. This marked another transition in social, cultural, economic, and political practices that radically changed the conditions of social existence at the local and global levels (Cadigan, 2009, p. 241; House & House, 2015, pp. 20–21).

There are few critical longitudinal studies on leadership development pathways or strategies. Contemporary place-based educational scholars are calling for more life history longitudinal research related to the role of school principals that studies the socializing influences as well as participants' perspectives, actions, and interactions over time or the full life experience (O'Donoghue, 2007, pp. 137, 153). Similarly, geographers and place-based scholars concerned about rural, island, and remote locales are also calling for longitudinal studies to address the challenges of globalization by improving rural leadership capacity-building (Vodden, Gibson, & Baldacchino, 2015, pp. 317–318). My study seeks to contribute to these research needs.

Purpose Statement

By tracing this person's life over time, it becomes possible to view the changes and underlying forces which influence that person at work. (Goodson, 1980–81, p. 69)

Drawing from social history narrative and aspects of oral history, life histories, autoethnography, and visual autobiography narrative inquiry methods, this thesis examines the

lived experiences of A. Job Halfyard's leadership development career path, with its complex matrix of structural factors, influences, and strategies, to explore the intertwining and multiple factors that contributed to Halfyard, and other teachers like him, becoming educational and community leaders in rural areas of the province at that time in history. My goal is to gain a better understanding of the influences that shaped the kinds of leaders they became, the beliefs and visions they held, and how the activities they supported contributed to future practices.

Three main research questions inform my study. (1) How were the lives of teachers involved in rural educational and community leadership during the 1950s to mid-1980s in Newfoundland shaped by the educational, social, economic, political, and historical events and trends of that time and place? (2) More specifically, to what extent, and in what ways was leadership development influenced by institutional forces and trends (government, church, unions, etc.), collective factors (communities and workplaces), and personal factors (home, family, peers and self)? Or was it some multifaceted mix? (3) How were those teachers able to draw on societal institutional forces and ideas, their personal home and collective community identities, and goal systems to respond, through leadership, to the needs of the schools and communities where they lived and worked?

Leadership Development

This research, with its focus on a single individual in a specific socio-cultural context, brings together several approaches to leadership that are explored throughout the dissertation. It builds on the recommendations made by Munro (2008) to follow community leaders over time; borrows from Giddens's (1991) theory of structuration and his work on culture, place, modernity, and self-identity; and draws on rural and regional place-based teaching and leadership ideas of Theobald (1997) and Beer and Clower (2013). Educational leadership

development concepts and theories put forward by Fullan (2001, 2004, 2011), Hargreaves (2007, 2012), Kouzes and Posner (2007), and Sugrue (2005, 2012) also inform this study.

The leadership literature of Michael Fullan provides key guideposts for this study. Fullan (2001) identified five components of effective leadership: (1) acting with moral purpose or the intention of making a positive difference in the lives of employees, customers, and society as a whole; (2) understanding change, which can be an “exceedingly elusive” process (p. 5); (3) being consummate relationship-builders of diverse people and groups; (4) generating and sharing knowledge constantly both inside and outside the organization; and (5) striving for coherence in the midst of what can be a complex, nonlinear and chaotic process. According to Fullan (2001), effective leaders need energy, enthusiasm and hope to help others tackle difficult problems (p. 7). He emphasized how, “turning information into knowledge is a *social process* and for that you need good relationships” (p. 6). Fullan (2001) also examined internal commitment rather than external commitment. He argued that internal commitment, goal setting, moral purpose and a sense of urgency, along with motivating others “mobilizes people’s commitment to putting their energy into actions” (p. 9). It is a commitment to collective action with a goal of improving things. Moreover, and importantly, effective leadership also involves “slow learning in context over time” (p. 121).

This study is also informed by ideas Fullan presented in the 2011 book, *Change Leader: Learning to Do What Matters Most* in which he explores seven key interrelated ideas and competencies described as being essential for leading change through practice and experience. They include: (1) cultivating deliberative practice; (2) being resolute; (3) motivating others through linking to their realities; (4) fostering collaboration; (5) learning confidently; (6) knowing your impact; and, (7) sustaining your learning from practice (Fullan, 2011, p. 5).

Hargreaves and Fullan, who have written extensively on educational leadership, revisited ideas related to their 1996 book, *What's Worth Fighting for in Your School* in the 2012 text, *Professional Capital: Transforming Teaching in Every School*. While they originally “highlighted and honored the passions and purposes of teaching,” in their more recent work they focused on how to create collective professional responsibility and “how to reconstruct and *re-culture* the profession” (p. xv) of teaching for the betterment of society and the good of teachers. They re-worked the notion of “*professional capital*” to include three elements including: (1) the systematic development and integration of human capital or knowledge and skills; (2) social capital or the quality and quantity of interactions and social relationships with people; and, (3) decisional capital or the ability to make discretionary judgement that is gained by structured and unstructured experience, practice and reflection (Hargreaves and Fullan, 2012, pp. 88-93). They also described professional capital as collective responsibility, not individual autonomy.

Other sources of information on educational leadership that informed this study included Richard Dufour’s and Robert J. Marzano’s (2011) *Leaders of Learning: How District, School, and Classroom Leaders Improve Student Achievement*. These authors provided strategies and insights into how district, school and classroom leaders can improve student achievement. They emphasized many of the same characteristics of effective leaders as outlined by leadership scholars since the 1980s. They also introduced the concept of professional learning community (PLC). Educational leadership scholars included in *Developing Sustainable Leadership* edited by Brent Davies (2007) identified similar effective leadership themes, principles and strategies including moral purpose, resilience, and sound relationships. One article by Andy Hargreaves and Dean Fink (2007) included a description of seven principles of sustainable leadership. Another article by Kenneth Leithwood, Scott Bauer and Brian Riedlinger (2007) examined

teacher burnout and how it contributes to “resistance to change and innovation, insensitive social relationships, and the lack of care for others, among many other “unleaderful” behaviours (p. 97). Their overarching message is that “creating a culture of learning” and relational trust is essential to the development of school leaders today (p. 112).

In *School District Leadership Matters*, Bruce Sheppard, Jean Brown and David Dibbon (2009) explored the importance of understanding leadership in order to lead meaningful change within the more “centralized authoritarian control of the education system” (p. 1) that evolved in Newfoundland and Labrador after the 1980s. Critical practitioner reflection plus organizational learning, based on emerging-change leadership theories and value-based leadership, were presented as important tools for providing new insights to inspire policymakers and practitioners. They identified collaborative leadership and organizational learning as two means for district-level leaders to re-imagine change that could improve student learning in the classroom. Isolation, leadership capacity, relationship building, lack of clarity, dependence on routine, aversion to risk plus other structural and cultural impediments were identified as challenges that needed to be confronted within their literature review and research (p. 18).

The leadership development literature reviewed provides information on the re-occurring themes, characteristics, skills, principles and strategies that have been studied by academics in an effort to understand leadership development. Margaret Inman (2011) provides an important point of emphasis for this study:

Knowing what leaders do is useful as a starting point, but, without a rich understanding of how and why leaders become leaders, our understanding of leadership is incomplete. (pp. 1-2)

Much of the literature related to educational leadership had a ‘how to’ style and offered a plethora of similar ideas. In the next chapter, on theoretical frameworks and methodology, I

extend this brief introduction of leadership literature and include an overview of other scholarly work on educational leadership, as well as a framework for exploring the leadership development journey of my research subject. In addition to providing sound research and guiding principle information on leadership, the literature repeatedly built on real-life story examples to contextualize and teach the specific concepts and skills.

In recent decades, there has also been a growing scholarship that explores ‘leadership of places,’ or community leadership in light of shifting population dynamics and the global economic decline of rural areas (Beer & Clower, 2013; Brown & Schafft, 2011; Massey, 1994/2009, 2005/2012; Theobald, 1997). Andrew Beer and Terry Clower (2013) note that ‘leadership of places’ is an underdeveloped field “with much research either overly reliant upon perspectives drawn from management disciplines or limited to case study analysis of ‘success’ stories” (p. 5). Therefore, academics across disciplines are advocating for more life-centered auto/biographical perspectives that “reflect the unique circumstances of each location” (Buttimer, 2001; Markey, Halseth, & Manson, 2012; Reimer, 2010; Sugrue, 2005). It is their hope that place-specific knowledge, which they argue can perhaps best be presented in “narrative ways of knowing and representation,” (Reimer, 2010, p. 271) will provide insight into the barriers and challenges faced by rural areas.

There has been a plethora of leadership development programs (LDPs) that promise to fill the void for leadership knowledge and skills. Business organizations, public institutions, political, volunteer, and other governance groups, from corporate to grassroots, on both a global and local level, are struggling with how to address the need for effective leadership amid today’s rapid changes. Similarly, there has been a growing scholarly interest in studying and evaluating the effectiveness of such programs to determine whether or not there is a relationship between

leader effectiveness and ‘social capital’ (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2005; Burbaugh & Kaufman, 2017; Kouzes & Posner, 2007; Uhl-Bien, 2006; Van De Valk & Constas, 2011). Scholars are torn as to the positive effects of long-term leadership development through short-term LDPs.

In a recent community leadership study by the Institute of Local Government Studies, School of Public Policy, University of Birmingham, Hugh Munro (2008) identified gaps in the literature that my research addresses. Munro stated that community leadership literature fails to examine actors (individuals) over time and thus also neglects to investigate the multiple paths open to individuals (p. 298). Such research, he noted, would require longitudinal studies. Munro’s thesis highlighted the need to consider actors as situated, acting based on how they make sense of institutions, resources, rules, and past experiences (p. 305). The model Munro put forward also highlighted how the reading of leadership situations by social actors changed over time based on their experiences and their ability to read the rules. Munro posits that

the state plays an increasingly important role in the readings made by community leaders as they become more recognizable as expert citizens and professional citizens. Officers and staff act as powerful agents passing on their interpretations of rules to incoming community leaders and are able to affect which community leaders are involved. At the same time community leaders working closely to the state may change how they read the community. . . . Therefore, the higher a community leader ascends, the more likely they are to become distanced from their community reinforcing the importance of their dilemma. (p. 303)

This approach is in keeping with Giddens’s (1991) theory of structuration, where he suggests that forces in society both enable and constrain behaviour. Giddens focused on the conscious ‘actor’ in society, arguing that individuals, especially in a traditional society, are knowledgeable agents who can negotiate their way through everyday life. People are producers (shapers) of both history and geography, the sociocultural world. In turn, the sociocultural world, with its rules and structures, reproduces (shapes) individuals through socialization (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 60; Giddens, 1991; Warf, 2011, p. 179).

Kouzes and Posner (2007), experts in leadership development, stress the importance of gazing into our past to identify the trends and patterns that shape individual visions for the future. They theorize that we make sense of our world retrospectively that is, by reflection and looking back (pp. 107–109). The notion of reflecting on the past to envision the future is central to leadership development. They also argue that the directions we take in the world are embedded in our past. In turn, potential leaders also pay close attention to the little things happening around them daily and draw on some of those ideas for future initiatives (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, pp. 110, 124). For example, my study demonstrates how many of the ideas, beliefs, and practices Halfyard developed during his formative years reappeared, with modifications, later in his career path trajectory.

In *Passionate Principalship: Learning from the Life Histories of School Leaders*, educator and editor Ciaran Sugrue (2005) highlights the importance of passion in leadership studies:

It is necessary to put passion back into the leadership literature, both for its own sake and as an important instrumental means of providing the individual and collective ‘glue’ that begins to focus on continuity and purpose rather than a bewildering array of choices and demands that no amount of problem-solving capability can deal with unless fuelled by passion to act in particular ways . . . it asserts the importance of individuals, their biographies and their passions, in how schooling has potential to work for the advantage of all learners. (p. 13)

Kouzes and Posner (2007), like Sugrue (2005), posit that attention and passion go hand in hand: “People don’t see the possibilities when they don’t feel the passion” (p. 113). Individuals must figure out what they care about—their passion. This research study illustrates how passion and perseverance among teachers at the grassroots local level was one of the many driving forces behind educational change taking place in Newfoundland.

Phil Warren, the chair of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth*

(RRCEY) for the Government of Newfoundland in 1967–1968, stated in an interview for this study that “leadership must come from the bottom, not from the top” (Warren, July 2, 2012, p. 7). He highlighted how the government of the day, as well as other educational stakeholders (such as the Newfoundland Teachers’ Association (NTA), Memorial University, etc.), “focused a lot on leadership at the school level” (p. 7). Those institutional educational leaders recognized “the importance of the [school] principal in promoting better education and in working in communities.” Warren noted how institutional stakeholders held “all kinds of conferences and seminars that promoted leadership in education, which is vital, especially at the school level” (Warren, July 2, 2012, p. 7).

According to Kouzes and Posner (2007), “exemplary leaders strengthen everyone’s capacity to deliver” (p. 21). Exemplary leaders, they contend, “want to do something significant, to accomplish something that no one else has yet achieved” (p. 115). These transformational leaders may not initially know what that something is, but they have a strong sense of meaning and purpose which comes from within (p. 115), from a deep belief in a shared vision and of modelling the ‘way’ (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, pp. 116, 214). They form partnerships. They collaborate with like-minded individuals or groups. They commit to a cause. They develop a strong sense of “belonging to something very special” (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, p. 122, 126). According to historian James MacGregor Burns (1978), transformational leadership is the ability to get people to infuse their energy into strategies to “raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality” and purposes (Burns, 1978, as cited in Kouzes & Posner, 2007, p. 122). It generates opportunities for men and women with great vision and passion. My case study subject is an example of one of those exemplary grassroots, transformational leaders the Smallwood government sought to develop.

A. Job Halfyard – Case Study Subject

A. Job Halfyard was born on September 15, 1931, in Curzon Village, Bonne Bay, during the early days of the Great Depression. Over the 65-year span of his working life he was a teacher, school principal, fisher, miner, entrepreneur, community leader, and volunteer. During his second 30-year career, after retiring from teaching in 1987, he was a pioneer in the development of the aquaculture industry in Newfoundland.

Halfyard graduated from high school in 1949. At the time, he was one of the few boys in rural Newfoundland to finish Grade 11 (Rowe, 1976). Halfyard was a fisher at heart, but his mother encouraged him to go to university. In that era, young teacher recruits from Memorial University were parachuted into remote isolated outport communities to teach everything from English to arithmetic in multi-grade classrooms (Rowe, 1976). After a year of teacher training at Memorial University, Halfyard travelled by boat to Port Anson in Green Bay where he taught for five years. There he married and discovered a new area of the province where he could grow and develop his own identity. The remote White Bay/Green Bay region on the Northeast Coast of the province was rich with fishing, mining, and forestry resources and he enjoyed the challenges that both the physical landscape and the workplace offered.

Halfyard dedicated himself to working proactively to enhance the quality of life within rural communities. He introduced public libraries, organized recreation for youth, established night school programs for adults, and was active with the Newfoundland and Labrador Teachers' Association starting in 1953. In 1980, Halfyard was awarded the inaugural Bancroft Award, along with two other teachers, in recognition of outstanding service at the branch level of the NTA for the betterment of education and professionalism (Newfoundland Teachers' Association [NTA], 1980). Collaborating with like-minded residents, he advocated for new schools, health

care facilities, and better accommodations for teachers. After retiring from teaching in 1987, he devoted his skills to the development of the aquaculture industry with the goal of creating alternative employment for those displaced by the Cod Moratorium of 1992. He also became a co-owner, in partnership with his son and a brother-in-law, of Eastern Analytical, a mining assay laboratory company in Springdale that now employs over 30 employees. Additionally, he was involved in other construction and entrepreneurial business ventures around the province.

Geographical Scope

Halfyard's leadership development career path trajectory spans five different communities where he taught from 1949 to 1987. They include: Shoal Brook (1949–1950); Port Anson (1952–1957); Roberts Arm (1957–1960); Tilt Cove (1962–1967); and La Scie (1961–1962 and 1968–1987). Shoal Brook is located a few miles up the bay from where Halfyard grew up in Curzon Village/Woody Point in Bonne Bay on the West Coast of Newfoundland. Port Anson and Roberts Arm are located only 10 miles apart in Green Bay on the Northeast Coast. La Scie is located in White Bay on the Baie Verte Peninsula on the Northeast Coast, while Tilt Cove is located just 4 miles across the peninsula on the Green Bay side.

Halfyard's career path trajectory also included four full years at university. The first year was at Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick, then three separate years at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland plus two summer sessions in New Brunswick and another in St. John's. This study shows how a sense of place, geography, landscape, lifestyle, and culture shaped who Halfyard became and what was important to him (Cohen, 1982, pp. 12–13; Kelly & Yeoman, 2010, p. 11; Tuan, 1977/2011). Coincidentally, Halfyard, who majored in geography, still looks at atlases every day.

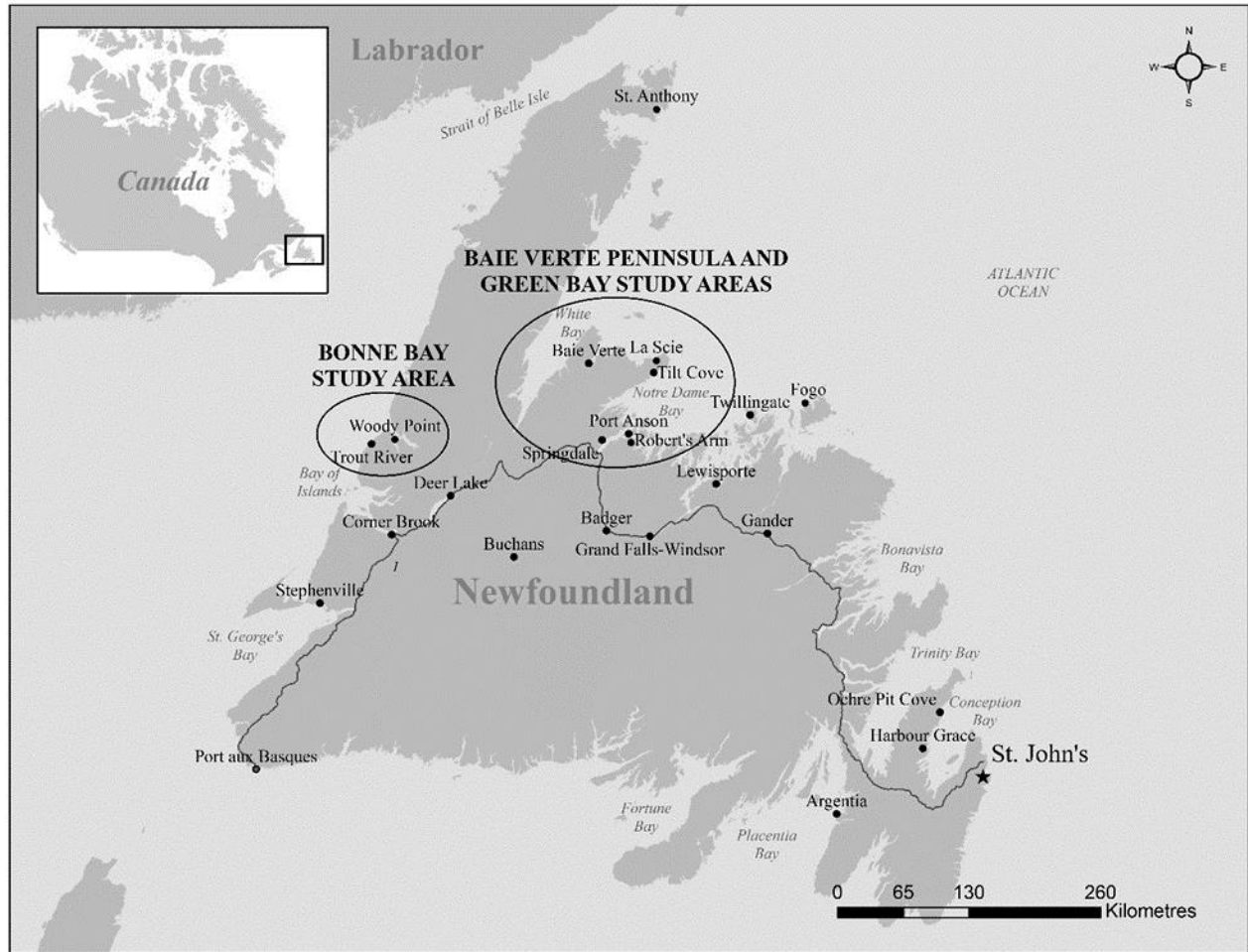


Figure 1. Map of the island of Newfoundland with study areas
(Map by Myron King; Copyright 2018, Environmental Policy Office, Grenfell Campus, Memorial University of Newfoundland)

The Green Bay/White Bay area where Halfyard taught and the Bonne Bay area where he grew up were part of the French Shore. These Northeast and West Coast areas were subject to three separate treaties between Britain and France, which effectively prohibited fisheries and industrial development (Cadigan, 2009, p. 125). Settlement was also restricted well into the mid-1800s except for a few English caretakers who were hired by the French to protect their fishing stations during the winter months (Berger, 2014, p. 46; Cadigan, 2009, p. 97; McCann, 1994, p. 18). French and English Royal Navy man-of-war vessels patrolled the coastline of the area even into the 1940s when Halfyard was a boy (Berger, 2014, p. 36).

The Northeast Coast of the province, especially from Twillingate north, experienced its greatest population increase from 1861 to 1916 (McCann, 1994, p. 18). This increase was largely a result of people migrating from the older settlement areas of Conception Bay and the Avalon Peninsula during a major economic decline in the fishery, which coincided with a worldwide depression of trade and the 1870s crisis in the cod fishery (McCann, 1992, p. 45). Migration was also partially fuelled by sectarian conflicts festering between Protestants and Catholics in older established communities like Harbour Grace and Carbonear (Cadigan, 2009, p. 143). Fishers from those regions had become familiar with the Northeast Coast and the West Coast as a result of the annual migration ‘down north’ to the Labrador fishery in the summer and the seal hunt in March and April.

Institutional presence was limited in those regions compared to other regions of the island. The standard of living for early fisher families who settled in the White Bay/Green Bay area was severely impacted by the decline in the cod fishery (McCann, 1992, pp. 46–47). While the region was predominately settled by Wesleyan Methodists and other Protestant religious families, there was a sprinkling of Catholic communities within those otherwise rather homogenous communities (Philbrook, 1963, pp. 6–13; Wadel, 1969).

Career Path Trajectory and Chapter Outlines

The following chapter focuses on theoretical frameworks and methodology; subsequent chapters focus on the career path trajectory of Halfyard. Chapter 3 examines Halfyard’s formative growing-up years (1931–1949) in Bonne Bay and area. The region included the conjoining communities of Curzon Village, where his parents and most blue-collared (Methodist) fishers lived, and Woody Point across the street, where the more affluent (Anglican) merchants resided. In the early part of the 20th century, Woody Point was the commercial hub

for the West Coast of Newfoundland, not Corner Brook (Berger, 2014; Candow, 1998; Rowe, 1988). Trout River and Lomond are two other important places in the Bonne Bay region that influenced Halfyard's formative development years. Also included is an analysis of how his first year teaching in nearby Shoal Brook shaped his career aspirations.

Each community was somewhat socioculturally different and the attitudes, values, and beliefs within the communities were largely shaped by the churches (Anglican, Methodist/United Church, Roman Catholic, and Salvation Army) and prominent merchant leaders. Chapter 3 reflects on these community influences as well as the Great Depression, the Second World War, and other major global events that also had tremendous social, economic, and emotional impact on individuals of Halfyard's generation. Kinship, family, and peer cultural traditions also emerge as important influences.

Chapter 4 examines the factors and influences related to Halfyard's first two years at university. After a year teaching in Shoal Brook, Halfyard went to Mount Allison University (Mount A), in Sackville, New Brunswick (1950–1951), followed by a year at Memorial University of Newfoundland in St. John's (1951–1952). The stories Halfyard and other interview participants related reflected many of the systemic divisions in Newfoundland at the time, including the tensions between St. John's 'townies' and outport 'baymen.' Two additional university transition years, discussed in Chapters 6 and 8, explore the impact of 'critical events' such as the loss of a job on an individual's motivation and sense of identity. Those chapters also provide an overview of the barriers and obstacles older outport university students with families faced in trying to upgrade their teacher qualifications. They also examine the socioeconomic and educational trends of the times and how university professors, specific courses, and personal circumstances shaped and influenced the future direction of students like Halfyard.

Chapter 5 examines the emergence of Halfyard's early teacher identity in the Green Bay region during the 1950s. The old one- and two-room multi-grade schools plus other educational challenges being addressed by government and the NTA are explored. The impact of the government's early phase of 'resettlement' and the development of 'growth centres' is examined in relation to the fishing and logging economics of the region, with comparisons made between Port Anson (being resettled) and Roberts Arm (a small 'growth centre'), both places where Halfyard lived and taught, and to Springdale, which was being developed as the main government 'growth' service centre for the region. The chapter also explores the impact of love, marriage, and a growing family on Halfyard's career path trajectory.

Chapter 7 examines Halfyard's mid-career teaching years in the fishing village of La Scie and copper mining town of Tilt Cove during the 1960s. A main focus of this chapter is the modernization strategies the provincial government employed on the Baie Verte Peninsula as the region shifted from traditional fishing and logging to the wage-based industrialized mining and modern fresh-frozen fish industry. It was a time of massive infrastructural development with roads, bridges, hospitals, and electricity being installed. It was a decade of immense social, cultural, and educational growth and learning for Halfyard.

Chapter 9 focuses on events in the 1970s and early 1980s. Halfyard, a veteran teacher and school administrator, was in his early forties when he returned to La Scie as principal of the amalgamated school in 1968. He envisioned an educational plan for La Scie that would augment the economic policies the government had developed for the area as part of the *Baie Verte Peninsula Regional Study 1960* (BVPRS) (Blake, 1994, p. 163; BVPRS, 1960; Perlin, 1964, p. 3). This chapter also includes an exploration of how grassroots leadership development notions were shaped by recommendations made in the 1967/1968 *Report of the Royal Commission on*

Education and Youth (RRCEY). Experimentation was encouraged by institutional leaders at the government, university, and organization levels (GOVNL, 1968, p. 9; Kitchen, 1966, p. 24; Warren, 1973). The 1970s was a time when Halfyard, a resolute change leader, attempted to adapt and apply many of the things he had learned throughout the course of his life (Fullan, 2001, pp. 19–25). The chapter also explores his leadership traits and style.

Chapter 10 examines the community and volunteer activities with which Halfyard became engaged shortly after he returned to La Scie in 1968. It explores why he became involved in the various organizations and also examines how he felt that a remote ‘end-of-the-road’ community like La Scie had to fight harder to avail of opportunities awarded to designated government ‘growth centres.’ Regional inequalities and “uneven development” practices, which abounded, infuriated Halfyard and spurred him to action (Massey, 1994/2009, p. 21; Woods, 2009). In turn, the chapter explores the challenges and barriers Halfyard, a zealous, take-charge ‘come-from-away’ person, faced in the later years of his teaching career as he moved to develop business ventures with his wife. The 1980s became a phase of disenchantment, not only for Halfyard but also for the provincial and federal governments, which were in the midst of a major economic recession.

Chapter 11 reviews the main findings of this study and summarizes a list of leadership themes and general observations that reflect the institutional, community, and personal levels explored throughout.

This study reveals how Halfyard was part of a movement—the reform of education in the province of Newfoundland. The following chapter outlines the theoretical frameworks and methodology used to examine the man and the movement.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND METHODOLOGY

When experience is taken as the origin of knowledge, the vision of the individual subject (the person who had the experience or the historian who recounts it) becomes the bedrock of evidence on which explanation is built. (Scott, 1991, p. 777)

Introduction

Susan Chase (2011) describes ‘narrative inquiry’ as a particular type of qualitative inquiry that “revolves around an interest in life experiences as narrated by those who live them” (p. 421). Narrative inquiry offers insight into history, society, as well as an individual’s lived experience. There are many forms of narrative presentation, such as the written text, the artistic or theatrical performance, the visual forms from photographs to cartoons and paintings, and film and modern digital media, among others (Ellis, 2004; Hirsch, 2012, 1997; Smith & Watson, 2010, p. 4). According to Abbott (2008, pp. 165, 220), narrative study is the art of making and understanding a world. People are constantly changing in both thought and feelings as a result of the physical events happening in their lives (Abbott, 2008, pp. 163–164).

Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (2010, pp. 253–286) identify no less than 60 genres of biographical or life narrative forms within the auto/biography umbrella group and caution that new nuanced genres are continually being added (p. 218). Perhaps not surprisingly then, academics who specialize in qualitative auto/biographical or narrative inquiry research methods often use slightly different terms to distinguish different kinds of biographical research. For example, Norman Denzin (1989) makes a distinction between ‘oral history’ and ‘life history’ or ‘personal history.’ He describes ‘life history’ as having the written construction of what is said and collected through the ‘oral history’ interview process.

In contrast, Paul Thompson (1981) considers life history and oral history as the same; life history is the label adopted by sociologists and oral history is the term used by historians (p.

289). Whereas Kathleen Casey (1993) reasons “life history narratives are oral histories which have been collected and analyzed in a particular way” (p. 24). Consequently, there is a great deal of overlap and interchangeability, not only in the terminology employed by the various academic disciplines but also in the historical development of specific genres of auto/biographical or narrative forms within different fields. Subsequently, there is overlap in the practical and theoretical approaches, methods, tools, and interpretive procedures.

Memory, experience, identity, space, embodiment, subjectivity, and agency are some of the complex concepts debated in the struggle to understand the dynamic processes of auto/biographical research (Kincheloe & Pinar, 1991; Miller, 2005; Shopes, 2011, p. 455; Smith & Watson, 2010, p. 3). Biographical researchers must give a great deal of thought to sufficiently defend their methodological approach and theoretical framework. A comprehensive and logical literature review and clear description of methods, tools, procedures, and tasks are key aspects of this consideration. Unfortunately, qualitative research is still marred by institutions, organizations, and policy makers who question the validity and reliability of interpretivist and other qualitative inquiry methods in favour of more traditional empirical scientifically-based evidence (Casey, 1993, p. 11; Lincoln, 2010, p. 3). Nevertheless, auto/biographical or narrative inquiry research is growing and evolving as a valued scholarly research methodology (Chase, 2011, p. 421; Tedder, 2012, p. 323; Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 3).

My study, which I have called a social history narrative to capture a dual emphasis on social and historical context and biography, uses a holistic humanistic lived experience approach to examine the total life and career of an outport educator, A. Job Halfyard, while providing a deep examination and understanding of the social, cultural, economic, and other factors at play in small rural places (O’Donoghue, 2007, p. 137).

Section I: Theoretical Perspectives and Study Orientation

The main claim for the use of narrative in educational research is that humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives. The study of narrative, therefore, is the study of the ways humans experience the world. (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 2)

Life History – From Sociology to Educational Studies

In the 1920s and 1930s, sociologists from the University of Chicago laid the foundational principles of life history work (Goodson, 1980-81, p. 62). However, life history academic research did not reappear in any great force until the 1970s and 1980s with the growth in oral history interviews of ordinary citizens and workers as a result of advances in audio-recording technology (Portelli, 1998, p. 2; Thomson, 2007, p. 52). For example, the radio journalist/sociologist Studs Terkel conducted oral history interviews with American workers, and Alessandro Portelli and Luisa Passerini from Italy collected “war narrative” oral history interview accounts that examined memory and resistance in Fascist Italy. It was all part of “history from below,” an oral history projects movement where audio and video recording of elderly and working-class people’s lived experiences became popular among non-academic community-based groups in both Europe and North America (Rediker, 2010; Thomson, 2007, pp. 56, 58).

Throughout this study I draw on some of the methodological ideas put forward by Portelli (1998) as they relate to the storytelling experience, events, patterns, forms, and meaning making. More ideas related to Portelli’s contribution to oral history will be discussed in the next two sections of this chapter as well as throughout the main data chapters. I also look to the oral history theories on memory, identity, subjectivity, and intersubjectivity presented by Lynn Abrams (2010). Abrams posits that oral history is not necessarily a factual statement; instead it is an expression and representation of culture (p. 6). The oral history research methods presented

by Valerie Raleigh Yow (2005) in *Recording Oral History: A Guide for the Humanities and Social Sciences* as well as Valerie J. Janesick's (2010) *Oral History for the Qualitative Researcher: Choreographing the Story* also underline this study.

In 1981–1982, several key educational articles were published promoting qualitative research as a viable method to advance knowledge of social life. One foundational article was Ivor Goodson's (1980–81) "Life Histories and the Study of Schooling" where he called for rehabilitating life history (p. 62):

It is clear that the life history technique does not approach theory in any grand or formal manner. . . . It is clearly not very good at testing or validating existing theory . . . It is at its best when it is being used in an exploratory fashion for generating many concepts, hunches and ideas, both at the local and situational level and on a historical structural level and within the same field and in relationship to other fields. (Faraday & Plummer, 1979, p. 785, as cited in Goodson, 1980–81, p. 66)

Goodson's work on narrative theories, along with the narrative inquiry research methods put forth by Leonard Webster and Patricie Mertova (2007), inform my research study. More details about how their narrative theories shaped my research study can be found within the structural and conceptual framework section as well as the research process tools and procedures sections of this chapter. In turn, I also draw from the theories and concepts put forward by Tom O'Donoghue (2007), Ciaran Sugrue (2005), Joe Kincheloe (2004), and William Pinar (1988) among other educational scholars who promote auto/biographical research for educational studies.

The Evidence of Experience

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, a new breed of biographical researchers across disciplines emerged in Europe and North America who were concerned with lived experience, self-reflection, and the need to raise questions about social justice and equality. They turned to

phenomenology, existentialism, psychoanalysis, feminist and critical social theory, constructivism, and Marxism for guidance (Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2011, p. 163; Lincoln et al., 2011, pp. 97, 102; Thomson, 2007). They read Husserl, Heidegger, Foucault, Merleau-Ponty, Marx, and other German and French philosophers to develop new ideas that challenged traditional power structures and contradictions within the academy. Thought-provoking contemporary human social science researchers such as Joan Scott (1991) and Max van Manen (1990) as well as geographers Yi-Fu Tuan (1977/2011) and Anne Buttner (1976)—who were influenced by concepts like the lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*), the evidence of experience, and ‘being in the world’ as developed by German philosophers, phenomenologists, and existentialists—challenged the academy “to rethink what it is to be human” (Rodaway, 2011, p. 426) and the relationships between science and policy (Mels, 2011, p. 91). Joan Scott (1991), a post-structuralist historian, took this position to another level, arguing that no one personal testimony can ever produce an objective truth independent of discourse. Scott contends that experience of the past can only be recalled or narrated through the prisms of discourse and linguistic formations (Abrams, 2011, p. 57). In this way, she challenges the nature of historical evidence and historical experience, and the role narrative plays in the writing and representation of history.

Phenomenology, which is a more descriptive methodology, and hermeneutics, which is more of an interpretive methodology, seek to “interpret meaningful expressions of the active inner, cognitive, or spiritual life of human beings in social, historical or political contexts” (van Manen, 1990, pp. 180–181). A review of the lived experience research strategies put forth by van Manen (1990, p. 181) helped me look for patterns, structures, and textual meanings within lived experiences that were reflected in the interview data. His descriptive-interpretive methodological

approach was also helpful as I sought facts or truth within lived experiences.

From Literary Studies to Photography

Concepts explored in Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson's (2010) *A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives: Reading Autobiography* provided an important toolkit of information on everything from memory, experience, identity, subjectivity to background on some of the many scholars such as Clifford Geertz, Michael Foucault, and Laurel Richardson. H. Porter Abbott's (2008) *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative* also supplied invaluable definitions and explanations of narrative concepts such as gaps, repetition, themes, motifs, and truths as they relate to my study. Abbott raised my awareness of and provided the language for exploring concepts like "misremembering" (p. 163), where narrators continue to reveal themselves by what and how they select from the past. Ideas about how the mind of the narrator can infiltrate and inhabit the time of the story events were also helpful, especially how the narrator can "thicken" (Abbott, 2008, p. 166), layer time, and stack-up different memories that may reflect related themes of the individual and culture of places where they live. It was my goal in this study to use the principles of "thickening," the stacking up "layer upon layer of awareness" (Abbott, 2008, p. 166).

Theorists such as Mikhail Bakhtin, Judith Butler, and Susanne Egan stress that there are no unified, stable, or autonomous individuals. People are always influenced by social, historical, geographical, and political contexts (Smith & Watson, 2010, p. 218). Bakhtin, a Russian literary scholar, philosopher, linguist, and leading thinker of the mid-20th century, raised important questions about space and time and how narratives replicate the actual world in which we live. Bakhtin theorized how the novel, which derived its roots from folklore during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, promoted a new way of conceptualizing time. "At its core lay

personal experience and free creative imagination” (Bakhtin, 1981/2014, p. 39). He minimized boundaries between fiction and nonfiction, literature and history (Bakhtin, 1981/2014, pp. 33–35). He stressed that in real life we are in the process of becoming. We are not finished, complete beings; there are gaps and flaws that need to be explored (Bakhtin, 1981/2014, p. 39).

Kathleen Casey (1993), who borrowed from Bakhtin’s theories as well as from the work of the Popular Memory Group for her research study on the life histories of women teachers working for social change, pointed out that there are “diverse ways of framing life histories” (p. 25). Casey emphasized that

decisions must still be made concerning the relative emphasis to be placed on particular elements, the ways in which the elements are to be assembled for presentation and the underlying set of assumptions within which the analysis is to be situated. (p. 25)

Photographs and visual literacy are important elements of how I see, interpret, and represent the subjects I profile or research. Roland Barthes (1980/2010), a French literary scholar, argued for the value of less scientific positivistic research in *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. His meticulous and somewhat satirical formal arguments opened my eyes to ideas around representation, the scientific research process, subjectivity, duality, and the notion of truth, not just as it relates to photography and different literary genres but also to contemporary research methods (Barthes, 1980/2010, p. 115). Barthes argued that photography never lies, emphasizing how it can be an authentic representation of the reality of the past and how there is value in exploring a photograph for purely “sentimental reasons, not as a question (a theme) but as a wound: I see, I feel, hence I notice, I observe, and I think” (Barthes, 1980/2010, p. 21).

In the second half of *Camera Lucida* he investigates the meaning and emotional impact behind photographs. He discusses the elusive Winter Garden Photograph, a photo taken of his mother when she was just five years old, to illustrate how he personally found deep truth within

the photograph (Barthes 1980/2010, p. 66–67). The Winter Garden Photograph becomes a symbol of the emotional impact that certain photographs (*punctum*) have on individuals. If we were to see the photograph of Barthes’ mother, which we do not, we would not feel what Barthes felt. A photograph may evoke different memories among different people at different times (Barthes, 1980/2010, p. 21). The mysterious ‘air’ (truth) that he sees in the photograph is the ageless, timeless soul of the mother he loved. It is subjective and phenomenological, just as elements of my research study are subjective and phenomenological. The photograph of Halfyard in Figure 2 evokes similar meaning for me about my father. It personifies who he was—his confidence, his deep inner strength, and his love of rural place and what it offers.



Figure 2. Job Halfyard, Port Anson (Halfyard, S., c. 2000)
“Photographs are fragments of stories, never stories in themselves” (Hirsch, 1997)

Because I use photographs throughout my thesis and relied on photographs to stimulate some storytelling during the interview process, ideas presented in Marianne Hirsch’s (1997) *Family Frames: Family, Narrative and Post Memory* are particularly relevant. Hirsch draws on theory to deconstruct the following themes: family frames, photography, and its unconscious

optics and place in narrative. Hirsch contends that photos do not allow us to read all dimensions of the day-to-day practices of family life. Family life is an ideological representational system, with historical circumstances, conventions, and power structures that give them shape (Hirsch, 1997, p. 119). Thus, the narratives that take place around the pictures also need to be examined for insights. In analyzing creative bodies of work, Hirsch reveals insights about how the messy interrelations of family life often get repressed; how memories say as much about the present as the past; how structures of silence and repression often govern family albums; and how cultural myths and stereotypes are often propagated in photos.

Postmemory is a term Hirsch proposed based on Henri Raczymow's (1994) concept of "memory shot through with holes" (Hirsch, 1997, p. 23). Hirsch describes postmemory as "second-generation memories of cultural or collective traumatic events and experiences" (p. 22). They are the leftovers, the fragments of memories that the first generation passes on to their children. She wrote:

Photographs, ghostly revenants, are very particular instruments of remembrance, since they are perched at the edge between memory and postmemory, and also, though differently, between memory and forgetting. (p. 24)

I used many of Hirsch's concepts and theories related to family stories, unconscious optics, conventions, dissonance, and misreading to analyze stories told by my main case study subject, other interviewees, and especially the stories I remember of my father and the places we lived.

In addition to the specific theories related to methodology, other theories used for critical analysis and interpretation will be introduced and elaborated within the data chapters.

Section II: Structural and Conceptual Framework

The structural framework for this thesis is based on human development life stages as set forth in psychology and used in career and leadership development (see Table 1 on next page).

Table 1. Life Chronology and Career Stage Trajectory for A. Job Halfyard

Chapters	Years	University Years and Teaching Jobs Places & Ages	Leadership Career Phases Based on Educator Leadership models by Day & Bakioglu (1996), Gronn (1999), Ribbins (2003) & Inman (2011)	Stages of Human Development (Erikson, 1950/1963 as cited in Newman & Newman, 2007, p 215)
Chapter 3 Formative Growing- up Years	(1931-1949)	Bonne Bay & Area Curzon Village Woody Point Trout River	Formative Years <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Moral values established Lifelong interests established 	Childhood (0 -12 yrs.) Adolescence (12 -18 yrs)
	(1949-1950)	Shoal Brook 1st Year Teaching (18 yrs old)	Teacher Initiation Phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Styles and values developed 	Adolescence
Chapter 4 University Education	(1950-1951) (1951-1952)	Mount Allison - 1st Year (19-20 yrs old) Memorial - 2nd Year (20 -21 yrs)	Formative Years <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formal education Exposure to new ideas and people 	Early Adulthood (18 - 35 yrs.)
Chapter 5 Early Teaching Years Identity Formation	(1952-1957) (1957-1960)	Teacher/Principal Port Anson (21-26 yrs old) Roberts Arm (26-28 yrs old)	Principal Initiation & Development Phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Idealism, enthusiasm, uncertainty & adjustment Getting to know culture Introduce some physical changes 	Early Adulthood
Chapter 6 University Transition Year	(1960-1961)	Memorial - 3rd Year (29 yrs old)	Development Phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seeking further qualifications Exposure to new ideas and people 	Early Adulthood
Chapter 7 Mid-Career Years	(1961-1962) (1962-1967)	Teacher/Principal La Scie (30 yrs old) Tilt Cove (31-36 yrs old)	Development/Autonomy Phase – Cont'd <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focus on personal needs Growing confidence, increased effectiveness & constructive self-examination 	Early Adulthood Middle Adulthood
Chapter 8 University Transition Year	(1967-1968)	Memorial - 4th Year (37 yrs old)	Development Phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Seeking further qualifications Experiential & Consolidation 	Middle Adulthood (35 - 55 or 65 yrs.)
Chapter 9 An Education Vision Realized	(1968-1987)	Coordinating Principal/Teacher La Scie (38 - 55 yrs old)	Autonomy Phase <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Initiate strategic vision Expert in management Decisive & effective *** The Disenchantment Phase identified by Day & Bakioglu was almost non-existent for Halfyard	Middle Adulthood (35 - 55 or 65 yrs.) Late Adulthood (55 or 65 yrs. to Death)
Chapter 10 Community and Business Initiatives Growing Tension	(1968-1987)	Coordinating Principal/Teacher La Scie (38 - 55 yrs old)	Reclamation & Reinvention Increase in community & business initiatives (1977-87) *** Short phase of disenchantment followed by reinvention	Middle Adulthood Late Adulthood
Chapter 11 Conclusions & Findings	(1987-2018)	Entrepreneur Aquaculture - 2nd Career Other Businesses (56 - 87 yrs old)	Enchantment/Reinvention Rejuvenation & Renewal cycle *** Establishment new career after retirement from teaching	Late Adulthood

The life course chronology and career stage trajectory chart for A. Job Halfyard presented in Table 1 provides a framework for organizing his life course stages along a historical (time) and temporal (place) timeline and a snapshot of his career path trajectory and leadership development journey. Each chapter in this thesis examines details within the specific life course career stages. The leadership career stages, developed by Day and Bakioglu (1996) and Gronn (1999) with modifications by Ribbins (2003) and Inman (2011), is used to elucidate “the process of learning leadership” (Inman, 2011, pp. 5, 12; Sugrue, 2005, p. 137). A life course chronology chart or timeline helps reveal the recurring patterns and themes of the case study subject and how they may be influenced by institutional and collective community sociocultural world factors and trends.

Barbara and Philip Newman (2007) define development stages as

a period of life that is characterized by a specific underlying organization. At every stage, some characteristics differentiate it from the preceding and succeeding stages . . . Each stage is unique and leads to the acquisition of new skills related to new capabilities . . . one passes through stages in an orderly pattern of growth. (p. 215)

Sugrue (2005), in examining various “Leadership – career stages,” cautioned that the life course stages of school principals are not rigidly fixed as depicted in the timeframes indicated on models or charts (p. 138). Instead the career stages are permeable and “identity construction is ongoing and dynamic, a process of negotiation that is individual and collective, as well as being rooted in the past, present and future” (Sugrue, 2005, p.138). Sugrue borrowed from the work of Etienne Wenger (1998), who introduced the notion of ‘trajectory frameworks’ and the concept of ‘communities of practice’ (Sugrue, 2005, p. 137). Wenger theorized that learning is a process of social participation, learning, meaning and identity formation. Wenger drew on the ideas of developmental psychologists such as Erik Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968) and Anselm Strauss (1959), an American sociologist, who talked about ‘status-forcing’ and how groups or

community organizations can force members in and out of all kinds of temporary identities (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 83). While life cycle models have their value in studying career development and occupational identity formation, narrative discourse/sense-making analysis better captures “the manner in which leaderships is learned or negotiated over time” (Sugrue, 2005, p. 139) and the global/local influences, trends, and events which impact that evolution.

Newman and Newman (2007) use the term life course theory to refer to “the integration and sequencing of phases of work and family life over time” (p. 186). They describe how,

Life course theory analyzes the impact of social change on individuals lives by observing evidence of changes in trajectories and transitions that are associated with specific periods of historical change. (Newman & Newman, 2007, p. 189)

Slight variations of these life stages have been used in many disciplines that examine career and leadership development topics. Successive age roles are part of every culture’s age and life stages organization (Newman & Newman, 2007, p. 167). According to Newman and Newman, traditional Chinese culture differentiated successive age roles into five periods: infancy (birth to age 3 or 4), childhood (4 to 15), adolescence (16 to marriage), fertile adulthood (marriage to about 55), and later adulthood (55 to death). Psychology and human development researchers may use slightly modified titles for periods and differentiate the early, middle, and late adulthood stages (Stassen Berger, 2001). Much of the life stage work derives from the behaviourism or learning and psychoanalytic grand theories that have inspired and directed thinking about human development for decades (Stassen Berger, 2001, p. 38). They include the learning theory work of psychologists like Eric Erikson (1963, 1968) and Jean Piaget (1952) and the psychoanalytic work of Sigmund Freud (1953, 1960).

In the following sections, I describe the other theoretical and methodological principles that helped me organize and analyze the data. They include Portelli’s (1991) three vertical

societal strata or levels (institutional, collective, and personal) with additional descriptors from the Chronosystem Ecological Model of Urie Bronfenbrenner (as cited in Stassen Berger, 2001, p. 7), a developmental researcher; and Conway and Jobson's (2012) autobiographical memory system, which offers insights into how memory works in relation to the self memory system (SMS) and identity creation within the sociocultural world. I also used the 'critical events' narrative inquiry analysis framework developed by Webster and Mertova (2007) and Goodson (2012, 2013) to help me select, analyze, and interpret the interview data related to the educational and community leadership development of my main case study subject. The 'describer' and 'elaborator' categories identified by Goodson, plus the 'armchair elaborator' and 'focused elaborator' categories helped me to better understand the links between identity, learning, agency, and 'courses of action' (Goodson, 2012, pp. 4–8). Lastly, I drew on ideas described by Newman and Newman (2007, p. 189) as well as Brown et al. (2012, p. 167) about how trajectories and transitions work within life course theory to delineate enduring change in the fabric of daily life (i.e., wars, natural disasters, marriage, etc.).

Portelli's Societal Levels

Portelli (1991) developed a model for organizing narratives and interpreting meaning along three vertical strata or levels: institutional, collective, and personal (see Figure 3 below). The outer "institutional" level is the sphere of politics, government, education, and religion. The second level, the "collective," includes the life of the community, the workplace, and the neighbourhood—the place as a whole. The third level, the "personal," includes the home, the family, and the individual "self" (Portelli, 1991, p. 70). The different vertical strata identified by Portelli are very much like concentric layers of an onion. Portelli, an oral historian, also acknowledged the importance of phonemes (events) and memory, which will be discussed later.

For interpretation and analysis of meaning, Portelli (p. 70) categorized the events in people's lives according to the three levels: institutional, collective, and personal. Separating the three levels also helps in assessing which societal factor(s) had more influence or impact.

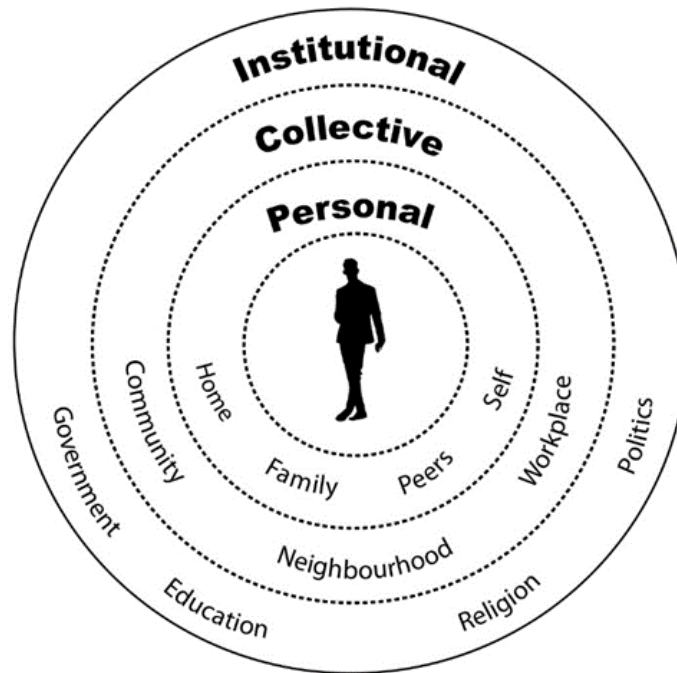


Figure 3. Portelli's three vertical strata
Adapted from Bronfenbrenner's chronosystem of human development
(Stassen Berger, 2001, p. 7) Diagram by McCarthy (2018)

Urie Bronfenbrenner's (as cited in Berger, 2001, p. 7) Chronosystem Ecological Model of the context of human development is made up of three overlapping ecosystems similar to the societal levels and modes presented by Portelli. Thus, the diagram above was designed to reflect Portelli's ideas, with additional details drawn from Bronfenbrenner's model. According to Bronfenbrenner, the innermost level is called the microsystems, which corresponds to Portelli's "personal" level. It includes the family, school/classrooms, religious setting (church), community or neighbourhood, and peer groups. Bronfenbrenner, a developmental researcher, described how teachers, parents, clergy, and other community groups coordinate efforts to educate children

within the “mesosystem” of those inner “microsystems” (Bronfenbrenner, as cited in Stassen Berger, 2001, p. 7). Those dominant forces shape the norms of children’s behaviour (Newman & Newman, 2007, p. 84). Bronfenbrenner calls the middle layer the “exosystem.” It includes external networks such as community structures and local educational, church, medical, workplace, recreational, and mass media systems. I equate that layer with Portelli’s “collective” level. Mayer (2004, p. 166) and Webster and Mertova (2007, p. 83) likewise explain how the family, work and leisure activities of the “collective” level usually correspond with human biological and psychological maturation or development. The outermost level, which Bronfenbrenner calls the “macrosystem,” includes cultural values, national customs, political philosophies, economic patterns, and social conditions. It is similar to Portelli’s “institutional” level. Bronfenbrenner later acknowledged the importance of historical time to his system and the shaping of human development.

Portelli (1991) emphasizes that researchers using oral history techniques for analysis of meaning must consider both the linear timeline continuum as well as the vertical social cultural world strata levels. Portelli writes that

modes and levels are never entirely separate and discrete, since they all run simultaneously and mix together in the way people think and tell their lives. They interweave, communicate and influence each other. (p. 70)

Portelli cautions that these modes and levels are merely a means of organizing the events in a person’s narrative to create patterns and identify themes. They are not fixed; they are porous and often shift and intertwine (Portelli, 1991, pp. 71–73). There may be more than one concurrent event happening at any given time, and researchers must be aware that each carries different experiences and meanings for individuals (Portelli, 1991, p. 70).

This study of A. Job Halfyard’s lived experiences and career path trajectory shows how

both the horizontal chronological timeline plus the institutional (international, national, and provincial), collective (school and community), and personal (family and home) events taking place overlap and intertwine on a continuum. Portelli (1991) also posits that individuals, especially those “freed from the responsibilities toward social memory,” may place “their own subjectivity and experience at the centre of the tale” (p. 75). This is reflective of how, in earlier historical times, the storyteller may have followed the dominant collective or institutional line and the fact that ordinary citizens’ stories were not generally documented.

Portelli argues that researchers in the process of analyzing and interpreting an oral history account should be able to detect whether the interview participant has adopted the collective or institutional stance, or if they are sharing more of a personal and family history. The idea of studying “events” that are “endowed with meaning” (Portelli, 1991, p. 71) will be discussed in greater detail under the critical events narrative inquiry research method put forward by Webster and Mertova (2007) and the courses of action principles put forward by Goodson (2012).

Self Memory System – Autobiographical Memory Model

Conway and Jobson (2012) describe autobiographical memory as the most abstract inner unit of their self memory system (SMS) model. It includes one’s ‘goal system,’ aspirations, motivations, goals, plans, or projects, which are in turn influenced by the matrix of conceptual self (self-images, life story, beliefs, values, and attitudes), combined with episodic and autobiographical memories. They become embedded in a person’s knowledge structure, especially during their formative years (Conway & Jobson, 2012, pp. 56–61).

Conway and Jobson use the sociocultural world model developed by Markus and Kitayama (1994, 2010) to present information on autobiographical memory. The model includes

two levels (see Figure 4 below). The outermost range includes institutions and products (church and school, government, etc.); societal factors and pervasive ideas; along with daily situations and practices.

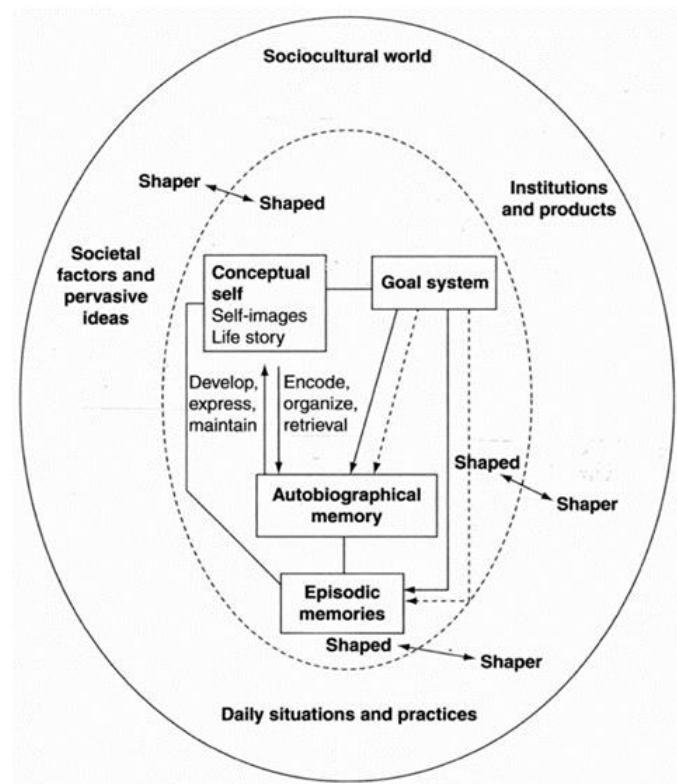


Figure 4. Conway and Jobson's sociocultural world model
Adapted from Markus and Kitayama (1994, 2010) (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 60)

The model is similar to Portelli's collective and institutional levels and ideas presented in Bronfenbrenner's model, however, the focus is on how memories and remembering work and how these factors influence memory. The factors and influences from those levels are the 'shapers' of a person's 'conceptual self,' the innermost level that includes the individual's goal system, images and stories, plus episodic and autobiographical memories. These are developed, encoded, organized, expressed, maintained, and retrieved by the interplay between embedded societal and institutional factors and their personal autobiographical memory and episodic memories (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 60).

Supposedly, individuals have aspects of both independent and interdependent selves. Usually one self is dominant depending on the culture in which a person is raised (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 61). Traditions and cultural concepts, which will be examined throughout this thesis, also play significant roles in those delineations. Conway and Jobson stress that autobiographical memories are used to develop, express and maintain the conceptual self (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 61; Wang & Conway, 2004). On the individual level, there are also narrative or biographical differences and variations to consider. Incremental repetition, gaps, and tensions in meaning and details also need to be explored if one is to fully understand how identities are built and solidified (Abbott, 2008; Portelli, 1991, p. 276; Scott, 2001, pp. 296, 303).

Those concepts and theories are important when looking at memory and reliability of interview data. Researchers contend that autobiographical memory is generally biased towards emotionally positive events. Thus, positive events are more easily and more often recalled than emotionally negative events (Berntsen & Rubin, 2012, p. 340; Walker, Skowronski, & Thompson, 2003). Researchers also posit that individuals tend to view themselves and their accomplishments through rose-coloured glasses or in a more positive light (Taylor & Brown, 1988; Wilson & Ross, 2003, as cited in Berntsen & Rubin, 2012, p. 340). Because of these tendencies, researchers must apply principles of reflexivity and critical analysis during the interpretation process.

According to Conway and Jobson (2012, pp. 59–62), all people possess individualistic or autonomous characteristics as well as a relatedness or interdependent orientation. One ultimately becomes dominant over the other and is usually culturally influenced. It is also aligned with the individual's self-concept. For example, within some non-Western cultures, the self is considered to be more interdependent or collectivistic. Fitting in with others is the norm. On the other hand,

Western cultures are generally more individualistic, autonomous, competitive, and independent-minded. Understanding this concept is important when looking at leadership development in rural Newfoundland.

Folklorists and historians who have studied traditional rural Newfoundland culture claim that communities are still influenced by the dynamics shaping a traditional “folk society” (Redfield, 1947). Residents tend to be more interdependent and, at least in the past, more heavily influenced by the dominant political, cultural, and economic activities and ideas of the church, merchants, and the ruling class (Pocius, 1991/2000, p. 11; Sider, 2003, pp. 94–95). We also know from history and literary works such as Ted Russell’s (1977) *Tales from Pigeon Inlet*, that Newfoundland fisherfolk of the 19th and 20th centuries “went back and forth between the two polarities—individualistic versus collectivistic cultures (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 59; Sider, 2003, p. 95). Questions arise as to whether those cultural practices were unique to individuals, specific communities, or particular religious groups. For my research purposes, this raises questions about how societal factors and knowledge influenced individuals who became educational or community leaders.

Critical Events Analysis

A critical event as told in story often reveals a change of understanding or worldview by the storyteller. (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 73)

Ideas related to ‘critical events’ provide another set of theoretical and methodological principles which I have used to organize, analyze, and interpret the data collected. Critical events or “episodic memories,” the terminology used by Conway and Jobson (2012, p. 60), are relayed by individuals through narrative or storytelling. They may include work-related or personal traumatic events. A critical event strikes a nerve with the individual, often resulting in internal

and external conflict or struggle. The individual keeps rehashing, refining, and discarding unnecessary details of an event, weaving them into personal stories, constructions, and reconstructions (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 72). Traumatic events often leave an indelible mark. They can shatter a person's confidence and transform their worldview or perspective on current and future professional practices (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 103).

Webster and Mertova (2007) emphasize that critical events become evident through the storytelling process. Those stories involve unexplained tensions, gaps, and ambiguities. They propose that a 'human-centred' narrative inquiry research approach with a focus on critical events is helpful in revealing issues not normally reported through more traditional research methods (pp. 14, 21, 105). Moreover, such an approach assists the researcher to "acknowledge the influence of experience and culture on the construction of knowledge" (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 19).

Critical events occur often in individual lives but also exist in formal organizational structures with shared values, attitudes, and knowledge. These organizational structures have governance, disciplinary authority, and operational procedures that guide members' performance expectation (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 66; Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 84). People develop a collective sense of identity through involvement in organizations. Webster and Mertova also note that most learning is a communal activity, a sharing of culture (Woods, 1993b, p. 362, as quoted in Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 83). The idea of organizational involvement and developing a collective sense of identity are important concepts that inform this research study.

Critical events also offer opportunities for learning and action. Research studies conducted by Goodson (2012, pp. 4–7) on the professional life and work of teachers and other professionals show that some individuals can turn 'critical events' into a positive 'course of

action' while other individuals cannot. An understanding of courses of action is critical to the notion of narrative intensity. It helps to determine whether an individual is an 'elaborator,' one who takes action, or a 'describer,' one who generally lacks the capacity for action (Goodson, 2013, pp. 68, 72). More about how Goodson's research methodologies are relevant to understanding leadership potential will be examined in the next section.

Critical events are generally unplanned, unanticipated, and uncontrolled. They are 'flash-points,' 'perfect storm' moments sometimes culminating from the build-up of seemingly related and even unrelated factors (Galway & Dibbon, 2012, p. 15; Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 84; Woods, 1993a, p. 357). They follow a cause-effect sequence, which often gives a sense of agency and direction to a life (Habermas, 2012, p. 37). Those critical events, which I examine throughout this research study, "often involve clearly chaotic activity" (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 84) that have dramatic social, economic, and emotional impact on individuals or groups. Therefore, critical events become important motivators for taking courses of action particularly when change is unexpectedly thrust upon individuals.

The consequences of intensely emotional life-changing critical events are generally only identified after the event. The storyteller (research participant) may reveal particulars about the personal and professional consequences of critical events through the descriptive details they choose to consciously or unconsciously reveal to the researcher (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 18, as cited in Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 85). Webster and Mertova emphasize how good open-ended questions, combined with time, patience, experience, and trust, are needed to create a situation where the interview participant will reflect on and reveal information about critical events. Under such circumstances, stories of critical events can reveal patterns or well-defined stages of a person's life course as well as career path trajectories (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p.

83). Two personal and professional critical events in Halfyard's life that led to major transitions will be discussed in later chapters.

Goodson's Spectrum of Narrativity

Goodson (1992, 2012, 2013) and his teams of life history researchers have mapped types of narrative forms from the many hours of life-story interview data they have collected from teachers, nurses, public-sector professionals, and ordinary working-class citizens in both North America and Europe since the 1980s. They conclude that there is a spectrum of 'narrativity', or narrative style (Goodson, 2012, p. 6). Life stories can differ, and they can be organized into particular types of narrativity. Goodson identifies four main groupings of individuals along a horizontal and vertical axis: under the 'describers' are the 'focused describers,' who have more agency, and below them on the axis are the 'scripted describers.' On the other side of the axis are the 'elaborators,' which includes the 'focused elaborators' and the 'armchair elaborators.' Goodson (2013, p. 124) posits that individuals generally fit into one of the four primary narrative categories. The aim of Goodson's research is to better understand the links between identity, learning, agency, and courses of action. Learning potential was identified as a key factor.

Describers are very matter of fact. Their conversations are shorter, more restrained, more scripted in style (Goodson, 2013, p. 70). They may have a great deal of knowledge, but they tend to recount information in a more passive tone (Goodson, 2013, p. 74). Scripted describers display less agency than focused describers. Furthermore, the 'describer' group of life-story interview subjects have little ongoing 'interior conversation' (Goodson, 2013, p. 67).

On the other side of the axis are the elaborators. They are storytellers who generally speak for longer periods without prompting from the interviewer (Goodson, 2013, p. 68). They may not have the knowledge of describers, but their narrative accounts tend to be much more

complex and rich with texture and detail. Goodson suggests that within elaborator interview data one can see stories and events being worked upon, theorized, contextualized, and reflected upon (p. 69). The interview subject is always thinking and defining new courses of action, essentially formulating “a ‘dream’ of a new life” (Goodson, 2013, p. 113). The life stories recounted by those individuals tend to involve considerable abstract experimentation and self-construction; they can open up or theorize personal visions for their life trajectory.

Unfortunately, armchair elaborators may have that intellectual capacity, but they find transitions difficult (Goodson, 2012, p. 7). They tend to be frozen by fear and doubt and are thus unable to take action. Focused elaborators, on the other hand, have ‘narrative capital’; they have the capacity to narrate their own lives, to invent themselves, to craft together a narrative that suits their individual needs and idiosyncrasies (Goodson, 2013, p. 73; Goodson et al., 2012, pp. 2–9). They can develop meaning beyond the local space, place, and contexts embedded within their life milieu (Goodson, 2013, pp. 70–71). In more technical terms, they have the capacity to employ their internalized narrative to portray and promote their own courses of action. They have the mechanisms for dealing with the critical incidents or events that bring major transitions to their work and personal life. Goodson points to Bill Clinton and Barrack Obama as examples of quintessential focused elaborators. They “in a sense invented a persona then they became it” (Goodson et al., 2012, p. 5). Autonomy, self-invention, flexibility, and the ability for ‘re-selfing’ are characteristics of focused elaborators (Goodson, 2012, p. 7; Goodson, 2013, p. 124).

In the data chapters, I show how Halfyard was a focused elaborator who constructed a leadership identity for himself. He used learning and autonomy opportunities plus innate ingenuity and motivation to pursue courses of action. Borrowing from the framework of Goodson and his narrative researchers, I identify themes and patterns that illustrate how Halfyard

had the capacity, flexibility, and drive for re-selfing when challenges arose that would have stymied most individuals (Goodson, 2012, p. 7).

Transitions Theory and Career Path Trajectories

The final element of my theoretical and conceptual framework is the ‘transition theory’ described by Norman Brown, Tia Hansen, Peter Lee, Sarah Vanderveen, and Frederick Conrad (2012) in *Understanding Autobiographical Memory: Theories and Approaches*. The theory explains how historically significant public events (wars, terrorism), natural disasters, or significant personal events (immigration, marriage, birth of children, loss of a job) act as temporal landmarks “signaling the transition from one period to the next” (Brown et al., 2012, p. 161). They usually coincide with “profound changes in their material circumstances” that fundamentally change “the fabric of a person’s daily life” (Brown et al., 2012, p. 162, 167). Transition theory posits that people often organize or date their autobiographical memories of events by statements like “When I was in Grade 7,” “When I was at university,” “After I got married,” or “After we moved to Tilt Cove” (Brown et al., 2012, p. 161). A common reference point noted by Portelli (1991) and reflective of the men I interviewed for this study is how they used the purchase of a first and subsequent cars to organize or date their memories (p. 71). Women, on the other hand, often used the birth of children to date and organize events, providing details about the weight of a newborn baby, while men would quickly reveal the make, model, and colour of their prized possessions.

Barbara and Philip Newman in *Theories of Human Development* describe two central concepts in life course theory, trajectories and transitions:

A trajectory is the long-term path of one’s life experiences in a specific domain, particularly work and family. The family trajectory might include the following sequence: marriage, parenthood, grandparenthood, and widowhood. A transition is a component within the trajectory marked by the beginning or close of an event or role

relationship. In a person's work trajectory, for example, transitions might be getting one's first job, being laid off, and going back to school for an advanced degree. Transitions are the events that make up a lifelong trajectory. Life course theory analyzes the impact of social change on individuals lives by observing evidence of changes in trajectories and transitions that are associated with specific periods of historical change. (Newman & Newman, 2007, p. 189)

Because my goal in this social history narrative is to determine factors that led to rural outport Newfoundland teachers' leadership development during the first 35 years post-Confederation, identifying changes in trajectories, and what influenced those changes, is paramount.

Life history narrative researchers ultimately seek to explore 'human paths of action' and the 'back story' that contribute to the construction of a narrators personal and professional identities (Goodson, 2012, p. 8; Sugrue, 2012, p. 91). The social history narrative methodologies and framework outlined have facilitated, in a holistic way, the analysis and interpretation of the complex body of knowledge on the multifaceted nature of leadership development as it related to outport Newfoundland teachers of the post-Confederation era. Examining the textural and literary sophistication within narrative stories, as well as identifying sociological themes, helped illuminate the "complex picture" and historical patterns within rural leadership development (Goodson, 2013, p. 70).

Webster and Mertova's (2007) description of 'critical event' narrative analysis plus Portelli's three societal levels were the most useful approaches. I see narrative inquiry, which revolves around interviews and the retelling of critical events stories, as key to understanding the complexity of the human-centred experience, or life history. Portelli (1991) three vertical levels and ideas around meaning making through oral history, when augmented by Conway and Jobson's (2012) elaboration within the sociocultural world model, impressed upon me the importance of considering both the personal perspective of the main case study subject, what he stated in interviews, in tandem with the collective memories of daily life and practices of

colleagues and other community members. Even more importantly, it taught me to thoroughly examine historical context, what was happening at the institutional level, policies being promoted by the provincial and federal governments, as well as global trends and patterns emanating from universities and other influential organizations of the times that trickled down to impact the local.

Section III: The Research Process – Tools and Procedures

Choosing Participants

In the early days of my doctoral studies, I identified approximately 75 potential participants to interview for this study, including: professional colleagues of Halfyard (teachers, fellow coordinating principals, school district administrators); provincial educational leaders of the times with government, the NTA, and at Memorial University; and, a selection of students, family, and friends. The participants should be viewed as informants, not a representative sample. Many of those individuals were already in their seventies and eighties when I started my program in the fall of 2011. It was imperative, therefore, that I interview as many of the potential participants as early in my program as possible. I applied for and received ethics approval in April 2012 from Memorial University's Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) (see Appendix G) and started interviewing in July 2012.

Potential interview subjects were identified through consultation with research subject, A. Job Halfyard. I was also able to identify people to interview because of my relationship to the main subject and because I grew up and attended school in the communities of Port Anson, Roberts Arm, Tilt Cove, and La Scie. Names were added to the original list as a result of the literature review I completed during my course work and preparations for my comprehensive exams. My advisors also identified potential interview participants, while others were found

through the ‘snowballing’ recommendations of interview participants. I was also able to draw on my knowledge of the educational field as a result of my 13-year career as a high school teacher as well as my nine years as an educational video producer/director at Memorial University’s Division of Educational Technology. Other interview subjects were identified and located with the assistance of the Retired Teachers’ Association of NL (RTANL) and various community Come Home Year committees.

Interview Questions and Process

Slightly different sets of open-ended questions were drafted for each person or group: teachers, students, school board officials. The interviews ran anywhere from two to three hours in length. I generally followed the same procedure for each interview. First, I gathered personal histories, starting with the person’s family background and growing-up years, and then moved on to school and work history. For teachers, I gathered details about how they completed university degrees, generally followed by questions related to the social, cultural, and economic history of the communities where they taught or lived. I then explored their involvement in leisure activities, volunteerism, or other community organizations as well as professional associations. Near the end of each interview, I asked questions about the school and school board leadership practices as well as general community leadership. Those questions were followed up with specific questions about their experiences or knowledge about Halfyard’s leadership role, style, skills, and abilities. Those questions were awkward for me to ask since everyone knew I was his daughter. Most participants did not readily expand on the discussion when I asked questions about Halfyard, which indicated to me that they, too, felt awkward or reluctant to comment in either a positive or negative way—a limitation of the study.

Interviewing and the process of storytelling is very much an interactive, collaborative

process between the participant (interviewee) and the researcher (interviewer). Patience, trust, and sensitivity, combined with deep contextual knowledge of place and history, are essential to the interview process (Abrams, 2010, p. 10; Tilley, 2016, p. 160; Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 88). Interviewing is also a complex, emotionally draining, and time-consuming process requiring immense concentration. Many of the interviews were more emotionally draining because I personally knew the participants. Interview participants were very gracious and generous with their time, and not one cut an interview short.

My approach to interviewing is somewhat in keeping with the philosophy put forward by Alessandro Portelli (1998, p. 30)—the interview is a “deep exchange” occurring on many levels. Michael Connelly and Jean Clandinin (1990) and Elliott Eisner (1988) also stress that the interviewer has to be gentle, a good listener, and must at times give a little of themselves to get something in return (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 88). Relying on extensive preparatory research and years of experience as a video producer interviewer I was able to, as Valerie Yow (2005) suggests, jog memory, frame the topic, and inspire “the narrator to begin the act of remembering” (pp. 3–4) (Janesick, 2010; Lance, Nevins, Portelli, & Shopes as cited in Dunaway, 1996; Shopes, 2011, p. 451). In most cases, I limited my interjections or comments. Although I had prepared questions, I generally did not look at them. Instead, I aimed to go where the conversation and interview participant led, while ensuring all topics were covered. I also strove for informal conversation using eye contact and positive, nonverbal cues throughout. In most cases, I opted to take notes to avoid staring at the interviewee, which can be disconcerting.

Ethnographic Fieldwork and Interviews, Summer 2012

I started my data collection by spending six weeks, from July to August 2012, in La Scie and other communities of relevance to this study. During that time, I conducted ethnographic-

style fieldwork where I video-taped interviews with Halfyard and his wife, Audrey. I also kept journal notes of informal conversations and made notes related to general observations about daily activities within their home and the communities.

Over the course of the summer of 2012, I formally interviewed 31 individuals in addition to Halfyard and Audrey. That fall and periodically over the next four years, I conducted additional interviews with three close relatives, two key provincial educators/politicians, a Green Bay Integrated School Board official, and the son of Halfyard's favourite teacher who later became a teacher/entrepreneur in the Bonne Bay area. I was intrigued by how that participant's ingenuity and lifepath was similar to Halfyard's. In total, I conducted detailed formal interviews with 42 individuals. A few short informal interview chats were also audio- or video-taped. Permission slips were signed by those people as well as individuals who were in video footage scenes. A few of the senior Green Bay Integrated School Board officials whom I had hoped to interview passed away before I had the opportunity. Five of the people I interviewed for this study have since passed away.

Fieldwork Notes, Transcripts, and Thematic Coding

I wrote summaries or reflections after each interview session. I also took hand-written notes throughout the interview process. Starting in the fall of 2013, I hired an interview transcriptionist who transcribed almost all 42 interviews. I reviewed the transcripts and collated them over a two-year period, noting topic headings and themes in the margins that were later listed on the front page. Hand-written or typed summaries were also completed for some of the interview transcripts. In the meantime, I thoroughly reviewed and collated all of Job and Audrey Halfyard's interview transcripts using the technique I had used many times as an educational

video producer. I handwrote, logged, or listed the location of each interview statement thematically in an exercise book.

Data Analysis and Interpretation Process

My data analysis and interpretation process was closely linked to the chosen structural and conceptual frameworks outlined in Section II. I looked for key themes and patterns from the transcripts to generate a better understanding of Halfyard's career path trajectory as it relates to leadership within rural educational and community development in post-Confederation Newfoundland. In the analysis phase, I pulled together stories and information from the multiple forms of data to examine Halfyard's educational and community leadership experiences (Janesick, 2000). I used triangulation to analyze the data, using secondary historical documents, journals, books, and articles on education, rural and community development, resettlement, and leadership to provide context and comparison.

There were many challenges related to covering a 35-year career over a 55-year lifespan. These challenges were further complicated by the fact that the subject had lived and worked in five different locations. Hence, more background research, interviews, descriptive analyses, and interpretation were needed to adequately cover the context of each place. Goodson (1992) reasons that "a wide intertextual and intercontextual mode of analysis" (p. 243) is required in qualitative, life, or social history narrative research. It was important to understand the context of each place at specific times in history. As a result, I felt compelled to read copious amounts of historical background material on the province as well as on concepts related to the historical timeframe, plus theoretical material on topics like place, identity, and leadership. Those literature review sources will be discussed in the respective chapters in relation to the primary source data.

The fact that my main subject was a school principal automatically meant he was

connected to or involved in a multitude of activities and networks both inside and outside the school and with other communities. Because rural educational leaders of that era were called upon to take the lead in many community activities, the scope of topics and themes they addressed was massive. My research topic and process was truly intertwined and did not lend itself to working in silos of particular isolated topics or themes. By examining the life and times of a rural educator, I could also capture the complexity and richness of the times and places in which Halfyard taught (Harris, 2002, p. 46). Each community was slightly different, rich in history, tradition, and personal and collective meaning.

A major point of comparison and reference for validity and reliability was within the series of interviews conducted with the main case study subject. Over the five-year period from July 2012 to May 2017, I conducted six formal audio- and/or video-taped interviews with Halfyard. Another major point of comparison and verification was from the interviews conducted with fellow teachers, principals, students, relatives, and community residents as well as educational experts (Olsen, 2004). Moreover, when Halfyard and Audrey were packing to leave La Scie in the fall of 2015, I was fortunate to gain access to nine boxes of books and personal files that came from their home office and attic. These files included information about NTA branch and provincial meetings, coordinating principal meetings, night school, school administrators conferences, university courses, and volunteer activities such as the Recreation Commission, Heritage Board, Kinsmen Club, political parties, library board, and hospital board. They included committee reports, newsletters, bulletins, and correspondence that spanned the early 1960s to the late 1980s. Those archival documents proved valuable for verifying dates and specifics of events and activities discussed by Halfyard and others. There were also university and school textbooks dating back to Halfyard's high school days in the 1940s, which added a

layer of understanding about his interests and philosophical views. Thus, primary interview data formed the foundation of analysis and was verified and enriched with secondary sources.

Writing Process: Choices and Representation

Goodson (1992) expresses concerns about the potential “disjuncture” (Goodson, 1992, p. 237) between life as lived and how it might be recounted, reported, or written, building on ideas from Derrida, Bertaux (1981), and Denzin (1989):

There is no clear window into the inner life of a person, for any window is always filtered through the gaze of language, signs, and the process of signification. And language, in both its written and spoken forms, is always inherently unstable, influx, and made up of the traces of other signs and symbolic statements. Hence, there can never be a clear, unambiguous statement of anything, including an intention or a meaning. (Denzin, 1989, p. 14, as cited in Goodson, 1992, p. 237)

I used the writing process as a method of reflection, discovery, analysis, and internal synthesis (Richardson, 2000). Laurel Richardson (2000), Carolyn Ellis (2004), and Max van Manen (1990) identify writing as key to the phenomenological research process that “lets us see that which shines through, that which hides itself” (van Manen, 1990, p. 130). I have learned that researchers who use phenomenology and related narrative inquiry methods need to be sensitive to the silences and tensions which might disclose deep meaning about the world (van Manen, 1990, p. 131).

In addition to critical analysis, attention has to be paid to detail and context. Questions and decisions about how to represent the research data in a meaningful written form arise in the writing process (Prasad, 2005, p. 7; Tilley, 2016, p. 176). How and what we choose to write can shape readers’ understandings; therefore, it is important to carefully choose details and direct quotes that provide insights about lived experience without demeaning, misrepresenting, or stereotyping (Tilley, 2016, p. 182). While biographical researchers’ results may reflect rich, authentic insights about the complexity of the real world, they are often criticized for over-

relying on description, vulnerability, or emotion—for being ‘soft,’ merely anecdotal (Casey, 1993, p. 11; Tedder, 2012, p. 327). Anthropologist Ruth Behar (1996) challenged that notion:

Writing vulnerably takes as much skill, nuance, and willingness to follow through on all the ramifications of a complicated idea as does writing invulnerably and distantly. I would say it takes yet greater skill. The worst that can happen in an invulnerable text is that it will be boring. But when an author has made herself or himself vulnerable, the stakes are higher: a boring self-revelation, one that fails to move the reader, is more than embarrassing; it is humiliating. (p. 13)

The style of my research study is to include many direct quotes from interview transcripts. This approach was influenced by my tendency, in my earlier documentary work, to let interview participants tell their stories in their own voice, with minimal use of written voice-over narration. Sometimes I resisted adding critical commentary reflective of scholarly “contextual or intercontextual analysis” (O’Donoghue, 2007, p. 144). I just wanted to follow my old filmmaker practice of letting the interview participant share their story without additional written discourse. Given my insider knowledge of the people and places in this research study, I also endeavoured to use rich language and image choices to represent their narrative accounts. I have already acknowledged my biases.

Reflexivity

Within a qualitative, interpretivist paradigm, researchers recognize the impossibility of separating self from research and the importance of recognizing and accounting for the bias that does exist, to ensure that credible research is conducted. (Tilley, 2016, p. 159)

Over six years, from the summer of 2012 to July of 2018, I often telephoned Job and Audrey Halfyard during the analysis, writing, and interpretation process to ask for more details or clarification to fill in gaps. I also interviewed them after I had completed the first comprehensive draft of each of the main data chapters. In some cases, they read the drafts beforehand. In other cases, I read specific sections to them and asked for clarification or more

details. Halfyard was in his mid eighties and, fortunately, Audrey, six years younger, was extremely knowledgeable about almost every aspect of her husband's life. If not, she certainly had heard him tell the stories many times over the years. When needed, she would fill in gaps or correct details.

Because research is a process of discovery, the complexity of factors—from multiple selves to multiple paradigm models to multiple forms of writing and representation— often make it difficult, albeit essential, for researchers to critically reflect (Tilley, 2016). Theoretical, methodological, and political presuppositions also play crucial roles in the way each individual researcher frames the study; and researchers must question the stereotyping and contradictions that may be embedded in their own assumptions and apply critical theories that question dominant ideological and institutional structures (Tilley, 2016, pp. 158–159). A critical eye is needed, especially when dealing with social justice goals or “vulnerable populations that are marginalized by dominant norms and structures” (Tilley, 2016, p. 160).

Many veteran feminist and postmodernist qualitative researchers from various disciplines, such as Carolyn Ellis (2004), Ruth Behar (1996), and Elaine Lawless (1991), acknowledge they would have done some things differently in their early research projects. They now encourage researchers to use reflexivity, i.e., the process of reflecting critically on the self, throughout the research process (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Lincoln et al., 2011, p. 124). Reflexivity became an established ingredient of qualitative research methods in the 1990s. Around the same time, poststructural, feminist, and postmodern scholars encouraged researchers to critically address the subjectivity and intersubjectivity between researcher and participant in qualitative research (Shopes, 2011, p. 457). Thus, in recent decades, researchers are encouraged to take work back to participants for reliability checks and to provide opportunities for comments,

corrections, or other interpretations (Lawless, 1991, pp. 35-37; Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Because of my almost daily contact with my main case study subject and our father/daughter relationship, I was able to consult with and obtain regular feedback from him.

Rationale and Limitations

My reasons for conducting this study in the way I have are shaped both by my own life and work experiences as well as those of my case study subject, A. Job Halfyard. They are intertwined. The research study is also shaped by historical documents and the theoretical and philosophical ideas put forward by scholars like Joan Scott (1991) who argue for the value of lived experience as evidence for analysis. It is subjective. It is about lived experience. It is a social history narrative. It is reflective of ‘knowledge of self.’ It is about the process of identity formation in the context of rural Newfoundland in a particular period. It is an interpretation, a representation. There are religious, cultural, ethnic, gender, and self-identity categories that impact the relationships and, thus, the interpretations. There is no neutrality.

Lynn Abrams (2010) in *Oral History Theory* posits, “Neutrality is not an option because we are part of the story” (p. 58). In analyzing, interpreting, reflecting, and representing socio-cultural phenomena, stories, and events, academics across disciplines who use qualitative methods emphasize how researchers must reveal their “emotional and intellectual baggage” (Behar, 1996, p. 8). Clearly, as the daughter of the case study subject, I carry emotional ties and potential biases, which I have attempted to acknowledge and theoretically unpack throughout the research process. I also have a lot of life experiences grounded in the times, places, and teaching profession, which helped me to analyze data and recognize knowledge gaps as well as my own biases and limitations.

As researcher and daughter, I also bring my own memories, what Marianne Hirsch

(2012) calls postmemory, and biases, which I have rigorously tried to address. The stark reality is that “representing others has everything to do with representing ourselves—over time” (Miller, 1996, p. 159, as cited in Tye, 2010, p. 39). I have also learned that when it comes to narrative or storytelling, memories are often blurred, modified, or distorted to fit cultural expectations as well as one’s own personal perceptions (Bateson, 1989, p. 32; Tye, 2010, p. 39). Hence, I have not just conducted ethnographic work; rather I have written about culture and employed autoethnography, making my own presence, values, and biases known in the writing process.

Carolyn Ellis and Art Bochner (2000) describe autoethnography as an “autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness and connects personal and cultural experience” (p. 739). I employed autoethnographic practices that have evolved from feminist and postmodern critical social science theories. These practices require researchers to open a dialogue between researcher, participant, and reader (Ellis, 2004, p. 31; Tye, 2010, p. 39). In turn, academic and lay readers may, because of their own life experiences, see, feel, or interpret things entirely differently from how I have interpreted and represented the data.

While having only one main case study subject may be seen by some as a limitation, I contextualize Job Halfyard’s personal story by collecting interview data from a large sampling of other participants (42). That interview data provided a basis to compare and to establish validity and reliability (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 110). I also draw from a wealth of statistical and historical context studies to analyze the data and support emergent findings.

Conclusion

Studies of teachers’ lives might allow us to ‘see the individual in relation to the history of his time. . . . It permits us to view the intersection of the life history of men with the history of society thereby enabling us to understand better the choices, contingencies and options open to the individual. ‘Life histories’ of schools, subjects and the teaching

profession would provide vital contextual background. The initial focus on the teachers' lives would therefore reconceptualize our studies of schooling and curriculum in quite basic ways. (Bogden, 1974, p. 4, as cited in Goodson, 1992, p. 244)

In undertaking this study, I became a bricoleur, a “handywoman” (Kincheloe et al., 2011, pp. 164, 172) who drew from multiple conceptual and methodological theories and approaches to explore my subject. In investigating leadership through social history narrative, I have attempted to embrace the tensions inherent in these multiple perspectives and thus “create new dialogues and discourse and open possibilities” (Kincheloe et al., 2011, p. 164).

The next chapter explores Halfyard's early years when the seeds of his later leadership experiences were sown.

CHAPTER 3: FORMATIVE GROWING-UP YEARS (1931–1949)

What can the past mean to us? People look back for various reasons, but shared by all is a need to acquire a sense of self and identity. I am more than what the thin present defines. I am more than someone who at this moment is struggling to put thought into words. (Tuan, 1977/2011, p. 186)

One of the most obvious characteristics separating the modern era from any other period preceding it is modernity's extreme dynamism. The modern world is a 'runaway world': not only is the *pace* of social change much faster than in any prior system, so also is its *scope*, and the *profoundness* with which it affects pre-existing social practices and modes of behaviour. (Giddens, 1991, p. 16)

Introduction

Anthony Giddens (1991), in looking at the early development of modernity and the new social order, posits that human emancipation from “the dogmatic imperatives of tradition and religion” (pp. 210–211) was the first step in reducing or eliminating exploitation, inequality, and oppression. Drawing from the work of Rawls (1972) and Habermas (1987), Giddens introduced the principle of autonomy where,

emancipation means that collective life is organised in such a way that the individual is capable—in some sense or another—of free and independent action in the environments of her social life. Freedom and responsibility here stand in some kind of balance. The individual is liberated from constraints placed on her behaviour as a result of exploitative, unequal or oppressive conditions; but she is not thereby rendered free in any absolute sense. Freedom presumes acting responsibly in relation to others and recognising that collective obligations are involved. (Giddens, 1991, p. 213)

Giddens argues that modern institutions differ from all preceding forms of social order.

Individuals and groups of Halfyard's generation, the late modern age, were encouraged to assume autonomy and to act responsibly in relation to others. They were encouraged to recognize and uphold their collective obligations to members of society. The questioning of social inequalities, old orders, and taking civic responsibility was part of the growing public awareness that emerged throughout the Western world as a result of circumstances surrounding

the Great Depression and the First and Second World Wars. It was followed by what many academics describe as three decades of progress, development, and massive change beginning in the late 1940s and 1950s (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 436).

Giddens's (1991) ideas relate to Maxine Greene's (1978) sense of "wide-awakeness," (p. 43) of learning to question the forces that dominate, of developing the sense of agency and autonomy required for living a moral life. Greene, an educational philosopher, wrote in *Landscapes of Learning*:

I am suggesting that, for too many individuals in modern society, there is a feeling of being dominated and that feelings of powerlessness are almost inescapable. I am also suggesting that such feelings can to a large degree be overcome through conscious endeavor on the part of individuals to keep themselves awake, to think about their condition in the world, to inquire into the forces that appear to dominate them, to interpret the experiences they are having day by day. Only as they learn to make senses of what is happening, can they feel themselves to be autonomous. Only then can they develop the sense of agency required for living a moral life. (Greene, 1978, pp. 43-44)

In many ways, the story of Halfyard's early years are about 'becoming,' 'going beyond oneself,' and developing 'a central spine of aspiration' or personal 'narrative capital' (de Beauvoir, 1972, as cited in Goodson, 2013, pp. 65, 73). Giddens does not see the individual as "a passive entity" (p. 2); rather he thinks that individuals contribute to and "directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications" (p. 2). This research study starts from a similar premise that Halfyard was one of those individuals who exhibited a great deal of agency and autonomy in his role as a rural educator and community volunteer. From where did those leadership abilities or inspirational motivations come and how did they evolve? Was he born with those leadership qualities or did he work to develop them? How was his leadership actions, path and capacity shaped by societal forces and situations? To what extent did his maleness privilege the development of his community leadership roles during those decades?

This chapter focuses on the early foundational influences of Halfyard's formative years in

an effort to understand how they impacted the development of his ultimate “wide-awakeness” (Greene, 1978, p. 43). It examines the back story, that central spine of external and internal influences that intertwined to shape who Halfyard became—his rural educator leadership identity. It establishes the social, historical, and familial contexts that shaped Halfyard’s capacity to ‘define a narrative for himself’ and ultimately develop learning strategies and skills that would guide his later ‘courses of action’ in life (Goodson, 2012, p. 5). Goodson believes that some people are driven to go beyond what might appear to be a birth script to construct a distinctive self-identity or narrative persona. He also theorizes that they use storytelling to construct or flesh out ideas percolating within their mind and soul. I start the process of identifying and mapping Halfyard’s “stock of narrative capital” found within the stories he relates (Giddens, 1991; Goodson, 2013, pp. 63, 73). A pattern of goals, interests, aspirations, and motivations start to emerge from the bedrock of his formative growing-up years. Subsequent chapters will show how the themes identified here reappear throughout Halfyard’s life journey and influence later courses of action.

This chapter examines how place and early formative life experiences—conditioned by the social, cultural, educational, religious, economic, and political factors of the times—seep into a young person’s being and shape the person they become over time. I look particularly for the genesis of those patterns, interests, attitudes, and values that Halfyard took into adulthood and his working life. How did his initial interest in teaching evolve into a passion for both educational and community development in outport places?

In examining the early influences of Halfyard’s life, I focused on four key communities in the Bonne Bay area where Halfyard was born and grew up: Curzon Village, Woody Point, Lomond, and Trout River (see Figure 5 below). These were places that soaked into his soul

(Tuan, 1977/2011, p. 183). Woody Point, Curzon Village and Trout River are now enclave communities within Gros Morne National Park.³

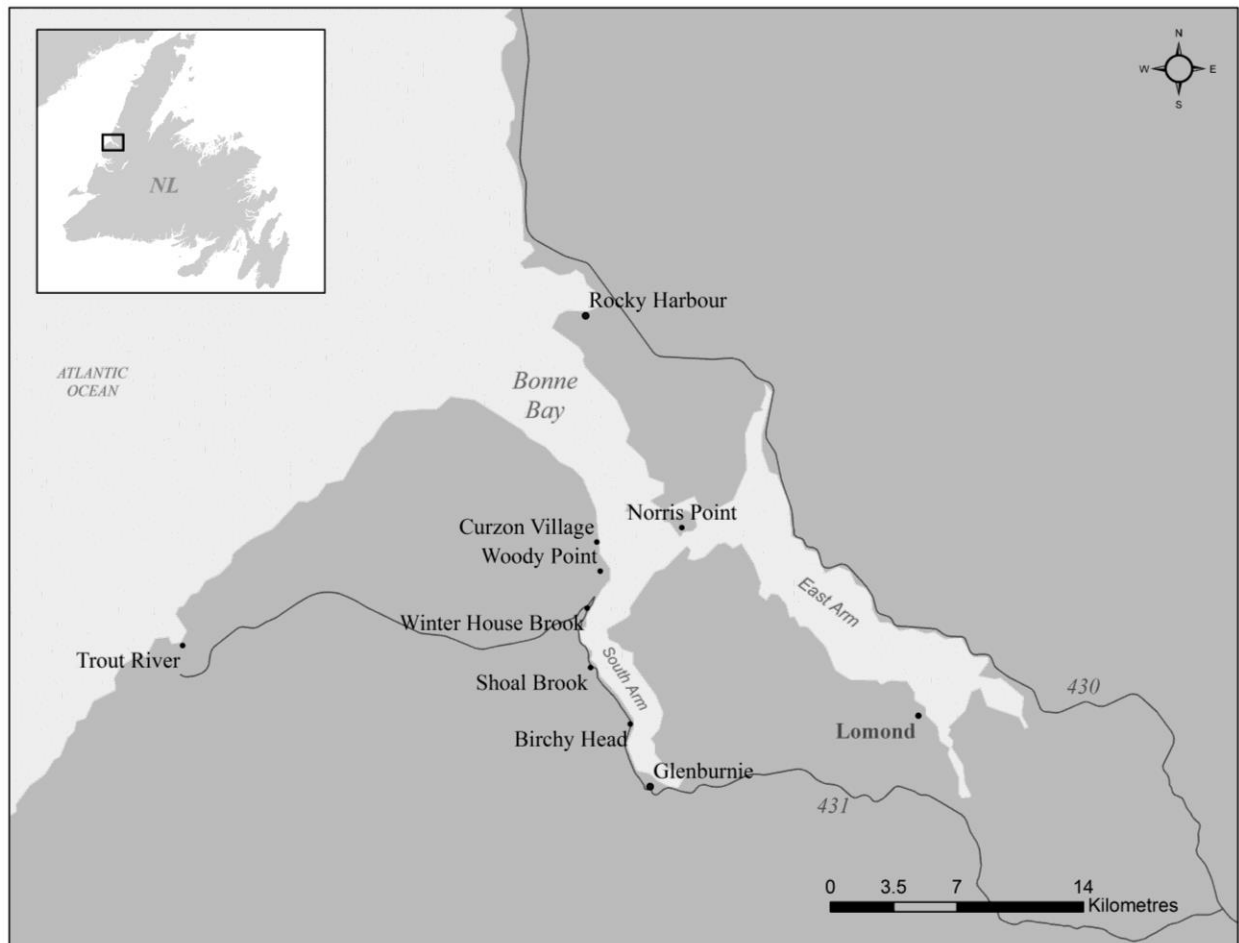


Figure 5. Map of Bonne Bay area
(Map by Myron King; Copyright 2018, Environmental Policy Office, Grenfell Campus, Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Section I: Institutional Influences of Formative Years

International and National Contexts

Halfyard's growing-up years included the period between his birth in 1931 to 1950 when he left home to attend university after teaching for one year in nearby Shoal Brook. On an

³ The Bonne Bay area, with its many geological marvels, became a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1987 (UNESCO, n.d.; McLeod, 1988, pp. 13–14).

international scale, this time period included the Second World War and the Great Depression of the 1930s. Historically significant periods, such as wars or natural disasters, generally have “direct and pervasive effects on people’s lives” (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 65). I found many people of Halfyard’s generation, who grew up during the Great Depression and Second World War, repeatedly talked about those events even though they were only children at the time (Lush, August 13, 2012, Part II; Sheppard, M., November 11, 2015; Toms, H., July 30, 2012). The memories remained vivid. The specific impact of those major events on the fabric of Halfyard’s daily life will be discussed in greater detail in Section III of this chapter.

On a national level, there was the impact of Commission of Government whereby Newfoundland gave up its Dominion status and its right to self govern in 1934 (Cadigan, 2009, p. 208). Turn-of-the-century financial problems precipitated by costly railway construction and First World War debt were compounded by the post-war fishery decline. Attempts to diversify Newfoundland’s fishing economy through industrialization in the early part of the century reaped only modest gains. In the late 1920s, about one third of the Newfoundland population depended on poor relief or unemployment (Cadigan, 2009, p. 206). The then country’s economic and fiscal problems were made worse by allegations of government mismanagement and corruption. Civil unrest and rioting ultimately triggered Newfoundland giving up its self-governing status. For the next 15 years, from 1934 to 1949, no elections took place and the legislature did not meet. The once-independent democratic country was now governed by six appointed Commissioners.

Notwithstanding being in the throes of the Great Depression, the Commission of Government hoped to revitalize rural Newfoundland by diversifying its economy and introducing a number of social programs to address what they described as the “deep-rooted social problems embedded in the structures of economic development in Newfoundland and

Labrador” (Cadigan, 2009, pp. 210; Neary, 1997). A Department of Rural Reconstruction was created to encourage the development of cooperatives (McManus, 2000, p. 66). In addition, the Commission hoped to diversify Newfoundland’s economy and reform the character of settlers through the development of model communities based on full-time commercial farming (Cadigan, 2009, pp. 212–213). When those experimental land settlement schemes failed, they turned once again to courting foreign capital to diversify the economy and reduce dependency on the fishery and logging (Cadigan, 2009, p. 214).

Meanwhile, they introduced the Newfoundland Ranger Force, modelled after the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who provided government reports on local conditions in rural areas in addition to their policing work (Bates, 1993, p. 522). Furthermore, the Commission of Government built on international trends and efforts among public charities or local volunteer organizations such as the Newfoundland Adult Education Association (NAEA), the Newfoundland Outport Nursing and Industrial Association (NONIA), and the Jubilee Guilds of Newfoundland. Those service organizations, established in the 1920s, basically offered community development, providing outport people with social, educational, and self-sufficiency programs and strategies (Richard, 1989, pp. 3–4).

The Commission of Government has been criticized, for some of the educational decisions including the maintenance of the denominational education system and the slashing of teachers’ salaries (Cadigan, 2009, p. 219; Rowe, 1988, p. 69). But it did manage to introduce some much-needed government-funded health and adult education programs. They replaced the NONIA with government-paid nurses, set up cottage hospitals, and funded a travelling clinic to establish immunization and public education plans to fight tuberculosis, smallpox, diphtheria, and typhoid fever (Cadigan, 2009, p. 219; O’Brien, 1993, p. 134; Sheppard, 1993, p. 137). The

Commission established the Department of Adult Education in 1936 and borrowed the American Opportunity Schools model to promote “self-help” with the ultimate goal of improving the quality of life within communities and teaching the 3Rs to develop literacy (McManus, 2000, pp. 70–71). Unions, church organization, and other benevolent societies provided similar kinds of educational and community service to help the impoverished throughout the Depression and war years. Such practices were the norm prior to the introduction of the welfare state model in the 1950s and 1960s. Evidence of those initiatives and trends can be found in the stories Halfyard relates about growing up in Bonne Bay.

The Commission of Government, the Great Depression, and the Second World War covered the span of Halfyard’s childhood. He was three years old in 1934, had just turned 14 at the end of the Second World War, and was 18 when the Commission of Government ended in 1949.

Modernization – Military and Company Towns

The poverty and economic strife of the 1930s was followed by a modest growth in the economy during the Second World War (1939–1945). The war and post-war boom years also brought increased world demand for fish, iron ore, and paper (Cadigan, 2009, p. 226; MacLeod, 1999, p. xix; Rowe, 1988, p. 106). The 1940s and 1950s marked the beginning of a major transition from a traditional rural culture to modernity. This transition was only marginally due to Confederation with Canada in 1949 (House & House, 2015, p. 21). Fisheries modernization, based on Nova Scotia’s model of standardized processing and the exportation of more lucrative fresh and frozen fish to the U.S. markets, was encouraged by the Commission of Government and 10 frozen-fish plants were built between 1946 and 1964 (Cadigan, 2009, pp. 223, 231; Mensinkai, 1969; Wright, 2001, p. 30).

There has been much debate about how those global forces influenced daily life and the culture of outport places, but most sources agree that the establishment of Canadian and American military bases in Newfoundland during the Second World War and throughout the Cold War of the 1950s had an enormous impact on the economy (Pocius, 1991/2000, p. 293). A huge workforce was needed to construct and maintain the army bases, seaport facilities, housing, and other facilities (Cadigan, 2009, p. 226). Spin-off activities and effects were felt in many corners of the colony for decades. For example, some of the government-owned and operated cottage hospitals set up by the Commission of Government between 1936 and 1952 were originally developed by the military (Crellin, 2007, p. xii). Many Newfoundlanders who joined the war effort or who worked on military bases learned skilled trades. Plumbing, electrical, mechanical, engineering, and other skilled and semi-skilled trades were later needed during the post-war modernization phase for the building of roads, bridges, hospitals, universities, schools, and for jobs in modern fish plants or the mining industry.

Halfyard, like thousands of young Newfoundland men and women, found employment in the construction of military infrastructure during the Second World War and Cold War years:

I remember going to work in 1952, when I came out of Memorial, after my first two years in university, and I went to work over in Stephenville because they were building the Stephenville airport, because of troubles over in Europe. The government of the day, Joey Smallwood's government, made an agreement with the companies that came in that they would not pay Newfoundlanders any more than \$2 an hour. I thought it was the most discriminatory thing that was ever foisted on people.

There was about 5,000 of us working on that airport. They were building it because of the airlifts that were needed. Can you imagine, the men that I worked with from the States, they were getting \$5.25–\$8.25 an hour. I got \$1.65. And they wanted to pay me the \$5–\$8 an hour, but they were hamstrung because the companies—the fish companies and the paper companies—said we would inflate the wages, and they wouldn't be able to do that. And here was a pool of money that would have started hundreds of little businesses in Newfoundland, all gone by the wayside because of bad planning and bad policy. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, pp. 5–6)

This story is a ‘critical event’ that Halfyard has told many times over the years. He was clearly not happy with the government’s pay scale arrangement with the Americans. This story offers insights into how his summer student work experience in Stephenville impacted his perceptions of how the government looked after its people, especially the working-class of the outports, and why he may have become involved in rural community leadership.

Critical Events Analysis

Some facts and events linger longer in people’s memories than others. The social, economic, and political history of the time influences both the way people live in places and the way they perceive what happens to them (Lawrence, 1998, p. 149). In turn, those perceptions influence the way they act, their beliefs, their attitudes, and their self-image. Ultimately, their internalization of a significant and deeply felt experience (a ‘critical event’) may affect their goals and aspirations in life (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 60; Webster & Mertova, 2007). Part of the value of this style of autobiographical social history narrative research is that it gives “voice to stories of groups of people traditionally left out of social scientific inquiry” and allows for alternative analysis of their deeds (Ellis, 2004, p. 30; Lynd, 1993, p. 1; Moran, 2004, p. 51; Steedman, 1986/2010, p. 5). It also allows for the cognitive and emotional complexities of individual and collective lived experiences (Portelli, 1991).

While most would argue that military bases helped the local economy and improved rural people’s employment opportunities and thus their quality of life (Pocius, 1991/2000, pp. 13–15), the merchants would argue that it created unfair competition, eroded the old credit system practices, and negatively impacted their ability to find workers. One could also argue that people from rural Newfoundland felt inferior or that the influx of mass-produced goods negatively affected the province’s unique culture. One thing is certain, the presence of American, British,

and Canadian military personnel and bases brought major changes to outpost life as large numbers of newcomers moved throughout the Dominion (Cadigan, 2009, p. 230). From my research perspective, Halfyard's military base story also contributes to an understanding of 'transition'—how older, more traditional work and community leadership practices began to shift and change (Goodson, 2013, p. 28). Chapter 4 discusses how new generations of university educated 'helping professions' (such as teachers, nurses, and social workers) began to emerge, challenging traditional community leadership practices.

Local Institutional Shapers – Bonne Bay Area

One goal of this study is to examine the impact of institutions like the church, schools, and the state (government) on the development of rural educators and community leaders of early post-Confederation Newfoundland. There was undoubtedly a tangled duality to the forces that came with imperialism and the impact of global political institutions and ideologies on rural communities and people. The historical context presented in the following section is not meant to regurgitate political and economic history of the elites and institutions of the British West Country merchants and church missionaries who influenced societal practices in the Bonne Bay area. Rather, its purpose is to provide a better understanding of how the "residues" (Portelli, 1991, pp. 21, 35) of their presence and influence laid the groundwork for many of the traditions and cultural practices that were initially embedded and later challenged during Halfyard's lifetime.

Historical Background – Bonne Bay

Throughout the second half of the 19th century, ships and traders poured into the Bonne Bay area with the westward migration of British colonials. Around 1800, Bird and Company, based out of Sturminster, Newton, in Dorset, England, established a trading post; one branch at

Woody Point dealt chiefly in salmon and furs while another branch located at Forteau, Labrador, dealt with the cod and seal fisheries (Cuff, 1994, p. 622). Supposedly, Halfyard's maternal grandfather, George Crocker, originally came to Trout River on a vessel operated by Joseph Bird in the early 1800s (Osmond, 1987, p. 43). The presence of Joseph Bird and Co. at Woody Point was a matter of dispute because Bonne Bay fell within the 1783 French Shore Treaty of Versailles that ran until 1904. The treaty gave the French the right to fish in the region from Cape St. John all the way along the Northern Peninsula to Cape Ray on the Southwest Coast (Berger, 2014, p. 34; Cadigan, 2009, p. 76). Apart from the Birds' agents and junior partners, year-round British inhabitants were not allowed in the area. However, by 1818 there were about 30 settlers living mostly in the Rocky Harbour area of Bonne Bay.



Figure 6. Woody Point, Bonne Bay circa 1940s
(Courtesy of Halfyard family)

Some of the first European settlers to the West Coast were French-speaking sailors and fishers from the French navy and migratory fishery. They were joined by Roman Catholic Acadian families from Cape Breton after 1820. Seafaring Mi'kmaq, who were trading partners and military allies of the French, had been migrating to the West Coast of Newfoundland from

Nova Scotia as part of their foraging territory since the 16th century (Cadigan, 2009, p. 53). Ella Manuel, a local feminist who wrote a brief history of Woody Point (1800–1900), was one of the few writers of her generation to acknowledge that the original settlers on the West Coast of Newfoundland, who had already lived there “without benefit of education, law or church” were “Micmac Indians” (Manuel, 1972, pp. 1, 3). The West Coast Atlantic Canadian connection was strengthened with the arrival of Highland Scottish settlers from Prince Edward Island, Inverness County, and Cape Breton in the 1860s (Cadigan, 2009, p. 134).

Large numbers of English-speaking settlers migrated to the area in the second half of the 19th century, especially the 1870s, because land was available, and they could find work in the lucrative herring and lobster fishery as well as the emerging timber industry (Berger, 2014, p. 88). Halfyard’s paternal great-grandfather, George Halfyard, migrated to Bonne Bay from Conception Bay around 1874. By this time, Newfoundland political leaders wanted to gain control over the French Shore (Cadigan, 2009, p. 136). Many settlers made their way to the South Arm of Bonne Bay from Conception Bay via the Labrador fishery; others made their way after immigrating to Nova Scotia to work for wage labour in the mines of industrial Cape Breton (Cadigan, 2009, p. 134; Crawley, 1988, p. 28; Neary, 1973; Sheppard, G., June 5, 2013).

Declining fish stocks and a general economic downturn of the colony’s economy after the 1860s created uncertainty and unrest among the working-class and inshore fishermen in the more heavily populated Conception Bay area (Crawley, 1988, p. 31; Neary, 1973, p. 109). These problems, compounded by growing religious sectarian tensions and bigotry between the Protestants and Roman Catholics, caused families to leave Conception Bay in search of better opportunities in parts of Notre Dame Bay, Green Bay, White Bay, Bonne Bay, and areas along the South Coast of the island. They brought their traditions and religious prejudices with them.

Bonne Bay also attracted immigrants from Southern England, France, Nova Scotia, Jersey Islands, and the United States (Berger, 2014, p. 89). In the early years, the fishermen and merchants generally brought male servants who were indentured to them for two to three years. Some of those servants, or “indebted migrant labourers,” (Cadigan, 2009, p. 74) jumped ship and settled in the area rather than return to England or Ireland. Some simply did not have the money to pay return passage (Osmond, 1987, p. 75). Explorers, fishermen, fish merchants, agents, and settlers of European descent eventually married, lived with, and started families with Indigenous people.

Settlement was not an easy process. The British government, in the 1860s, refused to grant land ownership because of the unsettled French Shore issue. Decades of continuous delays in the issue of land grants frustrated new West Coast settlers who came to feel that they were “no more than a passing interest to the political centre in Eastern Newfoundland” (Berger, 2014, p. 77). Many of those who had emigrated from the Carbonear/Harbour Grace area of Conception Bay were used to far more attention from the government in St. John’s. Feelings of West Coast “regional alienation” and neglect became a festering, recurring theme (Candow, 1998, pp. 40, 48). Political and regional inequalities were to become a topic Halfyard often talked about with fervour (Massey, 1994, p. 21). It shaped his championing of and resistance to the tendency of political leaders to ignore or diminish the value or perspective of smaller outport places.

Early Church and School Institutions in Bonne Bay

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the coast was without benefit of law, [formal] education or church except for rare summer visits from clergy of both Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. Fortunately, they wrote well and at great length of the people they encountered and the things they saw. (Manuel, 1972, p. 3)

For a 30-year period from 1865 to 1895, two young West Country cleric missionaries,

Ulric Z. Rule and Joseph James Curling, travelled to the Bonne Bay area to minister to the needs of the people (Manuel, 1972, p. 4). They were recruited by Bishop Edward Feild, a Church of England priest, who first arrived in Newfoundland in 1844 (Rompkey, 2010, p. 2). Known in England for his innovations in education, Feild's priorities included building a cathedral in St. John's, setting up a theological school to train clergymen, and establishing an education system. This was a way for "asserting Church of England rights" (Miller Pitt, 1984, p. 30). Feild, whose diocese stretched from the Labrador Sea to the Caribbean, captivated cleric recruits like Rule and Curling with tales of the misery and hardships he witnessed when sailing into tiny fishing villages dotted along the rugged coastline.

As part of British colonial institutional practice, Rule set out to build a school/chapel in Bonne Bay so that services would not have to be held in houses, fishing sheds, or stores (Berger, 2014, p. 69). Like many privileged men of the period, those cleric missionaries kept journals and later wrote about their experiences in memoirs. Their writing reflected the male colonial moral values typical of the backgrounds from which they hailed: Church of England and upper class. According to Manuel (1972), Rule made the following observation about residents of Curzon Village/Woody Point in a letter he wrote to his successor, Joseph Curling:

Reverend Rule commended several Wesleyans to Curling's attention, saying that Alfred Halfyard [Job's grandfather] was a very respectable and intelligent man and a good church worker. However, he did warn against another family, lately from the east coast and lately converted to Wesleyanism who was very prejudiced against the old faith [Anglican/Church of England] and hinted that the family should be watched. (p. 10)

Rule talked about his encounters with poverty, ignorance, and drunkenness. He was horrified to see women smoking and drinking hard liquor before breakfast (Berger, 2014, p. 68). He was thus eager to provide spiritual guidance and attend to the souls of the inhabitants of the area, most of whom could not read or write. Rule wrote, "My trouble is that I can be so little with the Bonne

Bay people, but they are a promising people and I hope the good seed is being sown or has been sown in many instances in good ground” (as quoted in Manuel, 1972, p. 5). It was October 1874 before the combined Anglican Church and school, started by Rule in 1869, was opened in Woody Point by his successor Joseph James Curling.

At that time clergymen or missionaries, along with the Church School Society, spearheaded the development of schools in the colony (Manuel, 1972, p. 11). Unfortunately, in addition to catering to the spiritual needs of the people, the churches often contributed to sectarian religious and social-class divides, tensions, and rivalries. Meanwhile, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), an agency supporting the establishment of colonial churches of all denominations, was actively providing similar services (Miller Pitt, 1984, p. 30). The SPG missionaries of Newfoundland were not all ordained Anglican priests; many were Wesleyan Methodist itinerants or probationary preachers sent out to travel the sparsely populated coastline.

The United Church

The United Church was formed in Canada in 1925 from a merger of Methodist, Congregationalist, and Presbyterian churches. While Newfoundland was not a province of Canada, it came under the Canadian conference. The Methodist Church in Newfoundland were generally opposed to the union with Congregationalist and Presbyterian under the United Church banner because of their more conservative ideology and religious practices (Pitt, 1994, p. 460).

Job Halfyard was raised as United Church; he was primarily educated in a United Church school, attended a United Church university, lived in a United Church residence, and later taught in United Church–run schools. He was heavily influenced by their progressive educational and social well-being philosophical practices and their promotion of the ideas of major

denominational educational reforms in the province (Christie & Gauvreau, 1996, p. 247).

Wesleyan Methodism was introduced to Newfoundland by Lawrence Coughlan, a Methodist itinerant who was called to service by the SPG at a newly built Anglican Church in Harbour Grace around 1765 (Rollman, 1992, pp. 61–62). The Wesleyan Methodists were a new group among Church of England and Roman Catholic strongholds. Methodism originated in England in the 1730s as a movement for reform and renewal within the Church of England during an era historians called the Great Awakening (Airhart, 1992, p. 30; Pitt, 1991, p. 519). John Wesley's movement of the 1700s was centered on the 'conversion' associated with revivalism and the life-altering experience of "being born again" (Airhart, 1992, pp. 15, 22). Their fundamental beliefs revolved around how freedom from the burden of sin and guilt comes from acceptance of the emotional inner experience of God's grace and salvation openly express at worship (Pitt, 1991, p. 520; Rollman, 1992, 65). Wesley introduced emotional music, congregational hymn singing, stirring sermons, and participatory public testimonials to replace the more traditional rituals, and ceremonial practices of the established Church of England.

As a social reformer, Wesley was passionately interested in education and his greatest service was developing popular education in England in the 1800s (French, 1992, p. 148). It was extremely important to Wesley and his movement that Wesleyan Methodist missionaries who travelled to the New World had a liberal education. Wesleyan leaders believed that education could not be left to the private initiative of citizens because some people would be too poor or too indifferent. Methodist preacher missionaries ran classes and taught local lay people how to run church services. They later set up Sunday schools to educate children (Airhart, 1992, p. 30). They recognized the value of education for social and cultural development of both communities and their Methodist heritage (French, 1992, p. 159). Questions have been raised as to whether

their motivation was the salvation of souls and the educating of the masses, or the conversion of new members from established churches.

By the turn of the 20th century, the Methodist Church, with its more conservative, evangelical practices, dominated the Northeast Coast region where Halfyard taught for most of his career.

United Church's Role in Serving the Modern Age

The shift towards social reforms and community service within churches was intensified during the Great Depression when urban centres became increasingly populated by displaced farm and rural workers who could no longer depend on traditional family work or support structures. Unemployed immigrants, abandoned mothers, and orphaned children living in poverty pushed philanthropic organizations, municipalities, and churches to think about the problems of vulnerable members of society left destitute as a result of capitalist industrial development. Almost every religious group began to develop proposals and coalitions for collective liberal social reforms and service to community (Christie & Gauvreau, 1996, p. 248; Reeve, 1999, pp. 6–9).

The Methodist's decentralized, small-town, rural organizational roots and practices around training lay readers also promoted community leadership development. Women played a major role in community work through a vast network of local women's institutes, clubs, and local and national chapters; however, promoting men (especially prominent businessmen and their wives) to key community leadership roles was the norm (Christie & Gauvreau, 1996, pp. 77, 247). The United Church's general practice of sending itinerant ministers to rural communities for just two years at a time meant that communities were being continually exposed to the church's new progressive ideology.

The United Church Observer, published out of the head office in Winnipeg, expounded the ideas and concerns of its modern leaders. Church bulletins, along with the *Family Herald* and the *Winnipeg Free Press*, were some of the few magazines found in homes of literate outport families like the Halfyards of Bonne Bay (Sheppard, M., November 11, 2015, p. 12; Rowe, 1980, p. 456). When Halfyard was a young boy, his mother took in boarders. He recalls a young United Church minister, a female telegraph operator, and a Newfoundland ranger boarded at their home one year (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, January 14, 2018). Many of the modern ideologies of the United Church were met with opposition and led to religious groups like the Salvation Army and Pentecostal Assemblies growing along the Northeast Coast of Newfoundland in the second half of the 20th century (Pitt, 1991, p. 524; Pitt, 1994; Rowe, 1988). Halfyard, influenced by home, school, and later university, embraced the more modern United Church notions of ‘progressive ideology’ to which he was exposed.

Teachers Who Sparked Imagination

In Grade 7, Lizzie Halfyard moved her youngest son, Job, up the road to the two-room Anglican school in Woody Point. Halfyard remembers:

Mother was descended from English and Native stock, and she had a fierce desire for people to be educated. She tried to get us all to go to school. I was the youngest of the four of us. I went to the one-room United Church school. [chuckles] I laugh about it sometimes. . . . [I]n that one-room school, a poor little girl, 18 or 19 years old, trying to look after 50 or 60 people from Primary to Grade 11. It was surprising how we even made it. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 2)

He told me that his mother moved him up the road to the Anglican school because they offered a better education than the one-room United Church alternative. Later I learned that Halfyard failed Grade 6 and had to repeat.

I had a terrible reading problem, so she sent me up to the Anglican school in Grade 7. Two things happened: We happened to have an old-fashioned, tough old teacher, very

strict, and I started to read at that time. . . . I started to read the Big Little Books, westerns, mysteries, and so on. From that time on, I became a half-decent reader. The teacher would show you what you had to do, but you had to do it yourself. (Halfyard, August, 26, 2013, p. 2)

At the Anglican school in the early 1940s, Halfyard's teacher was Clem Williams, who my father described as a good teacher with "a fuzzy mop of very dark hair that stuck up" (Halfyard October 18, 2012, p. 10). It was Mr. Williams ("whom nobody troubled, I guarantee you. . .") that sparked Halfyard's imagination and set his course for completing high school. To this day my father recalls how Mr. Williams would say, "Jobbie, you're going to make it to the front of the class today" (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, May 2017). He was referring to when students would stand up in the front of the class and recite their spelling. My father laughs, recalling how he always ended up at the end of the line.

Memories of struggling with spelling stayed with my father and motivated him to persevere, to not let it hold him back from pursuing an education or damage his self-esteem. This "failure-driven memory" (Pillemar & Kuwabara, 2012, p. 186) did not, according to Halfyard, generate negative attitudes towards schooling; instead, it encouraged him to work harder. In turn, it taught him to use and promote more positive teaching strategies to motivate and encourage students who found schooling a challenge.

During that one year, Mr. Williams left a commanding impression on my father, which motivated and inspired him. Halfyard did not let his new high school teacher for Grades 9, 10, and 11, whom he described as "a cruel man," curb his newfound passion for school and learning. He also described other influential teachers:

A lot of the places were always blessed, every now and again, with getting one or two good teachers. When I look back at our little schools in Woody Point and Curzon Village, Fred Rowe was an aggressive⁴ teacher in Woody Point before I went to school. Art

⁴ 'Aggressive' was used to mean 'progressive' by Halfyard and many of that generation.

Scammell [who penned the Squid Jiggin' Ground] was in the Anglican school. I think that all this has an effect on the community, this type of people. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 2)

According to Fred Rowe, the one-room Methodist school in Curzon Village had a “well-trained woman whose record, as shown by the external public examinations, was one of the best in Newfoundland” (Rowe, 1988, p. 68). Emma Halfyard, a relative from a different branch of the family, taught for 15 years in the Methodist school (1915–1930) before young Rowe arrived in December 1930 to the heavy workload of teaching pupils ranging from Kindergarten to Grade 11 (Berger, 2014, p. 185). Rowe noted how his predecessor’s record was so good that Anglican parents sent their children to the smaller Methodist school, placing even more strain on the inexperienced novice teacher. Rowe (1988), who was raised Methodist in Lewisporte, Notre Dame Bay, emphasized, “This was one of the first occasions on which I encountered the phenomenon of two or more church groups being quite happy, apparently, to integrate their educational services” (p. 68).

Most ambitious or “good teachers” of that era moved on to bigger and better schools within a few years. Most young men of Halfyard’s generation moved in a similar “variegated” (Rowe, 1988, p. 2) fashion from smaller to larger schools for career and lifestyle advancement. At the same time, many of the teachers and students I interviewed for this study recalled exceptional everyday unsung teachers, many of them women like Emma Halfyard or Clem Williams. Many were leaders in their own right who chose to stay for most of their careers in smaller rural communities where they helped shape young minds.

Section II: Local Place – Workplace and Collective Community

A sense of place sharpens our understanding of the individual and the psychic and social forces that direct him or her. Without place our appreciation of such particularistic forces

tends to be fuzzy and depersonalized. Indeed, place particularizes and conveys embedded social forces. (Kincheloe & Pinar, 1991, p. 3)



Figure 7. Bonne Bay from Curzon Village/Woody Point
(Halfyard, S., 1987)

Born into a Place

The physical environment and geography of Bonne Bay with its many rivers, coastal beauty, and unique mountain wilderness inspired Halfyard throughout his lifetime. Halfyard's eldest nephew, George Sheppard, articulated the intensity of the connection both men have with the Bonne Bay landscape; it gives them their sense of place:

The actual physicality of the place means more to me than the people. That's what I bonded with. Because the place was so beautiful. I mean I'd spend most of my summers fishing because I had my own dory and that. . . . But I remember one time I took a mirror with me, out in the boat for some reason, and I looked at the mirror and I saw the [bay] in reverse, and I realized just how awesomely beautiful it was . . . And the bay, the physical part of the bay, just soaked into my soul. (Sheppard, G., June 11, 2013, p. 17)

Today Bonne Bay, named *bonne* by the French, meaning "good or beautiful," is a paradise for artists, photographers, and nature lovers (Miller Pitt, 1981, p. 224). For local residents and their ancestors, it is and was home.

A key factor in the culture, place, and identity nexus is Yi-Fu Tuan's (1977/2011) notion of place, of becoming in the physical, social, and mental landscapes—'being in the world'. This Heideggerian phrase, which has been adopted and adapted by many contemporary social scientists, "refers to the way human beings exist, act, or are involved in the world" (van Manen, 1990, p. 175). It is related to the idea of the lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*), the world of immediate experience, and the science of phenomenology. Portelli (1991) defines the collective as "the life of the community, the neighbourhood, the workplace" (p. 70). It includes the everyday rituals, traditions, as well as social and cultural activities of people in places or communities (Buttimer, 1976; Scott, 1991).

A Commercial Hub That Valued Education

Each of the individual villages in the Bonne Bay area that influenced Halfyard during his growing-up years had somewhat different cultural sensibilities and personalities. Halfyard explains why the residents of Woody Point valued formal education:

Education was thought to be very valuable in the Woody Point area, maybe because it was the centre of administration for the government, and that's where the police [Newfoundland Ranger Force] were stationed, and the British man-of-wars would come in at that time, and education was very important in our home. . . . As I said, somebody must have been doing things right, or we had good genes, because in about 10 years from the time that I graduated [1949] 100 teachers came from those three-room, two-room, and a one-room schools. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 2)

In the last quarter of the 19th century, close to 50 schooners and fishing vessels, most of them built in Stanleyville near Lomond, sailed out of the busy commercial hub of Woody Point (Berger, 2014, p. 134; Osmond, 1987, pp. 267–280). By the 1920s and 1930s, merchants like the Butts and Houlihans from Conception Bay, Hollahans of Irish Catholic descent from Quebec, and the Haliburtons, Seeleys, and Muirs from Nova Scotia had built thriving businesses based on the herring, cod, and lobster fisheries. Woody Point also attracted people like David Coen

(Cohens) from Russia and Joseph Turbey from Syria, who set up businesses in the area around 1919 (Berger, 2014, pp. 107, 218). By the early 20th century, Woody Point was firmly established as the administrative centre for the Northwest (Berger, 2014, p. 106). Because of the large volume of trade, a branch of the Bank of Nova Scotia was set up in Woody Point in 1916.

Halfyard recalls:

The magistrate lived there; the Rangers lived there; the customs officer lived there. It was a government centre because Corner Brook was just coming on stream [1925]. And then it all shifted of course—because of the fires that destroyed the businesses. (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 9)

Government institutions such as the telegraph, magistrate, and customs offices meant that in addition to the scattered ‘come-from-away’ clergy or teachers typical in most outpost communities, Woody Point also had a magistrate, police constable, bank manager, physician, nurse, telegraph operator, welfare officer, and even a wreck commissioner. They had an emerging middle-class group of professionals and intelligentsia (Berger, 2014, p. 153; Cuff, 1994, p. 623). It was only after Halfyard told me about how government workers often boarded, on a long- or short-term basis, at his home did I understand why he would always mention the presence of those professionals (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, January 14, 2018).

In 1922, a major fire destroyed some 58 buildings including wharves, dwellings, and other structures along the waterfront. The petit bourgeoisie merchants brought in artisans and architects from Nova Scotia and Boston to rebuild the Woody Point waterfront (Berger, 2014, p. 153; Cuff, 1994, p. 623; Halfyard, 2015, p. 17). Some businesses never recovered and Woody Point’s population decreased from 306 in 1911 to 196 by 1935 (Candow, 1998, p. 26). Although some regard the fire as the cause of a severe decline in the regional importance of Woody Point, the community remained a significant administrative centre until the late-1960s when the highway was built around the Northern Arm (Berger, 2014, p. 154). Halfyard remembers:

Now, Woody Point wasn't a normal community, you know. It was like Elliston in Bonavista Bay. There were a lot of people had a strong desire for their children to succeed. Therefore, Woody Point was one of the first communities to try to recruit better teachers and to try to get their kids to finish school. I think there were 12 or 13 of us in Grade 7 and 8 at the Anglican school in Woody Point and 9 of us finished Grade 11. Can you imagine? And there were 7 or 8 in the United Church school and nearly all of them finished. (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 9)



Figure 8. Ceremony at War Memorial circa 1957
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

The residents of Woody Point may have been wealthier than the working-class fishermen next door in Curzon Village where Halfyard was born and grew up. Yet, their Methodist upbringing made formal education an extremely important part of their traditions and religious doctrine (MacLeod, 1999, p. xii; Rowe, 1988, pp. 37–38). While school attendance was not compulsory in Newfoundland until 1949, practising Methodist families in small communities like Curzon Village made education a “moral obligation” (Rowe, 1988, p. 17). Frederick W. Rowe (1988), who taught in the Methodist Church one-room school in Curzon Village for two-and-a-half years from December 1931, wrote extensively about the role of the Methodist Church as it related to the development of formal education in his memoirs, *Into the Breach* (p. 69).

In Newfoundland, there were periods when even one-, two-, or three-room Methodist schools showed disproportionately high achievements at all educational levels, especially

in higher and postgraduate studies. This disproportion was also manifested periodically in the annual number of matriculants and university graduates. (Rowe, 1988, p. 38)

Rowe went on to become the Minister of Education and was influential in the Smallwood government in the 1950s. He was the Member of the House of Assembly (MHA) for White Bay South (La Scie and area) when Halfyard lived there in the early 1960s. Throughout my research, I draw from the historical and educational writings of Rowe (1964, 1976, 1980) for institutional context and clarification as well as for details about places like Bonne Bay and La Scie.

Libraries and Reading

Libraries and reading have deep roots in Woody Point. Ella Manual (1972) wrote about how Rev. Curling, a cleric missionary with the Church of England, was an avid reader (p. 4). Encouraging reading was one way he tried to extend the horizons of his ‘flock’. She described how he arranged for fishing vessels travelling to Labrador to carry a box of books containing “one-third religious publications; one-third books of instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic; and one-third books of healthy amusement” (Berger, 2014, p. 70). Curling’s lending library supposedly sparked local Woody Point resident John Roberts’s interest in reading (Manual 1972, p. 13). Years later, his descendant, Edgar L. Roberts, opened a public library from both his own collection and donations from people as far away as the United States. The library he built ran until 1970 when it was integrated with the provincial public library system (Berger, 2014, p. 71).

George Sheppard recounted how he borrowed books from Ella Manual, which he carried up to the fire watch tower where he worked as a summer student in the 1960s. Likewise, my father described how he borrowed books, especially Zane Grey westerns, which he would read by candle light well into the night. Halfyard also told how the Anglican school in Woody Point

had a good collection of books, while the United Church school in Curzon Village had a very poor collection of books. Did those community practices spark Halfyard's initial interest in reading and public libraries? Did he, in turn, pass on this passion to the people in the White Bay/Green Bay communities where he taught? I know he certainly passed along a love of reading and place to his children. How many people like my father did Curling, Roberts, and Manual indirectly influence?

A Child of the Depression and War Years

When my father was born in 1931, the population of the Bonne Bay region had dropped slightly, partially due to the Depression. Other winds of change were blowing through the region. The Corner Brook pulp and paper mill started operations in 1925 (Moore & Cuff, 1993, p. 471). The construction of the mill and the power station in Deer Lake lured men away from the Bonne Bay area, first for work in construction and then in the logging industry (Cadigan, 2009, p. 216). Hence, there was a movement away from the traditional kinship family unit economic model towards the industrial Fordist and male breadwinner model (Kohli, 2007, p. 261).

My father talked incessantly about the hard times of his childhood. During the Depression, large families who were not able to feed or clothe their children were common. One girl in his class was called 'Mat Rags' because she was a late riser in the morning. Being the last one up in the household, she was left with the odds and ends—or rags—to wear to school. Other children could not go to school because they had no winter boots to wear. Some families were not able to feed themselves in the way his family could. Halfyard's mother's pantry and cellar, located just off the large kitchen, with the modern earthen double sink with running water, was always well stocked. My father often described how residents sold flowers, picked from local gardens, to passengers on cruise ships that moored off Woody Point in the late 1930s (Berger,

2014, p. 161). He also remembered kicking football with sailors from the man-of-war ships that patrolled the coastline. Feeding one's family and hard work were two recurring themes often mentioned by Halfyard and his siblings.

Halfyard was only eight years old when the Second World War broke out in 1939. He often related fragments of events from his memories of that traumatic global event. They were not necessarily recalled in chronological sequence. Neither were they necessarily his memories. Instead they may have been fragments of stories or conversations he heard as a child. According to Portelli (1991), children piece together stories from conversations of their parents in an effort to make sense of things (pp. 274–275). Halfyard reminisced,

I remember the young men walking out from the Trout River Road, coming through the gulch. I remember one time there was about 20 of them. They walked in from Trout River, which was about a four-hour walk. And down over the hill to the magistrate's office and signed the recruiting papers [Pensive tone]. . .

And this messenger girl, when a message would come in, she would be requested to take it to such and such person in the town. And I remember seeing the blinds being pulled down as she walked [Long pause]. Because they didn't know. That is how the messages came if something tragic happened to their son or father. . .

And I remember also the sheer ecstasy of the bells ringing at the end of the war. It affected everybody. (Halfyard, June 17, 2015, pp. 3–4)

Halfyard also recalled seeing a cruise ship steaming out the bay the day the United States declared war on Japan after the bombing of Pearl Harbour in 1941. He would have been 10 years old.

Mancel, his eldest brother, enlisted in his late teens, like many of the young men from Trout River. For the better part of five years, Job, his mother, Lizzie, his brother Horace, and his sister Marguerite sat huddled around the radio in their parlour listening to reports of the war. His father was away working during those years. The fish export business was booming.



Figure 9. In July 1943, George Mancel Halfyard joined the 166th Royal Nfld. Regiment. After signal training in North Wales he embarked for Italy in May of 1944.
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Leisure and Cultural Activities

When my father was a boy in the 1930s and 1940s, formal recreational and leisure activities were still a thing of the future. In addition to regular household chores like chopping wood, milking the cows, and feeding the animals, children's lives were filled with informal activities like skating and tobogganing in winter, and swimming, trout fishing, and berry picking in summer. Men and boys would also venture into the great outdoors to hunt and fish or gather on the wharves or around the pot-bellied stoves in the general merchant's store to 'cuffer' with other men.

Outside of nature's bounty of leisure activities, the church, school, and local lodges organized dances, fall fairs, and other social events. Those were the venues where women took a more active role. Woody Point was one of those cultured places that produced at least one or two plays each year, and the odd film was shown at the Orange Lodge during the war years. When described in this way, it appears that everything in the tiny communities of Woody Point and

Curzon Village was harmonious; there were no social class or religious tensions and everyone socialized together as a unified group. Such was not the case. Fred Rowe (1988) describes the social relations thus:

With the two communities so near to each other, it was inevitable that there would be close social relations, and there was much intermarriage between the two groups. However, it was still true that the residents of Curzon Village, being United Church, were inclined to be more restrictive than the residents of Woody Point, most of whom were Anglican. Some of the old Curzon Village residents frowned on such frivolity as “social games,” which term was really only a euphemism for the wickedness of dancing, smoking, card playing, and use of alcohol. (p. 66)

While intermarriage between groups was common among young people, it did not always occur without disapproval from parents. Halfyard’s sister describes her parents:

Dad was an old-fashioned Methodist, hey—honesty, dignity and that meant a lot to Dad being honest and kind and good. . . . Oh, Mom was [Anglican] yeah. She went to the United Church, except when she got good and mad. When she got good and mad she went up there to the Anglican church. . . . She went up to the Anglican Church on Good Friday. Three-hour service. (Sheppard, M., November 11, 2015, pp. 63–64)

While Lizzie Crocker Halfyard seemed to retain as much connection to her birth church as she could manage, when her only daughter wanted to marry Alfred Sheppard, who was older, Anglican, and from Woody Point, she strongly disapproved. Lizzie’s daughter Marguerite, who is now in her nineties, expressed strong views about past denominational practices:

This denominational business to me is baloney. Even at church meetings I’ve said, “I’ve been trying for years to unite the churches from Glenburnie down here. And you know, to me, religion causes a lot of trouble.” (Sheppard, M., November 11, 2015, pp. 61–62)

Like larger Newfoundland communities, which were settled by families of two or three different denominations, sociocultural divides usually centred on sectarian religious differences. It appears that some of the children in the communities may have been oblivious to many of the social class and religious divisions. However, if one is to apply ideas from Joe L. Kincheloe’s social psychoanalysis theory, “hidden dimensions” or unconscious learning, both negative and

positive, would have been propagated. The impact of these social, cultural and institutional codes need to be acknowledged and analyzed (Kincheloe, 1991, p. 4). For example, both Marguerite's oldest son, George, who was born in 1945, and Halfyard describe many fisticuffs—some vicious—among boys they grew up with. Some were driven by social class differences while others evolved from religion practices. Both men invariably related the legendary story of how ongoing fighting between rowdy young men in the community resulted in the magistrate binding a group to the peace for life. This raises questions about whether young Halfyard and other family members questioned the logic of such religious divisions and senseless acts?

Tales of Fishing Exploits – Character Building

Halfyard recalls spending hours making lobster pots and taking his fishing rod or 22-rifle and heading up over the Bonne Bay hills to hunt partridge, snare rabbits, and trout or fly fish for salmon. At that time fishermen still used motorboats, row boats, or dories to go to their fishing berths to haul lobster pots and herring nets or to catch cod by hand lines. Cod was primarily salted and lobster was shipped live to Gloucester, Nova Scotia from Rocky Harbour. Salmon was iced and shipped to Sydney, Nova Scotia. The O. K. Service shipped lobster to the 'Boston States' (Berger, 2014; GOVNL, 1954). Local merchants like William Hollahan and George Butt operated a herring pickling plant in Woody Point. They also sold wet-salted cod dried on the beach. The following are stories about fishing exploits, which Halfyard often recounted to his children:

When I was 12 years old I used to work in the Herring store. I could pack almost double what other men could pack. I had good hands to put salt in the belly. I could do 30 to 33 barrels a day while most men were doing 12 to 18 barrels. None of the men caught on to my method. . . . I was so damn small I couldn't reach the bottom of the barrel. Mother made me a girdle so I wouldn't chafe my belly.

I did this in the spring and the fall after school and on Saturdays. . . . Nearly all the large businesses, Uncle Tave Taylor's and Parsons, had herring stores. They [older fishermen]

didn't like me because we were paid by the barrel. They called the inspector in once to say I wasn't filling the belly right and the fish inspector said, "I'd like to tell you he's doing a better job than you." (Halfyard, May 17, 2013)

He also described how one year he built a small boat, made lobster pots, and stockpiled the lobster he caught until the prices peaked at the end of the season. Then, he went to see Mr. Butt, one of the local merchants, to negotiate a deal so he could purchase sugar for his mother:

It was coming on preserving time in late August and the colony was under rations because of the war. It was probably 1942 or 1943. Mother needed the sugar to bottle her berries for the winter months. I wanted a sack of sugar for mother. (Halfyard, June 17, 2015)

An avid fly fisher, my father also regularly tells stories about his prowess as an outdoorsman, how he was almost as good as the legendary Emma ("Em") Tapper or the famous Mi'kmaq guide and prospector, Mattie Mitchell, who fished the Lomond River (Berger, 2014, p. 18; Candow, 1998, p. 37). He also tells stories about Lee Wulff, who was hired to look at the tourism potential of the West Coast of Newfoundland for the Commission of Government.

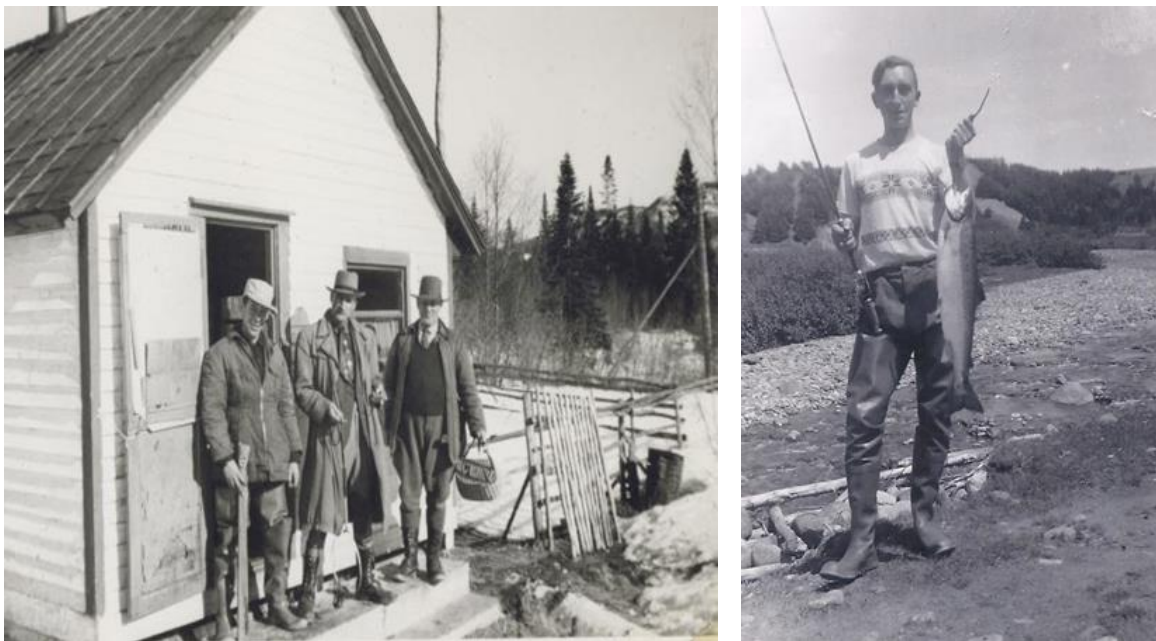


Figure 10. Halfyard fishing on the Lomond River circa 1950 where his Uncle Jack had a cabin and was a game warden (Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Wulff, an American sports fisherman and journalist, frequented the Lomond area during the 1940s and promoted the idea that Bonne Bay could become a major tourism destination because of its scenic beauty and sports fishing potential. Young Halfyard noticed all those comings and goings when he visited his Uncle Jack, a game warden on the Lomond River:

I became a fly fisherman at a very early age, 10 or 12 years old. I went from a trout pole, bamboo, to an artificial rod or some sort of fly rod with a reel and casting lines. I relied fairly heavily on Em Tapper who was the protégée of Lee Wulff in developing fly fishing tourism in the Bonne Bay area. She clued me in quite a bit on the best flies to use in different water levels and different colours, and so on. And I quickly graduated from a wet fly fisherman to a dry fly fisherman, which is much more skilled and much more efficient. (Halfyard, June 17, 2015, p. 5)

Halfyard acknowledged that not many boys his age bothered to do the kinds of things he did. Maybe young Halfyard had an overabundance of energy, curiosity, or a desire to learn and absorb. Maybe he was compensating for his father's absence for long periods for work. Maybe he was just competitive and liked to brag. When compared to Goodson (2012) and Fullan's (2011) descriptors for leadership development, young Halfyard was certainly an 'action-oriented' persistent 'doer' who enjoyed learning from experience.

Section III: The Home – Private and Family Life

The last layer of the onion is what Portelli (1991) calls "the home" vertical space stratum. Portelli describes this layer as "personal, private and family life; the life cycle of births, marriages, jobs, children, and deaths; and personal involvement in the two other levels" (p. 70). Once again, it is important to remember that these modes and levels are never entirely separate; they are permeable and influence each other. Storytellers "shuttle back and forth in time" (Portelli, 1991, p. 273) as they piece together or construct their narratives (Conway & Jobson, 2012). For this reason, it is challenging to organize the pertinent historical background

information, themes, and “phonemes” or events, which often have a temporal dimension and can “stretch in all directions” (Portelli, 1991, pp. 72–73).

Halfyards of Curzon Village



Figure 11. Family picnic in Halfyard garden circa 1930s, United Church in background (Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

My great-great-grandfather, George Halfyard (1829–1907), and his family arrived in Curzon Village, Bonne Bay, from Ochre Pit Cove, Western Bay, in 1874 after working in the fishery on the East Coast for two generations (Halfyard, 1970, p. 1). Around that time the Conception Bay area was showing the effects of overfishing and other global fiscal pressures, forcing families to migrate to new areas of the colony, mainland Canada, and ‘the Boston States’ for work and survival (Neary, 1973, pp. 116–117). George Halfyard’s wife, Julie Tuff (1830–1920), had heard about how the fishing was good and herring plentiful through letters she received from her brother, who had moved to Bonne Bay from Conception Bay the previous year. He came to the area to ply his trade as a cooper making barrels for the herring fishery (Berger, 2014, p. 97; Halfyard, 1970, p. 1).

George Halfyard Sr. and his wife, Julie Tuff, purchased a 2.5-acre tract of land in Curzon Village, next to Woody Point, where they raised their eight children (three boys and five girls). Another boy died before leaving Ochre Pitt Cove (Halfyard, F., 1970, p. 4).⁵ In Curzon Village they worked in the fishery and augmented their livelihood from their immediate surroundings with activities like logging (Osmond, 1987, pp. 64–66). They also owned land at the far bottom of Curzon Village, which they cleared for subsistence agriculture, growing potatoes, cabbage, turnip, carrots, beets, and pumpkin. Like most people in those days they had sheep, chicken, a cow, and an ox for woods work and to plow the land (Halfyard, F., 1970, p. 9). They introduced different types of fruit trees, gooseberries and red and black currants, which I remember picking when we visited my grandmother during the 1960s and 1970s. They used the great white pine that grew in abundance in those days to build their homes.

Job Halfyard's father, George Hayward Halfyard (1890–1967), was the second child and eldest son of Alfred Halfyard (1858–1937) and Elizabeth Jane Eisen (1867–1946). My father often talks about how the Eisen family were 'of German stock', United Empire Loyalists from Nova Scotia. John 'Michael' Eisen (1833–1898) from Ship Harbour, Nova Scotia, was probably the first permanent resident of Crawley's Cove, which was renamed Curzon Village in the early 19th century by Commander Curzon of the British Royal Navy, who patrolled the Bonne Bay area (McLeod, 1988, p. 36; Osmond, 1987, p. 49). Alfred and Elizabeth had 10 children, five girls and five boys, including one who died at birth (Osmond, 1987, pp. 64–66).

Tracts of Land and Out-Migration

The paper written by my father's cousin Fred Halfyard for a geography course on the

⁵ Much of the family and settlement pattern information for this section was taken from two papers (1970 and 1973) written by a cousin, Robert Frederick Halfyard, for two geography courses for Professor John Mannion at Memorial University and from Roy M. Osmond's *Families of the South-Arm of Bonne Bay: 1800's–1930's*.

division of family land shows that the writing was on the wall for my father's generation of children born in the 1920s and 1930s (Halfyard, F., 1970). The fishery was deteriorating, the forestry was declining, and there were smaller and smaller tracts of land to be divided among the male children in the families. The tracts of land belonging to George Halfyard and his three brothers had already been divided. Each tract was now long and thin, leading to the water's edge. In this traditional family economic unit, girls did not generally inherit family land (Kohli, 2007, p. 260). Thus, like many young Newfoundland women, they either married or moved away to find work (Crawley, 1988, p. 42; Halfyard, F., 1970, p. 4). Two of George Halfyard's sisters settled in San Diego, California after migrating to 'the Boston States' in the 1930s, where one worked in a factory and the other was a servant girl. The oldest and youngest sisters each married local men and settled in the community. Another went away to teach, and was married and settled in Adeytown in Trinity Bay (Osmond, 1987, p. 64–65). Halfyard's father George worked away from home with the Monroe Export Company for almost 25 years after he returned from the First World War and married Lizzie Crocker.

George Halfyard became part of the emerging middle-class in the shift from a traditional to an industrial career path regime. This shift was driven by the institutional, governmental, and industrial economic models of work based on wage labour (Mayer, 2009, p. 255; Mayer & Muller, 1986). The traditional family household apprentice-style economy was being replaced by formalized educational school training models (Kohli, 2007, p. 256). According to sociologist Karl Mayer (2009), in his theory of the social organization of the life course, "given institutional contexts, individuals are probably more frequently being selected than selecting themselves" (Mayer, 2009, pp. 162, 164, 165). This educational selection process was the new trend in the institutional educational career and occupational employment models emerging during the early

part of the 20th century. Studying the life courses of individuals like Job Halfyard and his father George reflect the shifting social structure of the time and place (Mayer, 2009, p. 165).

Father's Work – Monroe Export Company

George Halfyard was a fisherman before he went to work as a manager with the Monroe Export Company from 1928 to the early 1950s. His son related how Arthur Monroe asked, “Who is the best fisherman in the Bonne Bay?” Supposedly, he was told, “George Halfyard.” By that time, George was almost 40 years old. He had only married four years earlier. Halfyard stated:

He had Grade 3, I think. He was in Halifax sailing out on a fishing schooner when he was 12. He was the oldest boy of the family, see. He had to go out and help support the rest. . . . He fished out on the Grand Banks. . . . He did a lot of sailing in the West Indies and Jamaica. And all during the war, most of the time, he spent in the Mediterranean, down in their base in Alexandria, in Egypt. He was in the Dardanelles—that fiasco. (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 7)



Figure 12. George Halfyard off to the Great War circa 1915
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

George was almost 25 years old when the Great War started and he joined the British Royal Navy. After returning home, George Halfyard started a small lobster canning plant, providing some family members with jobs. During the winter, he had a saw mill across the bay

in Rattling Brook (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 26). A physically strong man, he would cut timber over the hills between Woody Point and Lomond where the Scottish-born George Simpson had built a modern woods operation company in 1916. The modern town site at Lomond had an electric light system, 14 colour-coordinated company houses, a company farm where vegetables were grown, and a cold storage plant to keep food for the woods workers who worked in the dozen or more woods camps (Candow, 1998, pp. 15, 22, 80). Simpson also brought in Swedish lumbermen to lend their expertise to a proposed mega-project which was to include the erection of one or more pulp or paper mills in the area that would generate cash wages (Candow, 1998, p. 19). Unfortunately, the venture ran into repeated wood supply and post-war market depression problems. The notion ‘if you build it, they will come’ proved to be a challenge.

As a result, in 1928 they leased a portion of their cold storage plant to the Monroe Export Company, which was incorporated into Fisheries Product Inc. in 1941 (Candow, 1998, p. 26; Etchegary, 2013, pp. 59–61). Arthur Monroe, the son of a St. John’s merchant and politician, renovated the cold storage plant to a modern brine quick-freezing system for halibut, salmon, and lobster (Berger, 2014; Cuff, 1991, p. 598). The liquid-brine-based quick-freeze technique had been developed in New England earlier in the decade. Halfyard noted:

There was block fish going into Cleveland, and they had a plant in Cleveland with a thousand people working at it. That’s where they reprocessed the fish that was sent from Newfoundland and shipped it over central United States. . . . Generally, 21-pound block cod boxes. We were still doing it here [La Scie] when I came here [in 1961]. (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 8)

Job Halfyard’s older sister, Marguerite, recalls living in one of the company houses during a summer in the mid-1930s. It was one of those rare occasions when the family visited their father at work. What an experience it must have been for a young boy not used to seeing such modern contraptions. Perhaps that is partially where my father’s fascination with new

technology started. It may have also been the breeding ground for his belief that secondary processing of fish was needed to create viable employment for Newfoundlanders and that quality housing was a solution to retaining teachers in rural communities.

The Monroe Export Company relocated its operation to the Burin Peninsula area sometime around 1939 because the South Coast remained ice-free during winter months, and they shifted that region's focus to freezing cod for market (Candow, 1998, pp. 32, 35). Halfyard and his sister proudly recall how their father set up plants in Grand Bank, Rose Blanche, Isle aux Mort, La Scie, and Bonavista. But this meant their father worked farther away from home and he only came home once or twice a year, mostly at Christmas. His 89-year-old daughter reflected:

One time he was gone a whole year [Long pause]. I can remember going up to the old post office, which is where the coffee house is there now, looking for a letter from Dad. And he'd be in Port aux Basque, and down in Isle aux Mort, and Grand Bank or Fortune. And in the summer he'd go up around, for the lobsters in Bonavista and Trinity Bay. He was gone one year a whole year [Pensive tone]. Yeah, I would go up all the time looking for a letter from Dad. But he always wrote. He wrote every week or every two weeks . . . when I was married. I was married in 1954. Dad was in Isle aux Mort I think then. You know, Mom really in our, my, teenage years, Mom reared us because Dad was gone. (Sheppard, M., November 11, 2015, p. 14)



Figure 13. Halfyard women and children circa 1938. Lizzie and her four children, Mancel, Marguerite, Horace, and Job. (Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

The practice of fathers going away to work, leaving mothers solely responsible for the household and family care, was typical in outport Newfoundland (Crawley, 1988, p. 42). Thus, young Job Halfyard, who was just moving into his teens, was expected to complete chores like chopping wood, milking cows, and tending to the pasture. His older brother had joined the war effort and gone overseas like his father had a generation earlier. According to Halfyard, his brother, who was two years older than him, was “a momma’s boy” and often sickly.

Interests are different, and there are a lot of different reasons for it. I mean, I suppose, it was all this drive to succeed in whatever I did. When berry picking, my can had to always be full—I always brought home the most. When I went cutting wood, I brought home the most wood. When I went fishing, I had to be the best fisherman, whether it was fly fisherman or whether it was commercial fisherman. But my success was I was willing to put in the work. That’s the key. You’ve got to be willing to put the work in. You can’t be in bed all day. (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 25)

How much did his interests, his work ethic, and his drive to excel have to do with his family background, his parents, and the circumstances of his upbringing? How much of it had to do with trying to be the man of the house during the turmoil of the Second World War, with his father away working and his older brother fighting overseas? How much can be traced to the forceful personality of his mother?

Mother’s People of Trout River

George Halfyard married Lizzie Crocker from nearby Trout River in 1924. Lizzie Catherine Crocker was born on December 24, 1894, to Job Crocker (b. Dec. 5, 1848–d. Sept. 7, 1942) and Irene Compagnon (Companion) from John’s Beach in the Bay of Islands (b. July 22, 1860–d. July 7, 1912). Lizzie was the fifth youngest of 11 children.

In talking about his “drive to succeed,” Halfyard harkens back to his namesake, his grandfather Job Crocker, a small wiry man who died in 1942 when Halfyard was 11 years old:

I suppose it’s my makeup. It’s me as an individual, I guess. [Pause]. Now, you could see

grandfather in Trout River was the most aggressive and progressive man in that town. And he wasn't dead 10 years and there wasn't enough board left in his businesses to make a puppy house. The land was mostly all sold or not farmed. The fishery, his fishing business, was gone. His lumber business, it was gone.

Mother could have run it. Mother had the smarts and the drive to run it, but Uncle Lance was shifted out and Uncle Al died, and Uncle Sim left and went to Boston. They had just left Uncle Job and Uncle Walter, and they drank too much and never put the work in. Wonderful personalities though. (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 25)

Halfyard clearly sees individual character, not institutional factors, as the shaping force of his later aspirations and ventures. But was that necessarily the case?



Figure 14. Lizzie Halfyard in her late thirties circa 1930s, and photo on right Lizzie Crocker in her early twenties in Sydney, Nova Scotia, circa 1920
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Lizzie's father, Job Crocker, like most men of the Trout River area, eked out a subsistence living for his family from both the land and the sea. He was a fisherman who launched his small flat-bottomed dory from the sandy beach to catch fish. His wife, Irene, along with their children, farmed the land that his father had settled in the early 1800s. Job Crocker was one of nine children born to George Crocker who is proclaimed to be the first white settler of Trout River (Osmond, 1987, pp. 43). Records suggest George Crocker arrived in

Newfoundland around 1830 on a vessel operated by the English merchant Joseph Bird who ran a trading post in Bonne Bay. Like the original Halfyard bothers of Ochre Pitt Cove, Crocker hailed from Dorset, England (Feild, 1849, p. 49; Halfyard, F., 1970, p. 30).

In a journal of his visitation to the western and southern coasts of Newfoundland for *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, Bishop Edward Feild described how he met “an old man named Crocker” of Trout River at Deep Cove in the Bay of Islands on August 3, 1849. According to Feild, Crocker was married to a sister of the Brakes from the John’s Beach area of the Bay of Islands. Crocker “contrived” (Feild, 1849, p. 54) to pilot the church ship to Trout River so that his nine children could be baptized. Feild wrote in his journal:

Crocker has a good deal of land under cultivation, and grows turnips, barley, etc. His garden is well cultivated, and apparently, he is in very comfortable circumstances, but grumbles like an Englishman, and declares he has a hard matter to keep his family. He had himself baptized all his own children but one. (Feild, 1849, p. 55)

Both George Crocker and his son Job Crocker married Mi’kmaq women from the Bay of Islands. Feild determined that all but one of the settlers’ wives he met while sailing through the Bay of Islands and Bonne Bay in August and September of 1845 were “Micmac Indian from St. George’s Bay” and Burgeo (Feild, 1849, pp. 49, 50, 56).

Hidden Indigenous Roots

George Sheppard, the eldest of Lizzie Halfyard’s grandchildren, recalls how his grandmother always claimed to be of French not Mi’kmaq descent:

She denied that, because it wasn’t fashionable to be native in those days at all. In fact, it’s like saying you’re a Black in the States. So she denied totally that there was any Indian blood, any native blood at all in the genetics involved. She used to say that wherever they used to watch Indians come over the hills with their baskets to trade. And they were terrified of them. She knew damn well that her mom was Mi’kmaq. She said that her great-grandfather and grandfather were French, but it was a lie. She convinced herself that she was telling the truth, right? . . . She couldn’t see shades of grey. It wasn’t comforting enough for her. Different times. You’d have to be in the times to understand

the stress, I guess, and the stigma that would be attached to it. Attached to [Mattie Mitchell and Harry Webb] and those guys. They were Mi'kmaq in the community—whereas the British were respected and the French were respected. (Sheppard, G., June 11, 2013, p. 8)

It was only by chance in 2004 that George came face to face with his Indigenous roots. He was repairing an outboard motor for a man with the surname of Companion from John's Beach. As with most Newfoundlanders, the conversation eventually got around to "Where are you from?" George, who studied psychology at MUN and became a social worker replied,

"Do you know that my great-great-grandmother was a Companion—Irene Companion from John's Beach?" He looked at me and he said, "You're an Indian." He said, "You're an Indian." Just like that. "We know all about you." And he did. He had everything on the record, all the research done. They knew our children: Margie and—they knew Jim, Elizabeth . . . And they said, "You apply to the band council and we'll make you a member of the group just like that." It wasn't important to me, but hell, why not? So I did. (Sheppard, G., June 11, 2013, p. 9)

Supposedly, the federal government had conducted a survey years earlier and had records of the Crocker connections to the Mi'kmaq from the Bay of Islands (Tanner, 1998, p. 242). George claims that the only way his grandmother could cope with the stigma and racial discrimination that came with being part Indigenous was to bury those memories. George felt his grandmother had "cognitive dissonance" (Sheppard, G., June 2011); she compartmentalized or suppressed things too difficult to handle. Scholars have similarly theorized how compartmentalization or denial of culture is a coping mechanism used by Indigenous and other marginalized people to manage stigmatism and racism (Festinger, 1987, p. 206; Hanrahan, 2012, pp. 1, 6; Lawrence, 1998, p. 56). Trout River was looked down upon by the people of Woody Point, partially because of the Indigenous roots of many of its residents (Matthews, 1976, p. 54).

Struggles with Identity

Mi'kmaw roots were a part of Lizzie Crocker's and thus Job Halfyard's ancestry. However, he never knew his mother's people were Mi'kmaq despite the fact that his mother

often visited her relatives in John's Beach and young Halfyard visited Crocker relatives in Trout River. Maura Hanrahan (2012), a cultural anthropologist and sociologist who has worked extensively with Indigenous groups in Newfoundland and has written about land claims and other Indigenous issues, acknowledges that her Mi'kmaq ancestry was also largely hidden by her family. She posits,

Mi'kmaq parents found that denial of Indigenous ancestry was the most effective way to protect Mi'kmaq children and secure what employment was available, although even these drastic strategies did not always work at the paper mills in Corner Brook and Grand Falls. (p. 3)

Lizzie's story is similar to many of the stories and profiles of West Coast Elders documented on the Qalipu First Nation website (Qalipu, 2014). Denial and secrecy—hiding their ethnicity—was pervasive (Hanrahan, 2012, p. 3). Disclosure is only a recent occurrence, and in many cases those born pre-1940s, like Halfyard, are still reluctant to acknowledge they are Mi'kmaq. Halfyard's middle brother, who died in 2001, would have vehemently denied that he had 'native' blood. Neither his eldest brother, Mancel, nor his sister, Marguerite, applied for status with the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nations Band. However, many of their children and grandchildren have embraced their Indigenous roots.

An understanding of Lizzie Crocker's cultural heritage, and how she coped with the scars and erosion of her Mi'kmaq identity, sheds light on the mores, values, and attitudes that she brought into her marriage, the lives of her children, and the very different communities of Curzon Village and Woody Point where she lived after marrying. Did Lizzie embrace the notion of assimilating her Mi'kmaq identity into the Euro-Canadian "civilized" mainstream (Hanrahan, 2003, p. 219)? Was she oversensitive? Did she overcompensate? Was she overly ambitious for her children? Did it shape their identity development? It is well documented that cognitive dissonance is an important concept when considering the influence of

culture on goals and aspirations (Lawrence, 1998, p. 71).

Lizzie Halfyard's life and view of the world was very complex. Irene, her full-blooded Mi'kmaw mother, died in 1912 when Lizzie was about 18 years old. When Lizzie was about 13, her mother was gored by a bull while milking a cow. She survived and later contracted tuberculosis, which was rampant in Newfoundland during those years. Because her mother was unwell, Lizzie helped feed the youngest child, Walter, who had been born with a cleft pallet.

As in most outport communities, there were times when young men and women were required to go away to find work. There were also times when young women left to escape the shame and stigma of having a child out of wedlock. On July 21, 1915, my grandmother gave birth to a daughter named Alfreda, whom she never acknowledged despite the fact that she was raised by a family in Trout River. Hiding such transgressions was part of the religious and cultural mores of the day. While two of Lizzie's brothers headed off to Europe to fight in the Great War, she travelled to the Sydney Mines, in North Sydney area, where the coal mining industry was booming.⁶ In 1921 there were 7, 179 Newfoundlanders living or working in Cape Breton (Crawley, 1988, p. 30). She was part of the dramatic migration of people seeking work outside the colony around the turn of the 20th century (Crawley, 1988, p. 27). For five years Lizzie worked as a servant girl with the Kelly family, who owned and operated a butcher shop and abattoir in Sydney Mines. Mr. Kelly's wife had died and Lizzie was responsible for looking after his two young children (Halfyard, J. & Sheppard, M., April 2015). Sometime around 1922 she returned home. I have heard my father explain why many times:

She came back to try to hold the family together. Her brother had died in a smoke house. He was smoking fish and he got asphyxiated. So, the church stepped in—they were the social work network at that time—and they were sending one child here and one there, and one down to Champneys. It upset her. They were giving the children away. (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 27)

⁶ In 1917, Lizzie's younger brother Thomas died in the war at age 20.

This must have been an earth-shattering time in Lizzie's life. In fact, I heard my father's eldest brother Mancel and his sister Marguerite also relate the same story, also making reference to how Reverend Maidment, the Anglican clergyman (whom they never met because they were not yet born), took away their uncle's children. It is a powerful example of postmemory and "ghostly presence shaping familial interaction" into the next generation (Hirsch, 1997/2012, p. 34).

Mother's Values, Beliefs, and Attitudes

The Crocker family had an abundance of livestock in Trout River. However, it must have been in North Sydney where Lizzie refined her culinary skills, learned to use herbs, bottle the most amazing preserves, make wine for medicinal purposes, and set a fine table with china. Marguerite chuckled in an interview, remembering how indignant her mother would become when Mr. Kelly asked if she could cook a steak. It appears, when Lizzie returned from North Sydney in the early 1920s, she was 'reborn,' a new person (Airhart, 1992, p. 8). She had been "awakened" to new skills and opportunities (Greene, 1978, p. 44). However, did it come at the cost of conforming to the dominant cultural group?

Marguerite reflected that their mother was a strong woman, a good provider. She had to be since her father worked away (Sheppard, M., November 11, 2015, p. 14). Marguerite, the second-oldest child, recalled how her mother worked hard. She let slip that sometimes when her mother lost all patience with her children she would retreat to the Anglican Church to seek solace. That was interesting because, when Elizabeth Crocker married George Halfyard on February 4, 1924, she converted to Methodism following the conventions of those days that women converted to their husband's religion.

Marguerite, also commented how her mother was a very intelligent woman, how she was a member of the Rebekah Lodge, and how she would get up and speak with great gusto in front

of members at the Atlantic annual conference in Halifax as easily as she could at their small community meetings in Bonne Bay:

Well, like I told you, she never had no education. And I was in the Rebekahs and she was in the Rebekahs. She wanted me to join. Because it was some years before I joined. And I would see Mom get up there and, my dear, make big speeches up on stage. I couldn't get over it . . . I was amazed. I used to tell Al, "My God, she got up and made this big speech. Didn't mind at all." People from the Maritimes would come and visit, you know, and Corner Brook.

They were a lovely organization. The men were the Odd Fellows and the Rebekahs were the women's branch. . . . It was just a friendship thing . . . a benevolent organization really. We used to earn money and help the school, and sometimes if someone was having a baby and wasn't very well off you'd give them a little shower. Sort of a community thing . . . But it was lovely, friendly. But then radio and TV and everything was coming on stream [late 1960s] and people didn't want friendly societies. Because that's all Lodges were you know. (Sheppard, M., November 11, 2015, pp. 42–43, 72–73)

Lizzie Halfyard was perhaps representative of the growing influence of homemakers and of rural women across Canada, active in organizations like the United Church, who started to unite "in progressive and aggressive" ways to address the well-being of people in society (Sheppard, G., June 11, 2013, Part II, 13). Christie and Gauvreau (1996) posit that those "maternal feminists" (p. 77) who combined churches and women's reform organizations were concerned about "rural life, child welfare, mothers' pensions, the minimum wage, temperance, and public health" (Christie & Gauvreau, 1996, pp. 77, 247). Airhart (1992 p. 65) echoes similar ideas. Those benevolent church-run organization initiatives pre-dated formal government social work occupations that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s as part of the welfare state model.

Life Lessons Learned from Mother

Like his mother, my father is a great observer, a tenacious, stubborn individual with boundless energy, and a person who was never going to be defeated. Unfortunately, unlike my parents and Marguerite and her husband, Lizzie did not have a loving marital relationship and

therefore missed an opportunity to develop a softer, more affectionate side to share with her children. Agar Shipley, the central character in Margaret Lawrence's novel *The Stone Angel*, comes to my mind when thinking of my grandmother. Both were women devoid of expressive emotion and demonstrative affection. Was it part of Lizzie's disposition, her upbringing, her hidden culture, or the general culture of the day?



Figure 15. Ninety-two year old Lizzie Halfyard in her sun porch
(Halfyard, S., c. 1987)

My lasting memories of Grandmother Halfyard are of a prim and proper British lady with fine china and lace-and-burgundy drapes, who always wore a black onyx ring to Rebecca Lodge meetings—she appeared more British than the Queen. Paradoxically, while my grandmother seemed to embrace the British colonial culture and hierarchy, my father, once he came into his own in the 1970s, started to question governmental institutional structures, especially the role of churches in education and the general place of outport people in Newfoundland society.

Section IV: Shoal Brook (1949–1950) – First Year Teaching

When Job Halfyard matriculated from Grade 11 in 1949, he met the requirements to attend college or university. Instead, he went up the bay to teach at a two-room school in Shoal Brook, just 3 miles from his family home in Curzon Village, Bonne Bay.



Figure 16. Halfyard in Bonne Bay circa 1950
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Halfyard described how teaching in Shoal Brook shaped his future career direction:

I really liked working with young people. I think that my first year teaching in Shoal Brook I only had Primer, up to Grade 5. But the Grades 4 and 5, I particularly enjoyed. It really encouraged me to do a lot of individual work with those boys and girls. You could see their reading levels improving. And the kids liked me too, even the first year. The next year I went to university at Mount A, teaching was in the back of my mind. That was a great year. And maybe the next year teaching would be great too. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014b, p. 9)

George Anderson, a man in his early seventies, was one of Halfyard's Grade 2 students in Shoal Brook. At a Christmas party in 2014, George recounted two of his most vivid memories of that year in 1949. He described how, in those days, students would sit at a desk built for three. He sat next to a girl named Margaret. George recalled how one day Margaret was sick, but she

was too shy to speak for herself. So young George put up his hand. Mr. Halfyard responded, “Yes, George.” “Sir, Margaret is sick.” Halfyard replied, “Well, George, if Margaret is sick you can tell her she can go home.” George chuckled remembering the exchange. Perhaps it stirred poignant memories of similar interactions he had had with young students after he, too, became a teacher in the 1970s.

Young Job Halfyard boarded with a Mrs. Osmond in Shoal Brook during that winter. In those days, the snow-covered gravel path connecting the string of nine settlements along the 6-mile (10-kilometre) stretch of the Western Arm of Bonne Bay was not plowed, making it difficult for Halfyard to walk the 3 miles home to Curzon Village each day (Berger, 2014, p. 158; Miller Pitt, 1981, p. 225).⁷ Cars were still a thing of the future.



Figure 17. Children at play in Bonne Bay area circa 1950s
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

It was a story about the winter months that really perked George’s memory of his boyhood school days. George Anderson described seeing Halfyard, a school satchel on his back,

⁷ Since the imperial system was in effect at that time in Canada that number will be included first with the metric equivalent in parentheses.

gliding up a rise on skis heading to school one brilliant winter morning. Young George was awestruck. It was the first time the boy had ever seen anyone on skis. Skiing was not common in Newfoundland at the time, but Halfyard must have encountered it somewhere. Perhaps he had seen O. G. Johnson, the Swede who managed the woods operation in Lomond, skiing (Candow, 1998, p. 86). Halfyard prided himself on having made his first set of skies from barrel staves; later, one Christmas, his father brought him a real set from St. John's.

Just 18 years of age, with no teacher training, Halfyard does not remember meeting the teacher/principal of the high school in Shoal Brook. In those days, multi-classroom school buildings were limited, and so the principal who taught Grades 7 to 11 in Shoal Brook was located in a separate one-room school. Halfyard had to learn how to write up the monthly reports for the Department of Education. Like many young teachers fresh out of high school, he drew from the way he was taught in order to formulate his own pedagogical strategies:

I always had a tremendous interest in history and geography. I tried to make my classes alive. Interspersed with that, I did a lot of work with poetry. That created a lot of interest in students. If you teach a good literature class, and you've got three or five classes in your room, they're all listening and they're all absorbing what you're talking about. But, don't forget, it was an interesting period. It was just after the Second World War. We were just into Confederation. There was still a lot of bitterness and a lot of discussions going on about what we should do. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 3)

Developing good discipline strategies was a priority, especially among young inexperienced teachers. Teacher retention in the 1950s and 1960s was extremely low because of the large class sizes, lack of training, poor living conditions, low salaries, and the stress of trying to manage multi-grade teaching situations with 40 to 60 students in one classroom (Rowe, 1976, pp. 135–136). Many students were not necessarily motivated to be in school, especially boys and girls who were 15 or 16 years of age and only in Grade 6 or 7. Sometimes young people stayed in school only so their families could benefit from the monthly family allowance after Newfoundland joined Canada (Andrews, 1985b; GOVNL, 1967; McCann, 1994).

Recruiting university-trained teachers for outport Newfoundland schools was often near impossible. Therefore, many first-year teachers could find a teaching position without formal training, even without the six-week summer training that gave teachers a “D” license. The clergy or other school board officials in the local areas, as well as denominational superintendents of education, recruited more academically inclined high school graduates for teaching positions in nearby one- and two-room schools. A large number of the teachers I interviewed recalled going into teaching at the age of 16, 17, or 18, right after high school matriculation (Burton, G., August 7, 2012; Hamlyn, July 13, 2012, p. 3; Martin, July 11, 2012, p. 2).

In many cases, a mother, special teacher, school principal, or even a cousin, aunt, or uncle who was already a teacher inspired them to complete high school and go into teaching. Career options for rural young people in the early post-Confederation years had not changed much since the first half of the 20th century, when work-related career choices were limited. Rural high school graduates were still mainly “destined to be either teachers or preachers” (MacLeod, 1999, p. 120, 289). Malcolm MacLeod (1999), who conducted oral history ‘life story’ research on students entering Memorial University College during the pre-Confederation period, found similar motivators or influences for “young and not-so-young Newfoundlanders to register for higher education” (p. 55). Confederation promised new opportunities and many mothers were determined that at least one or two of their children would escape the drudgery of work in fishing or logging, the traditional rural fisherfolk lifestyles from whence they came (Warren, July 2, 2012, pp. 2, 4).

Conclusion: The Practice of Leadership Beginnings

There is a truth lodged in the narrative that people tell. That truth can be quite different from the ‘historical truth’ of what happened in their lives, but nevertheless it has a force in their attitudes and actions. (Measor & Sikes, as cited in Goodson, 1992, p. 225)

What characteristics did young Job Halfyard have or acquire that may have influenced his later life and leadership roles? What interests, fostered in childhood, did he pursue repeatedly throughout his life? The anecdotes related in this chapter are meant to illustrate the complex patterns and themes, the interweaving of institutional, collective community sociocultural, familial, and biological factors that shaped Halfyard's later leadership skills, traits, and abilities. What do these life-story narratives tell us about Halfyard's formative years, about the attitudes, beliefs, and values he was exposed to that formulated his unique personality? How did they ultimately contribute to his goals and aspirations as well as to his later leadership ability and interests? Did Halfyard ultimately use his "wide-awakeness" (Greene, 1978, p. 42) to awaken the interests, compassion, and abilities of future generations of students, teachers, and residents of rural communities? These questions will be addressed in the career stage chapters that follow. Intrinsic motivation, moral purpose, healthy competition, confidence, collaboration, assertiveness, adaptability, simplicity, being resolute, persistence, a risk taker, having empathy, tenacity, learning from mistakes, being deliberate and the notion of practice, practice, practice are some of the descriptors or core priorities included on checklists developed by leadership gurus and academic scholars (Fullan, 2011; Kouzes & Posner, 2007). According to Michael Fullan (2011), becoming a wise practitioner or:

Change Leader is about using your brain before it's too late. It presents a seven-part solution. First, it places practice front and center as the creative crucible. The remaining six elements consist of combining resolve, motivation, collaboration, confidence, impact, and "simplicity." (Kluger, 2008, as cited in Fullan, 2011, p. xiii)

How many of those descriptors apply to young Halfyard?

Self-Reliance, Hard Work, Civic Responsibility, and Empathy

Halfyard's family emphasized and took pride in hard work; they valued self-help and self-reliance. Young Halfyard was raised to be hard-working, self-reliant, and independent by his

assertive mother, absent father, and the cultural mores of the community and the church. A child of the Great Depression, he saw poverty and recognized that not everyone was able to meet the basic needs for survival—food, clothing, and shelter (Overton, 2000a, pp. 37–39). From an early age, Halfyard seemed to recognize that some people are more capable than others; to leave them to the charity of neighbours and friends or their own capacity for self-help was no guarantee against poverty and suffering (Mill, 1973, p. 969, as cited in Overton, 2000a, p. 46).

While church leaders and government officials preached and promoted self-reliance, they knew they had to turn to potential leaders—to emerging professionally trained teachers, medical professionals, social workers, and other social-change-oriented community organizations (Casey, 1993; Neary, 1997; O’Neill, 1944; Welton, 2001). Those emerging professionals did not just offer medical and educational services; their education and leadership skills were needed to manage the difficult transition from a traditional subsistence lifestyle to a modern industrial lifestyle.

Emphasizing literacy skills and education was a key starting point to developing leaders. Some individuals had the aspirations, motivation, self-confidence, personality, potential skills, and abilities to pursue leadership roles. Those were the individuals that government officials, church, school, and community leaders identified and recruited to lead the charge.

Aggressive Thinkers / Progressive Times

The late 1940s brought new promise and new technology to the Bonne Bay area, which some entrepreneurial-minded individuals embraced more readily than others. Halfyard repeatedly used the phrases “aggressive thinkers” or “progressive thinkers or planners” to describe these more entrepreneurial individuals in Bonne Bay, as well as in the places where he later lived and taught. Being progressive and entrepreneurial were clearly traits he valued.

Notions of “progressive education,” and progressive ideas were discussed by great philosophers like John Dewey (1938). Raymond Williams (1973/1983) in *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, described how the word “progressive is a complex word because it depends on the significantly complicated history of the word progress” (p. 244). It was originally used in theological contexts rather than political contexts. Williams explains how, during the 20th century, progress came to mean “the inherent process of social and historical improvement” – advancement and development within civilizations especially after the industrial revolution (Williams, 1973/1983, pp. 243–245). He notes how the word “progressive” became more of a persuasive rather than a descriptive term by the mid-20th century and how it was used by parts of the political Left as in “progressive-minded people”.

The church, especially the United Church, government and educational leaders of the time expounded the virtues of being progressive. For Halfyard to be progressive was an important characteristic reflecting open-mindedness to new ideas that resulted in development that improved rural people’s standard of living (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 23). Halfyard recognized that progressive abilities were not exclusive to the more elite members of society. For him it included uneducated innovative individuals like his father, who used practical everyday learned knowledge to manage a modern fish plant, and his mother, an intelligent homemaker with no formal education, who worked relentlessly and expected her children to do the same.

Stuart Blanchard, Halfyard’s cousin, was one of those progressive role models Halfyard admired. Over the years, Halfyard repeatedly told the story of how, in the early 1940s, Stuart Blanchard used simple techniques to install a running water system for families in Woody Point and Curzon Village. He was an aggressive and progressive thinker:

[He put it] in 15 or 18 houses down on our flat coming up the road. They all got water. We all put in \$60 initially, and later another \$50 or \$60. The line was all dug by hand, of

course. You went out in Crowley's Brook, up over the top where the United Church cemetery is . . . you put in a wooden dam there—and brought in a 2-inch galvanized line. That's all they had. It supplied the 18 or so families. It worked quite well until the park came. (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 11)

Keen Observation, Innovation, and Adaptability

Overall, young Halfyard was a keen observer of innovative ideas. He would adopt and adapt from many sources to suit his needs and interests. A consummate learner with a competitive nature, he was not afraid to tackle new things that were often outside the interest or comfort zone of other young people his age. Having failed Grade 6 and aware of his intellectual limitations, he came to the conclusion that hard work, not intelligence, was the key to his success. This characteristic was instilled in him by his mother, but supported by the popular notions of his time, that self-help could be achieved through a strong work ethic.

An absent father and the multi-grade one-room school environment required that he learn to be independent and make decisions on his own. Thus, he became tenacious and self-motivated, developing acute critical-thinking skills. The daily requirements of subsistence living coupled with fishing and hunting sojourns into the “Beautiful Bonne Bay” wilderness taught him to be patient and persistent.

Halfyard clearly felt that rural Newfoundlanders could and should have equal opportunities within the new province of Canada. The time was ripe for change, and he saw both the need for change and the opportunities for a better future. Halfyard and many of his contemporaries were schooled in and inspired by Christian principles and the promise of democracy (Warren, 1973, p. 79). In essence, they were chosen by institutions and indoctrinated with the notion of using their leadership potential to help bring outport Newfoundland out of poverty and into modern society (Singh & Devine, 2013, p. 18; Stanley, 1993/2001).

Halfyard never saw himself as very intelligent; what he did feel was that he had an ability to observe, to learn, to adapt, to share, and to motivate (Dewey, 1915/2001, p. 8; Singh & Devine, 2013). Like many rural Newfoundlanders in remote locations who often had to fend for themselves, he was a Jack-of-all trades. He was well read and versed in the world. He saw the big picture, and had the confidence, ability, and tenacity to pull together what was needed to make things work. Many of these leadership characteristics have been identified by scholarly experts of both general and educational leadership (Fullan, 2011; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012; Kouzes & Posner, 2007; Sugrue, 2005).

Wide-Awakeness

Perhaps Halfyard and others of his generation had “an attitude of full attention to life and its requirements”—the “wide-awakeness” (Greene, 1978, p. 43) and the consciousness and concern for moral reform that Henry David Thoreau, Maxine Greene, and John Dewey wrote about. Perhaps, despite “the proliferation of bureaucracies and corporate structures,” he was an individual who desired to ask “why,” and to “be awake enough for effective intellectual exertion” (Greene, 1978, p. 43; Thoreau, 1963, pp. 66–67). Perhaps he was one of those young people who was not “half asleep,” who did not feel dominated or powerless, and who did not feel the need to conform (Greene, 1978, pp. 43, 45). Perhaps he was wide-awake to “the overwhelming ordinariness of the lives we live” (Greene, 1978, p. 44) and the forces that dominate people’s lives but nevertheless saw alternatives. Perhaps the echoes of slogans from powerful leaders like Winston Churchill heard over the radio in his family parlour and the mantras of male heroic characters he read in poetry and literature stirred the notion that everything was possible and to ‘never give up.’

Perhaps his parents, teachers, boarders, and community leaders opened his eyes to

possibilities, to questioning, and to recognizing that the hierarchy of authority is constructed and that power should be shared. Or maybe he and other future rural community leaders had an interest—or an innate ability—to recognize that there were indeed alternatives and no need to take things for granted. Did he see insufficiencies in outport life as well as inequities and injustices that could be addressed? Had he been wide-awake enough to interpret his daily experiences, to feel concern, compassion, and to “develop the sense of agency required for living a moral life” (Greene, 1978, p. 44)? Was he unknowingly confronting the injustices he detected in his family and the rural communities where his ancestors lived on the West Coast of Newfoundland? On the other side of the duality, was Halfyard striving to rise above his station for social or material gain? These are some of the sense-making questions I considered as I explored the multifaceted nature of leadership development.



Figure 18. Mancel, Job, their father, George, and Betty, the second-oldest grandchild, circa 1952
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

The Bonne Bay area of Halfyard’s youth provided him with a plethora of practical lived experiences from the physical landscape, the cultural community environment, and the spiritual landscape of his own mind. While rural Newfoundland has historically been conceived of as isolated, Bonne Bay was not. It provided a fertile breeding ground for future leadership

development. A growing number of aspiring teachers from rural Newfoundland were able to capitalize on similar opportunities that came with modernity and the opportunities made possible through post-secondary education, the topic of the next chapter.

Malcolm Gladwell (2008) in *Outliers: The Story of Success* explored the rarely acknowledged forces, opportunities, coincidences and cultural patterns that contribute to the extraordinary success of individuals during the 20th century. Reviewers of Gladwell's text contend that his use of intriguing anecdotes and interviews more effectively, "illuminates secret patterns behind everyday phenomena" and constructively "tears down the myth of individual merit to explore how culture, circumstance, timing, birth, and luck account for success" (Chang, 2008, p. 48). Gladwell argues in *Outliers*, "we should look at the world that surrounds the successful—their culture, their family, their generation, and the idiosyncratic experiences of their upbringing." That is what I have done in this chapter and will build on in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4: UNIVERSITY EDUCATION – A SPORADIC PIECEMEAL PROCESS

The aim of the university is to produce noble, intelligent, unselfish men, and if it fails in that, it has failed of its highest vocation. (Watson, as cited in Axelrod & Reid, 1989, p. xiv)

The church has many channels of influence—the home, its youth organizations, its school and not least the university where teachers are trained. (Andrews, 1985b, p. 247)

Introduction

Axelrod and Reid (1989) propose that examining the university student experience can offer unique insights into students' personal historical roots as well as the history of higher education. I suggest that it also provides assumptions about societal and institutional influences. Malcolm MacLeod (1990) in *A Bridge Built Halfway: A History of Memorial University College, 1925–1950* outlined the teaching and university attendance patterns of some of the former Memorial University College graduates who were interviewed for his pre-Confederation study of Memorial students. In a similar way, I examine the university experiences and career path trajectories of Halfyard and other teachers interviewed for my post-Confederation study.

According to MacLeod (1990), a missing aspect of the educational historical record is an exploration of the many ingenious ways determined rural teachers, with limited financial resources, completed university degrees (p. 259). It is one thing to state that they struggled; it is another to understand the struggles those students, many with spouses and families, had to endure to acquire the “certification,” the teacher-training degrees, that became mandatory by the early 1970s for both successful employment and professional development (GOVNL, 1967, p. 122). It is also important to remember that university students of that era were generally older than the average university student of today (Axelrod & Reid, 1989, p. xvi). Many were in their late twenties and early thirties and had already taught school for a number of years (MacLeod,

1990, p. 49). Newfoundland teachers were generally only able to go back to university on a sporadic piecemeal basis when they had saved enough money from their meagre salary or circumstances forced them back (MacLeod, 1990, pp. 43, 49, 259).

Premier Joseph R. Smallwood saw education and the university as a way to improve the general welfare of young men and women in the new province of Canada. He wrote in his memoirs how “virtually our first decision after Confederation” was to upgrade the status of Memorial University College from a small junior college to a full-fledged degree-conferring institute (Smallwood, 1973, p. 385). In one of those early speeches he declared:

It would be rather short-sighted if we were to regard this university, this Memorial University of Newfoundland, as merely a means still further to encourage the preservation of Newfoundland culture; we must, I think, regard the university as an active and energetic means to the economic development of Newfoundland. (Joseph R. Smallwood, recorded in Hansard, August 11, 1949, as cited in Smallwood & Baker, 2000)

After the establishment of Memorial University as a degree-granting institution in 1949, the provincial government, in consultation with the various denominational superintendents of education, started the difficult task of upgrading teachers and developing educational leaders in an effort to address the urgent need for improved pedagogy and curriculum, especially in rural areas. Smallwood (1973) reflected, “The spirit was willing, but the flesh—our Treasury—was weak” (p. 385). New Acts of Legislation, outlining government educational policies, were implemented over a two decades-long process. These redefined the relationship and role of the state, and the Church who traditionally oversaw the administration of education in Newfoundland (Andrews, 1985b, p. 369).

Some of the first government Acts were designed to address the unsatisfactory state of the teaching profession. They included: the introduction of the first Teachers’ Salary Scale, based on qualifications and experience, enacted on July 1, 1949; and the implementation of a

four-year teacher Graduate Grade Certificate which was made possible because of Memorial's new university status (Andrews, 1985b, pp. 30, 371; Rowe, 1976, p. 29). Both were attempts to address the number of teachers in the system who only had perfunctory B, C, or D licenses and to encourage teachers to improve their overall qualifications (Andrews, 1985b, p. 30). In 1951 only 2.4% or 61 of the 2,499 teachers in the province had university degrees. By 1966 only 14% or 776 of the 5,543 teachers in the province had completed university degrees (McCann, 1994, p. 287, 291) (see Appendix B: Education Related Statistics). It would be the late 1960s and the recommendations *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth* (RRCEY) before post-secondary education for teachers made major headway in improving the quality of education in the province (Galway & Dibbon, 2012, p. 20; Andrews, 1985b, p. 235, GOVNL, 1967, p. 109).

Overview – Halfyard's University Path

It took Halfyard two full decades before he graduated with a B.A. (Ed.) in May of 1970. In this chapter I look at the first of three phases or timeframes when Halfyard returned to university to complete his piecemeal post-secondary education journey. Phase one (1950–52) included two consecutive full junior years of university. The first year was at Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick in 1950–51. It was followed by a second year in the teacher-training program at Memorial University from 1951–52. It would be 1961–62, after teaching for eight years, five in Port Anson and three in Roberts Arm, before Halfyard returned to university for phase two or a third full year of study. Particulars of that critical turning point will be discussed in Chapter 6. In 1967–68, after teaching for one year in La Scie, followed by five years teaching in Tilt Cove, life events contrived to force Halfyard to return to Memorial University for a fourth full year of study. Particulars of that critical event will be discussed in

Chapter 8. Each brief one-year period of university study was a significant transition year that resulted in major personal and professional growth and development.

According to Halfyard's university transcript, he enrolled in summer sessions at Mount Allison in 1961 and again in 1968. He also took summer session courses at Memorial University in 1963 to complete his mathematics requirement. In 1967–68, Memorial students were given the option of taking correspondence course from Memorial, or through their affiliation with Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario (MUNCAL, 1967–68, p. 251). Then, in the spring of 1969, based on the recommendation of the RRCEY, a Division of Summer Sessions and Extramural Studies was established by Memorial University to help teachers more readily and cost-effectively upgrade their qualification (Rowe, 1976, p. 96). Twelve outreach distance education centres were set up in key strategic locations around the province offering evening courses to teachers.⁸ Halfyard registered for three distance “off-campus credit courses” offered through Memorial's Educational Television Centre (ETVC) (MUN, 1971b). In the fall and winter of the 1971–72 school year, he took two “Psychology and Human Learning” evening courses in Baie Verte. The next year, he drove three hours to, and three hours back from Grand Falls each week, to take the “Educational Media” course in order to gain a better understanding of how electric audiovisual tools (overhead projectors, film projectors, film strips etc.) coming on stream could be used, operated, and repaired. Finally, in the summer of 1972 he went to the University of New Brunswick to work on industrial arts and history courses with the intention of establishing an Industrial Arts Education program in the school where he was principal and to prepare to enrol in a Master's program. Such a sporadic piecemeal method of completing a university degree was typical, especially among first-generation rural-born teachers. A big challenge for government

⁸ During its first year of operation thirty-one off-campus courses were offered and 963 teachers registered. Another 1,197 students took evening courses at the main campus in St. John's (Rowe, 1976, p. 96).

and university throughout the 1950s and into the 1970s was to implement programs that would encourage teachers, especially elementary teachers, to strive for more than the basic teaching license that could be acquired by doing a few summer session courses (Rowe, 1976, p. 132; GOVNL, 1967, p. 116).

Section I: Institutional Forces

Universities and colleges successfully socialized the youth placed in their charge. (Axelrod & Reid, 1989, p. xix)

University Influences and Trends

In order to appreciate how events and influences from Halfyard's university years may have contributed to his leadership development, a better understanding of how educational institutions shaped students of that generation was needed. Robin S. Harris (1966), editor of *Changing Patterns of Higher Education in Canada*, examined some of the major influences that molded Canadian universities and colleges of that era. Harris stressed that Canadian universities were not a by-product of one Canadian national tradition, instead the genesis of their traditions and influences came from multiple sources. Their practices were modelled on institutions of higher education in England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, and the United States, who had borrowed from the early Greek and Roman philosophical approaches, and from other groups and individuals throughout the centuries (Vanderleest, 1996, pp. 4–5).

Those ideas blended to provide a better understanding of the 'liberal education' concept, which was very much part of the university experience for Canadian students during Halfyard's generation. Vanderleest (1996) described liberal education as,

a process designed to produce a fully educated person by providing knowledge that develops character and prepares individuals to be active citizens within their own societies. . . . It builds on the basic tools of reading and writing to teach students to think critically and logically, judge independently, provide leadership, and understand their culture and its historical context. In short, it seeks "nothing less than the transformation

of the individual, a conversion, as it were, to one's own humanity. (Vanderleest, 1996, p. 4)

Vanderleest, in the text *Liberal Education and the Small University in Canada*, posits that the main purpose of a liberal education is “development of character” and the preparation of citizens for participation in society (Vanderleest, 1996, pp. 14 15). The small elitist liberal arts denominational colleges of Atlantic Canada generally adopted a humanist approach, which can be traced back to educational ideas of ancient Greek and Roman philosophers such as Socrates, Aristotle and Plato (Vanderleest, 1996, p. 11). Those early philosophers believed seeking “truth” and knowledge would lead to virtue (Vanderleest, 1996, p. 4). During the Middle Ages, the seven major elements of a liberal education included: logic, grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music (Vanderleest, 1996, p. 11). The principles of a liberal education evolved through the ages with emphasis on public oratory from the Roman times until the Enlightenment which brought interest in experimental science with links to the ideas of freedom and open-mindedness. The concepts of equality and liberty were added during the American Revolution and concepts of freedom of choice and individuality were added during the 20th century. Many have argued that a liberal education, which was professed to be flexible while providing an “underlying core of knowledge in literature, history, science and values” for future leaders, propagated elitism in society (Vanderleest, 1996, p. 14).

Other historical documents from that time period, including the slender publication of speeches from a Summer Institute held at Mount Allison in August of 1958, present information about demographic and fiscal forces, trends, and problems impacting post-secondary education during that post-war era. Speakers including, C. D. Howe, D. A. Keys, and H. C. Mills discussed “The Challenge of the Present Situation,” and “the impending tidal wave of students” (Howe, 1958, p. 11). Howe predicted,

The present influx of students into our secondary schools will shortly move to our universities, and present indications are that our university population is likely to double within the next fifteen years. . . . To the universities, this will mean more buildings and larger staffs, with the financial problem very much to the fore. (Howe, 1958, p. 11)

It was the time when the ramping up of Cold War tensions heightened the ongoing battle for technological advancement (Axelrod & Reid, 1989, p. xxiii). It was also the early days of growing “mass education,” when universities were trying to attract those with outstanding ability, from all social backgrounds in order to advance knowledge and meet the “growing importance of highly skilled scientific, technical, and managerial workers” (Duchemin, 1958, pp. 11, 52, 60; Storm, 1996, pp. 58, 194).

The federal and provincial governments of the day poured more money into universities and other emerging vocational and technical post-secondary institutes because of the role those institutions of higher education would play in the development of “human capital” (Storm, 1996, pp. 58, 83).⁹ The rationalization for more educational spending during the 1950s and 1960s was also driven by the ideology of social change. “Public funding of higher education would foster social mobility, help to redistribute wealth, and diminish class inequities” (Axelrod & Reid, 1989, p. xxiii).

Universities across North America and the Western World were actively recruiting promising young people from a wider social, economic, and geographical demographic than ever before. The relatively small number of working-class ‘chosen ones’ were given financial and moral support to pursue a university education (MacLeod, 1990, p. 58; Steedman, 1986/2010). The number of programs offered and the methods of offering courses changed. The number of faculty members rose. Classrooms and residences became overcrowded and temporary facilities

⁹ The Human capital theory looks at the net benefits of wider and increased access to higher education to both the individual and society in general (Storm, 1996, pp. 14, 58, 83, 194).

had to be found until new facilities could be constructed (Reid, 1984, p. 221).

Section II: Halfyard's First Two Years at University

The scholarship boy story was commonly employed in different parts of the world in the 1950s and early 1960s. It was in that sense a socially scripted and sanctioned way to tell a life story, but it also served to underwrite and support a particular moment in history and a particular vision of social opportunity and social structure, and one which at that time distinctly privileged male over female stories. . . . To understand such a life story genre properly it has to be read against the backdrop of the historical context which privileges certain storylines. To do that is to move from life story collection to life history construction, whereby the historical context is interrogated and elaborated. (Goodson, 2013, p. 5)

Mount Allison University (1950–51)

Historically, most university students have come from middle-class backgrounds; not just from elite backgrounds (Axelrod & Reid, 1989, pp. xvi, xix). Access to university predominated in families where the father was a businessman or clergy (Axelrod & Reid, 1989, p. xvi). Young Halfyard's father had moved into the ranks of the middle-class when he moved from being a fisherman to the manager of fish plants for Monroe and Company. Second-generation university students tended to come from more diverse social and geographical origins (Axelrod & Reid, 1989, p. xvi).

Halfyard went to Mount Allison University, in Sackville, New Brunswick in 1950–51. That year his father semi-retired as a fish plant manager for Monroe and Company and his mother decided the \$1,000 he received as a retirement pension would help their youngest son go to university. His mother wanted him to become a minister. She travelled with her son by train to Port aux Basques, then across the gulf to North Sydney to help him on his way. In North Sydney, Halfyard's mother visited with the merchant family for whom she had worked as a servant girl in the 1920s. Job continued on by train to Sackville, New Brunswick, and Mount Allison

University. He explained,

On the West Coast—Memorial, don't forget, was just starting, and people from the West Coast, the Roman Catholic students went to St. FX, the Anglican students went to Halifax, and the United Church students went to Mount A. Most of them were studying for the United Church ministry—not me . . . It was a general arts program I was in, with a major in geology at the time. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 3)



Figure 19. University photo – Job Halfyard 1950
(Sheppard, M., 1950)

Many Newfoundland teacher recruits of the 1950s and 1960s were educated at church operated universities or colleges in Atlantic Canada, especially young people from the West Coast because it was closer in proximity than St. John's and West Coast people had established stronger ties with Atlantic Canada (MacLeod, 1990, p. 39). They also chose to go to New Brunswick or Nova Scotia universities because up until 1949 they inevitably had to go to one of the affiliated Canadian mainland universities to complete their degrees. Thus, many rural outport students opted to go to mainland universities from the start instead of after their second year. In a few cases, mainly at the graduate level, students went to England or the United States to study.

When Job Halfyard attended Mount Allison University, he stayed in Brunswick House, the old Brunswick Hotel. At the time, Brunswick House provided accommodations for 60 to 70 male students. It was located a short distance from campus in the small university town of Sackville. The size and atmosphere of the town plus the “small university” with its nurturing “tightly knit academic community” suited the sensibility of vulnerable youth coming from small fishing and farming villages (Storm, 1996, p. ix). Many were away from the comfort of home and family for the first time in their lives.

While most of the 632 students at Mount A that year were from either New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island or Quebec, there was also a scattering of students from other Canadian provinces as well as from Maine, New York, and Massachusetts. There were also approximately 30 students from the West Indies, Bermuda, the Bahamas, and Central and South America. Like the Newfoundlanders, they had a club which they called “Club Tropicale” (*Allisonian*, 1951, p. 117).

While browsing through his collection of yearbooks from his university years, Halfyard recalled the following story upon seeing the full-page aerial photo of Mount A’s campus with its main hall and sports fields:

Well, I’d walked up from Brunswick House to Truman House which was the main centre of the campus at that time. It looks out on the football and soccer field, and track etc. And . . . there were fellows down there throwing a javelin. Well, I’d never seen a javelin or anything in my life, being from Bonne Bay. I asked, “What’re them fellows doing throwing pickets?” (Chuckles) And somebody turned around, somebody that belonged to Nova Scotia, or Ontario or Quebec or somewhere and said, “Oh God, this is another stupid Newfoundlander. Don’t know what a javelin is.” I said, “I don’t know what it is, but I think I know how to throw it.” I threw enough pickets down over the cliffs fencing in the spring. “Yeah, likely story,” he said.

. . . we came up with some kind of a wager I could outdrive him. And we went down on the field where the fellows were throwing. And I took the javelin and threw it the second longest that it had ever been thrown in Mount A, the first time I threw it. They were amazed, that anybody could do that. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 5)

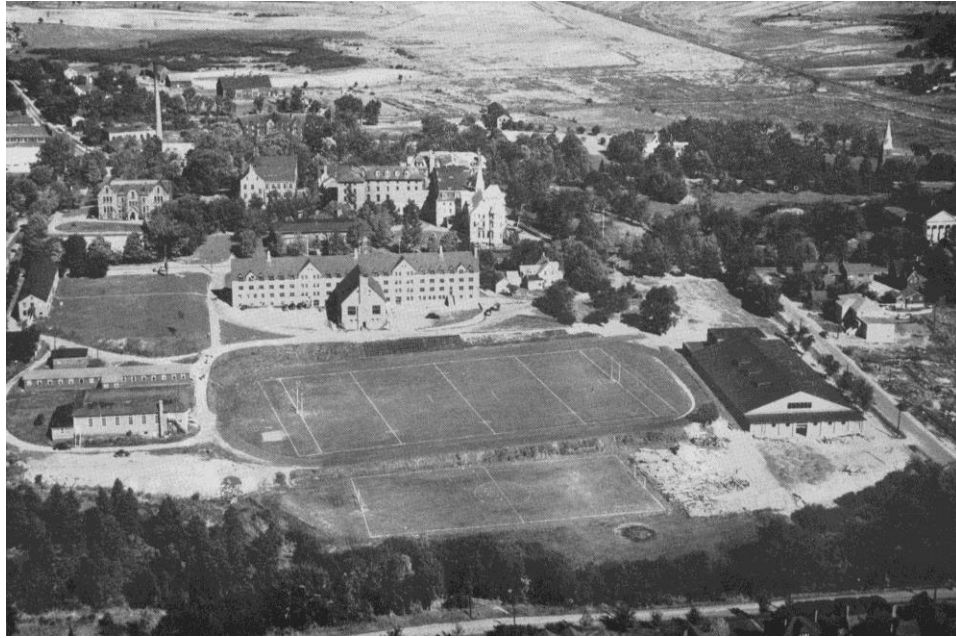


Figure 20. Mount Allison University, 1951
(Courtesy of Mount Allison Students' Union Inc. (MASU), *Allisonian*, 1951, p. 12)

My father chuckled remembering the story he had told my mother many times. Supposedly, he threw well past those who were on the track and field team. He said he was asked to join the track team. He went on to brag about how he had “the ability in running the mile,” and how he qualified to attend Atlantic Regional track meets. There were also stories about his prowess at soccer. Having played on university varsity teams myself, I asked about where he went for sports meets. He replied, “I didn’t have enough money to travel with the team to out-of-town events” (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 6). The full benefit of university life was still limited to the more affluent members of society (Storm, 1996).

The tall-tale style aside, what does Halfyard’s narrative tell us about his character? We can gather he liked sports, he was a quick study and able to adopt old skills to new challenges. The story also shows he was competitive and not adverse to an odd wager. But, first and foremost, we see the bay boy was not easily intimidated—at least not at Mount Allison. Halfyard described how:

Mount A was about the same as Memorial, 400 or 500 in the total college at the time. And the surprising thing was between 60 and 80 of the students were from Western Newfoundland; from Newfoundland. Not all Western Newfoundland because there were people from Gander and from the Burin Peninsula as well, the Holletts and so on were there. The Warrs were there from Springdale.

When Joey Smallwood became premier he made a visit to the college and came in to meet us in the college. He was welcomed to the college by the President and the Newfoundland Society. We had our own Society. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 6)



Figure 21. Premier Joseph R. Smallwood, accompanied by University president, W. T. Ross Flemington, greeting students at Mount Allison University, November 1950
(Courtesy of Mount Allison Students' Union Inc. (MASU), *Allisonian*, 1951, p. 12)

Halfyard did not initially tell me about the Newfoundland Society or Joey Smallwood's visit. That story was stimulated by a photo of Premier Smallwood, in his signature bowtie, shaking hands with students from the Newfoundland Society. I also learned from the yearbook how the Newfoundland Club, not Society, originated in 1936. The yearbook also verified there were, in fact, approximately 60 Newfoundland members of the club in 1950–51 (Mount Allison University (MAU), 1951, p. 117).

The decision to use yearbook photos as “instruments of remembrance” to stimulate Halfyard’s recall is informed by photography and narrative interpretation concepts promoted by Marianne Hirsch (2012, p. 22) and Roland Barthes (1980/2010). The photos stirred Halfyard’s individual remembering of a collective event (meeting Premier Smallwood) that might otherwise have remained “perched at the edge” of his memory (Hirsch, 2012, p. 22). The “ghostly revenants” found within the old university yearbook also stirred my imagination prompting me to wonder, to ask more questions (Hirsch, 1997/2012, p. 22). They allowed me to explore Halfyard’s “alternate story – in the margins of the central narrative” (Hirsch, 1997/2012, p. 31).

The yearbook described how the Honourable Joseph R. Smallwood was “a surprise speaker on the campus on Saturday morning, November 4” (*Allisonian*, 1951, p. 151). On closer examination, half of Job Halfyard’s face can be seen behind two of the young male students waiting in line to shake Premier Smallwood’s hand. Jim Sharp, the writer of the “Year in Review” article, noted how Smallwood urged the young people of “the Maritimes to get up and do something about their future” (*Allisonian*, 1951, p. 152). The dynamic political leader Halfyard had listened to on radio as a schoolboy during the Confederation debates of the late 1940s was now effectively promoting education as a way to improve the quality of life for Newfoundlanders.

Did the event where the young college student met Premier Smallwood in the flesh during that impressionable stage in his life in any way shape his later interest in politics and stir his passion to improve the quality of life in rural Newfoundland? If so, how? During one of my first interview sessions with Halfyard, I asked when he got interested in politics. He replied,

I suppose from the time of Confederation. I was a teenager in high school and listening to the discussions – people who wanted to join Confederation, people who wanted to join the United States. A lot of my family lived in the Boston area . . . and there were many discussions going on.

When I left and went away to college, the first two years, I was not interested in that – it was sports. When I went out teaching, everything in a school, in a sense, is politics. You’ve got to politic the chairman or the school board for things you want in the school; you’ve got to politic the government officials. I had a lot of interest in the economic well-being of our province. Things weren’t moving as well as I would like to have them move in Confederation. We were chewing up a lot of resources, but we weren’t leaving much of it (especially in the outports). (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, pp. 1–2)

Chances are “the economic well-being” of the province was not first and foremost in Halfyard’s young mind during his early university or teaching years. I do know that Halfyard became an active member of the Liberal Party sometime in the early 1960s (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 2). When did he come to understand the importance of being politically active to make things happen? Was it a gradual learning process? I will explore more of the political and economic elements as they related to education and community development in sections of the coming chapters.

At the end of the year at Mount Allison a series of unforeseen events altered Halfyard’s plans for the coming year,

but I only stayed a year because I went to work up with Fraser Lumber Company in New Brunswick during the summer.

I had saved \$600, and when I came home in August to decide whether I’d go back to Mount A, or what I would do, Dr. Curtis, the United Church superintendent [was at my parents’ house]—that’s not Levi Curtis, that’s Ira Curtis—and he said, “Job, if you want to go to university, I’ll give you \$600. I’ve got this for students around Newfoundland. I can give \$600 grants.” With the \$600 I already had it was enough for another year, so I went off to Memorial. That was in 1951. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 3)

Many of the teachers of Halfyard’s generation and those starting university in the late 1960s quickly recalled getting \$600 scholarships and needing to find another \$600 to finance a full year at university. One elderly gentleman with whom I happened to chat at a funeral home told me how he managed to save \$550 from his teacher salary and how he had to borrow \$50 from his sister near the end of the university year. Student loans were still a thing of the future.

Another person interviewed for this study talked about how his mother saved up the brand spanking new baby bonus cheques she received after Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949 to send her son to university. Supposedly, the family allowance cheques for the first five or six months did not arrive in the local post until the fall of that year (Warren, July 2, 2012, p. 4). It appears some mothers pooled the money received for all the children and used it to send one child off to university. Such was the good fortune of the young Philip Warren from New Perlican who went off to Memorial in 1950. After receiving some academic achievement scholarships, he went on to the University of Alberta where he completed his PhD (Warren, July 2, 2012, p. 4).



Figure 22. Memorial University circa 1952
(Courtesy of Memorial University of Newfoundland, Baker & Graham, 1999, p. 32)

The Memorial University calendars of the day list the grants and scholarships made available by the government, various denominational education groups, and some organizations and universities. Unfortunately, those grants were limited in number and only available to a select few students with top marks who fitted into select categories or were astute and well-

connected enough to access the funding programs. Later, in Chapters 6 and 8, I explore how older individuals, who did not qualify for scholarships or who had families by the time they ventured to university, resorted to other more unorthodox or entrepreneurial strategies in order to better themselves through higher education.

Rev. Dr. Ira Curtis Promotes Teacher Training

Halfyard greatly admired the program Rev. Dr. Ira Curtis set up to train young United Church men and women for rural outpost teaching positions.¹⁰

He pushed the educational envelope in Newfoundland. I always said that his training of teachers in Memorial was the equivalency of Joey [Smallwood] building the high schools and the trade schools in Newfoundland. If you could give somebody \$600 at that time, \$1,200 or \$1,500 you could have a full year (two semesters). (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 5)

Undoubtedly, the other religious educational organizations established similar scholarship and bursary programs to promote the training of teachers. However, educational historian, Phillip McCann specified,

It was the Methodist, among the dominations, who showed the greatest educational vitality. They built the greatest number of schools, and gathered from their congregation the largest amount of fees and voluntary contributions. On the whole, Methodist pupils achieved the highest scores in the annual examinations in the Standards, and the Methodist were pre-eminent for excellence in the secondary sector. (McCann, 1994, p. 246)

Halfyard was not the first member of his family to go to university or train to be a teacher. A photo in the United Church College Residence reunion book showed that Halfyard's

¹⁰ Rev. Dr. Ira F. Curtis was appointed the United Church Superintendent of Education in June of 1950. He was responsible for Community Schools and Scholarships as well as Audio Visual Education, the emerging Regional High Schools and Vocational Schools and the administration of the educational services of the Pentecostal Assemblies (Andrews, 1985b, pp. 32, 80, 110). He died on October 4, 1955. Andrews (1985b) described 1955 as a year of crisis in education for Newfoundland because Bishop Abraham with the Church of England also died. Andrews stated, "The late Dr. Curtis had also exercised a very profound influence upon the educational policy of the United Church of Canada in Newfoundland during the period from 1944 to 1955" (Andrews, 1985b, p. 114).

cousin Leona Butt was in the teacher training program and stayed in the residence in 1950–51 (Fizzard, 2002, p. 87). His Aunt Jessie (b. 1902) on his father's side had probably gone off to Normal School in St. John's in the late 1920s. From there she taught in White Bay and also Notre Dame Bay before marrying and settling in Adey Town, Trinity Bay. A cousin, with the same name, Jessie Halfyard (b. 1910), also became a school teacher. She was related to Halfyard on both his mother's and father's side. She was the daughter of Lizzie Halfyard's (nee Crocker) oldest sister and George Halfyard's younger brother, Alfred. Cousin Jessie, listed as "a spinster" on the family tree, taught at Harrington Holloway in St. John's into the mid-1960s (Halfyard, 1994, p. 100; Osmond, 1987). Meanwhile, Jessie Halfyard along with Sophie Edgecombe were acknowledged by the NTA for leading "the struggle for equal pay" for women in the teaching profession in the 1950s (Pitt, 1990, p. 36).

According to the *NTA Legacy of Leadership: 1890–1990* commemorative book published as part of the 100 Year Centennial celebrations, another Halfyard descendant, Richard E. Halfyard, was the President of the NTA in 1899 (Pitt, 1990, p. 16). *The Halfyard Family Register*, published as part of the *Halfyard Heritage* newsletter of 1994, shows that Richard Halfyard was born in Ochre Pit Cove, attended the Methodist College in St. Johns and started teaching in Western Bay in 1890 (p. 136).¹¹ He was superintendent in Western Bay for one year before emigrating to the United States (Halfyard, 1994, p. 136). He was a member of the Halfyard family from Ochre Pitt Cove who was educated through the Methodist Church school system that also played a major role in training school teachers in the colony of Newfoundland.

Of the four Halfyard brothers who lived in the family garden in Curzon Village, five of

¹¹ Robert R. Halfyard of St. Catharines, Ontario, a descendant of Richard Halfyard started publishing quarterly issues of *Halfyard Heritage* newsletter in February of 1985 to share information about the Halfyard name, family and descendants (Halfyard, 2009, p. 32). A Halfyard Heritage family history website was established in 2009.

their children taught school for periods of time. Some went to Memorial. Halfyard's older sister, Marguerite, also taught for one year in the Green Bay and then she went home and married. It appears that the Halfyard family, back to their Methodist ancestors in Ochre Pitt Cove, valued education. Also, teachers breed teachers, or at the very least, they often foster a great desire to read, write, and learn new things. Most teachers interviewed for this study indicated they were inspired to go to university by parents, siblings, cousins or other relatives, friends, former teachers, and clergy.

Denominational Residences – Barriers and Influences



Figure 23. University and high school students at the United Church College Residence circa 1952
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

When Halfyard went to Memorial in 1951 he stayed in the United Church College Residence on Long's Hill. His memories of his second year at Memorial were very different from his first year at Mount Allison:

Maybe I was a little too liberated for most of them that were in there, because I had been in Mount A. Boys in Mount A were given all kinds of freedoms – the girls weren't as much, but the boys were. Although Memorial was – how should I say it – a piece of crap compared to the treatment given students in Mount A. You were worth who you were in Mount A. You were worth only where you came from in Memorial.

It was run by the people from St. John's. The outports students were considered not as bright as the people in town . . . They quickly found out that our 60s were much better than their 80s. We were much more used to working on our own . . . and, by the way, that program that was set up by Ira Curtis was a godsend. I don't know how much he had for grants, but he took students this year from Woody Point, and he took another one from St. Anthony, and another one from Twillingate, and another one from down in Fortune Bay, and so on. Twenty or 30 a year went in to Memorial. They all became teachers. Within 10 or 15 years, nearly all the trained teachers (80% of them) were all United Church. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 4)

Halfyard may not be accurate on the percentage of United Church students who became trained teachers as compared to the other denominations. Most Roman Catholic students, at least females, attended St. Bride's College at Littledale and not the Parade Street campus for their first two years of teacher training at university. Hence, Halfyard's contact with Roman Catholic students was limited. Anne Curren, who attended Memorial in 1952–53, reflected in *Memorial on Parade Celebration From 1925 to 1961*, "It wasn't until I got to Memorial that I realized Catholics were real people, my knowledge of anything not Presbyterian being woefully deficient (O'Neill & Scammell-Reynolds, 2010, p. 51).

Memorial University did not have any residences at the time. Female Church of England students stayed at Bishop Jones Memorial Hostel on Forest Road (Rowe, 1976, p. 91). Other out-of-town students stayed with relatives or in boarding houses. Fred Kirby, the Superintendent of the Church of England Schools from 1952–1963, who later played a key role with the RRCEY of 1967/68, articulated how the Church of England started to give up its hold over public schools in 1944 but "decided at all costs to hold on to its teacher training instruction" (Andrews, 1985b, pp. 68, 247). In a speech given at a Conference on Education held in June of 1966, Kirby reasoned

why church leaders had fought for the previous two decades to maintain the centuries old denominational control of education.

No one can doubt the sincerity of the leaders of that time, nor should we doubt their wisdom. We must remember that circumstances then were completely different from what they are now; their decision was based, without doubt, on what they thought was best for the children of their day; ours at this conference must be equally honest and equally in the best interest of children. (Andrews, 1985b, 247)

The perspective of each of the major denominational leadership groups was somewhat different, thus, their reactions to the need for change in the education system varied despite the pressure exerted by the post-Confederation government to modernize. In 1950, the provincial government hired Dr. Robert Newton, the former President of the University of Alberta, to conduct a review of Memorial and to provide recommendations and a blue print for the short and long-term development of the post-secondary institute. In the introduction to the report, Newton wrote:

A university is an essential part of a modern state. Progress in a democratic community depends upon a constantly rising standard of general education, and this in turn depends upon effective leadership by an institution of higher learning. A modern state also needs the help of scientific research in developing its natural resources. (Newton, 1952, p. 1)

Newton (1952) cautioned that “objectors” who said the province could not afford to expand the university were “closing their eyes to modern trend which cannot be ignored without imposing an arbitrary handicap on the development of the country” (Newton, 1952, p. 1). Fear of changes to any level of the education system prompted some church and social economic groups to protect their time-honoured traditions and control over education.

Church leaders fully understood the potential for influence when students attended denominational universities and stayed in denominational residences, while students in their charge would have been oblivious to how they were being socialized (Andrews, 1985b, p. 247). In many ways Halfyard and his fellow students were being assimilated and molded (Conway &

Jobson, 2012, pp. 60–61). They were also being trained and positioned to go into traditional communities across the land to take an active role in shaping the future lives of individuals and society. I would argue that the church-run residences played an even greater role than the university classes in shaping the values, beliefs, and goal systems of Halfyard and other young people of his generation (Grimes, January, 5, 2016, p. 21).

When I asked Roger Grimes, a former president of the NTA (1985–87) and premier of Newfoundland (2001–03), if staying in the new non-denominational residence at Memorial University from 1969–1972 influenced his views and philosophy around issues like school amalgamation and integration, he replied:

Definitely. Just meeting the broad cross-section of people that you did over time and interacting with them on a regular basis, you know. . . . You studied with them. You helped each other out with assignments and . . . I got some great friends from everywhere, from Lab City right on through. And it just reinforced what you knew yourself; that good people don't just come from a certain place. They're good people. And it just reinforced everything that I ever thought about that . . . by virtue of having lived with people like that in residence for five years. And I was glad I wasn't up in a boarding house on Grenfell Avenue, just meeting a few people in classes or over in the library or something like that. You lived with them, you know? So you partied with them, you had fun with them, you know if something bad happened you cried with them and that kind of stuff . . . (Grimes, January 5, 2016, p. 21)

Grimes became a head prefect of the Paton College residence during his last few years at Memorial. He had stayed in the Anglican residence across the parkway because Paton College was full when he started university in 1967. Grimes was elected to the House of Assembly in 1989 and was a senior minister under the Liberal government of Premier Clyde Wells and Premier Brian Tobin during much of the 1992 to 2004 period when controversial government policy reforms were being made to the Schools Act and to the centuries old denominational education system (Dibbon, Sheppard & Brown, 2012, p. 220; Galway & Dibbon, 2012, p. 33). Halfyard and Grimes, who were educated at Memorial and socialized in residence, were just two

of the many teachers who lobbied for changes to the denominational education system that took almost five decades to bring to fruition.

It is likely that residence life and general social interaction at university broke down old social barriers and influenced the attitude of young men and women to the denominational education system. Despite resistance from some church leaders, especially the Roman Catholic Church, Premier Smallwood must have understood that establishing non-denominational residences at the new Memorial University campus, which were not built until the mid-1960s, would have been a key step in phasing out religious segregation practices and the costly and inefficient public denominational education system (Andrews, 1985b, p. 43).

Memories of Sports and Residence Life

It became evident very early in the interview process with Halfyard and the other 22 teachers I interviewed, that their autobiographical memories of university experiences revolved around social or sports activities, residence life, or a favourite professor. There was limited reminiscing about course work (Fivush, 2012, p. 227). Those themes were also evident in the reflections of students documented in the Memorial University anniversary books which also revealed that ‘townie’ activities and memories were generally very different from ‘bayman’ activities and memories (Baker & Graham, 1999; MUN, 1975; O’Neill & Scammell-Reynolds, 2010). A bayman is defined as “one who lives on or near a bay or harbour; inhabitant of an ‘outport’” (Story, Kirwin, & Widdowson, 1982/2004, pp. 32–33). More often than not the term carried with it derogatory connotations associated with the term ‘bay wop’ or being from outport Newfoundland. It generally applied to anyone who lived outside the overpass to St. John’s. Female students born and raised in town talked about: skipping classes and playing bridge in the Ladies Common Room; dances in the gym; and playing 10-pin bowling at the USO Annex

building (O'Neill & Scammell-Reynolds (Eds.), 2010, pp. 55, 90). Male students talked about the academic gown dress code, the pranks they played, joining the Canadian Officer Training Corp Contingent (COTCO) and sports.

Sport was a big part of Halfyard's university experience. Whenever he talked about sport he compared his experience at Memorial with his experience at Mount A:

I played [intramural] hockey in Mount A but when I got to Memorial they found out that I wasn't in commerce and so I was barred from playing. . . . Nobody in commerce outside of St. John's . . . along with medical, say in the sciences could play. We were lowly teachers. But they didn't dare to come out on the field and kick football with us. We could beat them all the time. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 7)

In the early 1950s both intramural, and especially, varsity sport was the domain of the more affluent St. John's students in the Pre-engineering, Pre-dental, Pre-Medical and Pre-Agricultural programs (MUNCAL, 1951–52, pp. 44–45). Roger Grimes, who went on to play for the Grand Falls Cataracts in the provincial Senior Hockey League, talked about how he experienced similar barriers, even stigma when he tried out for the varsity hockey team in 1967:

If you weren't from St. John's you were a bayman period. . . . You were like a second-class citizen. Because they were doing say a physics thing . . . engineering. . . something real meaningful, and important. You were going to be a teacher. . .

It was almost like the whole team was going to be from St. John's. You had to show yourself to be, you know, you had to be a lot better. Not just a little bit better; you had to be a lot better than the guys from Prince of Wales and Gonzaga and all that kind of stuff or you weren't chosen—you had to be better. (Grimes, January 5, 2016, pp. 18–19)

Grimes specified how,

they made sure you tried out, because you were from Grand Falls . . . but it was almost guaranteed that you were going to be one of the first cuts, unless you really showed something. (Grimes, January 5, 2016, p. 20)

Despite majoring in chemistry, Grimes was still looked down upon by students from St. John's (not usually professors) because he was in the education program (Grimes, January 5, 2016, p. 18). Grimes eventually made the varsity team after coaches observed his "exceptional" skills

when he played intramurals and with other hockey leagues in the city (Grimes, January 5, 2016, p. 20).

Halfyard also explained how the strict rules at the United Church residence made being involved in the intramural or house leagues sports difficult:

I played what was called intramural sports. The ladies that were in the residences and the men could take part in volleyball and basketball and things like that, the gym aspects. . . I played basketball, but it interfered with the organization [meal schedule] of the housing on Longs Hill, the United Church residence. Because the meals were set up so that everybody had their table, their seating arrangements and nobody ate until everybody was there to say grace and so on.

Well, all the intramural sports were played during meal time, generally, or leading right up to it. And I was the only one in the residence that played on the sports teams. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 8)

Rev. Dr. L. A. D. Curtis was proctor when Halfyard stayed in residence in 1951–52. The proctor or guardian, along with his wife and family, who also lived in the “home,” provided a somewhat family atmosphere conducive to study as well as moral and spiritual guidance “towards moulding the character and habits of the rising generation” of Methodist teachers (Milligan, 1893, as cited in Fizzard, 2002, p. 5). By the late 1960s, intramural sport programs at Memorial became the recreational domain of students from residence. The nature of residence life had also changed substantially from the rigid religious “Chaplain and Guardian” model of the first half of the 20th century (Fizzard, 2002, p. 40).

Halfyard, who missed curfew a number of times, qualified, “Their [proctors’] intentions were good but their ideas of what was right and wrong I question very strongly” (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 8). He explained how there were six to eight males in his dorm room including Vernon Holyes who had fought overseas during the Second World War. Halfyard could not understand how Holyes could tolerate the rigid rules of the house. Holyes, who was older than the other boys, was a head prefect. He may not have shared many stories about his exploits

during the war, but he did talk about his job teaching at a residential school in Labrador.

Halfyard remembers Hoyles saying conditions in Labrador were much worse than overseas.

Rev. Dr. L. A. D. Curtis indicated in his reports from the late 1940s and early 1950s that greater supervision of residents and more patience were needed because more students were coming to St. John's to take First Year Education at Memorial University (Fizzard, 2002, pp. 20–21). Halfyard also pointed out that there were young Grade 9, 10, and 11 high school students staying in the residence.

Faculty of Education – Course Requirements and Other Barriers

The Faculty of Education program was established in 1949 when Memorial became a degree-conferring university. The program was modelled after the practices of the University of Alberta (MUN, 1975, p. 125). When Halfyard went to Memorial in 1951–52 there were 416 students (MUNCAL, 1953–1954, p. 108). Half of those students were enrolled in first-year studies while one quarter of the whole student body were education students (MUNYB, 1952, p. 47). There were only four professors teaching in the Faculty at that time (MUNCAL, 1951–1952, p. 52).

Like most of the other teachers I interviewed, specifics about the curriculum were limited but their feeling about the foreign language requirements was etched in their memories.

You had to do four or five regular courses: English, Math, Science, and a language. [chuckles] You weren't allowed in unless you had two or three languages at that time. When I went to Mount A, I had to do French, Latin, and English. I hated French and Latin with a passion. It didn't make better students. It cramped their desire to learn more. You weren't a Classical scholar unless you had – how should I say it? You weren't university stock unless you had two or three or four languages. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 5)

There was a foreign language requirement for entry into university and for graduation from university (MUNCAL, 1951–52, p. 33). Students who were admitted to university without

full matriculation were classified as “Conditioned.” Halfyard’s transcript shows that under the language requirement for entry he was “Conditioned.” Outport students were also required to do a number of non-credit foundation courses to bring them up to par with those who attended the prestigious St. John’s colleges.

Two rural Newfoundland-born male coordinating principals talked about the difficulty of getting into university because of the language requirement.¹² Ren Clarke recounted how he taught for five years with a “D” license before he could go to university in 1961 because he did not have French (Clark, August 8, 2012, p. 16). When asked how the French requirement affected rural young people considering a university education, he said:

It kept them out, definitely. I did French immersion later on. I got a certificate there somewhere [looks around his office] for completing senior high oral interview service for French training. I did it in Stephenville and St. Pierre [in 1987]. (Clarke, August 8, 2012, p. 16)

Eli Harris, who grew up on the Burin Peninsula, also recalled not being able to go to university because he did not meet the foreign language requirement. He commented, “That wasn’t good for the ego either, was it?” (Harris, August 6, 2012, p. 8). Harris later described how he had been teaching with a “C” license for almost six years before he completed the Grade 11 French requirement. The reality was that there “was no one qualified to teach a foreign language” in most rural outport communities (Harris, August 6, 2012, p. 14). Eventually, Harris decided to study French on his own. He wrote the Grade 11 public exam for French with his students in Jacques Fontaine.

¹² In 1951, candidates wishing to attend university needed a 55% in English, mathematics, history or economics and one science (chemistry, physics, geography, botany, or general science), a foreign language, and one other subject such as art, music, navigation, geology or physiology to qualify to enter university. Many outport students like Halfyard, who did meet the foreign language requirement, were accepted as “conditioned” students and required to take non-credit foundation courses (Memorial University of Newfoundland Calendar (MUNCAL), 1951–1952, p. 33).

Halfyard's university transcript shows that he took six education courses in 1951–52: Educational Psychology, School Organization, Management and Procedures, Method in the Foundations for Grades I to VI – Reading (one lecture per week); Arithmetic (one lecture per week); Oral and Written Language (three lectures a week); Methods in High School Grades; Psychology of Adolescence; and School Administration and Supervision. Some of the courses were a full year; others were half a year. Halfyard also took History and Mathematics. He failed the Mathematics course, which he repeated during a summer session in 1963. In addition, he took four non-credit foundation courses: Physical Education, Religious Education, Art, and Practice Teaching. Education students did practical teaching sessions in city schools. Students were also required to take the Religion Education course with a professor of their specific denomination. At Mount Allison, the previous year, Halfyard only took four courses: English, Geology, History and French. He failed the French course that year and in two subsequent years.

When he recalled the non-credit foundation courses he had to take that second year at Memorial, Halfyard became rather upset.

That's the same as the bloody religion courses and speech courses and so on they had when I went to Memorial—all put in by the churches, but no credits. You do two or three of them. . . I remember the insulting comments that some of the Profs would make towards the outports, towards the speech. I don't know what they called the speech in St. John's, if that was right or not. They were just prejudice—not prejudice, but they were, you know the word. . . . Now, I didn't have much trouble because in Woody Point, Curzon Village we spoke fairly well. Never said 'dis and dat and dem and dose and tree.' That wasn't in our vocabulary at all. (Halfyard, October 18, 2012, p. 12)

Those words may not have been in my father's vocabulary, but they were certainly common in the speech of many outport students. Halfyard elaborated:

I sort of laughed at the pressure that was put on us to change our speech. I don't speak as well now as I did when I finished high school because of the little community I was in. But to see a professor berating somebody in the class because he said 'dis and dat' and 'tree' instead of three, was ridiculous. That doesn't help the thought process. It doesn't help the development of a well-rounded individual. I started to try to change kid's speech

the first years in teaching in Port Anson. But then all of a sudden I said, “I’ve got them in school for 4 to 6 hours. They’re home for 18 to 20. What am I going on with? Teach them how to think and how to operate on their own.” I cut that crap out pretty quickly. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 3)

Halfyard feels that the elocution lessons and the sometimes-rough way that professors dealt with speech diversity were too much for many of the shy, unworldly outport students. “[It] led to a lot of them sitting back in class and not participating” (Halfyard, August, 29, 2013, p. 3). He believes it also contributed to many of them dropping out. On the other hand, outport students who were able to persevere into their third and fourth year, turned out to be “tops in the class” (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 3). Maybe this partially explains why, in his role as a school principal, Halfyard never tolerated teacher’s who were sarcastic to or belittled students.

One woman interviewed seemed to have been shaken to her very core by those elocution lessons. Zelda Dixon went into teaching by default because she was too young to get into nursing which required students be 18 years old. When I interviewed Dixon for this study she was in her 80s and she asked near the end of the interview if she could tell me about her negative experiences with elocution lessons (Dixon, September 17, 2012). While both men and women found the experience demeaning, men seemed to more easily let the experience flow off their backs. Zelda found it emotionally scarring.

Friendships Made, Networks Forged

Unfortunately, my father did not have two full years of credits after attending university for two years. He readily admits that his marks were abysmal, but he had a wonderful time, especially at Mount A. He has always been a firm believer that it was “Not always what you learned in university that was beneficial to you. It’s who you met and the ideas that you could draw on.” (Halfyard, August 27, 2013, p. 3). He recalled using free time to his advantage,

including the Easter break when Munn Paddock and he were the only two boys left on their floor in the residence:

There were 12 to 16 of us on a floor. And because we never had enough money to go to Long Island or to Bonne Bay, two of us so stayed [that Easter]. To entertain ourselves for several hours we used to read poetry. We'd read maybe four or five stanzas, four lines in a stanza and you'd read it twice or three or four times. And then the other person would ask you if you could repeat it. And boy you'd be surprised how in a week, Munn and I could read four verses once, and recite it lots of times. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 9)

Munn Paddock, the son of a fisherman, went on to become the principal in the new regional high school built in Lewisporte in the 1950s after teaching with Halfyard in Port Anson in the mid-1950s.¹³

That year Halfyard also got to know the librarians because most students “were gone home.” They helped him with “assignments that were backing up by Easter time” (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 9). When Halfyard went back to university in the 1960s those same librarians were still there. While some students hung out in the male or female Common Rooms, he frequented the library. He often recalled how they helped him when he returned in the 1960s with a family:

And I had some real jewels [in the positive sense] in the library. They'd dig out information for me that I needed for assignments and so on. Now mind you I was pushed because I had a family of six people at home and I needed all the help I could get. But the library, the library staff were super. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 9)

During that year at Memorial, and the previous year at Mount Allison, Halfyard also struck up a friendship with Mona Cramm. She went on to become a librarian at the Gosling Memorial Library. Even though there was an Education Society that promoted professional

¹³ Paddock became a coordinator with the Notre Dame Integrated School Board after Integration of protestant schools took place in the early 1970s. He was listed as a participant at both the 1972 and 1973 fall Newfoundland Supervisors' Association Annual Conferences (NSA) set up to share information among administrators after the Royal Commission Report of 1967–68 was released and the new professionally run school board districts were established. His brother Ambrose Paddock became a professor in the Faculty of Education at Memorial University in the 1960s.

interests, plus discussion and debate on educational and social problems and a Newfoundland Student Teachers' Union branch formed in 1951, Halfyard is not in the group photo nor can he remember if he was involved with those organizations (MUNCAL, 1951–5, p. 25; MUNYB, 1952, p. 48, 84).

Pitts Memorial Hall located close to the United Church residence offered other valuable cultural experiences which Halfyard often talked about:

See there was the United Church residence, and then there was Holloway School and Pitt's Memorial Hall was attached to that. You walked in on the top, up from Parade Street (really Military Road) to the Pitt's Memorial Hall.

I bought a season's ticket so that I could go to the live performances that were generally every couple of weeks. It would either be a play or poetry readings. I don't remember the name of the group that led it. But there was debating as well. I really enjoyed that. I think it was once every two weeks or three weeks. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 9)

Halfyard described how “most of the time I was there by myself with the other dozens of people who were there from the town” (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 9). Maybe he enjoyed going because he was used to going to plays and concerts in Bonne Bay or maybe he just enjoyed the arts (Pitt, 1993, p. 317). Whatever the motivation, the arts remained a lifelong commitment which he promoted to students in school and to his children. When the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador was set up by government in 1985 Halfyard was invited by Dr. Leslie Harris, the President of Memorial University, to sit on the board. That organization was mandated to look at preservation of historic buildings and structures around the province (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 7; Harris, [Letter], 1985).

In 1951–52, only one student, John Roland Courage of St. John's, graduated with a Bachelor of Arts (Education) (MUNCAL, 1951–52, p. 79). Four graduated with a Bachelor of Arts and 14 students received their engineering diplomas for a total of 19 graduates. The next year, 1952–53, enrolment went up to 457 students with almost half of the students coming from

outside St. John's (Rowe, 1976, p. 87). That year 21 students graduated with a Bachelor of Arts (Education), including John Vernon Hoyles, the senior prefect who had been a roommate of Halfyard's at the Long's Hill Residence.

Conclusion

This chapter is very much about the excitement and new activities young people experience when they leave home and go off to university for the first time. It is also about the religious, social class, financial and emotional challenges and barriers many rural-born students in the education program experienced while attending Memorial University in the early post-Confederation years. Halfyard explained:

You were always made to feel that you were part of Mount A. Totally different from when we went to St. John's. There was never that feeling that you were part of Memorial. You were part of a university that was in St. John's. And it wasn't part of you. In 10 years, this changed but the attitude was perpetuated, in my estimation, by the professors and by the administration of the university. They were trying to make us rural underlings . . . (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 9)

In many ways, the experiences of the students from 'around the bay' is similar to that of other marginalized or disenfranchised groups. They had to work harder, at practically everything, to even compete with 'townies.' It pervaded everything from varsity sports teams and academic grades, to general respect, scholarships, and awards, membership in societies and, later, jobs and promotions. Whether those experiences had a negative or positive impact on students depended on many factors, but I would argue it made many of them stronger and more resilient. It may also have inspired some young people from rural places to embrace Premier Smallwood's vision of a better life for "the masses" of outport Newfoundland.

When Halfyard and the other United Church students at Memorial finished in the spring of 1952, Rev. Dr. Ira Curtis at the Department of Education "had us all in, and he had lists of

schools where there were vacancies” (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 5). It was time for the young teacher recruits to venture out to rural areas to teach. Halfyard chose to take the position as principal of a three-room school at Port Anson located on the Northeast coast of the province. He was somewhat familiar with that part of the province because his university buddy, Munn Paddock, was from the area, and his cousin Myra was teaching in Port Anson. The next chapter will explore the challenges, rewards, and lessons learned from teaching for the better part of the 1950s.

CHAPTER 5: EARLY TEACHING YEARS – IDENTITY FORMATION (1952–1960)

Self-identity is not a distinctive trait, or even a collection of traits, possessed by the individual. It is the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography. (Giddens, 1991, p. 53)

Introduction

Like Giddens (1991), Goodson (2013) describes identity formation as “the process of aspiring and becoming” (p. 65). Goodson (2013) focuses on how some people have “a central spine of aspirations.” They are driven to construct a distinctive sense of self “beyond their birthright script” (P. 65). That distinctive sense of self is developed over time through narrative construction. Goodson (2013) also examines the ‘spectrum of narrativity’ and how the degree of personal elaboration, description or ‘narrative intensity’ needs to be linked to “identity, learning and agency if we are to understand its complex social significance.” (p. 70 & 68). In this context, “agency” equates to “courses of action.” More specifically, it is linked to a sense of one’s personal power and ability to effect change in one’s life—the will to take action.

According to Giddens (1991) “an ontologically insecure person” may lack a consistent feeling of biographical continuity. They “may fail to achieve an enduring conception of aliveness” (Laing, as cited in Giddens, 1991, p. 53). They may become obsessively consumed with fear, hence, they can become paralyzed in terms of practical action. Those fears are often linked to the unknown risks that come with changes to their environment and daily life. Such fears certainly do not describe Halfyard. However, they may characterize a good portion of the outport people with whom he interacted in the Green Bay area during his early teaching career, given the massive changes and uncertainty stirred as a result of new government policies and programs proposed during early post-Confederation. One prime example is the resettlement program, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

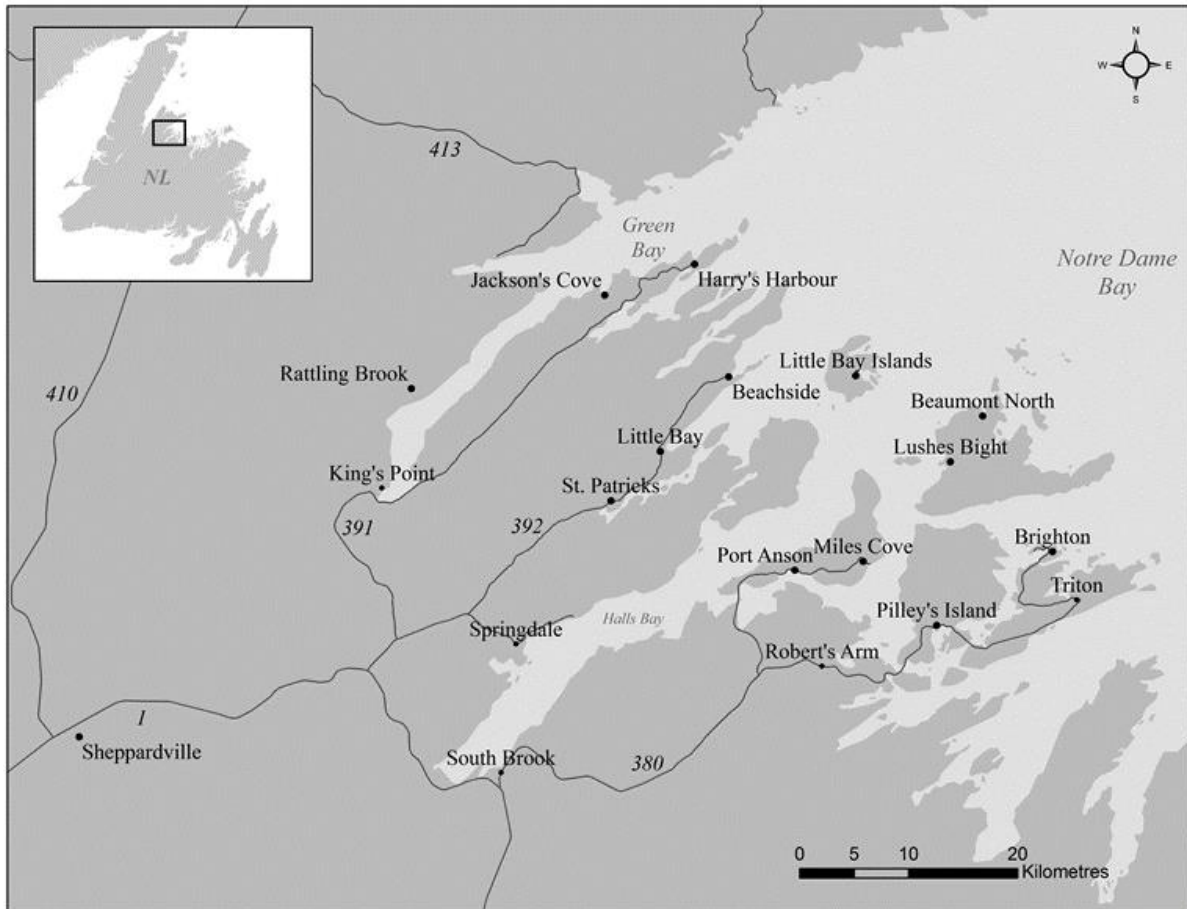


Figure 24. Map of the Green Bay area including Port Anson and Roberts Arm (Map by Myron King; Copyright 2018, Environmental Policy Office, Grenfell Campus, Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Newfoundland scholar, Cyril F. Poole who grew up in the Green Bay, wrote in his book, *In Search of the Newfoundland Soul*:

One of the striking traits of Newfoundlanders is our sense of fatalism. It has seeped into the very marrow of our bones. It found expression in our newspapers and literature, in a thousand sermons, and more significantly, in the very language of our people. (Poole, 1982, p. 92)

Poole discussed how the centuries of dependence on making a living from “the stormy North Atlantic” was a determining factor in limiting rural Newfoundlanders sense of control over both nature as well as socio-political events in their lives. He speculates that their “passive and stoic philosophy” was the result of generational “psychological laws” (1982, p. 97). Those

cultural predispositions must be considered when examining the attitudes and identities of outport Newfoundlanders of the 1960s and 1970s.

Identity formation can also be divided into individual, collective and institutional identity levels similar to those presented by Portelli (1991) and Conway and Jobson (2012) (Robins, 2005, pp. 173–175). Robins (2005), in his descriptors of identity in *New Keywords: A Revised Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, emphasized the socially constructed nature of identity (p. 175). He described how in the past there was more emphasis on identities being “instituted” or “ascribed” by the nation-state in particular social and historical contexts (Robins, 2005, p. 173, 175). Today, societies are increasingly exposed to the homogenizing effects of globalization because of the proliferation of mass media. Contemporary theorists, including Stuart Hall, emphasized how, “Within us are contradictory identities pulling in different directions, so that our identifications are continuously being shifted about” (Hall, 1992b, p. 277, as cited in Robins, 2005, p. 174). Basically, individuals assume different identities at different times. They are not unified around a coherent ‘self’; there are “multiplicity of possible identifications” (Robins, 2005, p. 174).

There was always a “multiplicity of possible identifications” among the jack-of-all-trades educational leaders in rural Newfoundland during the three decades post-Confederation. They constantly had to adapt and “reconfigure” their identity and skills, be it in relation to the massive technological developments of the times or the multitude of places where they taught during their early careers.¹⁴ Furthermore, it must be remembered that “government authorities determine the content of textbooks; instigate, plan, and construct monuments and memorials; and devise commemorative celebrations, rituals, and more generally mnemonic

¹⁴ The trend was that teachers only stayed in a community for a few years, especially during their early teaching career.

practices—all with the intent to shape collective memory” (Hirst et al., 2012, p. 142). A group’s collective memory and identity is also a “product of societal efforts, often those devised and executed by the powerful and the elite,” including religious organizations (Hirst et al., 2012, p. 142).

In looking at the individual and collective identity formation of rural educational leaders during the first decade after Newfoundland entered Confederation with Canada—the 1950s, it is clear that people of Halfyard’s generation did not have the diversity of “choice and negotiation” ascribed to modern identities (Robin, 2005, p. 175). However, the rapidly changing governmental structures and policies, along with advances in technology, plus growing consumerism driven by the influx of military personnel, television, and radio, were vigorously propelling change and modernity. Those circumstances brought the need for changes in teachers’ identities and collective roles within both the school and communities.

A number of factors, including the baby boomer population explosion of the post-war years, new provincial government school-age attendance requirements for children, and the Canadian government family allowance incentive introduced in 1949, resulted in “the school population increasing at the rate of 5,000 a year” in the 1950s and 60s (Andrews, 1985b, p. 336; Rowe, 1976, p. 22, 134; Matthews, 1976; Wadel, 1969) (see Appendix B: Education Related Statistics). Hence, there was a growing need for more teachers in communities at a time when a significant number of potential male leaders had been lost during the war effort. As a result, members of Halfyard’s generation had to step up to the plate earlier. Government and church officials looked to formally trained teachers to guide local residents through the process of industrialization and modernization. Not everyone had the capacity or desire for leadership, however, every community had or was in the process of getting teachers. As a result, many of

those teachers became change leaders at a time when the new province was in need of new kinds of local leadership.

Section I: Port Anson (1952–1957) Principal Three-Room United Church School

Well, I'll never forget going to Port Anson. At that time there wasn't even a road to Springdale. You had to come across the country, following company roads . . . I came over in father's pickup to South Brook, and there was a little passenger boat tied up to the wharf in South Brook. Uncle Danny Morey or Rowsell, I'm not sure. He only had one arm and that's what he operated, a little passenger boat. That's how I went down the bay, in that boat to Port Anson, on Sunday Cove Island. There was a little one-room school in Miles Cove and a little one-room school down in Wellman's Cove at that time. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 6)

Historical Background

Sunday Cove Island is a 5 x 9 miles (8 x 15 kilometres) island located in Green Bay on the Northeast Coast of Newfoundland. The earliest mention of Sunday Cove Island was in the 1857 census, which listed 63 residents living on the island.



Figure 25. Tickle at Port Anson taken from Halfyard's boarding house (Halfyard, J., c. 1953)

The island included the villages of Miles Cove, Wellman's Cove and Port Anson plus a few other nooks and crannies where families settled, fished, cut wood, and grew vegetables. Port Anson was the largest of the three villages. By 1911, Port Anson had a population of 144 people (Colbourne, 1993, pp. 380–381). People came from La Scie, Twillingate, nearby Long Island, as well as Little Bay and Pilley's Island after the closure of the mines in those towns. By 1961, the population had increased to 407.

Port Anson United Church School

Halfyard, with his two years of university, was the new principal of the three-room United Church school. Early settlers of Port Anson were mostly Methodist although the Salvation Army was established in 1911 and operated a school for a few years around 1924. The Pentecostal Assemblies arrived in the mid-1930s and attracted Methodist who were not happy with the more modern United Church practices. Pentecostal children attended the United Church school from 1947 until 1967 when they formed their own school. The year Halfyard arrived the traditional two-room style school house had just expanded to three classrooms.



Figure 26. Port Anson three-room United Church school, church in background (Halfyard, J., c. 1953)

Relatively new school-age attendance requirements of 16 years linked to the “family allowance” of 1949, plus the post-war spike in birth rate, increased the number of children attending school (Rowe, 1976, pp. 14, 22). Most families in Port Anson averaged five to six children; one family had 17. The year before, Grades 7 and 8 students were housed in ‘the Dryer,’ an abandoned experimental fish drying building owned by T. J. Hewlett & Sons. The Hewletts were prominent business merchants. The father, Tim Hewlett, was the representative on the local United Church school board. Shortly after he arrived, Halfyard went to see Mr. Hewlett about what he considered an outdated method of heating a school. He recalled:

I can remember going up over the hill in late August, a couple days before school opened, and when I walk in the school in 1952, here was a three-room school with three pot-bellied stoves and an armful of splits and a few armfuls of woods down behind the stove. And I said, “Oh good god, no, it can’t be. Not in this time. There’s lots of coal in Sydney that at least you could change to coal.”

So I walked down over the hill to Ford Hewlett’s store. I had heard that Ford was a bit progressive. . . Ford was always dabbling in the woods operation and in fishing in Labrador; a very creative individual. His father was in the office and I said, “Mr. Hewlett, you people are still using pot-bellied stoves and people got to bring wood to school? This is ’52!”

He said, “Yes, and what other way can you have it?”

I said, “There’s lot of coal in Sydney and they’d love to mine it, and they’d love to bring down a schooner load here. You can buy stoves now that have compound bars, and therefore you’ve got a thermostat on them. You don’t need power for that.” We had no power in the school.

He said, “I don’t think it can be done.”

Ford walked into the office and he said, “Father, listen to that man. He’s telling you how to make your school more comfortable. If you make the school more comfortable, the kids might want to go to school a little more. And don’t forget that some of them are coming out of very cold homes in the winter.”

So, Mr. Hewlett said, “I don’t want to talk to you fellows. You go in with Ford and see what you can come up with.”

So, Ford and I went in and we ordered three stoves and we had central heating in that

school for the five years that I was there. You'd light the fire on Monday morning, and it was allowed to go out on Friday evening. When the teacher was ready to go home in the evening, you would put in a scuttle of coal, set the thermostat, and when they came in the next morning they just turned the thermostat and they had instant heat. The chill was out of the school. . . It made all the difference to that school. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, pp. 9–10)

Halfyard admitted to being a somewhat “cocky 21-year-old” (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, pp. 9-10). He had just finished a year at Mount Allison, spent the summer working with a lumber company in New Brunswick, then another year in St. John's followed by an exciting four-month stint at the American military base in Stephenville. The worldlier ‘bay boy’ had



Figure 27. Halfyard at boarding house and with new girlfriend, Audrey Burton, winter 1954 (Halfyard, J., 1954)

experienced firsthand the new ways the industrial world was doing things, and how modern conveniences were making things more comfortable in the home, workplace, and school (Halfyard, January 15, 2012, p. 8). Besides that, in Bonne Bay they had been using coal to heat their homes and schools for years.

Halfyard, always the keen observer of modern devices, believed in adopting, adapting

and sharing his knowledge:

When I went to Port Anson in '52, people were still bringing water in buckets even though there was a nice brook running out in several places. You'd say to the men, "Why didn't you put the water in?" You'd get comments back sometimes, "If you put the water in for the women, what are they going to do, if they don't have to bring water?" That used to amaze me. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 9–10)

Perhaps Halfyard, who could be rather serious, did not quite catch the humour and the high jinks common among many of the residents of Port Anson. Yet, to this day, he cannot understand why the men did not install running water. He was used to modern plumbing in the kitchen and bathroom because his cousin, Stewart Blanchard, had installed running water, via water hoses from the brook, for his mother and other families in Woody Point a decade earlier. Residents of Port Anson, on the other hand, still used outhouses, brought water from wells, and relied on kerosene lamps. Ironically decades earlier, the Burton men had installed a water wheel on the nearby brook to generate power to run the saw mill. This raises questions about how men in this community may have viewed women and their place in society. It also raises questions about how the demands of their own work—long hours under difficult conditions—might have left them with little incentive to pursue change at home.

Port Anson may have been isolated and somewhat delayed with regards to modern amenities, however, they were progressive when it came to formal education, work ethic, and mechanical and economic ingenuity. "They could put an arse in a cat" as Halfyard put it. He described their ingenuity thus,

Port Anson was one of the most progressive communities in the Green Bay. The supervisors who used to come around (school inspectors, they were called), they said there's really three schools that were really pushing education. That was the little three-room school in Port Anson, the school in Little Bay Islands and Long Island, and the United Church school in Springdale were very high on the education list. But from that little three-room school in Port Anson, there were a lot of students that finished high school. One young fellow finished high school, studied to be a United Church minister, he ended up in Western Canada. At one time he ran for mayor of Edmonton. He became

a lawyer.

But there were a lot of people involved in the woods. A lot of them went down to the Cape Shore, fishing in the summer, and in the winter they worked in the woods. There were six saw mills operating out of Port Anson: Hewlett's and Burton's and so on.¹⁵ A lot of the workers went away and worked with the province's two large paper companies [Grand Falls and Corner Brook].

There was actually very little or no unemployment in the little town. Over 90% of the people were employed. . . if you saw the celebration that was put together in '53 when Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne; it was amazing the community involvement and how vibrant the community was. Everything was tied around the school and the churches. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 7)

Educational Goals and Objectives

Halfyard repeatedly identified the following schooling related issues as needing to be addressed during his early teaching years in Port Anson (1952–1957), Roberts Arm (1957–1960), and even La Scie (1961–1962; 1968–1986) (Halfyard, 2013): (1) Cold classrooms (wood stoves); (2) Lack of school and community library services; (3) Lack of trained teachers and need for professional development; (4) Lack of recreation; (5) Denominational Educational system limitations.

A description of how Halfyard tackled the cold classroom situation has been provided. When it came to the lack of school and community library services he once again drew from personal experiences. In Woody Point and Curzon Village, and certainly in the Halfyard family, there was a culture of reading. The Anglican school where he completed high school had a well-stocked library and his mother kept a small bookshelf in the family parlour. There were a few families of readers in Port Anson, but reading material, according to Halfyard, was largely

¹⁵ In the late 1930s, there were supposedly ten sawmill operations in Port Anson (GBEDA, 1994, p. 161). When Halfyard arrived in 1952, the six thriving sawmill operations included: T. J. Hewlett and Sons; Bert Martin; the Goudie Brothers; George Wiseman; the Fudges and J. R. Burton & Sons. The logging industry was a main source of employment. J. R. Burton & Sons employed 12 to 15 men, mostly relatives and a few hired hands from the cove.

limited to the Bible and the *Family Herald*.

They were terribly short of reading material. But I was in university with the lady who became a librarian at the Gosling Memorial Library in St. John's: Mona Cramm. I talked with Mona a few times, and when they were sorting their books out, and when they were getting rid of their Encyclopaedias' and bringing new ones in, I made an agreement that if she'd give me the books, I would pay the postage. And so we started to build a library in Port Anson, and there were students there that read those books. I always said that it had a tremendous effect on the kids. First time some of them had ever gotten into a library. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 6)

Other teachers and administrators interviewed for this research study also noted drawing from similar contacts or networks they had formed at Memorial and the other educational institutes they attended in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The Bureau of Education established travelling libraries in 1926 as a means to improve educational opportunities. Upwards of 400 books were shipped in boxes to schools, hospitals, and lighthouse keepers via coastal steamers to outport communities. Every few months the boxes of books were returned and new selections were delivered (Konrad, 1991, p. 290). In 1935, the Commission of Government passed the Public Libraries Act. By 1947, library services were extended to 25 communities with populations over 1,000. Jessie Mifflen, an adult educator and trained librarian who later penned "*Be You a Library Missionary, Miss?*" was hired as the chief regional librarian. The provision of library services was part of the Commission of Government's rural outreach "self-help" strategy to respond to the fact "between 20 and 30 percent of all adult Newfoundlanders were, at that time, functionally illiterate" (Rowe, 1976, p. 31). By 1957, Mifflen (1981), in collaboration with spirited educators, clergy, and avid local readers, had expanded library services to some 400 towns and smaller outport settlements (Konrad, 1991, p. 291). The population of Port Anson was nowhere near 1,000; however, Halfyard insists he ordered crates of books that were shipped via coastal boat from Lewisporte every three months.

Hard Tickets and Half Finger

Halfyard sometimes worried he would ‘go insane’ during those early teaching years. The workload was enormous and discipline was always a challenge. His weight dropped from 158 lbs. to 135 lbs. over the 5-year period he taught in Port Anson. Teaching was very demanding and by no means a 9-to-3 job.

There were well over 100 students in those three classrooms. Very large families: 12 and 14 and 16 children in a lot of the families there. So you didn’t need very many of those to get 130–140 pupils. Generally, there was about 40 to 45 in a classroom. . . . You had to teach math and science and so on. The subjects I liked to teach were History and Geography and Economics. But the most success I had in my schools, right on through my teaching, was in English Language and Literature—Literature in particular. I had 12 years with Grades 9, 10, and 11 and nobody failed an English course. I guess that’s because I was putting it out. But, back then, you taught whatever was necessary to be done.

If you tried to organize your classroom like you were taught in Memorial, you would go insane in four months. You just couldn’t cope with it. There was an advantage with Grade 9s sometimes. They were listening to the Grade 10 literature twice, or three times, while they were in the high school. So, if you did a good literature class, you were affecting all of the students. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 6)



Figure 28. Students on playground and soccer field in back of school, circa 1960s
(Courtesy of Memories of Port Anson Newfoundland website, Reid, E., 2018)

Halfyard acknowledges being very “wet behind the ears” when he came out of university. Most of the other educators interviewed for this research study also agreed it took two or three years to learn how to manage a classroom. Some young, untrained, novice female and male teachers never managed the discipline and quit by Christmas. Halfyard always tells the story of one bright, cocky, sly, young boy who would “try the patience of the Saviour himself” (Halfyard, January 15, 2012, p. 7). One day the student pushed Halfyard to the brink.

This fellow, he was in Grade 11, and he was really putting me and the school through a bad time. I went down and I started to tell him what he was going to do, and I was coming down with my finger on his desk, and when I looked I noticed that his colour was changing, red spots on it. I looked down. I had my finger split right open and it was the blood from my finger that was all over his face. I tell you, he got the message though. (Halfyard, January 15, 2012, p. 8)

Halfyard was so angry that he did not realize the stub of his half finger was bleeding. A female student who was in Grade 7 that year said she always found Halfyard to be a very good teacher. Shirley, who went on to become an elementary school teacher, noted how Halfyard had good discipline, good control of the classroom. He was “not unfair.” She described the year before he arrived as a “bad year, there was no control” (S. Pinksten, personal communication, November 12, 2014).

Every educator likes to recall validating stories of life-changing moments for their students. Halfyard is no exception.

He [the student] went to trade school, and by the way he had the top marks in the trade school. When he came home at Christmas, school was still open. He got off the wharf down from the school and he came right up and rapped on the door. . . walked up to the desk and put his hand out and apologized for the problems that he had caused me and the other students. I was amazed, but it showed how much he had grown up. And therefore the hitting of my finger had an effect. (Halfyard January 15, 2012, p. 10)

Halfyard’s half finger, which his cousin had accidentally cut off when they were chopping wood as young boys, became infamous over the course of his teaching career. He used it for

comic relief in math class after a student that year reminded him it was only equal to one half. It became his main pointer finger for emphasizing important notes and sums written on the blackboard. And when that finger was pointed at you, you knew you had crossed the line.

Newfoundland Teachers' Association (NTA) – Collective Institutional Forces

Halfyard talked about his beliefs related to schooling and how he set out to tackle some of the many issues by becoming involved with the NTA:

I tried as hard as I could to keep the churches neutral in the school. That was difficult at that time. I believed in amalgamation. I believed in all the kids going to the same school. I mentioned the library and Mona Cramm, but I quickly realized that other things needed to be done to change education in Newfoundland. And I couldn't do it from a school setting. So, I realized the NTA might be a direction to go in to make improvement.

Economically, you had to wait for the economy, or for Confederation to take its effect. But school boards needed to be changed. Teachers' education needed to be changed. The schools needed to be changed. Better science facilities, better classroom facilities, more centralized heating, and all those things had to come together. And the curriculum had to be changed. To change this, I thought that if the NTA got its hands into forcing the Department of Education (the government) to change, then it would. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, pp. 7–8)

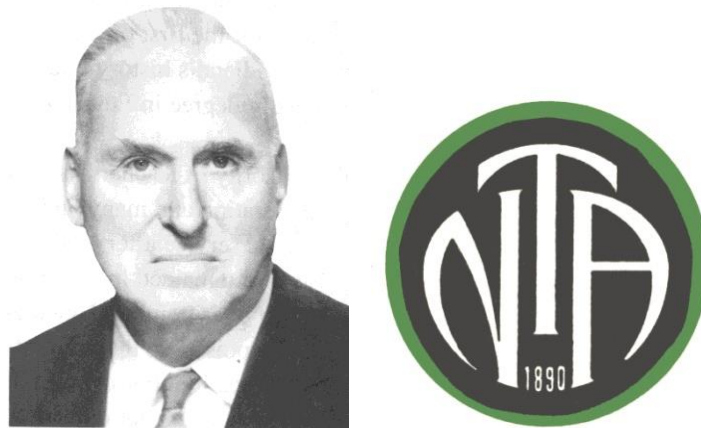


Figure 29. Allan Bishop, NTA President 1939–1942 and 1949; General Secretary, 1952–1962 (Courtesy of Newfoundland and Labrador Teachers' Association, Pitt, 1990, pp. 31, 35)

The Newfoundland Teachers Association (NTA) was founded in Conception Bay in 1890 (Pitt, 1990, p. 2). In 1952, Allan Bishop, the new General Secretary of the NTA, began extended

visits to larger population centres throughout the province where he spread the word about the NTA to groups of teachers and preached the “gospel of education” (Bishop, 1962, pp. 53–54):

Their purpose was threefold—first, to contact groups of teachers and impress upon them the necessity of unity of purpose and loyalty to the ideals of their Association. Second, to talk to the chairman of school boards and influential citizens impressing upon them, if possible, the urgency of improving education. Third, to see at first hand the conditions under which teachers worked and to ascertain, as far as possible, their relationships with school boards and the community. (Bishop, 1962, pp. 53–54)

Halfyard recalled attending a meeting hosted by Bishop on Pilley’s Island where the chair of the United Church school board for the region lived (Halfyard, 2014b, February 11, 2014, p.

2). Halfyard joined the NTA shortly after arriving in Port Anson in 1952.¹⁶

So, I pushed the NTA, as much as I could, to set up a branch in the islands (I called it the Islands Branch – Little Bay Islands, Long Island, Triton Island, Sunday Cove Island) and formed a branch. Springdale was starting to put a branch together. I met with them and we agreed to amalgamate it: Springdale-Islands Branch of the NTA. And then later, when the mines started and I had gone on to La Scie and to Tilt Cove, I encouraged the Baie Verte Peninsula and Springdale to operate together, because with a larger number of teachers you could come up with better resolutions, better ideas. It certainly helped. The NTA made a tremendous difference in the training of teachers, in the libraries, and so on—all through recommendations that were made from the NTA. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, pp. 7–8)

For seven years Halfyard faithfully attended branch meetings; he acted as vice-president (1953–1954), secretary-treasurer (1954–1955), and president (1955–56; 1956–57). In December of 1953, Halfyard was selected to attend the NTA Annual Convention being held in St. John’s. On that trip, he bought himself a \$300 long camel-hair coat—a small fortune in those days. The coat not only provided warmth, it may have also solidified the professional teacher image to which he aspired. From 1954 onward the NTA worked closely with the Department of Education

¹⁶ The minutes of the Springdale Regional Branch, the Island’s Branch plus the combined Springdale-Islands Branch and the Northeast Branch which evolved into the White Bay NTA Branch and later the Baie Verte Branch came from Halfyard’s personal files. Most of the minutes from 1953 to 1965 are in the collection. The 1965 to 1979 period is missing. Minutes for the period from 1979 to June of 1987 when Halfyard retired from teaching are in the collection. It was Halfyard’s intention to write a history of the NTA in the Green Bay, Baie Verte Peninsula Area.

to formulate far-reaching resolutions for educational reform that were subsequently adopted by the government (Rowe, 1964, p. 136).

In 1956, Halfyard was chosen to attend the July Annual General Meeting in Corner Brook. The minutes state he gave “a most interesting report on the convention” to the growing numbers of teachers attending the branch meetings (Springdale-Island Branch Minutes, Sept, 29, p. 1956). Halfyard recognized the benefits that could be reaped by being actively involved with a larger organization like the NTA. During those early years, he extended invitations to host the meetings in the outlying communities where he taught and encouraged his teachers to attend.

A review of the minutes of the Springdale-Islands Branch from 1953 to 1963 indicate that participants discussed and learned everything from possible affiliation with labour unions to proposed changes for standardized salary scales and pensions—two issues which repeatedly sparked heated debate with government during the 1950s to 1970s. Teachers at NTA branch meetings asked questions, expressed concerns and submitted resolutions for curriculum changes that could be subsequently submitted to the Department of Education through the NTA. The branch meetings also gave the relatively untrained teachers, many with just the six-week summer training session, the opportunity to break into small grade-specific groups to discuss discipline problems and share teaching strategies (Springdale-Islands Branch Minutes, 1953–1963). More than anything, Halfyard stressed how the NTA meetings gave young, isolated teachers a place where they could unwind and socialize with fellow teachers. They developed a sense of belonging, which was important since most teachers were ‘come-from-aways,’ outsiders in the communities where they taught.

Inequalities in Power and Politics

Teacher membership grew during the years when Halfyard and a few of the early

executive were actively involved with the Springdale-Islands Branch of the NTA, but membership waned when the executive members had other commitments or seemed not to be terribly interested in the active participation of teachers in outlying communities. At one point, Halfyard asked about preferential treatment and expressed his view that all branches and members be treated equally (Springdale-Islands Branch Minutes, March 27, 1954). Living in smaller ‘end-of-the-road’ communities like Port Anson, Roberts Arm and later La Scie versus the larger regional “capitals” (Cuff, 1994, p. 280) (so deemed by government) such as Springdale and Baie Verte often proved to be a challenge. This reflects the insider/outsider regional inequalities and spatial concentration of political power that privileged some communities over others. Unfortunately, those biases affect economic geography (Amin, Massey, & Thrift, 2003).

Proximity, qualifications and the ambitions of teacher representatives from the more prestigious communities often gave those educational leaders the opportunity to wield more personal and political power. Accusations also abounded concerning educational leaders being more interested in building a fiefdom rather than contributing to education. Halfyard, who was known to be generous with sharing knowledge, was not prone to back down in those power struggles, as illustrated in the following anecdote told by fellow NTA members Bill Dixon and his wife Zelda.

Bill Dixon: Job always had an opinion and didn’t withhold expressing that opinion in a kind, gentle way usually (not always) . . . He forcefully put forward his ideas, listened to others. But if you wanted an opinion, you asked Job and you got it—whether you liked it or not. And quite often it was good. So, that’s how I remember Job.

Zelda Dixon: I remember in NTA meetings, I was not on committees with him; I was not a committee person [chuckles]. But I remember in NTA meetings, and we’d always look forward to Job’s expression of his opinions. And I remember just about any change that was on the go he would always bring it back to La Scie. La Scie was his pride and joy. And whatever change was going to be made he would ask, “Now how is this going to affect La Scie?” and he would come out with that. “This is going to affect La Scie in this, this, this, and this way. Are these good changes, or are they not going to be good changes

for La Scie?” (Bill & Zelda Dixon, September 17, 2012, p. 22)

Was it while teaching in Port Anson that Halfyard learned that schools, thus people, in small outlying rural communities were not treated the same as those in larger more prestigious communities? Is that why he embraced the collective goals and possibilities for improvements offered through the NTA? Did he recognize them as a force for fair change? We can see from these early years onward in his life and career that Halfyard was, as Amin, Massey and Thrift (2003) suggest, moving towards “a politics of circulation” and the “need to challenge the geography of power” (p. 60).

NTA Offers Leadership Opportunities

Bill (b. 1931) and Zelda Dixon (b. 1934) first met Halfyard in 1956–1957 when they taught in the Salvation Army school in Springdale. Active members of the Springdale-Islands Branch of the NTA, they got to know Halfyard even better after Bill became the principal of the elementary school in Baie Verte in 1963. Zelda was the daughter of Salvation Army Preacher/Teacher and was used to moving from town to town every two to three years. Bill grew up in the mining town of Buchans where they were generally able to hire better qualified teachers and had more socio-economic opportunities (Bill & Zelda Dixon, June 26, 2012, p. 3; Crocker, 1982, p. 122). Zelda, a Kindergarten teacher, and Bill started attending NTA meetings in 1953–54 when they were new elementary teachers in Windsor, next door to Grand Falls.

Charlie Goodyear, who taught in Grand Falls from 1937 to 1976, talked about the challenges of the denominational system and other pressing concerns in Phillip McCann’s (1982) book *Blackboards and Briefcases*. Goodyear (1982) wrote how, “Frustrated beyond description with this state of affairs, a number of teachers at Grand Falls Academy undertook a personal crusade for change . . .” (pp. 173–174). Teachers were dissatisfied with the passive nature of the

government to a variety of requests for change, especially as they related to amalgamation of schools (Goodyear, 1982, p. 175).



Figure 30. Teachers at 1954 NTA Annual Convention held in Grand Falls
(Courtesy of Newfoundland and Labrador Teachers' Association, Pitt, 1990, p. 41)

On June 28, 1954, a landmark three-day NTA convention was held in Grand Falls. It was the first of its kind held outside St. John's.¹⁷ Voting was restricted to regional delegates for the first time in the organization's history. This reduced the risk of policies, of value to outport regions, being unfairly outvoted. In the past, casual observers from St. John's (teachers from St. John's who were not official delegates) would attend meetings and were allowed to vote. Thus, they swayed resolution votes in the city's interests. Goodyear described some of the other fears:

In the 1950s, as I recall, there was almost a pathological fear among delegates to the NTA convention of being "ganged up on" and so they fought tooth and nail for the retention of

¹⁷ The 1954 NTA Annual Convention held in Grand Falls marked the beginnings of NTA Annual Conventions being held outside St. John's. The move resulted in more input and discussion of issues pertinent to rural regions of the province (Goodyear, 1982, p. 176). Goodyear, who went on to teach in the Faculty of Education at Memorial University from 1961 to 1976 undoubtedly shared his views on the merits of amalgamated schools with teachers in training (Goodyear, 1982, p. 161). Teachers who had the opportunity to teach in better equipped and staffed amalgamated schools tended to promote the merits of amalgamation.

the 5–5–5–1 representation on the Executive other than the Roman Catholic (5), Church of England (5), United Church (5), and Salvation Army (1) with no representation at all. To teachers of Grand Falls Academy where denominations had been in amalgamation for almost 50 years, these fears seemed to be irrational, bordering almost on paranoia. (Goodyear, 1982, p. 173)

Rookie teachers, such as Zelda and Bill Dixon who attended that convention, recalled listening to Charlie Goodyear, George Compton, Ray Wight and Herb Kitchen, among other forward thinking educators, offer “a different point of view” (Dixon, B. & Z., September 17, 2012, p. 17). According to Goodyear:

Experience had taught us that arguing privately with departments of government rarely produced results, and that opposing the status quo on the floor of NTA Conventions could be equally unproductive, at least so long as the annual conventions continued to be held in St. John’s. Up to that time the convention had never met outside the capital city. We therefore set ourselves two tasks: 1) to get a public debate started on educational issues, and 2) to get the NTA Annual Convention out of St. John’s. (Goodyear, 1982, pp. 173–174)

Was the NTA a training ground for progressive young rural teachers who challenged the St. John’s elite and status quo? Since Confederation, three premiers of the province, Brian Peckford, Tom Rideout, and Roger Grimes, all from Central Newfoundland, started their careers as teachers (Cuff, 1993; Winter, 1993). Other community, municipal, provincial and federal political leaders, including Pat Cowan and Roger Simmons, honed their skills as branch and provincial executive members of the NTA (Graham, 1994; Pitt, 1990).

The Dixons, especially Zelda, also reminisced about the “characters involved,” and the “verbal battles” that ensued at the White Bay/Green Bay local level of the NTA in the 1970s and 1980s.

Of course, the characters involved, they were articulate and . . . very informative and entertaining. And your father used to be involved in that. . . . Even in Baie Verte . . . And then you’d go and you’d hear Larry Moss [Superintendent, Green Bay Integrated School District, 1971–1997], for example, and you’d hear your father, and you’d hear Mike Perry [Welsh-born coordinating principal – Beothuk Collegiate, Baie Verte] with all different points of view. And that was interesting and entertaining. Your father and Mike

Perry and Larry Moss and Bill [Dixon], they would all have a different point of view. (Dixon, B. & Z., September 17, 2012, p. 22)



Figure 31. Chris Stratton, Fred Martin, and Job Halfyard, Bancroft Award recipients, 1980 (Courtesy of Newfoundland and Labrador Teachers' Association, Pitt, 1990, p. 60)

In 1980, Job Halfyard along with Fred Martin of Foxtrap and Chris Stratton of Corner Brook were named the first recipients of the Bancroft Award for their contribution to the branch grassroots development of the NTA. They dedicated their time and energy to advocating for reforms and improvements to the education system for all concerned (Pitt, 1990, p. 20; NTA Bulletin, 1980, p. 7). Chapter 10 will explore some of the many other volunteer community organizations Halfyard became involved with in the 1970s and 80s.¹⁸

Community Leaders and Role Models

Significantly, we can see how this act of self-invention draws heavily on pre-existing models and scripts. (Goodson, 2013, p. 124)

During Halfyard's second year in Port Anson, he and his cousin Myra boarded with T. J. Hewlett and his wife, Laura. Boarding houses could be cold, damp, and overcrowded, and

¹⁸ Halfyard also joined the Red Cross sometime during his years in Port Anson or Roberts Arm. For decades, he was a regular volunteer with the organization, helping raise money for families with medical emergencies or those who had lost their homes to fire. On the urging of Fred Croucher, the manager of J. R. Burton and Sons general store and a school board member, Halfyard also joined the Springdale Masonic Lodge in 1953. Freemasons were a benevolent organization that also raised funds for those who suffered from illness or natural disaster as well as for widows and children of deceased brethren (Elton, K. J., 1984, p. 403).

boarders might be poorly fed. But many teachers lucked into living with wonderful families, some who were community leaders and others who were just warm, caring people (Clarke, August 8, 2012).



Figure 32. Hewlett premises and schooner, *Betty and Molly*, circa 1950
(Courtesy of Memories of Port Anson Newfoundland website, Reid, E., 2018)

Tim Hewlett, and his son Ford, were two of the more prominent businessmen and employers in Port Anson. They were traditional merchant community leaders; therefore, the senior Hewlett sat on the local school board. Over the years, I have heard my father exalt the business acumen of Ford Hewlett. He was clearly impressed with his business savvy:

I was always interested in trying little things and business. Ford sort of tweaked my interest because he did experimentation in trying to dry lumber. He did different things on his trips to Labrador for fishing. Aggressive and progressive people always enticed me. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 10)

In some ways Ford Hewlett became Halfyard's role model; the man was someone he admired and perhaps tried to emulate later in life. Other teacher interview participants who eventually moved into leadership roles talked with admiration about similar prominent citizens who inspired them during their early teaching years. Halfyard also sought direction from print sources:

I read a lot. I had a lot of magazines. There was very little outside contact. I was taking, at one time, nine or 10 different magazines like the *Winnipeg Press*, *The London News*, and one from the United States. I'd tie things into my economic and history and geography classes. You needed those things because there was no TV at the time. There was radio, but it was still a print world. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 10)

To this day Halfyard still receives 10 or more professional, economic, and general information magazines, which he peruses to feed his passion for knowledge and ideas about the world. The *NTA Bulletin* was one of those print materials Halfyard looked to as a fountain of information for teachers in Port Anson and area.¹⁹ After Halfyard retired from teaching he became involved with the Newfoundland Aquaculture Industry Association (NAIA). NAIA established a newsletter called, *The Cold Harvester* which similarly, provided association members with information related to their industry (NAIA, 2008, p. 22). Halfyard, who was a 25-year member of NAIA and the president from 2008–2009, reiterated, “You have to get information out to farmers” (Halfyard, January 31, 2018). Miranda Pryor, the executive director of NAIA, wrote in a letter in 2011:

He is an example to all of us who have worked with him on the benefits of working together for the good of all, and his many years as a teacher and principal are always evident as he truly is inspiring in his sharing of experiences, and his ability to lead a group with passion, confidence, and conviction. (Pryor, personal communication, January 26, 2011)

From his early teaching years in Port Anson, Halfyard embraced the values of lifelong learning, mentoring, and, most importantly, the collective sharing of knowledge. Those leadership characteristics speak to Fullan's (2011) notion that change leaders have a learning or “growth mindset” (p. 47) as proactive, resolute “doers,” as well as to Goodson's (2013) premise that elaborators have higher narrative intensity linked to identity, learning, agency and “courses

¹⁹ In the September 29, 1956, Springdale-Islands Branch of NTA minutes H. M. Moore moved that “the secretary write a letter to the NTA asking for a sufficient number of copies of the *Bulletin* so that each member could have one.” There was a stage when only teachers with at least one full year university received the *NTA Bulletin*. Halfyard was President of the NTA branch that year.

of action” (pp. 68–70). It also ties into my assumption that, throughout life, prime goals, interests, patterns of activities, and inclinations intertwine and reappear.

Two Halves Make a Whole – Marriage

No man succeeds without a good woman behind him. Wife or mother, if it is both, he is twice blessed indeed. (Godfrey Winn, British Journalist)



Figure 33. Job Halfyard married Audrey Burton of Port Anson on May 9, 1954
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Coming of age, school, university, first job, marriage, and children are event-specific “historical defined autobiographical periods” that people recall as significant parts of their life-story narrative (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 55; Brown et al., 2012). Those culturally important life transitions influence the conceptual self and the social/cultural life script. Life scripts are passed down from one generation to another and may influence the hierarchy of goals and sub-goals individuals set for themselves (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 64). Therefore, it is foundational to examine how the life events of love, marriage, and children altered the fabric of daily life for teachers like Halfyard; how they changed the course of his life journey; and how they influenced

his aspirations, especially as they related to career advancement or leadership opportunities. It is also necessary to understand what his spouse brought to the relationship and how family responsibilities influenced future life course actions. Halfyard recalled their meeting:

I saw her down in the store. She worked in her father and uncle's store. Fred Croucher, one of the school board members, was the manager there. . . . Even as a young girl, when you walked in the store, she stood out to me as being a fine young lady. (Audrey & Job, personal communication, October 18, 2012, p. 15)

Audrey added,

It was in May when we got married. And the wedding dress came from Eaton's catalogue. Well, we weren't going to have a wedding anyway. We went to Springdale and got married. I can't remember why we went to Springdale, but anyway we either had to go there or get a minister to come up from Pilley's Island—maybe he was gone, I don't really recall. And then we just invited all of the young people from the community to a reception. Mom made salads. You had salads and corn meat and whatever at that time. I guess she had lots of cakes and cookies and stuff like that. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 8)

What Audrey only revealed after much jovial prodding was how Halfyard actually asked her out the day after the medical boat was in port and she had had all her teeth removed. Dental care was poor to nonexistent in those days and young men and women opted to get dentures. Love, marriage, and even sometimes unexpected pregnancies, were factors that kept young teachers, clergy, and other come-from-away young men and women in rural outpost communities. Such was the case with Job Halfyard who married Audrey Gaie Burton near the end of his second year in Port Anson.

Audrey's Formative Years

Audrey Burton was the eldest child of Moody Burton (b. 1905) of Port Anson and Blanche Croucher (b. 1910) of Long Island. Blanche, a gentle, kind woman, met Moody through her sister Sarah, who had married his older brother Newton (Newt). Blanche and Sarah had both travelled to the Labrador to cook for the men fishing there in the summer.



Figure 34. Blanche Croucher, second from left, and friends circa 1935
(Courtesy of the Burton family)

As was tradition, the girls moved away when they married, and the boys worked and lived in the family garden. Moody was the middle child of J. R. Burton, who owned a local general store and sawmill in Port Anson.

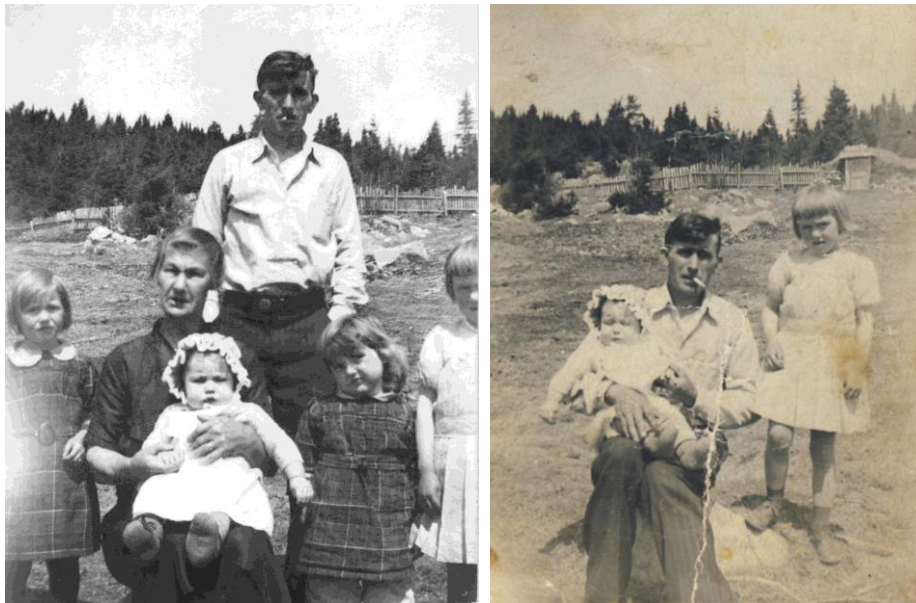


Figure 35. Moody Burton, his mother-in-law Rachel Croucher, baby Bond, his daughter Audrey (far right), and cousins Maise and Bett circa 1942
(Courtesy of the Burton family)

Robert Burton, of J. R. Burton & Sons, and his wife actually had 10 children, five boys and five girls. Like most outport people along the Northeast Coast, they fished as a family unit on the Labrador or the Grey Islands in the summer and fall. During the winter months, the Burton family logged and sawed lumber, which they sold to T & M Winter Ltd., a major provisions merchant house in St. John's. The family unit also built boats and had a small lobster factory, thus providing employment and a livelihood for the five sons and their families, plus other men living in the Burton's cove. They also had a small general store that operated on the old credit system, supplying family members and crewmembers with basic food and fishing provisions. There were three such stores in Port Anson.



Figure 36. J. R. Burton Premises and saw mill. Schooner to be loaded circa 1945 (Courtesy of the Memories of Port Anson Newfoundland website, Reid, E., 2018)

The Burton family would have been comparable to the “proud, stable and industrious outporters able to live respectably in spite of adverse economic situations” described by Philbrook (1963, p. 174) in a study of social and industrial change in three outport communities on the nearby Baie Verte Peninsula during the 1960s. For all intents and purposes, the Burton family was fairly well off. Audrey would have been a socially acceptable marriage catch

(Philbrook, 1966, p. 174). Audrey has fond memories of early childhood:

Well, we had a saw mill, so we had lots of wood. We had what we called a sawdust dump. We had oil cans [drums]. In the spring, we'd roll those and logs. We jumped them [as children]. That's what you did—you'd get up and jump and roll them. Then you had the ice pans that you sailed up and down the brook. We played Hop Scotch and Tidily. That's mainly what we did. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 8)

Before diesel generators they had a water wheel in the brook that generated the electricity to run the saws. In the spring, men would chop chunks from icebergs and bury them under mounds of sawdust for summer 'ice refrigeration'. Audrey recalls spending hours cranking the lever of a two-gallon ice cream maker. The Burton family general store sold ice cream throughout the summer to the slew of children who played on the level field created by the stacking of old slabs and sawdust.

Tuberculosis Strikes

Tuberculosis (TB) was a major illness and cause of death until well after Confederation. It often attacked young adults in their prime. Audrey's childhood was abruptly cut short in 1950 when her father died on February 13 of tuberculosis. He was just 40 years old. She recalls,

See, I was only 13 when Dad died, so I wouldn't have understood, I don't think, what the situation was. All I remember, really, is that Mom, for about a year, washed Dad's dishes separately. She never, ever washed his dishes with our dishes. They were always washed separately and sanitized differently. I remember whatever food he had left over, because he couldn't eat very well, was thrown out. You didn't throw out very much food at that time, but it was never kept.

I guess one thing that came out of that is neither one of us got tuberculosis. Three years before Dad died, Mom's sister, my Aunt Sarah, died in December. The next February [1949] my Uncle Claude died [26 years old], and then the next year Dad died. So it was three years in a row, three of them died of tuberculosis . . . Grandfather's brother in Long Island, he must have had eight or 10 children and only three survived tuberculosis. Most of them died en masse in their teens. So, I suppose the nutrition wasn't there. That's what I think. They weren't looked after. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, pp. 5–6)

In fact, Audrey's Aunt Salome, her father's sister, was the first of the immediate family to

die in 1944. When Audrey's father died, her eldest brother was six years old and her youngest brother was only one. Her mother was left with five boys and one girl to raise on her own.



Figure 37. Audrey's younger brothers, cousins, and friends circa 1953. Three of the older girls had a parent die between 1944 and 1950. (Courtesy of the Burton family)

The deadly contagious disease also struck three of Audrey's closest cousins; they were being raised in the tiny two-bedroom house by her grandmother Croucher. The three teenagers spent months in the new sanatorium in Corner Brook in the mid-1950s. Miracle antibiotic drugs for treatment were luckily in the process of being perfected, thus shortening their hospital stays and recovery times (House & House, 2015, p. 266).²⁰

Leaving School to Support Family

It is from this back story that we come to better understand Audrey Halfyard's dedication

²⁰ Once the disease struck a family, living conditions deteriorated, especially when it hit the family breadwinner (O'Brien, 1994). It was associated with poverty, poor nutrition, poor housing, low levels of education, scarcity of doctors and nurses, fatigue (especially among women), and the practice of large family units congregating in small kitchens where the men often used a spittoon (House & House, 2015). Newfoundland had the highest number of TB patients per capita in Canada during the 1950s (House & House, 2015, p. 258). In 1947 the Newfoundland Tuberculosis Association purchased an old decommissioned military ship to travel the coast conducting both TB and diabetics testing. The government also opened new sanatoriums or treatment centres in Corner Brook in addition to those already operating in Twillingate, St. Anthony and St. John's. In 1953 the number of beds in sanatorium and treatment centres reached a high of 855 (O'Brien, 1994, p. 433).

to her mother, her hard work ethic, and her family's initial social status. Less than two years after her father's death another crisis struck:

I worked in the store all that summer, and then in September Mom had to go to Twillingate for thyroid surgery. . . So I had to stay home . . . I think I only missed a month and then I went back in October [1952], and of course Mom discovered, well, we didn't have enough money. So I quit. . . I always said she never, ever forced me to go to school, but she forced all the boys. I suppose I was the only one old enough to do anything. (A. Halfyard, personal communication, October 18, 2012, p. 6)

Audrey is not sure whether her mother went to the infamous Dr. Olds in Twillingate or the Grenfell Hospital in St. Anthony for the thyroid surgery because she travelled to both hospitals for two different surgeries sometime in the early 1950s. The second surgery was a mastectomy because of suspected cancer. Audrey's mother would have received \$6 per month under the new Canadian Family Allowances Act²¹ for her daughter to attend school (Blake, 1994, p. 73). But \$6 was not much compared to the \$25 Audrey could earn working in the family general store. Sensitive to her mother's dilemma she rationalized:

I started school in Grade 9 that year, but I only went for a month because I knew it wasn't enough money. Although I only got \$25 a month, but it was still an extra \$25. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 5)

That fall Audrey was 15 years old; she turned 16 in February. Her teacher for that one brief month in Grade 9 was Mr. Halfyard. It was not uncommon for boys and girls like Audrey to quit school in Grade 7, 8 or 9 "for economic and psychological reasons" (Rowe, 1976, p. 55). The government of the day acknowledged there were many barriers to improving the school attendance rates. In some cases, students quit because they were struggling with reading and writing. In many cases, students were older in Grades 7, 8, and 9 because the general educational

²¹ Under the new Newfoundland School Attendance Act, children between the ages of seven and sixteen years of age were required to attend school in order to benefit from the Family Allowances. From 1943 to 1949 the compulsory school attendance age was 14 years, however, extreme family poverty, poor enforcement measures, limited schools and teachers made attendance requirements ineffective (Rowe, 1976, p. 22).

policy was to not advance students to the next grade if they failed. Many of those adolescent students were bored because of the sterile and pedantic curriculum that had no real relevance to their lives. Then, there were students like Audrey who missed large chunks of time and found it embarrassing and difficult to try to catch up or needed to find work to supplement the family income.²² Boys went to work with their fathers or family members. For most girls, it meant following kin or community members to larger industrial centres like Grand Falls, Gander, Lewisporte, or even venturing to St. John's to become a live-in domestic or 'servant girl' (Cadigan, 2009, p. 217).

Widows in those days were forced to go on welfare or find a new husband to support the family. I suspect young Audrey, ever protective of her mother, would have none of that. Blended families were common in those days. Sometimes the widow was treated so poorly or indifferently by the in-laws that they moved back home so their family could provide support. That was not the case with Blanche. Her mother had followed her two daughters when they married the Burton brothers. Rachel Croucher lived in a small two-bedroom house in the garden between her two daughters. While Blanche was struggling to fend for her young children, her mother had taken over the responsibility of raising her daughter Sarah's four children. The child born nine days before Sarah died of TB, was adopted by a childless couple in nearby Miles Cove. Their father, Newt Burton, later operated a passenger boat in addition to working in the woods and fishing. He did not re-marry.

At one stage, Audrey got offered more money to work at the Hewlett's store up the road, but the Burton men told her mother that if she did, they would not supply her with the wood

²² Halfyard noted that the dropout rate in Port Anson wasn't as great as it was later when he taught in La Scie. Port Anson generally had good teachers and the families were interested in education (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 7).

slabs she used to fire her kitchen stove. J. R. Burton and Sons had gone downhill after Moody Burton died. He was the general manager that kept things running smoothly. Young Audrey was one of the oldest offspring in the Burton family garden. She was a hard worker, a valued asset.



Figure 38. Burtons Cove with water wheel and sawmill circa 1945
(Courtesy of the Burton family)

Analysis and Interpretation

Narrative inquiry, with its focus on investigating and analysing the complexity within personal stories, lends merits to exploring ideas related to how cultural traditions and childhood games prepared Audrey for the kind of destiny society promoted (Webster & Mertova, 2007). Education and customs of the day reinforced the notion that girls had limited capacity and their best option was to get married and have children (de Beauvoir, 1949/2007, pp. 347, 349).

Marriage and the security that came with it was the norm. Audrey recalled:

Well, we lived with Mom when we got married first. Now, that was never your father's intention, but I guess where I was young [17 years old] and she was alone, Mom wasn't satisfied for me to go anywhere, other than there. So we lived with her. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 8)

Audrey learned many skills in the family general store, which she used years later to run the apartments and other businesses my father envisioned. It was tradition that women stayed in

the background, played supportive roles but did not take on visible family head or community organization leadership roles. While Halfyard initiated ventures and attended meetings, his wife managed the day-to-day operations. She was no man's fool. As a young girl working in the store, she was surrounded by men. Women did not generally go to the store to pick up supplies. That task was left to men or children. The minute Audrey unlocked the door in the morning men flocked in after doing morning chores. They hung around the pot-bellied stove and yarned in the evening, especially during the winter months when they were not in the woods logging. Audrey learned to handle the lot until 1955 when the family general store burned to the ground.



Figure 39. Halfyard wearing the new camel hair coat he bought in St. John's and Audrey in her coat out of the charity barrel circa 1954 (Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

My mother also had flair and pizzazz. She always talked about the times and dances she would attend with her girlfriends. She may have had to get her clothes out of a charity barrel sent from the United States, but she knew how to make the best of what she had. She was resourceful. She was not solely motivated by the idea that she was judged, respected and desired based on her appearance (de Beauvoir, 1949/2007, p. 340). Hats were the fashion of the day and

Audrey would change the shape of tams with cardboard. One week it might be a pillbox style, the next week she might add beads or pins to re-fashion the basic tam. Everyone “dolled up” in their Sunday best to attend the biggest social event of the week—church. My mother even had a curling iron she ordered from the catalogue. She would heat the metal iron in the wood stove to crinkle her hair. She would roll her hair in rags like magazine starlets of the day.

Halfyard would become the Burton boys’ surrogate father. Bond would go lobster fishing with Halfyard and four-year-old Harold would follow him around like a doting son. Halfyard discovered a gentleness and ease in the Burton family home that was often lacking in his mother’s house in Bonne Bay. Audrey and Job lived in an apartment fashioned in her mother’s living room and unfinished loft for three years until Halfyard took a teaching position in the larger five-room amalgamated school in nearby Roberts Arm. By that time, they had three new babies for the boys to cuddle and torment. Audrey contends,

I always thought in my mind (but never, ever said it) that your father was just trying to gradually move me away from home. And that’s the way he did it. It was a gradual move. Because I was the type that wasn’t too keen on getting out in the world really. I think he thought that, well, I’m going to be nailed down here for the rest of my life if I don’t just try to move somewhere. So, that was a way, I think, that he had planned it. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 9)

Resettlement – A Mixed Blessing

In 1955, on the cusp of Smallwood’s move towards the resettlement of remote island locations, Ford Hewlett moved the family woods operation and mercantile business to Springdale (Colbourne, 1993). Sources suggest some residents of Port Anson left because men, who were employed with the larger pulpwood operations in Roberts Arm and Hall’s Bay, could not tolerate the transportation demands of walking across unsafe ice during the winter months (GBEDA, 1994, p. 161). Halfyard described the impact of resettlement on Port Anson:

In Port Anson, a very vibrant school—and then the government came up with the

resettlement program. Resettlement could have been a great thing. It might go down in history as a great thing. But I saw a community that was vibrant, that was interested in their kids finishing school. The kids did well. Everybody in the community was fairly well off because they worked winter and summer, and there was hardly any unemployment. It dropped from a high employment of 80% to 90% employment when the resettlement program came in and the Hewlett's went to Springdale. . . . It [resettlement] took all the leaders out of the community. Another saw mill operator went to Lewisporte. Another one was burnt out, and so on. The community died in two years.

You can argue the other way, that it [resettlement] was a boost for Springdale and Lewisporte and other areas. . . it left many people sort of stranded not knowing where to go, and their children of course felt this. I couldn't tolerate it. So I left too. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 9)

Despite understanding the government rationale behind resettlement, his primary gut response has been, "It was cruel, terrible, when people were forced to leave Port Anson."

Section II: Roberts Arm (1957–1960)

The emotions that we experience and express and the effects of these emotions on ourselves and others, are developed in families, cultures and work situations where we undergo emotional learning. (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 317 as cited in Sugrue, 2005, p. 18)

Principal – Five-Room Amalgamated School



Figure 40. Staff Roberts Arm Amalgamated all-grades school circa 1958
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Halfyard moved to Roberts Arm from Port Anson in 1957 to become the principal of the five-room amalgamated school and stayed there until August of 1960. Roberts Arm is located in southwestern Notre Dame Bay, 15 miles (24.3 kilometres) from the Trans-Canada Highway near Springdale. It was about 5 to 6 miles (8 to 10 kilometres) from Port Anson by boat (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, June 18, 2016). During that phone conversation, I asked my father, “Which direction?” He replied, “Around Hayward’s Head. Through Woodford’s Arm was longer. You would have to know the topography of the land.” Residents of the 1950s constantly traversed both the land and water within the cluster of islands and the mainland of the area.

Perhaps to illustrate, Halfyard recalled pulling his four-year-old daughter on a sled 10 miles (16 kilometres) over land and across the frozen channel at Woodford’s Arm, where the causeway was built in the early 1970s. It was Easter, 1958; Halfyard was walking with the United Church minister stationed in Pilley’s Island. The minister was making his regular Sabbath Day visits to Sunday Cove Island to hold church services for his charges at Wellman’s Cove and Port Anson. Halfyard was taking his oldest child, Laura, to visit her Gram Burton.

Analysis and Interpretation

The analysis of Halfyard’s Roberts Arm years is informed by the theories and ideas presented by the British-born anthropologist Anthony Cohen (1975b) in his article “The Definition of Public Identity: Managing Marginality in Outport Newfoundland” as well as his ISER study *The Management of Myths: The Politics of Legitimation in a Newfoundland Community*. Cohen’s academic research, conducted in Springdale, Green Bay, in 1969, examined self-image, religious orientation, social-class structure, cultural values and belonging as it related to identity formation, and “the generation and distribution of power and legitimacy” reflective of the shift from traditional leadership to the new “Sophisticates” or the formally educated outsider

groups being positioned to assume greater leadership roles in rural places (Cohen, 1975a, p. 59).

Borrowing from Goodson's personal representation narrative theory, I posit the 'critical events' and the key stories or memories that Halfyard related in the interviews about his years in Roberts Arm reflect what he valued personally and professionally, what he tried to accomplish, the challenges he experienced, and ultimately what he learned from those lived experiences (Goodson, 2013, p. 72; Goodson et al., 2010, p. 127). They embody the factors, circumstances and influences that ultimately shaped and reshaped his self-identity as well as his later teaching and community leadership beliefs and practices.

In an attempt to better understand what Halfyard learned and deemed important from that phase of his life, I examine both what he said in our interview conversations and the sequence in which he relayed events. Accordingly, it is important to remember that Halfyard was in his early eighties when these interviews were conducted (between 2012 and 2018). He had retired from teaching 25 years earlier in 1987. From 1988 to 2018, his work focus was his mussel farm operations plus other entrepreneurial ventures from his second career as a businessman. He had set up his main aquaculture farms in the Port Anson and Pilley's Island area near Roberts Arm, where he had married and taught for almost a decade. After 1988 he spent months living and working out of the log cabin that now sits on the spot where his wife's family home was located in Port Anson. The cluster of islands in the Green Bay made the coastal area more conducive to mussel growing. Meanwhile, he and Audrey continued to live in La Scie, two and a half hours drive away, until 2015 when age and declining health precipitated a move into St. John's.

Recent business activities may have changed Halfyard's perception and the focus of his memories of his teaching years in the region. For example, Halfyard did not start the initial interview discussion about Roberts Arm by talking about his work as a school principal. Instead

he focused on his activities with the town council. When he arrived in 1957, Roberts Arm was in Phase I of the Newfoundland provincial government resettlement program (1953–1965), which saw families moving from the ‘out islands’ like Sunday Cove Island and Long Island (Iverson & Matthews, 1968, p. 2). Halfyard was 26 years old when he moved his family to Roberts Arm. He and Audrey already had three children; they were expecting another in November.

Historical Background

Roberts Arm, originally called Rabbits Arm, had no permanent European settlers until about 1870; however, Beothuk and other Indigenous people frequented places like South Brook, Little Bay Islands and Long Island (Colbourne, 1993, p. 606). Roberts Arm had three major population growth periods largely influenced by economic activity.

In 1884, the population of Roberts Arm was just 121. Nearby Green Bay/Notre Dame Bay coastal communities of Pilley’s Island, Little Bay, plus Bett’s Cove and Tilt Cove further north on the Baie Verte Peninsula were part of the coastal copper mining boom, which attracted immigrants to the Northeast Coast (Martin, 1983/1998, p. 16). For a period in the late 1880s, the two dozen coastal mines in the Notre Dame Bay area made Newfoundland the sixth largest producer of copper in the world. Many subsequent generations of residents from the Green Bay have migrated across Canada and other parts of the world to work in the mining industry.

Logging, which had developed as early as the 1870s, inspired the second phase of growth. The rich timber stands became the economic backbone of Roberts Arm during the Depression Years (Jackman, Warr, & Bragg, 1995; GBEDA, 1994; Colbourne, 1993).²³ By 1939, there were approximately 250 men employed cutting pulpwood and pit props for export. In

²³ Pulpwood became the major source of employment for Roberts Arm when the American-owned International Power and Paper Company of Newfoundland obtained a permit to set up operations in 1937 (White, 2012, p. 25).

addition, approximately 50 ship loads, averaging 14,000 cords of pulpwood, were shipped directly out of Tommy's Arm (near Robert's Arm) to the United Kingdom each year well into the early 1960s (BVPRS, 1960, p. 21).

Roberts Arm continued to grow throughout the 1950s and 1960s as more and more families from the out islands moved to the town which became a designated 'growth centre' under the resettlement programs. By 1971, the population had broken the one thousand mark. That same year, the export of wood from Tommy's Arm ceased. While men moved away to work in mines in Manitoba, Ontario, and Labrador, others were able to find seasonal work in the construction of local causeways and roads (Burton, August 9, 2012). Ironically, the once vibrant island community of Port Anson was connected by causeway in the early 1970s.

Resettlement – Regional and Personal Impact

With the government's policy of resettlement, you knew that Roberts Arm was going to become more of a centre. But, again, the entrepreneurship that was in Port Anson never went to Roberts Arm. It went to Springdale and it went to Lewisporte. And that was a failing. . . .

Also, in Roberts Arm at that time, they were putting together and shipping wood out of Tommy's Arm. Roberts Arm was busy in the woods operation, and that's one of the reasons, I guess, that it was chosen as a growth centre—because upwards of 50,000 cords a year was going out of Roberts Arm. But it never developed the strong entrepreneur people that you had in Springdale and later in Triton. There wasn't enough—you need a fair number of aggressive, progressive people. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 14)

To better understand the impact of resettlement, I compare a number of key communities in the area including Springdale (the government service centre and largest town in the region), Port Anson, and Triton to Roberts Arm. Throughout the 20th century there was a steady flow of people and activities among those four communities, as well as others in the region.

Bowaters, the colloquial name used by local residents, was in operation until 1983 when Kruger Inc. of Montreal took over, and it became Corner Brook Pulp and Paper Ltd. (Moores & Cuff, 1993, pp. 476; Murray, 1981, p. 231).

While Halfyard lived and worked in Roberts Arm for only three years from 1957 to 1960, it became a regular place to visit his wife's family, aunts, uncles, and cousins. In August of 1964, Audrey's brothers launched the family home across the bay. They 'resettled' to Roberts Arm. Today four of her five brothers have retired in what was the new subdivision near Crescent Lake, about one kilometre inland from the harbour. It would be 1968 before they received electricity and telephone service, and 1972 before town water and sewer was installed. I remember it being a long walk to the well to bring water in the small buckets our grandmother kept for our visits.

Most of the people being resettled were expected to find work in the logging extraction industry. Unlike Port Anson, Roberts Arm was not known for its good fishing grounds or having many entrepreneurial merchants. Many families became caught in the maladjustment, cultural lag phase of resettlement theorized in a Honours thesis by J. S. Smith who grew up in the region:

People leave their old status, social role, and self-identity behind, enter a transition state, and then finally gain a new social role, status, and self-identity within their cultural system. (Smith, 1992, p. 5)

Smith (1992) argued it was by no means a typical rite of passage. In their old settlements, residents could survive by growing their own vegetables and other subsistence practices to supplement the family income. Now, they were in a new town and were required to pay cash to buy the emerging Canadian-style packaged food, plus electricity and other modern services (Iverson & Matthews, 1968, p. 13). To complicate the transition, they lost some of the social and economic networks unique to their smaller outport community way of life (Smith, 1992, pp. 81–86; Wadel, 1969, p. 35). People were reluctantly caught in transition, forced to adapt, to assimilate their culture and identities with limited employment opportunities because new paying jobs did not materialize (Cohen, 1975, p. 101).

In contrast, some of the Port Anson families who resettled to Springdale had more

options for work. Some continued to work in woods operations, or with the many new construction and mining companies growing in the area. Audrey speculates her mother, a widow and single parent, eventually chose to follow her Burton in-laws to Roberts Arm rather than her brother, Fred Croucher to Springdale because her teenage sons were intimidated by the notion of moving to the more modern town of Springdale (A. Halfyard, personal communication, August, 2016). Circumstances had changed their social status and identity. Blanche and her boys knew that Springdale was more sophisticated. A new cottage hospital opened in 1952 to serve the needs of the region. A growing number of “Sophisticates,” teachers, the magistrate, a Ranger, doctor, nurses, other civil servants and mining company managers were living in Springdale (Cohen, 1975, p. 59). Even a curling club was built in the early 1960s because of the influence of new mining operations. Eileen Williamson,²⁴ the wife of an engineer at the Whalesback Mine (1962–1969) wrote about her seven years as a more worldly “mainlander” living in Springdale:

At the time the little village was optimistic about the future. Many of the men in the town were employed by the Atlantic Coast Copper Mine and the Gullbridge Mine in the same general area, and now the Brinex Whalesback Mine copper deposit was being brought into production. (Williamson, 1980/1988, p. 55)

If they moved to Springdale, the Burton boys would attend Grant Collegiate, one of the new modern high schools opened in 1965 because of the dramatic increase in population. But in Roberts Arm, there were more cousins, aunts, and uncles, and potential for a greater sense of belonging. Hence, they moved there.

Social-Class Dynamics

An identity “helps to locate us in the world,” “tell[ing] us who we are, where we have

²⁴ In 1966 Eileen Williamson founded and edited Springdale’s first bi-weekly newspaper which is today known as *The Norwester*. It covered news stories from the Green Bay as well as the White Bay, including La Scie and area. Williamson and her husband, who was a member of the Springdale Lions Club, Curling Club and Chamber of Commerce, would have been “sophisticates,” outsider leadership “seekers of change,” described by Cohen (1975) in his 1969 ISER study of Springdale.

come from, what we have done.” (Miller, 1995, p. 175 as cited in Robins, 2005, p. 173)

The social-class divide in Springdale spilled over to surrounding communities. Newly resettled outport islanders were seen as lower class, especially those families like Blanche Burton’s who were known to receive social assistance (“welfare,” as it was called) or those employed as seasonal workers in woods operations. Outport people were also stigmatized because of their reliance on, and some would argue abuse of, the new Canadian unemployment system (Cohen, 1975b, p. 96; Cohen, 1975a, p. 53). Cohen also posits that outport woods workers, especially those who followed the Pentecostal Assemblies Church, would have struggled even more with ‘identity-construction’ in Springdale and would have been stigmatized and marginalized (Cohen, 1975b, p. 96). Audrey Burton’s immediate family was raised Methodist or United Church. However, many cousins had joined the Pentecostal Church.

United Church and Anglican Church followers were socially, economically, and politically dominant along the Northeast coast. However, the Green Bay area, including Springdale and Roberts Arm, was predominantly Pentecostal. By the early 1970s, Pentecostal Church followers made up 42% of Springdale’s population. About 33% belonged to the United Church, 20% to the Salvation Army, with the remaining 5% divided among Anglican, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic denominations (Cohen, 1975b, p. 101). Sean Cadigan writes:

The [Pentecostal] movement attracted people who felt that the structure and hierarchy of the more established churches had little to offer the marginalized. The Pentecostal movement promised that the ‘second blessing’ of a personal, charismatic conversion made all people, regardless of gender, class or ethnic difference, equal in their salvation. (Cadigan, 2009, p. 217)

Cohen hypothesized that Pentecostal Church followers, who were mostly seasonal woods workers with large families, found solace, unity and strength of ‘public identity’ through being part of the growing Pentecostal Assemblies organization (Cohen, 1975a, p. 68; Cohen 1975b,

p. 101):

The typical socio-economic status of the Pentecostalist rendered them marginal in the exploding materialism of Focaltown's [Springdale] life and culture. To be 'Pentecostal' was thus to have a 'spoiled identity' among the rest of the population. . . . Their response was not one of assimilative withdrawal . . . They constantly sought to assert the integrity of their religious affiliation and, hence, to use it as a legitimation for their secular status. (Cohen, 1975a, p. 102)

A multitude of insider/outsider dualism groupings and tensions escalated in rural regions of the province during those resettlement years when various emerging groups and their leaders were struggling for a sense of place and belonging. Some of the ISER research fellows sent out to conduct social science research studies in rural communities during the 1960s and 1970s reported how "these meritocratic modernists and harbinger[s] of change" often infuriated the "more traditional and culturally legitimate" community leaders from the dominant merchant and clergy ranks (Matthews, 1976, p. 67; Cohen, 1975, p. 96).

A Woods Operation Town

Halfyard described how the employment set-up of the large woods operation industry in Roberts Arm was very different from the small private sawmill businesses of Port Anson, especially in how it impacted the development of local leadership and entrepreneurship,

They [locals] worked with the Warrs who contracted with Corner Brook, Bowaters, and they gathered the wood and drum-barked it in Tommy's Arm and loaded it on ships and sent in to Sweden or England. It was either used as pit props or as wood for making paper or whatever it might be. But it was loaded on ships there.

They had a resident manager in Roberts Arm. Mr. [A. Jack] Hewlett was the manager there. But the local entrepreneurship that was in the sawmill industry in Port Anson, that disappeared with the resettlement, it went to Springdale. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 4)

In the 1950s and 1960s, Roberts Arm leadership and work initiatives were generated through Bowaters, the parent company out of Corner Brook that established an administrative headquarters in Roberts Arm in 1937. In addition to being the loading point for the shipment of

pulpwood overseas, it was the supply point for the woods camps in the area (BVPRS, 1960, p. 34). Company staff generally consisted of a manager, woods superintendent, his assistant, a ship's pilot, an engineer, and scalars (Philbrook, 1963, p. 130). The style of operation was similar to the 'Townsite' operation Bowater's also set up two years later in the "woods town" of Baie Verte (Philbrook, 1963, pp. 118–21).

Brian Peckford, a teacher in Springdale in the late 1960s who became the third premier of Newfoundland in 1979, noted in an interview for this study, how certain communities are more entrepreneurial and with stronger leadership than others (Peckford, September 14, 2012, pp. 9–12). Roberts Arm was not on his list, but Triton was. When it came to work ethic, independence, ingenuity, Triton was even ahead of Springdale. According to Peckford, Triton, which was predominately Salvation Army in religious orientation, was one of those Newfoundland communities with a "distinct personality." They had a special kind of "dynamic tension" or competition between families which held them in good stead (Peckford, September 14, 2012, pp. 9–11). Peckford elaborated,

One of the things that made Triton and places like that survive is that they competed with one another for how clean their house was, how good a boat they had, how well they made their lobster pot. They could tell one lobster pot from another because of the way it was crafted. In Triton, in particular and that area, there was a lot of competition between families, but it was a healthy competition. It never became that it started to eat upon itself. . . .

The other thing about them was they were very adjustable. They embraced change. A lot of very bright people have come out of Triton area and went on into academia and other places. Their entrepreneurial spirit is unbelievable. (Peckford, September 14, 2012, p. 12)

Neither Halfyard nor Peckford described Roberts Arm as having the unique entrepreneurial, progressive spirit credited to places like Triton, Springdale, Port Anson, or La Scie. Roberts Arm residents seemed to be more workers, followers rather than entrepreneurs or leaders.

Hundreds of local workers from Triton, Brighton, Roberts Arm, South Brook and area

also worked as “loggers” versus salaried “jobbers” for the main company or contractors out of Grand Falls and Badger (Philbrook, 1963, p. 130). It is estimated that approximately 15,000 wood workers supplied logs to the AND Company in Grand Falls and Bowater’s in Corner Brook in 1959 (Kelly, 2014, p. 35). Many were poorly paid and lived in squalor in the woods camps. When the chainsaw replaced the labour-intensive bucksaw in 1954, fewer and fewer loggers were needed to harvest the forest resources. By 1961, there were fewer than 7,000 woods workers; this decrease in the woods labour force contributed to increased unemployment and the need to migrate for work (Kelly, 2014, pp. 34–35).

A second major historical critical event of the 1950s in the Roberts Arm area was the growing tensions in the logging industry as a result of poor working conditions and wages. The impact of the 1959 IWA strike will be discussed later in this chapter.

Town Councils and Modernization Tensions

Halfyard summarized his role in what was becoming an assumed responsibility of formally educated teacher/principals during the government driven resettlement and modernization phase thus:

Roberts Arm needed a lot of things. I was involved in, not as much in the expansion of the school at that time but in, upgrading the town. I got involved in the town council, did voluntary work for the clerk, and also I was a councillor there for a couple of years, trying to press the Smallwood government to . . . put in water and sewer and other things, roads, etc. Some success, but we were in constant conflict with Springdale for the same dollars. And Springdale had more power. It was interesting times. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 4)

Halfyard was elected to the Roberts Arm town council during a by-election in 1958. He was a member of the council for about a year and a half in 1958 and 1959 (Jackman, Warr, & Bragg, 1995, p. 4). During that time, there was a push by the provincial and federal government for communities to incorporate and adopt modern industrial models for town councils.

According to New York-based anthropologist, Gerald Sider:

None of the outports, not even the larger outport towns, had any form of municipal government whatsoever until the mid-20th century. Political decisions and government administration took place in St. John's. Priests and ministers played occasional roles in village politics, but they were scarce in outport Newfoundland. Teachers were often very young, boarders in and strangers to the communities in which they worked. Apart from the merchant, there were few figures of power in rural Newfoundland and fewer social institutions through which political power could be expressed. (Sider, 2003, pp. 86–87)

Roberts Arm was officially incorporated on September 2, 1960 after setting up a Community Council structure in 1955 (Jackman, Warr & Bragg, 1995, p. 35). The modern notion of town councils was in the early stage of development. Halfyard was the part-time town clerk for a short period.

Yes, I was clerk there. I think I got \$25 [on another occasion he said \$15] a month remuneration to help keep the books in shape and things like that, and take minutes at the council meetings and so on. Since I was so involved with trying to upgrade the town, the town council requested from the Minister [Municipal Affairs] that I be able to serve as a councillor as well as the clerk at the time. I did that for something over a year, with special permission from the government. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 4)

Town councils had to be incorporated to apply for water, sewage, and electrical and other modern amenities promised by the provincial and federal governments. Town council members had much to learn about how to apply for services under programs available from both the new provincial and federal governments. Thus, small rural communities turned to teachers, cooperative workers and other emerging professionals who had the ability and organizational skills to research, understand and complete the necessary paperwork (Gwyn, 1968/1972). Many of those teachers also had the confidence as well as organizational network connections to lobby government decision makers.

During various conversations, Halfyard repeated the story of how a young Bill Smallwood, the Liberal MHA for the Green Bay District and son of Premier Smallwood, brought the mayor of Springdale to one of the Roberts Arm town council meetings. Halfyard recalled

saying, “Mr. Mayor and Mr. Smallwood, how can we discuss Roberts Arm business with the mayor of Springdale present?” (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, July 29, 2016).

Halfyard chuckled and described how Harvey Grant, the mayor of Springdale and well-known political “broker,” got up and walked out (Cohen, 1975a, p. 45). This story shows two things: first, it reveals that Halfyard was not intimidated by older individuals in positions of political power deemed above others in society; and second, it sheds light on the dynamics between smaller and larger communities in rural regions and the influence of prominent political brokers and business leaders.

Cohen notes how the Warr’s traditional leadership was threatened by the influx of young professionals, including teachers and engineers at the Whalesback Mine as well as new business families like T. J. and Ford Hewlett, who resettled to Springdale in 1955. According to Cohen (1975a), Warr:

Extended the credit system there, and refused to pay his men in cash. They could redeem their wage-tokens only at his store. It was the threat to his captivity of this clientele, posed by Eaton’s [Hewlett’s] intention to pay *his* men in cash, that explains Martin’s [Warr’s] early hostility to Eaton [Hewlett] and to keep Eaton [Hewlett] ‘out of town.’ (Cohen, 1975a, p. 43)²⁵

Cohen (1975a), who conducted social and economic research in Springdale in 1969, described a broker as an actor par excellence in politics. He was the middle man; he created demands for his services among patrons and clients. Brokers from larger centres often acted as a political broker to smaller outpost communities because local leaders did not have the skills, confidence, or political connections. Traditional outpost merchant/business leaders and their

²⁵ While social scientists used pseudonyms to protect the names of individuals and communities, Newfoundlanders from those communities generally knew who they were talking about. Halfyard was able to help me decipher to whom Cohen was referring. Cohen goes on to describe how Hewlett was part of the ‘Sophisticate,’ seekers of change leadership style while Warr was part of the traditional ‘People’s Group’ seeking to maintain the status quo (Cohen, 1975a, p. 59). Cohen’s thorough description of the various groups vying for leadership in Springdale offers insight into the complex nature of leadership transition during the resettlement and modernization years.

‘brokers’ wielded greater political power and influence with the government. During the resettlement and modernization years, they actively sought infrastructure development contracts and investments for the larger designated ‘growth centre’ communities like Springdale (Cohen, 1975a, 79–80). In turn, they actively pursued their own business interests.

Halfyard’s narrative, when analyzed in light of Cohen’s observations, shows how there was a definite pecking order related to who could reap the most from centralization and infrastructure development during the 1950s and 1960s. Smaller, end-of-the-road communities had more barriers and faced more challenges in lobbying for and acquiring services available through government. It is reflective of the regional inequalities posited by Amin, Massey, and Thrift (2003).

The tensions between new outsider businessmen like Ford and T. J. Hewlett and the Warrs, who had lived in Springdale since the 1920s, illustrates the widespread insider/outsider disadvantages and opposition faced by new outsider “seekers of change” during the resettlement/modernization years (Cohen, 1975a, 58). Understandably, teachers being groomed by government to take on more of a leadership role in rural communities, were among the outsider ‘come-from-away’ group sometimes perceived to be uppity self-important strangers—not legitimate local leaders or even residents.²⁶ Halfyard allied himself with the new “seekers of change”; the growing teacher leader elite within rural communities (Cohen, 1975b, p. 58).

In a recent study of education in coastal communities of Nova Scotia, Michael Corbett

²⁶ There were other groups and organizations besides teachers tasked to assist during those modernization transition years. For example, the Extension Department of Memorial University developed programs and sent out fieldworkers who encouraged rural community development in many areas of the province. The goal of Memorial’s Extension Department was to encourage rural people to develop skills, talent and leadership (Webb, 2016, p. 283). Smallwood asked the university to create an Extension Department in 1958 “to resolve the dilemma of having government agents [co-operative workers, adult educators etc.] trying to encourage people to help themselves” (McManus, 2000, p. 193; Webb, 2016, p. 281). More about adult education will be discussed in Chapter 7 and 9.

(2007) concludes:

Education is always a tool of emancipation as well as of oppression. . . It is important though to remember that educated people were seen, and perhaps continue to be seen, as trouble, both for the way they bring into communities their difference and their ideas, but also because they are more likely to be able to analyze and resist local power structures. (Corbett, 2007, p. 270)

Corbett also believes, and I concur, that rural communities are not “the kind of unified entities Theobald seems to imagine” (Corbett, 2007, p. 270). There are multiple power relations and divisions. There is also a web of intertwining personal, economic, and institutional connections to other communities in a region that are often driven by politics and power.

Some might question Halfyard’s town council work; however, with five years of teaching experience under his belt and his lesson plans well under control he was one of those “resolute,” action-oriented individuals with the creative energy to multi-task (Fullan, 2011, p. xiii).

Education and Amalgamated Schools

During the three years Halfyard was the principal of the five-room amalgamated school in Roberts Arm he observed the same problems that he saw at the United Church school in Port Anson: lack of trained teachers; cold classrooms with wood burning-stoves, lack of library and other services including recreation for young people.

My responsibilities were about the same, even though the school in Port Anson was a United Church school. The one in Roberts Arm was an amalgamated school, but there was not much difference in the way I operated the school. I was principal in both. The school in Roberts Arm was larger. . . . there were six teachers in Roberts Arm. There were only three in Port Anson. The same problems that you had in Port Anson were very much evident in Roberts Arm . . . I still brought my desire to try to make changes, through the NTA, to Roberts Arm, working with the teachers in the area, Pilley’s Island, Triton, Springdale, because we formed the Springdale-Islands branch from the [smaller] Islands branch. We did that to be able to get better resolutions and more information to teachers. My emphasis was always on community development, a strong educational side to it. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 4)

Over the years, Halfyard came to identify the limitations of rural schools with the costly

duplication of services within the denominational educational system that he felt were outdated and restrictive. On one occasion, he stated, “I was totally and firmly, from the day that I finished high school, solidly against denominational education” (Halfyard, February 11, 2014, p. 6). It may not have started when he was in high school, but it is evident he became drawn to communities that had adopted amalgamated-style schools where students of all religious denominations attended the same school.

Nevertheless, different denominational groups in many small outpost communities did find cooperative ways to better educate their young people (Rowe, 1976, pp. 23–24). For example, teachers interviewed related how Primer to Grade 6 students in a town might attend the school run by the Salvation Army, while Grade 7 to Grade 11 students attended a school building under the United Church or Anglican jurisdiction (Hamlyn, July 13, 2012; Martin, July 11, 2012).



Figure 41. Staff meeting as Roberts Arm Amalgamated School circa 1958
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Those joint ventures reduced, and in some cases eliminated, the problem of multi-grade

classrooms, giving teachers more opportunity to tailor teaching to the needs of specific age groups. Halfyard clarified,

I had no problem at all with the Pentecostal or Salvation Army or United Church—none at all with the three denominations that made up the Roberts Arm amalgamated school. That divide came later. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015)

Origins of Amalgamated Schools

Amalgamated schools originated in the more cosmopolitan mill towns like Grand Falls and Corner Brook, and mining towns such as Bell Island and Buchans. It was important that the companies provide quality transferable education standards for the children of management and workers. The company management and professional workers who came from many parts of Canada and the world generally brought their families with them and only stayed a few years. The companies in larger industrial towns financially contributed to the building of modern amalgamated school facilities (Rowe, 1964, p. 93). The companies also agreed to subsidize teachers' salaries and other costs if the various church groups who ran the schools agreed to come together to operate a joint non-denominational amalgamated school (Rowe, 1976, pp. 23–24). Rowe (1976) contends this was a major factor in influencing Protestant denominations to integrate their educational services in the 1960s. Amalgamation was limited, almost entirely, to non-Roman Catholic denominations.

According to Charles Goodyear, who was the principal of the company-sponsored amalgamated school in Grand Falls from 1937 to 1961, the amalgamated school model was “a beautiful objective lesson in democracy, in faith, and in mutual trust, as well as being a laudable experiment in practical Christian Education” (Goodyear, 1992, p. 166). Central Newfoundland teachers, who had taught in the amalgamated schools in modern industrial towns like Grand Falls and Buchans in the 1950s, were some of the first educators to push for changes to the

denominational education system. They “undertook a personal crusade of change” (Goodyear, 1992, p. 174). They lobbied for a Superintendent of Amalgamated Schools who might serve as a catalyst for change. They also looked to the NTA, as a collective association of teachers, to lead the charge for reform.

Roberts Arm (with its Bowater’s mill connection to Corner Brook) may have been influenced by those company town practices. Of course, nearby Pilley’s Island and Little Bay were both large late-1800s mining towns, which would have attracted an eclectic mix of people from different cultural, religious, and occupational groups from around the world. This could have influenced the ways people in the area approached education. For example, in 1891, Little Bay had a population of 2,116 with three churches, four teachers, a doctor, and 55 trades people (Colbourne, 1991, p. 333).

Early Church and School

Early residents of Roberts Arm were predominantly Wesleyan Methodist who followed a tradition of valuing education (French, 1992, p. 148 as cited in Scobie & Grant). A small chapel/school was built for the community in the early 1880s (Colbourne, 1993, p. 607). This building served the community until the 1960s when a new United Church was built. The Pentecostal Assembly was established on the cusp of the logging boom in 1937 and the Salvation Army came to the town as growth continued in 1946 (GBEDA, 1994, p. 198–199). In the 1930s, a small two-room United Church school was built. Then, in 1952, a three-room amalgamated school was constructed to meet the needs of the growing logging town. By 1957, it had grown to a five-room amalgamated school (Jackman, War & Bragg, 1995; Colbourne, 1993, p. 606). United Church, Salvation Army, and Pentecostal clergy representatives, in addition to business and community leaders from the cluster of towns within their jurisdictions, sat on the school

board. Halfyard recalled walking to Pilley's Island at the end of the month to pick up his paycheque from the chair of the school board. That exchange was generally the extent of their interaction unless problems arose.

NTA Resolutions for Educational Change

During his three years in Roberts Arm, Halfyard continued to be active with the NTA, but, perhaps because of the demands of a growing family and his work with the town council, he did appear to ease back on NTA involvement. The Springdale/Islands Branch NTA Minutes from the 1957 to 1960 period show that he did not run for the executive in 1957–58 and he was defeated in a bid for president of the branch in 1959–60. However, the minutes indicate Halfyard consistently attended meetings and invited the association branch to hold a regular yearly meeting in Roberts Arm. On the occasions when his school hosted the meetings, he insisted that all teachers on his staff attend, hoping to motivate them to get involved on a regular basis (Fullan, 2011, p. 24).²⁷ He acknowledged some educational practices “were starting to change” during the 1950s decade, arguing they were largely driven by resolutions and recommendations made at the branch grassroots level by teachers involved with the NTA:

My time for thinking about things that needed to be done in the school, whether it was in Roberts Arm or Port Anson, was a Sunday affair for me. I'd sit down Sunday morning around 6:00 o'clock and for a couple hours brainstorm on what was needed in the school. It might involve something happening in the town, but it would enhance the school, because both have to be tied together.

I'd write resolutions, because as a little teacher in a small school you haven't got very much power. But if you brought it to an NTA [Branch] meeting and you had 40 teachers there from Springdale and so on, and you sent a resolution in [to the NTA head office] it would generally get looked at more favourably. And the government would look at it more.

²⁷ During the late 1950s, the provincial government was also being pressured to address major public schooling issues. In 1957 a major Conference on Teacher Shortage was held in St. John's (Andrews, 1985b, p. 127). Then in 1958, Fred Rowe was appointed Minister of Education and his primary mandate was to bring Newfoundland's public education system into line with the rest of Canada (McManus, 2000, p. 194).

I remember one time sending one in, first when they were coming out with the overhead projectors and beginning to get the first 16-mm film in the schools. . . . So I put in a resolution that the government would have a media place [distribution centre] for the entire province to draw on. That resolution was accepted within three weeks of being presented. And the next year all we had to pay was \$2, instead of the \$5, \$6, and even \$10 we had to pay before for shipping. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 6)

Halfyard may have confused the timeframe in which he submitted the resolution regarding a process for shipping 16-mm films to rural schools. It was the late 1960s before Roberts Arm, like most places along the Northeast coast, got electricity. But he did become a strong advocate for the use of new audiovisual technology to enrich learning for students.

Recreational Activities for Youth

Recreational and leisure activities were in the process of changing from informal non-organized ‘free play’ related childhood activities. For girls, traditionally activities included helping with household chores, bringing water, playing ‘copy house,’ and even catching tom cods off the wharf. For boys, activities revolved around chopping wood, trouting, and setting rabbit snares and, more rarely, lobster pots.



Figure 42. Recreation for all ages
(Courtesy of Memories of the Port Anson Newfoundland website, Reid, E., 2018)

With the decline in the salt fish industry, children were no longer needed to help with drying fish. Cutting hay for livestock and subsistence gardening were also on their way out as a result of modernization and consumerism. Horses, goats, chickens, and cows were not always welcome in the newly allotted semi-urban neighbourhoods where outport people were resettled.

More and more during those modernization years, not just mainland standards of living but also styles of living were being adopted. Teachers, like church leaders before them, introduced organized sports and other social activities to which they had been introduced at university or other communities where they worked. For example, Halfyard set up a Boys Club in Port Anson where he also taught boys some of the wrestling skills he learned at Mount A (Halfyard, October 14, 2013). Halfyard described himself as “hyperactive, into everything” and repeatedly talked with pride about his involvement in soccer in both Port Anson and Roberts Arm (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 10). Physical prowess, be it with sports, cutting wood, or fishing, seems to be an ongoing passion and identity characteristic rural male teachers took with them from their personal lives to their teaching careers. Halfyard reflected:

I always took an active hand in the young people when they were out of school. In Port Anson, and again in Roberts Arm, I organized football—soccer. We called it football . . . In Roberts Arm, we went in close to Crescent Lake the first year that I was there, and with axes and picks we cut a field; we cleaned it out of all the roots and stumps and built a soccer pitch, right where the drugstore and the little motel is today.

We lost one game in the three years I was in Roberts Arm. Springdale beat us 2–1 in one of the games. We would go out on Saturdays for a tournament down to Long Island or down to Little Bay Islands or other areas, or Springdale. And this kept the young people occupied. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 6)

Other teachers and school administrators interviewed for this study talked about sports and recreation committees and initiatives they helped organize during those years of social and economic transition (Clarke, August 8, 2012; Smith, August 9, 2012). Many teachers noted being involved as church lay readers and with adult and youth church groups. Church involvement was

pretty much mandatory for teachers of those days. While Halfyard did lead a church youth group in Port Anson, he was drifting more and more away from regular church attendance and formal church-led community activities. He was resistant to being drawn into church-run organizations from the beginning. When he was first interviewed by the United School Superintendent of Education about the teaching position in Port Anson, he was told about the teacher's dual responsibility as a lay-preacher. Halfyard said he promptly queried, "Am I to be a teacher or a preacher?" Academic scholars including Malcolm MacLeod (1990, 1999), Fred Rowe (1988, 1976) and Phillip McCann (1982) noted how more and more professionally trained teacher-educators of the mid-20th century started questioning the requirement of being actively involved with the church.

Housing, Health, and Family

Audrey Halfyard, even after marriage, had only ever lived in the comfort of her mother's home. Roberts Arm would bring many new and harsher realities. She remembers:

Our house was the coldest thing that anyone could ever, ever, live in. But before we lived in it, the minister lived there, which was J. P. Paddock at the time. And he told us how cold it was. It was a living room and a kitchen and two bedrooms. It was really, really cold. We had a wood stove and oil stove in the living room. And it was so damp and wet, every single morning in the winter you would have to tip the mattresses up because it was so damp. Water would run down the tentest on the walls. That was what most teachers got in all places, because it was something no one else could live in. You had pneumonia twice that year. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 10)

My father added:

The housing generally would be a house that somebody had shifted out of. They would have gone to a newer house. So, you can imagine what that was like. It was cold. Clapboard on the post, generally. The accommodations that were provided for teachers for about 30 years in Newfoundland were atrocious. It was third-world standard. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 8)

Because of low salaries, teachers could not afford to build or buy their own homes (GOVNL, 1967). Ironically, Halfyard had been offered a job with the Reider Company in Corner

Brook when he was teaching in Port Anson. He said the company looked after the conversion of households from coal burning to oil burning and offered him double his salary, housing, and moving expenses. He says he turned it down because “I couldn’t see myself sitting behind a desk in an office for 10 years. Four days out of five I enjoyed teaching. Most people only enjoyed teaching two days out of five” (Halfyard, May 18, 2012, p. 6). The housing situation was pretty well the same a decade later in the 1970s when Halfyard made it a personal goal to provide better housing in an effort to improve rural teacher retention.

By 1960 my parents had five children under the age of five years. My mother has always said the only holidays she ever had was when she would have to go to Springdale for a couple weeks before each baby was born, especially those born during the spring ice breakup period (Halfyard, A. August 30, 2013, p. 8). Prior to the opening of the Cottage Hospital in Springdale in 1952, babies were generally delivered by midwives. Audrey summarized part of woman’s household work thus,

I guess my life then was basically no running water, no electricity, so you had to bring your water; you had to wash your clothes with a ringer washer. You had no dryer, so winter and summer you had to hang it on the line. So, with five kids, that’s what we had then, you were washing every day and trying to get it dried every day. So, you had a full day’s work, non-stop. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 10)

My father did what many men of his generation did. He went to work at the school during the day; he spent many of his evenings at the council office where he could earn the extra money to cover general living expenses or unexpected medical needs.²⁸ And to quote my mother, “Other than that, he’d be going through the woods, checking his rabbit slips and stuff like that. . .” She

²⁸ Expenses like the special orthopedic boots they ordered from Parker and Munroe in St. John’s because of my foot problems. Or the extra money for boat trips to the Springdale Cottage Hospital when I came down with pneumonia on two separate occasions. The repeated illnesses, which my parents blamed on the cold and damp house in Roberts Arm, later inspired my father to try to improve his and other teachers’ housing situations.

quips, “He never changed a diaper in his life.” In those days, there was men’s work and then there was women’s work. He would argue he needed to put food on the table. And he did need to subsidize his inadequate teacher’s salary.²⁹



Figure 43. Laura, Sharon and a cousin display trout Dad caught circa 1958
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Life Course Defining Moment

In June of his third year in Roberts Arm, Halfyard, then 29 years old, was floored when he was informed by the local school board that, come September, a young man from a nearby community would be the principal of the five-room school. His replacement, who was born in Lushes Bight on Long Island, was just 22 years old and had three years of teaching experience in smaller two-room schools. The local home-grown boy had won the Green Bay scholarship for highest marks when he graduated from high school in 1955 and he had accrued more credits than Halfyard from attending two full years at university plus a six-week summer session (Colbourne, August 6, 2012). Those were the days before collective bargaining when family connections or

²⁹ Male teachers’ average annual salary in 1956 was \$2,255; for women, it was \$1,775 (McCann, 1994, p. 289).

other capricious factors sometimes played a part in hiring and firing. It would be May 31, 1973, before the *Newfoundland Teachers' Collective Bargaining Act* was enacted to regulate arbitrary hiring and firing practices, and other legal procedures (Cuff, 1990, p. 57). Below is my father's initial response when I asked him to summarize why he left Roberts Arm:

It could be that I was my own worst enemy by pushing the teachers to have better education. It might have been the reason they went with a better and more trained principal in the school. That was uncomfortable at the time, but I went back to university and began to work at my two degrees. That wasn't an easy job with five children and one in the kiddy. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 8)

A few weeks later my mother added the following information:

Well, he decided sort of suddenly of course, because really what happened, he got laid off actually. So, it wasn't – there wasn't anything else. And he just said, "Well I'm going back to university." (Halfyard, August 30, 2013, p. 14)

It always baffled me how, after three short years as principal in Roberts Arm, my father persuaded my mother to move to St. John's. After all, Roberts Arm was only 6 miles (8 to 10 kilometres) by boat to Port Anson where her mother, five younger brothers, and copious relatives still lived. There was still no mention about being fired.

I only had two or three days' notice and now I could tell you exactly how much money I had in the bank—\$150. Now get ready to try to go to university on that because that late in June you couldn't pick up a reasonable teaching position. And so I decided to go back to university. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, pp. 9–10)

Initially, I thought the school board's decision to dismiss my father had a lot to do with his part-time job as town clerk. Whatever the reasons, I concluded Halfyard's layoff was a major turning point in his life. Yet, it would be four years later, after my chance viewing of an NTV *Reflections* show on the 1959 IWA strike, plus comments I heard my father make after attending Ursula Kelly's 2014 book launch for *Mentioned in Song: Song Traditions of the Loggers of Newfoundland and Labrador* that I was able to piece together other complex social contextual factors related to his job loss in Roberts Arm. Earlier that same year, Halfyard had also read J. A.

Ricketts' novel *The Badger Riot*. Due to that convergence of coincidences, he started to talk about how he experienced events related to the IWA strike in Roberts Arm.

IWA Loggers' Strike Impacts Roberts Arm

There was a lot of upheaval going on at the time. It was right in the middle of the IWA [International Woodworkers of America] dispute and Roberts Arm was the key place where loggers met coming up from Triton and Long Island and Pilley's Island. . . because there was a drum barker in Tommy's Arm. Other men working with the company, they would go into Badger. And that's where they would go in the woods. . . .

I totally agreed with what the men were asking for because I had an uncle who died as a result of poor camps in the woods.³⁰ But in my estimation when Landon Ladd came out with the idea that he was going to tell the government what to do (Long pause) . . . that he was outside and more powerful than the government. . . I said that's wrong.

We used to have a lot of spirited arguments because we had a radio. And all the information was coming out on the radio, but I was getting it locally as well. And some of those arguments would be pretty touchy. That might have had an effect because I sided with the government on the issue. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015)

Premier Smallwood's impassioned speech broadcast on radio on February 12, 1959, captures the tension and mixed emotions embroiled within the long-term psyche of logging families in that area of the province:

The IWA, since they came to Newfoundland, have brought nothing but trouble. Trouble, bad feelings such as we have never known before. Lifetime neighbors have been torn asunder. Fathers have been torn from son. Fishermen from logger. Settlement from settlement. Union from union. There is hate in Newfoundland tonight. Bitter and ugly. There is more lawlessness. More violence. More lies. More falsehood. More cheating. More deceit, in the past four weeks than we ever saw in Newfoundland before. (Smallwood, February 12, 1959, as heard in Furlong, 2015)

Roberts Arm was familiar with labour unrest and union strikes over fair prices for wood

³⁰ Halfyard's favourite uncle, Alfred Halfyard, died suddenly on February 19, 1959, after working for years under horrendous conditions in logging camps (Halfyard, R., 1994). It was during the height of the IWA dispute and Alfred was only 65 years old. Job often related how his uncle would be so tired when he got home he would fall into bed still wearing his wet clothes. He also recounted stories of lice infestations and having to bathe in kerosene to kill the lice. Odds are he heard those stories (postmemories) from his cousin Myra who was one of the eldest of Alfred's children (Hirsch, 2012). Myra taught with Halfyard in Port Anson in 1953-54, and they boarded at the same house.

and work in the logging industry. Joe Anthony (1995), a local Roberts Arm resident, recalled the 1936 strike that took place just after the Corner Brook mill setup operation to send pulpwood to mills in England (p. 12). A union had been formed in the area to negotiate an increase in the price per cord of wood. Sir Richard Squires, the lawyer sent to negotiate with the union, offered \$2.25 per cord, an increase of 25¢. However, the union would not settle for less than \$2.50 per cord (Parsons, 1995, p. 12). Affairs came to a head when the ship, the *SS Argyle*, was loaded with pulpwood and ready to leave port in Tommy's Arm. In protest, the strikers began boarding the ship. The group, including men from Twillingate and other neighbouring communities like Triton, had no option but to sleep in their boats because of lack of accommodations. Anthony (1995) wrote,

There was quite an uproar, men in boats of all sizes began boarding the ship. There were so many men that the ship listed out, as a small boat would. The men were as thick as flies around a molasses barrel and they were shouting, "Beach her! Beach her!" (p. 12)

In order to save the ship, Sir Richard Squires, a former spurned Premier of the Dominion of Newfoundland, signed an agreement for \$2.50 per cord. A few days later the protesters received news the agreement was not legal. Local oral history relates how the *SS Argyle* returned for later shipments with approximately 50 policemen on board to prevent interference while loading. If the workers did not comply, the company threatened to close the woods operation (Anthony, 1995, p. 12).

Memories of the earlier strike and living conditions still would have been raw in the cultural memories and 'postmemories' of the downtrodden logger families of Roberts Arm during the months leading up to riots of loggers in Badger and the tragic shooting of Constable Moss by strikers on March 10, 1959 (Cuff, 1991, p. 630; Furlong, 2015; Gillespie, 1986; Hirsch, 2012). The description of those traumatic events harkens back to Portelli's (1991) oral history

work and his analysis of the death of Luigi Trastulli in Italy. Portelli became renowned in oral history circles for examining cultural conflict and communication between social groups and classes of people in industrial societies. He identified ways individuals, especially oppressed or traumatized people, strive to create memories in order to help them make sense of their lives.

Uncovering the Gaps and Silences

When, eventually, I had the courage to delve more deeply into what lay beneath Halfyard's dismissal in Roberts Arm, he added:

One of the clergymen (long pause) because don't forget the three clergymen were on the school board—United Church, Salvation Army and Pentecostal [plus local merchant leaders]. And one of the clergymen, and I won't say which one, came to see me after.

I said, "The moral, (long pause) dealing with me as an individual, and as a family who had never done anything evil against the school or against the town—to be laid off with two days' notice is very, very, very disconcerting." And I said, "This will not augur well for you in the future. And also, the teacher that accepted my position before the position was vacant, was breaking his code of ethics as a teacher."

Be that as it may. It may have been a good thing. (Voice rises). Because it made me dig down deeper and go back to university, with all the responsibility that went with it, and complete another year in university.

[The clergyman] said to me, "Job, your problem in this situation is that you believe people too much. Never believe anybody with a collar on." (Long pause) I was amazed when he said it. But it stuck with me all my life. And it made me question my interviewing of teachers for 25 years after that. I would not accept a recommendation coming in from a clergyman, only under great scrutiny. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 11)

The incident clearly made 29-year-old Halfyard question many things. The 'critical event' marked a major transition in his life. Halfyard always insisted the teacher broke the teachers' Code of Ethics. One of the first items listed in the 1943 NTA Code of Ethics states, "No teacher should apply for a school, until assured that a vacancy exists." The second item states, "A teacher should not apply for a post which he knows or suspects is vacant because of unjust dismissal" (Cuff, 1990, p. 30). Because of his involvement with the NTA, Halfyard would

have been familiar with the principles outlined in the Code of Ethics. If not, he knew how to seek advice and support from the association (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, pp. 90–91). The personal work-related crisis is perhaps another reason why he was drawn more and more to the collective action possible through affiliation with the NTA. It included sharing knowledge and expanding networks of influence. This understanding of the power of collective action is very similar to why Roger Grimes, (NTA President, 1985–87) and other teachers became more actively involved in developing policies and procedures through the NTA (Grimes, January 5, 2016).

Roger Grimes and one other educator interviewed for this study related stories about similar critical career-defining moments in their lives. They likewise revolved around perceived unjust and unethical interference on the part of the school board, church, and community leaders in the early years of their career. The first person quit a job because local church leaders did not want him to take the youth hockey team he was coaching to tournaments on weekends (Smith, August 9, 2012). Grimes resigned because community leaders did not want him to play hockey on the Sabbath (Grimes, January 5, 2016). Today those issues seem rather trite and trivial. In those days, they were not.

The critical events led those young teachers to assume agency, to take action, and to pursue “emancipatory politics”; they chose a different path that was not in keeping with the established order of the day (Giddens, 1991, p. 211). Both men were personally, professionally, and emotionally traumatized by events. They went on to become active in questioning and fighting for changes to the denominational education system. Married with children, they were forced to uproot their families and find other jobs. It changed their outlook and worldview (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 73). They became disillusioned by outdated fundamentalist control in the name of religion. The lessons they learned, the courses in life they later pursued,

and their “integrity of self,” helped bring about gradual changes, on a local and provincial scale, to both church and educational practices (Giddens, 1991, p. 54).

There is probably no one definitive reason for Halfyard’s dismissal from his teaching position in 1960. Halfyard acknowledged how there were always student disciplinary issues and school public relations issues that principals had to manage on a day-to-day basis – issues to which a parent or school board members may have taken exception. There was also growing tension between Halfyard and a local “organic intellectual” (Gramsci, 1971/1999) with whom Halfyard socialized, listened to radio, and debated political issues.

Likewise, Halfyard rationalized that his dismissal may have been compounded by getting a beaver license that would have normally gone to a local resident. Petty jealousy may have come into play. Halfyard, who took great pride in his hunting and fishing expertise, was known to catch large numbers of trout and rabbits for recreation and to feed his family. How much did showing off, envy, gossip, backbiting, inferiority complexes, and fear of outsiders usurping power contribute to Halfyard’s dismissal? Hegemonic resistance or push back to dominant institutional forces may have also been at play (Sider, 2003, pp. 86–87; Gramsci, 1971/1999).³¹

The concept of hegemony and the fears that surfaced during the resettlement and modernization years are also related to the ‘theory of limited good’ developed by anthropologist, George Foster (1965). The theory of limited good is an interpretive model used to study the extent to which material, social, mental, and spiritual good is limited in societies, especially traditional agrarian peasant societies. Foster argued that it “cannot be added to. Therefore, if a

³¹ Hegemony describes relations of domination and the process of making alliances, where one group of people in society holds power over another group (Sider, 2003, pp. 86–87; Freire, 2012/1970; Gramsci, 1999/1971). Those concepts also resonate with the ideas about public identity, leadership and the management of marginality as presented by Cohen in his ISER study.

person in the town is possessed of more, it implies that someone else in the town possesses less” (Foster, 1965a, 1988; Foster, 1988, pp. 123–124 as cited in Ginzberg, 2014, p. 21). While there are many critiques of the theory, it has merits in analyzing rural Newfoundland during the post-Confederation period of transition because it provides insight into human dynamics and individuals’ motivation when “aspiring to climb the ranks of leadership” (Ginzberg, 2014, p. 26). This is especially so if one is an “outsider” and the others are “insiders” who desire to maintain leadership positions to maintain the status quo.

Conclusion

From the relatively early development of the modern era onwards, the dynamism of modern institutions has stimulated, and to some extent has been promoted by, ideas of human *emancipation*. In the first place this was emancipation from the dogmatic imperative of tradition and religion. . . . but to human social life itself, human activity was to become free from pre-existing constraints. (Giddens, 1991, p. 210)

In the 1950s, there were an estimated 210 separate school boards in the province. Local school board policies and practices were often loosely defined according to the whims and practices of local leaders—that is, prominent merchant families and denominational church leaders not trained in pedagogy (McCann, 1982; Rowe, 1976; Matthews, 1976). Modernization was challenging those traditional church power structures and practices. Young teachers like Halfyard were caught in the transition. They no longer subscribed to the old outdated practices often dictated in the name of religion or the denominational education system. In many cases, they found the challenges and opportunities to be invigorating and motivational. It kept them engaged and empathetic to the needs of rural people and places (Hargreaves & Fink, 2007, 48).

Emotions ran high that last year in Roberts Arm and Halfyard was caught in societal transition, his “basic security system,” and his sense of trust within social bonds and relations was compromised (Giddens, 1991, p. 64). The complex intertwining of social, familial, cultural,

political, economic and religious factors around being fired undoubtedly shaped and reshaped many things within Halfyard's ongoing work and life. The incident could have shattered his self-confidence, his identity; instead he chose to 're-self' and turn the crisis into a positive transformative learning experience (Goodson, 2013, pp. 115–117).

The Roberts Arm years unquestionably became a major turning point in Halfyard's life. He saw the benefits of finishing his university degree if he was to have any semblance of work or financial security in the future. He also knew he needed to find better housing and health services for his growing family. He reasoned he could work with the NTA to try to bring about more changes to the educational system and the working conditions of teachers. He rationalized change was not possible on an individual level, that it needed collective action. Moreover, as a teacher from 'end-of-the- road' rural communities, he was not going to be oppressed; neither was he going to be submerged in a "culture of silence" (Freire, 2012, p. 32; Giddens, 1991, p. 211).

According to Brian Shortall, the President of the NTA from 1979–81, Halfyard took every opportunity to explain how rural places functioned (Shortall, personal communication, November 2011). Halfyard wanted government and other stakeholders to understand the needs of rural communities.³² In essence, Halfyard learned early in his teaching career that teaching was not just about education; it was about politics and power (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 2). This insight subsequently influenced later "courses of action" (Goodson, 2013). The following chapter examines the stressors, challenges, and rewards Halfyard and his family sustained as part of the comprehensive learning experience that was being an older full-time university student.

³² To illustrate that point, one story my father has always told is how he was sitting on a committee that wrote math public exams. It was the early 1960s and a professor from Memorial University on the committee included a question about a model airplane. In his forthright manner, my father stressed, "Christ, at that time outport students didn't even know what a model airplane was."

CHAPTER 6: A TRANSITION YEAR AT MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY (1960–1961): THIRD YEAR

The life course is seen as a series of ‘passages’ All such transitions involve loss (as well as, usually, potential gain) . . . Life passages give particular cogency to the interaction of risk and opportunity . . . Negotiating a significant transition in life, leaving home, getting a new job, facing up to unemployment, forming a new relationship, moving between different areas or routines, confronting illness, beginning therapy – all mean running consciously entertained risks in order to grasp the new opportunities which personal crises open up. (Giddens, 1991, p. 79)

Introduction

The life course theory, like the narrative and identity ideas of Giddens and Goodson, talks about trajectories and transitions. Newman and Newman (2007) describe a trajectory as “the long-term path of one’s life experiences in a specific domain, particularly work and family life” (p. 189). They describe a transition as “a component within the trajectory marked by the beginning or close of an event or role relationships” (p. 189). Getting a first job, being laid off, and going back to university to upgrade are examples of transitions in a person’s work trajectory. A turning point is when a major crisis or ‘critical event’ triggers a transition which alters the “fabric of a person’s daily life” as well as their philosophies and worldviews (Brown, Hansen, Lee, Vanderveen & Conrad, 2012, p. 162; Newman & Newman, 2007, p. 195; Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 5). The analysis and interpretation of my case study subject, within this transition section, is also informed by ideas related to the “transition theory” presented by Brown, Hansen, Lee, Vanderveen and Conrad (2012) as an approach to understanding autobiographical memory (p. 160). All of the concepts overlap and are interrelated. They are helpful with the process of analyzing the impact of historical events, as well as the changes in social circumstances, on people’s basic patterns of behaviour (Brown, Hansen, Lee, Vanderveen, & Conrad, 2012, p. 167; Newman & Newman, 2007, p. 192). The critical events that led to

transitions elicit personal choices. Some individuals may “operate as agents in their own behalf choosing among the opportunities that are available to their time and society” (Newman and Newman, 2007, p. 191). They may assume leadership, be proactive and readily make choices for “courses of action,” while others, as Goodson (2012) describes, may become armchair elaborators, paralyzed by crisis events (pp. 6–7).

Halfyard experienced two critical events that altered the fabric of his daily life and brought about significant transitions that involved leaving the comfort of a familiar place. They were not just transitions, they were major turning points that forced him to assess the situation, make choices, and take action that involved personal risk. Ultimately, they influenced his philosophies and worldviews and potentially changed the direction of his life over the long term. The first major transition (turning point) came as a result of losing his teaching job in Roberts Arm in June of 1960. The second was triggered six years later by the closure of the Tilt Cove copper mine in 1967–68. Particulars of that critical event will be examined in Chapter 8. In both cases, Halfyard weighed his options and decided it was best to uproot his family and move to St. John’s for a year to work towards a university degree which would ultimately provide better teaching options and security. Both transition years brought about a series of unexpected challenges, obstacles, opportunities, and social expectations for members of his family. They resulted in new behaviours and ways of seeing the world (Newman & Newman, 2007, p. 190, p. 202). The need to restore some sense of stability and control over one’s life is a key feature of such major transitions.

My goal in this chapter is to analyze the impact that losing his teaching job in Roberts Arm (critical event) had on Halfyard’s self-identity—his values, attitudes, goals, and ultimate aspirations in life. What was his “re-selfing” process? How did he “restore his sense of

selfhood”, his personal and professional credibility after he lost his job? Does his “narrativity and reflexivity” construction, as evidenced in the interview data, show a return to “a ‘quest,’ ‘a dream’ of what his life could be like?” (Goodson, 2013, pp. 113–14). Had Halfyard really established his “life theme” or central goal by that stage in his life (Goodson, 2013, p. 116)? Was becoming an educational and community leader part of those early goals and dreams?

It will become evident that the pressing issues needing immediate attention by Halfyard revolved around procuring basic human needs: food, clothing, and shelter. I will illustrate how Halfyard’s responses to critical events, the upset of daily routines and cultural connections, were offset by growing personal “professional capital” and “critical thinking” skills (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p. 101; Kincheloe, 2004). His self-concept and his internal capacity to make informed decisions for the good of himself and others had grown and developed as a result of years of experience, observation, and learning (Goodson, 2013, p. 72; Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 66).

These critical events kick-started or ignited Halfyard into action (Fullan, 2011, p. 53). What he learned from his studies and course work at Memorial University as well as through his interactions with other students, professors, and teacher colleagues both on and off campus, exposed him to new ideas, challenges, and possibilities for “courses of action” (Goodson, 2012, p. 8). Ultimately, the life-changing events of 1960–61 and later in 1967–68 inspired Halfyard to improve conditions for himself and his family.

Goodson theorizes that action-oriented individuals faced with a major period of trauma may not be able to move forward. They may abandon their life script for a period of time. However, eventually their confidence will be restored, lights will come on. They will start thinking again and planning new courses of action. These transition sections will examine how

things evolved for Halfyard, how he reflected, rebuilt, and reignited his life journey.

Section I: Institutional Forces

The literature shows that a growing number of individuals of the post-war baby-boom generation, and even Halfyard's earlier generation, were persuaded by government and universities to pursue higher education as a means of "future economic advancement" and job security (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 438; Jasen, 1989, p. 248). Education was to be the great equalizer of the modern era. It also brought with it "a complex diversity of choices," which upset established lifestyle habits and routines (Giddens, 1991, pp. 80–82). Formal education, provided by universities and vocational trade schools, was slowly starting to replace the traditional informal farming and fishing family apprenticeship models for learning work skills and knowledge (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 438; Somers, 1966, p. 33).

On a national level, education emerged as the major growth industry of the 1960s. Education became a "political priority" and "the single largest item in provincial budgets" (Stanley, 1993/2001, pp. 437–438; ADB, 1969, p. vii). Axelrod and Reid (1989) describe the 1950s and 1960s as a time of "feverish fund-raising" and rapid "university expansion" (p. 247). Unfortunately, the provincial governments did not have the financial resources to keep up with changing patterns of higher education. They needed the federal government to pump enormous amounts of capital into the development of universities and the growing number of post-secondary vocational and technical institutes (Harris, 1966, p. 10). Ongoing fiscal negotiations between the provincial and federal government over financing of universities and colleges in Canada became a major challenge of the 1960s (Harris, 1966, p. 12). It became especially problematic for Atlantic Canada from 1957 to 1963 when John Diefenbaker, the Progressive Conservative western populist, was Prime Minister of Canada (Conrad, 1993/2001, p. 410).

By the late 1950s, the “gap between the regional and national living standards” had only marginally narrowed (Stanley 1993/2001, pp. 422–423). As a result, the political leaders of the Atlantic provinces consolidated, on a number of fronts, in their bid for federal government policies and funding grants to address regional underdevelopment and infrastructure investment needs (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 426, 429). The Association of Atlantic Universities united in order to persuade the federal government to help with the growing “financial burden of university expansion” (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 439).³³ Federal government programs and policies to address regional disparities between the ‘have and have not’ regions within Canada continued to be a hot political issue throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

Between 1960 and 1970, universities in Atlantic provinces experienced dramatic growth. Nova Scotia’s enrolment tripled from 5, 811 to 15,820. Enrolment at Memorial University almost quadrupled from 1,400, when Halfyard attended in 1960–61, to 5,561 when he attended in 1967–68 (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 438; MUN, 1969, p. 260). However, there was still a lag in the shift to formal institutionalized education in the new province of Newfoundland compared to other regions of Canada.

Universities were poorly financed and inadequately equipped to meet growing student numbers. Extra money was needed for building construction, laboratory, and other equipment needs, and for the growing number of professors and staff needed to provide new university program options. Despite the fact that education was a provincial responsibility in 1951, the federal government agreed to provide annual grants to help universities with capital investment

³³ The Atlantic Provinces Economic Council (APEC) was created in 1956 to formulate joint appeals for regional priorities and financial assistance from Ottawa for transportation, resource development, and education infrastructure development. In 1962, the Atlantic Development Board (ADB) was formed. In 1969, the federal Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) programs subsequently replaced ADB programs (Stanley, 1993/2001, pp. 425–426, 429).

and operating costs that came as a result of increased student enrolment (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 440; Harris, 1966, p. 10). Still, more federal and provincial government financial assistance was needed to build new residences, science centres, libraries, and athletic facilities on university campuses (Stanley, 1993/2001, pp. 438–439).



Figure 44. Memorial University campus on Elizabeth Avenue, October 1961
(Courtesy of Memorial University of Newfoundland, Baker & Graham, 1999, p. 34)

The Newfoundland post-secondary education situation was perhaps more dire. When Memorial College was elevated to university status by an act of legislation on August 13, 1949, it was assumed that a new campus would be constructed to replace the small outdated Parade Street facility (Baker & Graham, 1999, p. 15). Eight years later in 1957, the prospects of getting a new campus became even bleaker when John Diefenbaker assumed office.

As part of the original Confederation Agreement between Ottawa and Newfoundland, additional financial assistance was negotiated under Term 29. Term 29 stipulated that a Royal Commission be convened within eight years after Confederation to determine the “form and scale of additional financial assistance” to Newfoundland (Rowe, 1980, p. 515). Meanwhile, the Diefenbaker government had been “warned by some in Newfoundland that Smallwood had squandered the province’s fiscal resources after Confederation” (Blake, 2015, p. 39). The

disagreement between the Smallwood government and Diefenbaker government festered for two years, resulting in more delays to the funding needed to build a new campus for Memorial (Blake, 2015, p. 38; Conrad, 1993/2001, p. 414). Shortly after the IWA strike of 1959, Smallwood ramped up his campaign for federal government infrastructure development funding under Term 29 (Rowe, 1980, p. 511). Smallwood was angry because Diefenbaker had refused to send the RCMP to aid Newfoundland during the height of strike unrest in February and March (Cadigan, 2009, p. 242; Conrad, 1993/2001, p. 414).

On March 26, 1959, students from Memorial University protested, wearing black robes and carrying banners (Baker & Graham, 1999, p. 31). Students who attended the protest describe how they marched slowly to the Colonial Building, behind a hearse, to the beat of the *Death March* (Jerrett, 2010, p. 100). Other students recalled how Premier Smallwood emerged from the black-draped Colonial Building wearing dark glasses and wearing a black armband (Winter, 2010, p. 83). Smallwood launched into “an emotional rhetoric as only he could” about how “he would not let Ottawa betray the Province” (Jerrett, 2010, p. 100). When the students shouted, “What about our new university?” Smallwood replied, “You will get your new university.” Construction finally commenced on the new campus with a sod-turning ceremony on May 23, 1959. In 1965, a Royal Commission on Financing Higher Education in Canada recommended that federal grants to universities be more than doubled (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 440).

When Halfyard returned to Memorial University in 1960, construction of the new campus on Elizabeth Avenue was still in process. He noted in an interview that “Memorial was starting to change. When I went to university [1951–52] there was about 300 to 400 in Memorial and now within a few years there was upwards of 1,000 and more” (Halfyard, August 27, 2011, p. 4). In fact, it was not a few years. It was almost a full decade from when Halfyard did his first two

years of university to when he returned for a third year at Memorial in 1960–61. The university was still located at the overcrowded premises on Parade Street and classes were being held in the old military Annex. By that time Halfyard had nine years of teaching experience. He also had a large family: five children under the age of six and a wife who was expecting a new baby in February.

Section II: On the Home Front

In this section, Job and Audrey Halfyard share stories about their lasting memories of that year in St. John's. Many of those stories have become part of their children's postmemories (Hirsch, 2012, p. 22). In turn, the family photos taken that year evoke personal memories and thus stimulate narrative remembering (Hirsch, 2012, p. 86; Barthes, 1980/2010, p. 96). Audrey recalled,

We went by train. We had to go to Badger. We had to pack up all our stuff and get it into Badger. Then, it got shipped on the train. . . into St. John's. . . . [Halfyard's] cousin Jessie got a place for us. She got our accommodations before we went in. I remember we had to pay \$120 a month. And we had a four-bedroom house, which was three stories. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 13)

Halfyard also described how things were not straightforward once we arrived in St. John's:

We had been having trouble getting our furniture in from Badger, on the siding. It was there and we were in St. John's with no furniture to go in the house we had rented on Barnes Road. And so we were forced to stay in a hotel for five days. And eventually CN brought it in on the train. . . . We shared meals. We used to have three meals for the seven of us. . . . We'd bring it to our room and we'd share them. . . . Jessie gave me her car for what, two weeks didn't she Audrey? [Halfyard called out to his wife who is in the kitchen during this interview.] (Job & Audrey Halfyard, June 16, 2015, p. 26)

Both Audrey and Job described in unison, on a number of occasions, how Halfyard raised the money during the summer to finance their year back at Memorial.

[He] went to Brighton and Triton and these places every morning, five o'clock. I suppose he left home at four o'clock. Got all the salmon he could. We had a truck, so he took his truck and went [pause] to Buchans, because Buchan's had a mine and they had a bunk

house. I don't know how many men they had working there, but they needed a lot of salmon. So, they would buy his salmon. And then, he'd sell some locally around the community. . . door to door, to get rid of them. That's when he quit, came back out, sold his boat, sold the truck. That's the only money we had, because we were only living from cheque to cheque. You didn't get that much. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 13)

Halfyard had not been able to save money from his part-time town clerk job or the \$2,557 per year salary teachers with his qualifications made in 1961 (McCann, 1994, p. 289). The money was hardly enough to pay for food and rent, let alone other expenses needed for a family of seven. The story of buying and selling salmon illustrates how Halfyard returned to what he knew best to earn the cash needed to subsidize going back to university; he looked around and examined possibilities. It also shows how he drew on his knowledge of the economics of the region, his ingenuity, and entrepreneurial spirit to raise some money fast. Newman and Newman's (2007) research on transition within life course trajectories posits people will try to cope with a changing situation by returning to well-learned habits that reflect their "prior senses of self" (p. 195). Michal Fullan (2011), who has conducted years of research on change leaders, would theorize Halfyard used his "strategic intuition" to come up with "insights" from things he knew as ideas for courses of action (p. 4). In essence, Halfyard is an example of how, "Those who have had experience taking action or providing leadership are likely to exercise leadership in times of crisis" (Newman & Newman, 2007, p. 195)

Throughout the summer my parents were also busy picking berries and bottling preserves needed to feed their family during the upcoming year at university. Audrey specified,

We bottled trout, blueberries, rabbit, and salmon. We had 400 bottles of food when we left Roberts Arm. . . . That had to last a year. That's what we had—400 bottles. We had blueberries for dessert. [Laughs] You ate lots of blueberries that year. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 13)

The transition to St. John's lifestyle practices was not entirely smooth sailing. Halfyard described what happened at the modern supermarket the day they got their furniture and moved

into the house they rented.

We went to pick up groceries. [Long pause] And after we came down to the counter with our load of groceries I gave her a cheque. She said, “I can’t take a cheque.” And well I said, “It’s Saturday, there’s no banks open. And I’ve got a family to feed. And what are you going to do about it?” And the manager was up with his hands. No, no cheques. And so, I got extremely upset.

Here I was coming in from outport Newfoundland, into a major centre with money in the bank. And I always paid my bills. And this was foreign to me. And I said, “Nobody else gets served in this store until I’m served.” [Long pause] And of course everybody stood back and I said, “I’m dead serious. I’m not going home for the weekend with no food for my children and my wife.” And after haggling for a spell, the manager came out and said to let me go through. After that, it didn’t matter what kind of money we brought in, they accepted it. (Audrey & Job Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 2)

Halfyard looked at the obstacles as challenges to overcome, not problems that would lead to defeat. Halfyard is the kind of person who “felt strong about the need for challenge, believing that personal improvement and fulfillment come through the continual process of learning from both negative and positive experiences” (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, p. 207). The story also illustrates how he was not intimidated, unlike many outport Newfoundlanders who ventured into the big city (Davis, 1995, p. 287).

The three-storey house the Halfyards rented on Barnes Road was very different from the gentrified Barnes Road of downtown St. John’s today. It was the days of large families congregating on narrow streets and the sound of trucks dumping coal down chutes on the sides of soot-stained houses. It was also a time when glass milk bottles could be heard jingling as milkmen made their early morning deliveries. Audrey described household adjustments,

Well, we had two boarders and a girl. So, we had Gordon and Doug. And, well, they were of different religions. And so one was not allowed to eat meat on Friday, at that time. . . . We didn’t know about it at first because we weren’t used to that. (Audrey & Job Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 3)

Audrey grew up in a predominately Protestant area of the province and had no contact with Roman Catholics or their religious practices at that stage in her life. She went on to describe

how,

On Sunday, we had cooked dinner. I'd say about five years ago Doug came to visit. He's retired, a retired teacher . . . and he came and he said that he wanted to come see us because he enjoyed his Monday supper so much. It was leftovers actually from Sunday dinner: gravy and meat and I'd poach eggs on toast and . . . everybody would have three eggs and green peas. (Audrey & Job Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 3)

Jessie Halfyard, Job's older cousin, had connections in town and knew where to get "cracked eggs" at a cheaper price. So, when she picked up her eggs for the week, she also picked up five dozen for Job and his family. During the year, Audrey, in her effort to stretch what they had, experimented with different egg dishes. Maybe that is why bread pudding and other custard-based desserts became a staple in our household.

Each morning before 9 a.m. Halfyard would leave for university and he would not return until suppertime. Very early on he knew he would need to hire a servant girl to help Audrey with the children and with the household chores, which were still very labour intensive. Those were the days when mothers baked bread and babies wore cloth diapers. That year my father had the wringer washer they brought from Port Anson converted from gas to electric.

In those days, it was typical for young women to migrate from remote outport communities to larger centres to find work in department stores, factories, or 'in service.' The largest out-migration group from the Baie Verte Peninsula/Green Bay area in 1956 was "younger unmarried women," not men (GOVNL, 1960, pp. 27–28). That situation was reflective of the provincial trend. In that study, the government acknowledged how high female out-migration was a serious concern that needed to be addressed. Meanwhile, Halfyard described how he found a servant girl to hire in St. John's:

We put an ad in the newspaper and we said we'll never get anybody for \$45 a month. And to our surprise the telephone rang off the wall. Because when we started to look into it, the rate, at that time, paid most girls that worked in the stores . . . was \$61 to \$66 a month. Now, they had to find accommodations and food, and so on. All that was

provided in the home; when they got the \$45 they owned the \$45. . . They were live-in, see.

It was a five-bedroom house we had. The maid had one bedroom and the two boarders had another bedroom and we had the other three. (Audrey & Job Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 3)



Figure 45. Winter 1961 on Barnes Road
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Halfyard explained how that was the sleeping arrangement until after Christmas, when his parents came in to help once the new baby arrived.

They came in, too, I guess they were seniors, father was retired. The bit of money they were getting as seniors would help us out. And also they brought in an extra hundred bottles of food. We were the type of people that always bottled everything and made preserves. You were never short of something to eat. (Audrey & Job Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 5)

Having learned the value of hard work and self-sufficiency skills from their parents bode well for Audrey and Halfyard that year (Davis, 1995, p. 288). They also revealed some of the vivid memories they had of the two servant girls they hired that fall.

The nights, especially the weekend nights, on Barnes Road brought different kinds of sounds to the tightly fitted row houses on the narrow streets of the city core. The giggling of

young women and the tapping of spiked heels was periodically interrupted with yells, cat calls, and the shattering of beer bottles by young men. It was also the years when the Russian, Portuguese, Spanish, and other foreign vessels, fishing off the Grand Banks, regularly lined the St. John's harbour front (Ryan, 1993, p. 409). While some young men from the ships played soccer on the apron, others frequented Water Street and other parts of the city. Not used to city life or strangers and not knowing one's neighbours, Audrey got nervous with young men hanging around her doorstep, especially when Halfyard "had to go to Lewisporte" for a week during the October midterm break to moose hunt with his brother.

Fortunately, they had a fairly good support network between Halfyard's cousin Jesse, and Audrey's friends, Ruby and Alonzo Normore who moved to St. John's from Sunday Cove Island for vocational school training and work. The growing number of other young people moving from the bay to the city, like young people and couples of today, relied on kin and community connections to become established in the larger, more industrialized centres (Grimes, January 5, 2016, p. 11). Those networks were also extremely valuable for providing a sense of continuity and comfort at a time of loss and sociocultural change, which required that they move forward with confidence and optimism (Kelly & Yeoman, 2010, pp. 5–8). Halfyard was confident enough to straddle both worlds, the country and the city (Davis, 1995, p. 289). For his 23-year-old wife, Audrey, who had never lived in a crowded city, it was scary, but also new and exciting.

I didn't go out much there really. But every Friday night my friend, who was from Wellman's Cove (his sister was my teacher), his wife [Ruby] and I would meet at the end of Prescott Street. We'd walk off down to Water Street; that was our weekly outing. We'd window shop on Water Street. . . . There was a place called The Greasy Spoon, so we'd have our ice cream on the way down. And we'd go up and down Water Street—down one side and up the other side. We knew every store and we went in every store, and then we'd come back up again. We might have another ice cream. So that's what we did. Our only outing was there. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 13)

Audrey suspected Halfyard's move from her island community of Port Anson to Roberts

Arm was part of his plan to gradually acclimatize her to the notion of moving farther from her mother. The greatest distance she had travelled up to that time was to visit her in-laws in Bonne Bay and to go to Corner Brook to get her dentures fitted when she was 16. She did visit Corner Brook again in 1959 when the Mountie in Springdale lent them his car to take two young students from Green Bay to see the newly crowned Queen Elizabeth on her first official visit to the city (Cochrane, February 7, 2012). My father was much more worldly and adventurous.

That year in St. John's Laura, the eldest daughter, got to go to Kindergarten. The rest of the children stayed home where Audrey and the servant girl cooked, cleaned, and looked after them.

Section III: University Courses – Connecting the Dots

The knowledge Halfyard learned in university courses contributed to his later direction in life, (i.e., his educational and community leadership development). During the spring and summer of 2017, I started to review and cluster the old university books from the nine filing boxes I had culled from my parents' home just before they moved to St. John's in 2015. The collection of books ranged from school and university texts, a selection of Newfoundland books, government documents, conference material, government and association reports and studies to notes and minutes from various organizations (e.g., NTA, coordinating principal meetings, health board and political party district meetings, etc.), plus other general books of interest.

I gathered together about 12 books published between 1957 to 1961 to discuss with my father. I started by showing Halfyard the mildewed burgundy-covered text *Democratic Government and Politics* (1959) written by J. A. Corry and J. E. Hodgetts, two professors of political science from Queen's University. The text was used by Professor M. O. Morgan for the

year-long course Introduction to Government and Politics 101.³⁴ Halfyard recalled,

I only had 35 in the midterm. [M. O. Morgan] called me in and told me to drop the course. I said, “No sir, I’m going to finish the course.” On the last day, in the exam room he gave 100 short-answer questions when we wrote the final. Later he told me, “You had the second highest marks on the short answers, but your long answers left a lot to be desired. So, I gave you a pass.” I wasn’t good at writing essay-type questions. (Halfyard, September 17, 2017)

Mose Morgan³⁵, who taught Halfyard World Affairs in 1951–1952, was an influential figure from Halfyard’s university years. Halfyard got 56% in Political Science 101. Whenever he told the story he would usually add how John Lundrigan,³⁶ whom he described as “brilliant,” would write reams for the long answers. Halfyard would always rib Lundrigan, saying, “You did some bull-shitting today.” In the telling of that story, Halfyard usually related how he and John Lundrigan rented one of those relatively new televisions to watch the Stanley Cup hockey playoffs at his house on Barnes Road.

For a while that morning, my father browsed through the old government and political science text. It seemed he still found the material engaging. I was afraid he would not move on. The political science course text compared the British, American, and Canadian governmental structures and operations. The MUN calendar noted that “among the topics studied are the ideals of democracy; forms of government; the functions and composition of the legislature, executive and judiciary; representation; political parties” (MUNCAL, 1961–1969, p. 177). Halfyard had read almost every page of the text (a heavy 691 pages). I knew this because things were

³⁴ Memorial University did not move to the four-month two-semester system until 1969.

³⁵ Mose Morgan was the Dean of Arts and Science in 1958. He served as president and the vice-chancellor of Memorial for a short stint from February to June 1967 and was the president and vice-chancellor of Memorial from 1973 to 1981 (MUNCAL, 1967–1968, p. 17; Tucker, 1991, p. 618).

³⁶ Lundrigan, who was born in Upper Island Cove in 1939, won the Memorial University John Lewis Paton Scholarship for 1960–1961 (MUNCAL, 1961, p. 198). He graduated with a B.A. (Ed) in history in 1961 and after teaching a few years, pursued graduate studies at the University of Alberta. In 1968 he was elected as Progressive Conservative (PC) Member of Parliament for the Gander-Twillingate district, and from 1975 to 1979 he was the Member of the House of Assembly (MHA) for Grand Falls-Buchans (Cuff, 1991, p. 390).

underlined almost all the way through. From reading his underlined sections, I came to realize why Halfyard was so knowledgeable about the American and Canadian parliamentary systems. The material underlined also gave me insight into how his passion for history and politics may have germinated and grown.

For example, just in the first 30 pages of Corry and Hodgetts' (1959) text, he had underlined sections related to democracy and the need for volunteers (p. 12); the behaviour of men in political parties (p. 15); the need for the government to maintain a stable society (p. 16); the complexity of society and the need for social cooperation (p. 21); habits and common values passed from one generation to another (p. 22); historical background on the Greek and Roman civilizations (p. 24); the Western World democratic beliefs in individual freedom and social equality (pp. 24–25); discussion about the ideals of democratic government talk of “God and the need to Serve Truth and Goodness” (p. 25); the need for individual personality and religious tolerance (p. 26); and democracy as a framework of order to serve the needs of humanity. Throughout there was periodic criticism of communist thoughts and practices (p. 26). There were also chapters on the civil service (p. 475) and the functions of local government (p. 613). Those themes reflect ideas being promoted during that particular period in Canadian history. They mirrored topics that Halfyard frequently discussed and debated at home and in school.

The second course I asked about was Guidance 320. He only took one education course that year and could not remember much. This time I showed him a few texts including *Meeting Children's Emotional Needs: A Guide for Teachers* by Katherine D'Evelyn (1957). I suspected they were not specific course texts but from that timeframe. The visual stimuli appeared to jog his memory because that morning he remembered the professor's name. He remembered other details about the professor including how:

Audrey called him to see if I passed. He didn't have the best manners in the world; ignorant right to your face. He was from St. John's. He wasn't a young man, just a bit older than me. He may have been in WWII or the Korean War. He was Salvation Army. (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, September 17, 2017)

When I asked Audrey what possessed her to telephone her husband's professor she replied, "I guess I was at wit's end because your father was so stressed." (A. Halfyard personal communication, March 4, 2018). In retrospect, Halfyard does acknowledge that he, as well as a few other older experienced teachers, butted heads with the professor on a number of occasions. A review of findings in a study of Memorial University by Malcolm MacLeod (1990) suggests that Newfoundland-born professors were sometimes noted to be more condescending and judgmental to outport-born students than were foreign-born professors (p. 41).

Halfyard got 55% in that course. I did not locate any of the texts from the course reference list which included: *Mental Hygiene and Life* by Kaplan and Baron, *Principles and Methods of Guidance for Teachers* by Dunsmoor and Miller and *How to Counsel Students*, by Williamson (MUNCAL, 1960–1961, 134). However, I did find a number of student motivational books in his collection, which he must have purchased or been given because of general interest in those topics. One text was *Encouraging Children to Learn: The Encouragement Process* by psychologist-educators Kinkmeyer and Dreikurs (1963). As will be discussed in Chapter 9, motivating and encouraging students was a major focus for Halfyard throughout his teaching career. In the late 1970s, he even encouraged one of his staff, the physical education teacher, to go back to university to get a Masters degree in Guidance. By that time, guidance had become an important element to helping students make career choices. She went to UNB and completed the Masters degree in Guidance in the 1980s (Ward, March 28, 2013, p. 6).

Halfyard also took Canadian History 220 with Professor Panting, a man whom he always describes as having a "fantastic memory" (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication,

September 17, 2017). The university calendar describes the course as,

a study of the growth of the Canadian people. Economic and cultural, as well as political factors are discussed in relation to both French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians. The significance of sectionalism, colonialism, nationalism, and continentalism is examined. (MUNCAL, 1960–1961, p. 152)

Halfyard got a final mark of 59%. Two of the texts were *Canada: A Story of Challenge* by Careless and *Colony to Nation* by Lower (MUNCAL, 1960–1961, p. 152). I did not find either of those books among Halfyard’s collection. The geography and history courses Halfyard studied at university, and materials he continued to read throughout the years, suggest why so many colleagues and former students repeatedly described Halfyard as “very knowledgeable. He knew something about everything” (Ward, March 28, 2013, p. 8).

Extracurricular Activity – Debating and Leadership

Halfyard did not take part in any sports that year, but while browsing through *The Cap and Gown* he was reminded of his involvement with the MUN Student Teachers Executive.



Figure 46. MUN Student Teachers Executive 1960–1961. Halfyard second from left in back row (Courtesy of Memorial University of Newfoundland, *The Cap and Gown*, 1961, p. 79)

Invariably Halfyard would recount the following story about his involvement in a debating club event:

I was in the debating club. We used to go to the Annex to debate. I only took part in a few. We debated why we shouldn't wear academic gowns because of our native roots. Harold Paddock and I were on that side. We wore blankets into class for a period of time. We just took that as a discussion point. Our opposition was Bill Rowe and we took the skin off him. Jesus, I don't think he has ever liked me since. (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, September 17, 2017)

Halfyard could not remember who Bill Rowe's partner was in the debate. Harold Paddock, a second-year student, was Halfyard's partner. Paddock was only in his early twenties and had attended school in Roberts Arm, prior to Halfyard's arrival.³⁷ Another detail that Halfyard would usually add to that story was how they were kicked out of class for being "academically naked" when they wore blankets to a class taught by the university's renowned British-born Dean Emeritus, A. C. Hunter (Morgan, 1991). Perhaps more revealing was another detail Halfyard mentioned in a previous interview: "We were trying to break an old custom that . . . shouldn't be there" (Halfyard, June 16, 2015, p. 21). At that time, Memorial University students were still required to wear academic gowns to class.

Geography – A Lifelong Passion

Besides Professor M. O. Morgan's political science course, the highlight of Halfyard's year, in terms of coursework, were the two geography courses he took from William F. Summers. The first course, An Introduction to Geography 101 was described in the Memorial University calendar as:

the idea and principles of modern geography. An analysis of man's inter-relationship with his environment – physical, cultural and economic. The various elements of the environment, physical, cultural and economic. The various elements of the environment,

³⁷ Paddock along with John Lundrigan and Bill Rowe were members of the Council of Students' Union that year (MUN Yearbook, 1961, p. 76).

topography, climate, soils, natural resources, population composition and distribution, cultural patterns and industrial regimes are examined for specific reasons. An examination is made of the influence of these elements on man and his activities, and conversely, of man's role in altering his environment. (MUNCAL, 1960–1961, p. 145)

He must have really enjoyed the course because his final grade was 86%. The second course, Practical Geography 201, was described as an introduction to cartography, air photo interpretation, and geographic field techniques. His grade in the course was 66%. The course included “theory and practice of elementary map-making and the interpretation of the physical and cultural landscape from topographic maps and aerial photographs” (MUNCAL, 1960–1961, p. 145). While I did not find a specific textbook for that course, I did discover a neatly rolled bundle of colourful maps (population, isopleths, contour and land-use survey maps) which Halfyard had learned how to design in the geography mapping labs. This may partially explain why Halfyard loved maps and always kept one or two atlases on the coffee table in his home.

In the course, Halfyard and the 15 or so geography students were also taught skills and “techniques of geographical investigation as a basis for regional reports, land-use programs, resource utilization and national planning policy formation” (MUNCAL 1960–1961, p. 145; Macpherson, 2000). It was W. F. Summers' first year teaching at Memorial, but he had taught cartography, air photo interpretation, human and economic geography and conservation at McGill for 10 years. Summers was hired by M. O. Morgan, the Dean of Arts and Sciences at Memorial in 1960, “to establish geography as a research field” (Webb, 2016, p. 256). Due to the shortage of trained geographers in the province, Summers started by promoting the development of physical geography and practical fieldwork for students. The new department grew from a faculty of one in 1960 to 17 faculty with four majors (Physical Geography, Economic Geography, Cultural/Historical Geography and an Honours Degree) being offered by 1972 (Mather, 2013; Morgan, 1994).

When Halfyard finished university at the end of April, he got a chance to put what he had learned in the geography courses into practice. He stated, “I worked with the federal and provincial government, was doing land-use surveys, under the leadership of Dr. Summers” (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 18). Summers and his team of graduate and undergraduate student fieldworkers were hired by the provincial Department of Natural Resources and later received funding from the Agricultural and Rural Development Act (ARDA) to carry out physical, social, and economic research, especially in economically distressed areas (Webb, 2016, p. 257). Halfyard was one of three crew members, including an artist, who conducted land-use survey work in the Clarendville area. Halfyard recalls how they used aerial photographs to design maps.

The focus of Summers’ geography courses explains why Halfyard was able to understand the social, geographical, economic, and historical indicators needed to assess the vital signs and industrial development potential of regions. Halfyard had at least three regional reports among his papers including the *Baie Verte Peninsula Regional Study 1960* and the *Potential for Growth: Report of the Baie Verte Peninsula Task Force* (July 1982). In 1991, he was hired to oversee the research and development of the ACOA-sponsored *Green Bay IAS Committee Report* (1991). The report, which was presented to the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission for an Industrial Adjustment and Services Program in May of 1992, included a labour profile survey plus a training needs survey for displaced forestry and mining workers in the region. The study also examined the future potential of the mining industry for the Green Bay/Baie Verte Peninsula area.

The depth of the knowledge gained in the geography and history courses may also partially explain his lifelong passion for anything geography-related. Chapter 9 will explore how the two full-year geography courses Halfyard took in 1960–61, plus the three full-year

geography course he took at MUN in 1967–1978, laid a solid foundation in geographical practices and principles needed for some of the community development strategies he later employed. It also provides insight into Halfyard’s knowledge of and passion for geography that he was able to pass along to the thousands of students he taught over the years.

Wrapping Up the Year

On the home front, they packed up their furniture and belongings sometime in late April and Halfyard travelled with Audrey and the children back to Port Anson where they lived in her Uncle Newt’s house for the summer. Halfyard returned to St. John’s where he boarded with their friends, the Normores, when he was not out doing fieldwork for Dr. Summers in the Clarendville area. To make extra money to support the family, Halfyard did gardening work for Dr. Summers on Saturdays and sold tailor-made suits door to door in the evenings for the White Clothing Company out of Montreal. He was forced to quit the land-use survey job when he discovered that he was short a course to qualify for his next grade and higher pay scale.

Thus, in July, he flew to Moncton on a milk run via Halifax and PEI. From there, he hitch-hiked to Sackville, New Brunswick, where he did the English 200 course at Mount Allison University. On his return home in late August, he hitch-hiked back to North Sydney where he caught the ferry and then hitch-hiked to Deer Lake. He borrowed \$5 from his mother to pay for his bus pass. He stayed around Bonne Bay for a week to visit and earn more money by selling suits to help pay for his family’s passage from Port Anson to La Scie, where he, much to my mother’s chagrin, had accepted a position as principal.

A sixth course he took that year was the dreaded French 100, a requirement for graduation. Halfyard’s transcript indicated “ABS” which meant that he was permitted a deferred exam. He would drop the course for a third time in 1967–68. He had at least six French texts in

his possession, but he admits that he did not attend many classes. For some reason, he seemed to have an aversion to learning French.

Inside the jacket of the 1959 intermediate French textbook, *Lectures Variées*, which had essays written by Molière, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Hugo, among others, Halfyard had written his name and address. On the dedication page, he had printed under the author's dedication,

TO MY WIFE

The Woman I Love

But

Cannot Master

That year, Audrey had also clearly come a long way in gaining confidence and learning about other worlds and other possibilities.

CHAPTER 7: A CULTURE AND PEOPLE IN TRANSITION, MID-CAREER YEARS (1961–1967)

Uniformity and cultural conformity enveloped the Province. (Rowe, 1980, p. 525)

We like to think of ourselves as autonomous and inner-directed, that who we are and how we act is something permanently set by our genes and our temperament. But if you add up the examples of Salesmen and Connectors, of Paul Revere's ride and Blue's Clues and the Rule of 150 and the New York subway cleanup and the Fundamental Attribution of Error, they amount to a very different conclusion about what it means to be human. We are actually powerfully influenced by our surroundings, our immediate context, and the personalities of those around us. (Gladwell, 2000/2002, p. 258–259)

Introduction

On the surface this chapter is about the economic developments which brought about social and cultural change to the people on the Baie Verte Peninsula. However, for my purposes, it is about what Halfyard learned from the first six years he lived on the Baie Verte Peninsula in the 1960s. This chapter is informed by Malcolm Gladwell's "theory of Tipping Points" (2002, p. 257) as well as networking and "social capital" leadership development approaches (Burbaugh & Kaufman, 2017; Van De Valk & Constanas, 2011). It is about what Halfyard observed and how his observations attest to "how acutely sensitive we are to even the smallest details of everyday life" (Gladwell, 2000/2002, p. 259). Subsequently, it is about "finding and reaching those few special people who hold so much social power" and how knowledge gained can later be used as a bedrock or foundation for later collective action (258–259). Ultimately, it is about "Connectors," school principals like Halfyard, who, because they had "a foot in so many different worlds," were able to take what they gleaned and proactively foster change (Gladwell, 2000/2002, p. 51).

The focus of this chapter is about the people and their culture in transition. I will unpack the institutional factors and influences which stimulated socioeconomic development and brought profound social changes to the lifestyle of people living on the Baie Verte Peninsula.

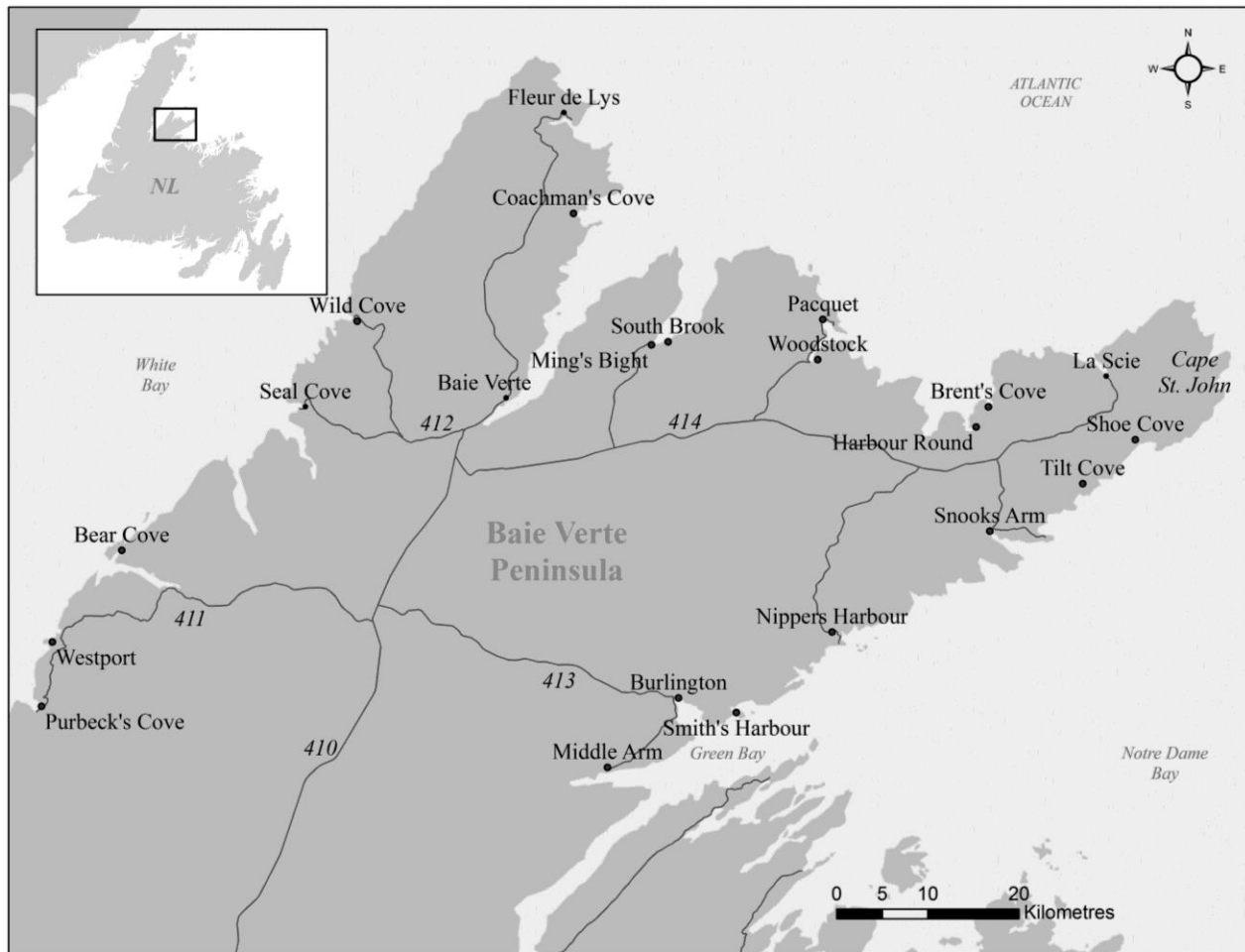


Figure 47. Map of Baie Verte Peninsula
(Map by Myron King; Copyright 2018, Environmental Policy Office, Grenfell Campus, Memorial University of Newfoundland)

Throughout, I share narrative accounts from Halfyard and other interview participants about key ‘critical events’ they remember from those days (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 71). I examine how societal factors and pervasive ideas of the ‘sixties decade’ played out at the institutional, collective and personal levels; I consider how they continued to shape and re-shape Halfyard’s goals, self-image and desire to take on leadership roles (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 60; Portelli, 1991, p. 70). I compare or juxtapose my case study subject’s lived experiences in the traditional fishing village of La Scie with his golden years teaching in the modern copper mining town of Tilt Cove. More specifically, I examine the collective (community and school) from the

‘personal’ level, through the lens and narrative accounts of A. Job Halfyard, other naturalized residents, and newcomers who moved to the region for work. I look at leadership from above (government, corporate, industrial, and other institutions, e.g., churches) as compared to leadership from below, at the local or community level (Rediker, 2010).

In many ways Halfyard, who at this point was in his early thirties, was still in the learning/observation phase of his career path trajectory or what Inman (2018, p. 12) called the “Development” and “Consolidation” sub-phase; he was moving into the “Incumbency” stage of self actualization and wanting “the best for the school.” Increased effectiveness, not leadership per se, was his central motivation (Day & Bakioglu, 1996, p. 213). Halfyard had just completed a third year of formal post-secondary education at Memorial University along with a summer session at Mount Allison University in New Brunswick. Halfyard’s innate interest in the daily lives and socioeconomic activities of rural people and places was stimulated by the new ideas he gained in the geography courses he took at Memorial. The land survey study work he did for Dr. Summers in the Random Island and Clarendville areas also heightened his awareness of government plans and policies for the development of rural communities. Meanwhile, the still fresh sting of being dismissed from his teaching position in Roberts Arm caused him to hold back, assess the lay of the land in La Scie, and concentrate on the educational needs of the students. The La Scie year (1961-1962) and Tilt Cove years (1962-1967), like his Port Anson and early Roberts Arm years, were a fairly long and stable period for Halfyard.

Section I: Institutional Forces

After the end of the Second World War, Newfoundland, like societies and states elsewhere, was driven – perhaps consumed – by insistence that citizenship in liberal democracies had to bring real material benefits and include all citizens in the mainstream of society. . . . In Canada, both federal and provincial governments embraced that new philosophy, driven in large part by demands from citizens themselves – that the state had

to address the social and economic injustices they faced. There emerged in Canada a commitment to notions of social rights, that all citizens should enjoy a reasonably common set of social welfare programs, a reasonably similar standard of living, and similar access to modern public service. This would all strengthen the level of attachment to the nation. (Blake, 2015, p. 103)

Atlantic Leaders' Regional Priorities – 1960s a Pivotal Decade

According to Raymond Blake (2015), Della Stanley (1993/2001), and other historians, the federal government was under pressure from poorer provincial governments to address “regional disparity” throughout the 1960s (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 429). The Newfoundland government, like the rest of Atlantic Canada, had limited financial resources and needed Ottawa to provide money, or “federal aid,” to address underdevelopment, infrastructure needs and the still massive “gap between regional and national living standards” (Blake, 2015, p. 123; Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 422).

Atlantic Canadian leaders formed the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council (APEC) in the late 1950s in an effort to prioritize needs and consolidate a united front for negotiations with Ottawa. Smallwood dropped out of the Atlantic Premiers' group in 1965, preferring to negotiate directly with Ottawa (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 424). In addition to establishing fiscal policies, the priorities of the 1960s were to establish “modern infrastructure services – power, roads, industrial parks, bridges, wharves, and water-pollution controls” (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 426). A main goal of Atlantic Canadian leaders was to develop the infrastructure needed to attract corporate developers. In turn, they set-up industries that capitalized on the natural resources of a region and provided salaried employment with a goal of stimulating the economy, and improving the standard of living for local people. In an effort to address mounting development costs associated with modernization, the federal government introduced the ‘Roads to Resources’ program in the early 1960s (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 427). The program provided \$30 million to

each province, plus other special non-renewable grants to build new roads to areas identified as having potential for resource development.

The Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE), discussed in the next chapter, was created in 1969 to address ongoing regional disparity that was being compounded by a global period of economic slowdown marked by rising costs, failing markets and rising unemployment (Stanley, 1993/2001, pp. 428–429). While government officials and policy leaders were pursuing financial avenues, local community leaders, church leaders, private contractors, and other organizations were lobbying for their share of the jobs and services promised by government officials as part of modernization and the development of a “modern industrial state” (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 421).

Government concerns about alternative employment prospects intensified in the 1960s and 1970s because children born during the global post-war baby boom would soon enter the workforce. While there were some improvements in employment opportunities, income levels, health care, and municipal services in Newfoundland, like the rest of Atlantic Canada, still had a long way to go to reach national living standards (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 422). The fact that Newfoundland had the highest birth rate in Canada, was underdeveloped, had a poor tax base, and limited industrial development compounded matters. The Smallwood government feared a return to high unemployment rates of the Depression years. They also feared a massive out-migration of able-bodied Newfoundlanders to mainland Canada and the United States.³⁸

Canadian and American military bases, which provided paying jobs to Newfoundlanders from

³⁸ Fred Rowe, a long-time Cabinet Minister (1952–1971) with the Smallwood Liberal government, wrote how the only time there was enough work to meet Newfoundland needs was during “the artificial and temporary prosperity of the great wars” (Rowe, 1980, p. 491). Richard Gwyn in his 1968 biography of Smallwood noted how “By the autumn [1950], thirty thousand were unemployed, one-third of them ineligible for unemployment insurance and destitute” (Gwyn, 1968, p. 139). Rowe (1980) clarified how the problem “was aggravated by the seasonal nature of three of Newfoundland’s most important industries – the fisheries, logging and construction” (p. 512).

the 1940s into the mid-1960s, were closing (Conrad, 1993/2001, p. 382). The provincial government knew they had to diversify the economy and create more permanent employment to address the needs of a growing population as well as the historic unemployment problems associated with the traditional fishing economy (Rowe, 1980, p. 492). Throughout the early to mid-1950s, Royal Commissions related to the fishery (1951), forestry (1954), and agriculture (1955) provided recommendations and identified possibilities.

The ‘growth centre’ approach being promoted by the Canadian government, better known as “resettlement” in Newfoundland, was expanded in the 1960s (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 429). Cash incentives and technical assistance were provided for infrastructure projects, entrepreneurial expansion, and modernization in high-unemployment districts and designated growth centres like the Baie Verte Peninsula. Unemployment had risen in the area as men and women once employed in military base towns returned home and assumed their former subsistence livelihood or sought government welfare assistance. Stanley (1993/2001) examined how the growth centre approach, which was designed to concentrate industry in key central locations, became somewhat “helter-skelter developments determined more by political necessity and human sympathy than economic evaluation and practicality” (429). Michael Kirby argued “the growth centre approach proved to be both bad politics and bad economics” (Kirby, 1975 as cited in Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 429). While some historians argue that, “It left too many people . . . out of the infrastructure sweepstakes” others contend it made the Atlantic region more “heavily dependent on the financial resources of Ottawa” (429). Halfyard experienced how those factors played out in more marginalized end-of-the-road communities like La Scie.

The special review issue of *The Newfoundland Record* distributed by the provincial government in 1964, shows how government rhetoric and ideology encouraged rural people to

give up the “elemental simplicity” of their old “social and economic values” and to buy into the “revolutionary,” “more sophisticated” or progressive habits and thoughts of the “new mobility” (Perlin, 1964, p. 7). The special issue, which focused on the principal changes in the social, economic and financial progress of the province, was in Halfyard’s private book collection.

The socio-economic changes happening throughout the Canadian heartland and coastal regions were similar to what was happening in other rural regions of the Western World. For example, in *Critical Regionalism and Cultural Studies: From Ireland to the American Midwest*, Cheryl Herr (1996) described the rural to urban population shift as “cultural guerrilla war” against regional people and places (Herr, 1996, p. 125). Her examination of the impact of institutional and social forces on the shift from the small family farm and fishing societies to the larger, more commercial and technologically advanced industrial “capital consolidation” models is similar to what was happening in outport Newfoundland (Herr, 1996, p. 113, 115). Herr argued the changes were being engineered by “modern architect[s]” with “global economic agendas” to consolidate wealth among a small group of global capitalists (1996, pp. 13, 23, 128).

Smallwood’s Vision for Baie Verte Peninsula

In January 1961, the Smallwood government convened a conference on the Baie Verte Peninsula’s progress and potential in order to develop policies for future development of the region. A few months earlier, the *Baie Verte Peninsula Regional Study 1960* (BVPRS) was released by the Newfoundland Department of Municipal Affairs and Supply, Provincial Planning Office. With the groundwork study completed and the long-range plan formulated, the provincial government began the long and expensive process of investing in industrial development—building roads and modern schools as well as a centralized hospital with the goal of improving the standard of living of people in the area (Philbrook, 1963, p. 27; BVPRS, 1960, p. 57).

M. J. Boylen – Baie Verte Peninsula Mining Magnate

The Baie Verte Peninsula was, in many ways, like Labrador, a key region identified by the Smallwood government for mining and industrial development in the early 1950s (Gwyn, 1968, p. 286). In 1955, the Newfoundland government made “significant concession agreements” for most of the Baie Verte Peninsula with M. James Boylen, a 48-year-old mining magnate from New Brunswick (Martin, 1983/1998, p. 84).³⁹ Despite criticisms from both local and national mining individuals and companies, the provincial government advanced land grants to Boylen’s Maritimes Mining Corp. Ltd. to hasten the opening of several known mineral deposits. With considerable support from the provincial government, Boylen was able to open six mines in the Green Bay/Baie Verte Peninsula region from 1957 to 1967 (Martin, 1983/1998, p. 86). They reopened copper mines in Tilt Cove (1957–1967), and Little Bay (1961–1969), and opened new copper mines in Rambler (1964–1982), Whalesback (1965–1972) and Gull Pond (1967–1971). They also opened the Advocate Mines Ltd. asbestos mine in Baie Verte (1963–1981). Gold became a valued by-product of the copper mine operations. The mines employed upwards of 1,200 workers during the 1960s into the 1970s, and created extensive spin-off work in the construction and the service industries.

Experienced managers, engineers, foremen and trades people were brought in from other parts of Canada and the world to setup the new mining operations. They also trained the local workforce. In addition to the roads and other infrastructure, plus the health and education facilities the government built to meet the needs of workers and their families, private enterprise

³⁹ In the 1950s and 1960s the Newfoundland provincial government signed more mining-related legislation than in the entire preceding century. With the passing of the Undeveloped Mineral Areas Act of 1952 the Smallwood government repossessed mineral land that it deemed had “lain fallow for years” with the goal of advancing mining exploration and development in the province (Martin, 1998/1983, p. 85). Some fee-simple grant owners lost their property while others mysteriously retained possession of their holdings, which they could sell personally.

grew. A bank, grocery stores, building supply stores, barber shops, beauty salons, restaurants, and hotels were started by local entrepreneurs or people from outside who recognized a good business opportunity. Modern recreational facilities were also needed to meet the lifestyle standards of those moving in from more urban and semi-urban areas. Building the infrastructure did not happen overnight, however; mining companies had the financial resources and capacity to set up more rapidly.

Section II: Geography and History of the Baie Verte Peninsula

Every community in the Baie Verte Peninsula is situated on the coastline. It is small wonder therefore that coastal trade and transportation is the artery to which these communities owe their existence. (GOVNL, 1960, p. 43)

Demographic and Settlement Patterns

Maps and tables from the BVPRS indicate that 55 tiny fishing, logging and mining communities dotted the specified region of Green Bay/White Bay in 1956 (BVPRS, 1960, p. 9). Over a 250-year period, coastal communities were extremely isolated and developed slowly because of geography and climate (BVPRS, 1960, p. 25; Miller Pitt, 1981, p. 110). Settlement growth was extremely slow in the first half of the 20th century because of the lull in coastal mining activity. Considering the size of the landmass, the peninsula was sparsely populated well into the 1950s, even along the coastline. The total estimated population for the Baie Verte Peninsula in 1956 was 11,739 (BVPRS, 1960, p. 27).⁴⁰

⁴⁰ As of 2016 twenty-three communities still existed on the Baie Verte Peninsula proper with a total population of 5,366 people. The Green Bay portion, as identified in the BVPRS, now has nineteen communities with a total population of 7,850 people (Harris Centre, 2018). Together that equates to a total of 42 communities, down from 55 in 1956, for a total population of 13,200 people (Simms & Ward, 2017, pp. 43, 47). There are thirteen fewer communities in the region, but, the population has remained stable.

Labour Force Concerns/Factors

In 1960, the provincial government predicted that there would be a shortage of employment available on the Baie Verte Peninsula if the present trends of “natural growth of the population,” plus in-migration after the war years, was to continue (BVPRS, 1960, p. 26–28; 33). The study showed that families with more than six children were increasing and a growing number of males, under the age of 15, were predicted to enter the workforce within a few years.

The study did not seem to take seriously the surplus of able-bodied married and unmarried women capable of entering the workforce. Instead it acknowledged:

There is no estimate in the survey of present female labour force since there are but few opportunities for employment of women in the Peninsula other than those available in the cleaning and curing of fish and this work is largely carried out on a family basis. In consequence there is a tendency for the younger unmarried women to migrate from the Peninsula. (BVPRS, 1960, p. 28)

The study did state that more unmarried females would stay in the area once more economic opportunity was developed.

The total estimated labour force included 3,052 males between the ages of 19 and 65, plus 566 females, for a total of 3,618 potential workers in 1961. They predicted those figures would rise to 4,895 males plus 1,080 females, for a total of 5,975 workers, to enter the labour force by 1976. The estimated amount of employment available in the region, however, was only 3,050 in 1961 for a surplus of 568 workers. By 1976, the surplus of able-bodied workers without jobs would grow to 1,725 if no further employment was created in the region (BVPRS, 1960, p. 33). The government needed to address the issues. In the short term, they estimated road construction would provide seasonal employment for the male labour force on the Peninsula (BVPRS, 1960, p. 29). They also looked to education and out-migration to address the issues. Another major concern of government planners was the seasonal nature of work in the region

which revolved around centuries old-subsistence fisheries practices. The study showed approximately three quarters of the males working on the peninsula only worked part-time or on a seasonal basis (BVPRS, 1960, p. 33).

Resource-Based Industries

Throughout the war and post-war years, woods operations employed up to 450 men in the area (Philbrook, 1962, p. 26–27). By 1956, it was estimated that 1,108 male residents of the Peninsula were employed on a part-time basis in the forestry industry. This equated to 650 full-time positions. The government had major concerns with the seasonal part-time nature of the logging industry:

the average time spent in the woods by individual woodsmen is about 70 days, or 10 weeks, and this period of work earns the individual somewhere in the region of \$500. This sum is apparently sufficient ready cash which, together with cheap housing, free fuel, and local food resources, such as fish, moose-meat, and, in some cases, vegetables, is sufficient to provide for marginal living in small communities. (BVPRS, 1960, p. 32)

The provincial government felt that best way to improve the general standard of living of the inhabitants of the Peninsula was for woods workers to be employed for 30 weeks instead of 10 weeks (BVPRS, 1960, p. 32). Unfortunately, the introduction of the chainsaw in 1954, other mechanization of equipment, the forest fires of the early 1960s, spruce budworm infestation, and changes in world markets in the 1970s, all negatively impacted the logging industry. By 1982, only 150 men were employed at the Bowaters operation out of Baie Verte (BVPTF, 1982, pp. 50, 53; Philbrook, 1962, p. 118).

Meanwhile, mining exploration of the late 1950s resulted in the opening of the Baie Verte asbestos mine and mill operated by Advocate Mines Ltd in 1963. The next year, the Consolidated Rambler Mines, located near Ming's Bight, opened a copper mining operation. Those mines helped give the Town of Baie Verte new economic direction away from forestry

and logging. The population rose from 958 people in 1961 to 2,528 by 1976 as skilled professionals moved into the town and families from fishing villages relocated there for full-time employment (Horan, 1981, p. 108). While almost half of the labour force was employed by mining operations, the provincial government became the second major employer, as nurses, doctors, clerical and maintenances staff were needed for the M. J. Boylen Hospital, which opened on October 6, 1964 (BVPHCC, 1989). The number of regular day school teachers also grew as more families moved into the community. Social workers and other government service offices were also established in the ‘growth centre.’ Private entrepreneurial opportunities for a grocery store, gas station, building supply store, as well as restaurant and other service sector-related businesses, attracted new people. Similarly, the opening of a District Vocational School in 1973 to train workers for the new economy meant the hiring of teachers, office workers, and maintenance staff (BVPTF, 1982, p. 83).

In the next two sections, Halfyard and other interview participants explain how the government and industry initiatives played out in the fishing village of La Scie and the mining town of Tilt Cove.

Section III: The La Scie Year (1961–1962)

Cultural stories provide exemplars of lives, heroes, villains, and fools as they are embedded in larger cultural and social frameworks, as well as stories about home, community, society and humankind. Morality and cautionary tales instruct the young and control the adult. Stories of one’s “people” – as chosen or enslaved, conquerors or victims – as well as stories about one’s nation, social class, gender, race, or occupation affect morale, aspirations, and personal life changes. These are not “simple” stories but are narratives that have real consequences for the fates of individuals, communities, and nations. (Richardson, 1997, p. 32; McClland, 1961)

Setting Sail for La Scie (1961–1962)

Halfyard and his family arrived in Tilt Cove, en route to La Scie via Audrey’s Uncle

Newt's passenger boat, the *Miss Beaumont*, in August of 1961. Newt did not sail into La Scie because he had a fear of sailing around the infamous Cape St. John headland. As mentioned earlier, Halfyard's 24-year-old wife and their six young children had spent the summer living in her Uncle Newt's house, up the hill from her mother's house in Port Anson while Halfyard was at Mount Allison completing the English course he needed to move up the teacher pay scale.



Figure 48. Painting of *Miss Beaumont* passenger boat by Ford Winsor, 1985
(Courtesy of the Burton family)

Teaching Options

Back in the spring, when Halfyard was still a student at Memorial University, he was offered a number of teaching positions. One offer was from the local school board in the tiny fishing village of Nippers Harbour located on the Green Bay side of the Baie Verte Peninsula. The school board, for the two-room United Church school in the village, “offered a free house and all the fish you could eat for free” (Halfyard, personal communication, August, 2012). Instead, Halfyard chose a teaching position in La Scie, a government designated ‘growth centre’ which was just on the cusp of electrification and modernization. In some ways, the job was the kind of stepping stone to schools in larger communities with more students and larger teaching

staff that many aspiring school principals choose in the path to career advancement. Halfyard's wife speculated that her husband was drawn to La Scie because his father had been the manager for the Fisheries Products Ltd. fish plant there. The plant went into operation during the war years because of the demand for fish from Britain (Cuff, R., 1984, p. 122). George Halfyard ran the plant for the May to November fishing season for three or four years. Job Halfyard, who was in his early teens, saw very little of his father during those years. We know this included the summer of 1941 because George Halfyard met 18-year-old Otto Tucker, from Winterton, Trinity Bay, when he got off the coastal boat in Shoe Cove.

Tucker, who later became a well-respected educator in Memorial's Faculty of Education, was on his way to La Scie to teach at the one-room Salvation Army school. Many years later Tucker wrote poignant accounts about La Scie in his 1984 collection of stories, *From the Heart of a Bayman*. There was the story "Forth to La Scie with the Torch of Truth" and "No Place More Christmas-y than La Scie Back in 1942!" which captured, in his insightful yet comic ways, nuances of La Scie of former years.⁴¹

Most teachers interviewed for this study found their way to La Scie because of kinship connections. Many were born and raised on the Northeast Coast of the province. Some also came because the government gave isolation bonuses to communities that were more northerly or located on islands (GOVNL, 1967, p. 125). Among the 44 teachers interviewed for the 1967 *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth*, many noted the "friendliness of the

⁴¹ George Halfyard supposedly walked with the new teacher the 4.4 miles (7 kilometres) from Shoe Cove to his boarding house at the Hewlett's in La Scie. The Hewlett family were one of the more industrious trap-skiff fishing boat operators who took on leadership roles in the community (Tilley, D., July 20, 2012). Young Otto Tucker was fresh out of completing his six-week Summer School Teacher Training Program at Memorial College when he was hired to be the teacher/preacher at the one-room Salvation Army School in La Scie (Tucker, 1984). Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the popular banquet speaker and folk personality, was invited back to La Scie for graduation and speech night ceremonies (Cuff, R., 1994, p. 435). There he inspired high school students and regaled parents and grandparents with humorous tales of bygone days in the community.

people” and having “pleasant memories” of teaching in remote locations. They also commented on “the higher status accorded the teachers and the opportunities for leadership” (p. 125).

Still Antiquated Living Situations

Halfyard recalls how Dormie Burton, a local man from La Scie, drove first the family, then their furniture, the 8 miles (12.5 kilometres) from the mining town of Tilt Cove to the fishing village of La Scie. Dormie would have been one of the few people who owned a pickup truck or a vehicle of any sort on the Baie Verte Peninsula. The road to La Scie, one of the few on the peninsula, was built shortly after the Tilt Cove mine was reopened in 1957. Most travel between communities was still by boat. Regular coastal boat service delivered supplies and people to La Scie via three different coastal boats and routes at least twice a week for nine months of the year (BVPRS, 1960, p. 23). Halfyard talked about the precarious travel and housing situations which negatively affected teacher recruitment for isolated places like La Scie (GOVNL, 1967, p. 125):

I came to La Scie in 1961. At that time, we had to go to Tilt Cove and unload and hire a pickup and bring the things over to the house that they had for me as principal of the school. I suppose you could call it a house. What they had generally in rural Newfoundland for teachers was something they had shifted out, that the normal people didn't use. And that's what they had for the teachers. How can you expect tenure to come from that? (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 2)

That year Halfyard rented an old two-storey house that belonged to R. F. Bartlett, a prominent local merchant. Bartlett's wife, in keeping with her husband's position, was a leading member of the United Church. The house was up the road from the Bartlett general store and the wharf where they moored their 20-ton schooner that collected fish from and supplied goods to the Horse Islands and Brent's Cove (LeMessurier, 1990, p. 24). The new bungalow was just like their winter home in St. John's. Audrey recalled:

We lived in Bartlett's old house. It wasn't a cold house. It was an old house. We did have

running water and we had electricity, so we were pretty well off there, I thought anyway. We had three stoves in that house. I was quite comfortable there. . . . Every night at 10 o'clock Mr. Bartlett would turn off the generator. You had to light your lamp if you were going to stay up. And he was very good. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 15)

My parents were fortunate; the Bartletts had installed an indoor toilet and bathtub in their old house as well as their new modern bungalow. That was a welcome bonus since the Halfyard children had become accustomed to such luxuries in St. John's.



Figure 49. Bath time at the Halfyard house in La Scie 1962
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Mr. Bartlett also owned a Delco generator and shared power with a few families who lived nearby. Hence, my parents had electricity for lights but not enough power to run a refrigerator. Yet, it did allow my mother to use the wringer washer they had converted from gas to electric when they lived in St. John's, and my parents always had their Tilley lamps ready for back up when the generator was turned off at 10 p.m. My father's memories of the Bartlett house were different than my mother's however,

It was cold. It was damp. The floors were bad. I used to say the only way to get to the stove with wood was to run uphill – where the floor was giving out in the old house. We

survived the winter and I swore I would never cut another junk of wood (because you had to supply your own wood). I had Mr. Bartlett bring in a ton of coal to go with the green wood because you couldn't get any heat from green wood. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 2)

Well into the late 1970s, new teachers renting houses in rural towns needed a supply of wood for the winter. Halfyard lamented having to cut six cords of wood with a bucksaw in just three days that fall. Using a horse and sleigh, he hauled the wood from near Tilt Cove branch to La Scie with the help of two high school students. One of those students went on to become a teacher. Halfyard, who was 30-years-old at that time, swore, "I'll never cut another junk of wood as long as I live"— and he didn't (Halfyard, June 8, 2013). Every Newfoundlander knew that freshly cut logs or green wood, gave off poor heat. It needed a year to sit and dry. Young come-from-away teachers who were prone to change jobs every few years did not always have the luxury, knowledge or time for proper firewood preparation.

Perhaps because of his training in Geography and experience in community development in later years, Halfyard succinctly identified the following factors that needed to be addressed in La Scie in 1961: a) the need for "good road/communications"; b) the development of industries, especially renewable resource-based industries; and, c) the role of education. He emphasized, "You must have the education to develop a viable industry" (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 2). In the following sections, through the narrative accounts of Halfyard plus other local and come-from-away residents, I examine how those three critical factors were bringing major changes to La Scie and its people. I start by examining the challenges and goals Halfyard identified in his role as principal of the all-grade United Church school.

Principal of Six-room All-Grade School – Educational Goals and Challenges

When Halfyard arrived in La Scie in 1961 he was an experienced school principal in his mid-career, with nine years of teaching experience and fresh ideas acquired from a year of study

at university. He recalls:

I had a marvellous group of kids in Grades 9, 10, and 11. I always said that I wasn't a good teacher; I was a good driver. I drove those kids mercilessly, because there were only five or 10 students in La Scie that had ever gone to Grade 11. And I said, "This has got to change." I only knew of one that had gone to Grade 11, from Shoe Cove, and there were only four or five in La Scie. You're talking about over 1,000 people. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, pp. 1–2)

Halfyard identified the following six educational issues that he felt needed addressing that year:

low student attendance rates, poor school facilities, no school library, limited social or recreational activity for students, poorly trained teachers who lacked vested interest in the well-being of their students, and an outdated denominational school system that propagated the substandard duplication of services.

Compared to the other three places where Halfyard taught, very few students in La Scie attended or completed high school. He estimated there were about 250 children enrolled at the United Church school with most teenagers quitting in Grade 7 or 8 (Halfyard, October, 18, 2012, p. 16). There was also a two-room Salvation Army school and a one-room Roman Catholic school where upwards of 80 to 100 students attended school when he arrived in 1961 (LeMessurier, 1990, p. 26). While the Methodists originally built a school in La Scie in the late 1800s, none of the community's 36 children went to school. By 1911, there were 118 school-age children in the community but only 84 attended school.

Halfyard frequently expressed being "flabbergasted" by how the people of La Scie had a "totally different attitude" to schooling; he claimed "you could count on your two hands the number of students who completed Grades 9, 10 or 11" (Halfyard, May 17, 2017, p. 22). Formal schooling was still not highly valued by residents of La Scie who could learn the traditional knowledge for the fishing industry from their highly skilled parents (Corbett, 2007, pp. 91; Matthews, 1976, p. 38). Perhaps because of the stable nature of the fishery, as well as ongoing

mining and subsistence opportunities, the settlement did not have the high migration rates to urban centres for work that Halfyard saw in the Bonne Bay area. Therefore, they did not have the “perception” that formal education was necessary for survival or for life and work in other places (Corbett, 2007, 97). Halfyard, who had been socialized from a young age to value formal education, clarified why he believed education was still not a priority in La Scie:

I always had a fight going on with the plant manager [Claude Martin] from '61 until I retired. When May came, they would recruit the young people from the school because they needed them to work in the plant. To me, this was cruel. There should have been a working arrangement made whereby they could complete their education. I see the same thing happening in Alberta, although they've got the standard set at about a Grade 11 level. . . . The employers are arguing, “We'll do our own on-the-job training.”

But here, you either went out fishing with your father or your uncle, in their new boats, long-liners. Or you went in the plant, processing fish, working in the office or transport, or whatever it might be. The [vocational] training element was not there. A lot of the kids never finished their Grade 11. They had this nice bit of money to play around with, and that was important to those young people, but it never augured well for them later in life. (Halfyard, August 27, 2013, p. 9)

Boys traditionally went fishing with their fathers in early May and worked until September or October.⁴² According to Halfyard, because they missed so much school at the beginning and end of the school year, they were behind and were either too embarrassed or not motivated to return to school. This, combined with poor teaching, poor reading ability, and government policy dictating they had to repeat grades, contributed to many Grade 7 or 8 students in La Scie dropping out of school (GOVNL, 1967, p. 36). When the modern fish plant opened in July of 1960, some girls and the married women as well as some of the boys started working in the fish plants. Everyone made relatively good money and learned the skills needed on the job;

⁴² Apprenticeship legislation was not enacted by the federal and provincial governments until 1951 and although the College of Trades and Technology opened in St. John's in the fall of 1963 it would be 1967 before Federal-Provincial agreements were signed that provided enough money to build the 17 modern Trade Schools plus adult education upgrading centres to serve the needs of the multitude of young adults in rural areas of the province (Rowe, 1976, p. 114–115; Rowe, 1964, p. 212). It was 1973 before the District Vocational School was opened in Baie Verte (BVPTF, 1982, p. 83).

there was little incentive to stay in school.

Even though parents in La Scie did not seem to have a strong drive for their children to get a ‘good’ education, this did not mean that they were intellectually less capable. Halfyard explained how he spent a lot of time preparing lessons late into the evening that year and how he went above and beyond to help one promising high school student:

I had one girl in Grade 11, a Hamlyn girl, very bright. And her two pet subjects were Mathematics and French. I detested French with a passion, but realized that this girl could possibly get a scholarship for herself and be able to move on from La Scie to university.

So I sent in to St. John’s, to the Curriculum Section, and got the Dondo French course for Grade 11 translated. . . . So I had the questions and the answers. I used to sit down and take a section that she had to do that day or that week and let her do the work on her own. She knew the French, I didn’t. . . .

By the way, that girl in French, really with no instructor (just me as tutor), she got 88% in the provincial exams, and she won the White Bay scholarship. That was the first time anyone in this area ever won a scholarship. . . . She retired from 30 years of teaching and is living in Corner Brook now. (Halfyard, July 21, 2012, p. 6)

Likewise, Halfyard related how he took the initiative to make specific courses available for students over the years when he did not have a teacher on staff with the expertise to offer them. For example, in the early 1970s two female students in La Scie wanted to take biology because one needed the course for a nursing program and the other wanted to take Physical Education. Once again he acted as tutor and made sure the five or six students who ended up taking the course had what they needed for a self-study style course:

At that time, I got a lot of my information from Grant Collegiate in Springdale. And the last couple days before the exams, I brought their Biology teacher down from Springdale and let him work with my students on certain aspects, like they might be having trouble with genetics and things like that. Don Huxter came down and did a good job with the group. I think everyone in the Biology course passed the public exam. (Halfyard, July 21, 2012, p. 7)

Halfyard went on to articulate how “surely to god” there are inventive ways for preparing and delivering course material, especially with the technology available today, so that students in

more remote communities can have more options when the student population is not there to hire specialist teachers.

As the principal of the United Church school in La Scie, Halfyard was not just responsible for teaching the high school students, he was also responsible for overseeing the administrative needs of students and teachers from Kindergarten to Grade 11. The primary students were housed in a two-room school building while the elementary and high school students were located in another four-classroom wooden structure. Neither building was insulated, had indoor toilets, running water, or central heating. Thus, Halfyard identified the old poorly constructed school facilities as a problem that needed improvement. He summarized:

But the school was a real challenge. Again, you had to tackle the library. You had to tackle the physical needs of a lot of the kids. So, I started hockey with them and soccer with them, but mostly it was hockey because that year, the first year I was here, frost and snow came early. Also, we set up a Boys Club that they could attend once a week. Same as Trail Rangers and things like that. The most difficult thing was trying to work with teachers who were well intentioned but not well trained. Or teachers who fell into the job but were not made for the job. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 1)

Most of those challenges would take more than one year, or the efforts of more than one individual, to rectify. In essence, he felt the schooling problems were directly linked to the outdated denominational education system that propagated the building of smaller substandard all-grade schools run by small school boards without the training in education to make decisions that were in the best interest of the students. He emphasized,

you could take a camera and take a picture of three one-room schools in the one frame. Now how in the name of god could three of them be successful? If three of them were together there were things that could be done. . . . Poor schools, poor teachers, poor initiatives from the government. I guess that's what Mr. Warren, and to a greater extent maybe Premier Smallwood, was pushing for later. And thank god that they finally got guts enough to integrate the schools. I put out an initiative in the early seventies to have the educational facilities and resources combined in the La Scie-Brent's Cove-Harbour Round area. That's 15 years before it happened (or more). And my resignation was rumoured at being asked for, because I expounded this. I had calls from as high up as the Bishop to get my nose out of denominational education.

But I don't understand how you can train somebody to be a good thinker and good person in society operating within the framework within a church, and not being open-minded enough to recognize and accept others. That was foreign to me. Now, mind you, I sometimes made not good friends with people in the education side because I was like a bull in a china shop when it came to pushing an idea. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014a, p. 6)

It was 1967 before the government, as a result of the *Royal Commission Report on Education and Youth*, presented a unified front on the issues that Halfyard and other rural educators had been talking about for the previous decade (GOVNL, 1967, p. 76). In addition to some of the issues identified by Halfyard that report stated:

One of the basic problems of Newfoundland education is the large number of school boards in the Province serving relatively few students. A sparse population, denominational differences, community rivalries and the lack of adequate transportation and communication services. . . (GOVNL, 1967, p. 76)

After the introduction of the Education Act of 1960, the number of school boards peaked at 335 (Dibbon, Sheppard, & Brown, 2012, p. 220; Andrews, 1985b). This was partially due to the flurry of activity by church and school leaders to capitalize on the money being made available by the Federal Government for the provincial government to build and improve school facilities. Unfortunately, too many school board and church leaders saw it as an opportunity to build up their separate denominational empires rather than consolidating to provide better schooling for children in communities. Meanwhile, the government was finding it difficult to find the money to meet the demands for modern school buildings, hiring teachers or equipping the schools with curriculum resources (GOVNL, 1967, p. 75).

The educational challenges in La Scie were in many ways impacted by the traditions of the fishing economy, as well as, cultural beliefs, attitudes and practices which evolved to establish the “structure of community life” (Matthews, 1976, p. 10). Thus, an understanding of the topography and historical development of the community including: origins of settlers, their

ethnic and religious backgrounds, work, everyday life, and leadership patterns are needed in order to gain a better understanding of how those factors and other cultural values and traditions shaped the “collective life of the community” and general attitudes towards schooling (Portelli, 1991, p. 70; BVPRS, 1960, p. 32).

Historical Background – La Scie

La Scie is located near Cape St. John at the head of the Baie Verte Peninsula between White Bay and Notre Dame Bay on the Northeast Coast of Newfoundland. It is nestled in a large cove surrounded by steep cliffs which rise some 400 feet from the sea on the White Bay side of the Baie Verte Peninsula (Colbourne, 1991, p. 198). The French named the place La Scie, or ‘The Saw’ because of the jagged hills that resemble the teeth of a saw that you can see when you enter the cove.

La Scie was part of the French Shore, Le Petit Nord, which ran from about 1510 to 1904 when the French surrendered their rights to operate seasonal fishing stations in Newfoundland (Pope, 2013). The French, who mainly used La Scie for their migratory saltcod fishery from 1760–1883, were forbidden to stay year-round. Local history maintains that in 1826, Daniel Duggan became the first English resident to live in La Scie, and that he was hired by the French as a *gardien* to ensure, “the thievin’ English [in Shoe Cove] on the other side of the peninsula couldn’t get their hands on French property during seasonal absences” (Colbourne, 1991, p. 198). Permanent settlement was not encouraged on the French Shore which was regularly patrolled by French and English naval vessels (Cuff, 1991, p. 183). By the late 1700s, migratory English fisher families began moving into Shoe Cove and other nearby places such as Shoe Cove Bight, Venoms Bight, Caplin Cove and Beaver Cove on the Green Bay side of the Peninsula.

English settlers, attracted by the stretch of fairly level land around the La Scie harbour as

well as by excellent fishing grounds on the White Bay side of the Peninsula quickly moved into La Scie after the French stopped fishing there around 1883. By 189, the population of La Scie was 104. It rose to 429 in 1901 and stayed around that number through to the 1930s (Colbourne, 1991, p. 199). Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the population started to grow steadily. In 1951, there were 601 residents and by 1956 the number had grown to 773 residents. When Halfyard arrived in 1961, the population had reached 939 and went up 1,064 residents by 1966 (GOVNL, 1970, p. 22) (see Appendix C).

By 1941, most of the 490 citizens of La Scie belonged to the United Church. The local merchant families and prominent local leaders were mostly United Church members that followed conservative church practices.⁴³ They also owned most of the property on the waterfront. There was limited social interaction and virtually no intermarriage between Roman Catholic and Protestant families until the 1970s (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, May 23, 2018). Today, there are four churches in the town including a United Church, Salvation Army, Roman Catholic Church, and the Pentecostal Church which opened in June of 1968 as more people of that religion resettled to La Scie. One family of Seventh-day Adventist has lived in La Scie since the 1950s. The Anglican Church started to hold Sunday services out of the United Church building in the late 1960s (LSCHY, 2012, n.p.).

Modernized Fish Plant – 1960

According to Halfyard, La Scie was selected by government as a major growth centre because of its excellent fishing grounds, the land available for expansion, and good fresh water

⁴³ In 1961 there were nine family-oriented general stores or ‘shops’ in La Scie. Six were owned and operated by United Church families while three were owned and operated by Salvation Army followers. No Roman Catholic or Anglican families owned or operated shops in the 1960s or 1970s (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, May 23, 2018). Store owners, were knowledgeable and respected business and community leaders.

supply. By the 1930s two fish trading companies, Philip Templeman Ltd. and the Fishermen's Union Trading Co., operated in La Scie. The La Scie Cooperative Society started in the 1940s and had a membership of 148. The cooperative marketed as much as 14,000 quintals of salt cod a year before going bankrupt in the late 1950s (Colbourne, 1991).



Figure 50. La Scie from top of hills (fish plant on far side, water supply top left)
(Halfyard, S., c. 1985)

Fisheries Products Ltd. operated a fish plant there in the 1940s, which paid the fishermen three cents per pound for cod. Halfyard, who took part in a number of economic development committee reports on the Baie Verte Peninsula, argued that the rich renewable fishing resources of La Scie and area could provide economic stability and longevity for the peninsula:

To me, La Scie is one of the primary areas for the catching and processing of cod, mackerel, and herring (not lobster and that – that's the Gulf and southern reaches). Since 1940s, and before then, it was the first town on the changed French Shore. It was kept by men who came over from France and fished in the summer and went back in the winter. They never, ever settled here, but they came here because there was lots of fish, because the Hamilton Banks was putting out lots of cod spawn, which hatched and flowed down along the Northeast Coast. I'm going to be blunt, it has been squandered and destroyed by the federal government. (Halfyard, August 27, 2012, p. 9)

The *Royal Commission on Fisheries* released in the spring of 1953, identified La Scie as one of nine communities selected by the provincial government for the building of a modern fresh-frozen fish plant (Mensinkai, 1969; Rowe, 1980, p. 493; Wright, 2001, 52). In 1955, a nursing station was built in La Scie and a few years later the Department of Health stationed a

doctor there. The doctor used the Phillip F. Little health boat to provide medical service to other communities on the White Bay side of the Peninsula (BVPRS, 1960, p. 12). The government estimated La Scie could support a population of 3,000 to 4,000 thousand people. They “created an artificial harbour, laid out a town site, piped in water, built fish filleting and freezing plants, erected docking facilities, and invited fishermen from near and far to move there at public expense” (Colbourne, 1991, p. 199; BVPRS, 1960).

The La Scie plant was part of government initiative to establish fish plants for the processing of the fresh-frozen cod, that would professionalize the industry and replace the centuries old family salt cod processing industry (Horan, 1984, p. 160–162; Mensinkai, 1969, pp. 42-44). The construction of a modern fish plant began in the mid-1950s and it was a couple of years before the plant was opened (Rowe, 1980, p. 483). According to Walt Rogers, who started working at the plant in 1960, “The Newfoundland government built the plant. . . . The Newfoundland Fish Development authority It was operated by Job Brothers from St. John’s” up until the early 1970s (Rogers, July 30, 2012, p. 12).

Engineers and other skilled trades workers like Walt Rogers from Twillingate came from other part of the province to work in the fish plant, especially during the set-up phase. Claude Martin, who was born and raised in La Scie, became manager of the fish plant a few years after it opened and he stayed in that position for the better part of 30 years. The government established a system of buying stations and collector boats which transported the fish caught from 13 communities between Long Island in Green Bay to Wild Cove in White Bay (LeMessurier, 1990, p. 63).

The La Scie fish plant employed 500 people in 1978, and in 1981 it employed 665. From the early days of the plant, approximately 40 percent of the fish was landed by small boat inshore

fishers living in La Scie who did not have to venture far to set their traps or jig cod (LeMessurier, 1990, p. 26; BVPTF, 1982, p. 14).⁴⁴ The 14 to 21 pound boxes of frozen cod fillets produced at the plant were shipped to Cleveland and elsewhere in the United States where factory workers made fish sticks and other products (Halfyard, personal communication, June 5, 2018; Perlin, 1964, p. 29).



Figure 51. Daley Brothers closed the La Scie fish plant in 2012 after more than 50 years of operation, displacing 300 workers (Halfyard, S., 2012)

Many workers came from Brent's Cove, Harbour Round, and the Horse Islands on a daily or seasonal basis during the early 1960s to work in the new plant (Halfyard, personal communication, May 4, 2018). According to Halfyard, Martin knew the local people and their needs and he was very fair in his hiring practices. Martin, who was the Mayor of La Scie for three years in the early 1970s, played a significant role in community leadership throughout the 1960s and 1990s. John Jim Drover, from Brent's Cove, who left school in Grade 9 to go to work

⁴⁴ During the 1984 fishing season, National Sea purchased fish from 932 fishermen, 153 of whom were based in La Scie, while the rest were from the other communities on the Baie Verte Peninsula (LeMessurier, 1990, p. 26).

at the fish plant, described the ‘migrant farm worker’ style drive to work each day:

They came to Brent’s Cove and Harbour Round and offered free transportation to come to work in the plant, and that’s how I went there. But you only worked three months in the summer, about that, and you were laid off. . . . They had two pickup trucks, Gus Toms and Ross Ryan. They each had a truck with a box on the back and a little bench on either side. You were tightly crammed in there like sardines. [chuckles] (Drover, August 14, 2015, p. 6)

Some historical accounts suggest that the government’s experiment at centralizing the fishery was not successful for La Scie because the plant did not show a profit until 1972 (Cuff, R., 1991, p. 199). However, local residents and teachers interviewed for this study attest to the vitality of the industry and the community. Halfyard sat on a number of Task Force committees in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s that were mandated to look at the economic viability of the La Scie area. He argues,

But there are certain places that have the natural geography La Scie has a reasonably good harbour, not excellent (it’s too shallow inside, but that can be dredged). It has one of the best gravitation supplies of freshwater in all of Newfoundland. It has sufficient land for development. You can have a town here of about three or four thousand people, which would give you a good workforce for your plant. And you have a few satellite towns around it that supply part of the labour, whether it be mining or fishing or what not. You have to have that supply of labour. (Halfyard, July 21, 2012, p. 3)

During peak employment, approximately 700 people processed cod, herring, flounder, squid, turbot, mackerel, and capelin in the plant (LeMessurier, 1990, p. 26).

Construction Boom – Late 1950s

When Halfyard arrived in 1961 he described how, “The plant was going big guns at that time. . . . It was one of the biggest plants in the province. . . . The town was abuzz because all the women worked in the plant and the men worked in Tilt Cove or on The Site” (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, June 7, 2013). Harvey Toms, a native of La Scie who was born the same year as Halfyard, described how La Scie was really booming with construction in the late

1950s when he returned home from having served a year in North Korea with the Canadian Peacekeeping Corps:

[T]hey started to build this big fish plant down there and the radar station up there; we were pretty wealthy. . . . People were coming here for jobs, looking for jobs and what not. Then they started to build a road up through, and you could get work on the road. Most of the people that wanted work got work on the road. (Toms, H., July 30, 2012, p. 27)

The BVPRS of 1960 indicated that there was a major decline of about 38% in the number of full-time fishermen in La Scie because of temporary employment in the construction phase (GOVNL, 1960, p. 14). In addition to the 140 workers (male and female) who were employed in the fish plant in 1960, Halfyard estimates that another 100 or so men from La Scie worked in the copper mine at Tilt Cove. The mine operated 24 hours a day with three shifts working eight hours each. Almost one full shift of underground miners came from La Scie. Halfyard also described how, when they arrived in La Scie in 1961, there were 20 to 25 local men still working at the American Cold War Pine Tree Line Gap Filler radar station built on Cape St. John (Bates, 1993, p. 504). American military surveyors had started arriving in La Scie around 1953. During the late 1950s upwards of 200 American soldiers, many boarding in La Scie, transported supplies from their ship in La Scie harbour for constructing oil tanks, roads and the base at Cape St. John (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, June 3, 2018). Harvey Toms explained that,

[t]hey'd come back and forth there in the trucks and my aunt worked up there, done the laundry for them. They were a great bunch. You could go up there and you could go in and buy your beer for 25 cents a tin. [laughs] (Toms, H., July 30, 2012, p. 8)

Marjorie Lush, who moved to La Scie in 1960 when her husband was hired as the chief engineer of the fish plant, recalled, "my dear, there were jobs galore then." She also talked about how they went to the American base for lunches and "they used to have Bingo and they used to give out the cartons of cigarettes for prizes" (Lush, August 13, 2012, p. 6). Unfortunately, almost immediately "The Site," as it was locally called, was dismantled because of "newer technology

and increased fuel capacity of aircraft” which rendered the early warning systems almost obsolete (Bates, 1993, p. 504).

Road Construction

A branch road to Brent’s Cove and Harbour Round was opened in the fall of 1961.

Halfyard described the auspicious occasion when Premier Smallwood arrived to open the road between the cluster of communities that were in a 6-mile (10 kilometres) radius of each other:

Now when they opened the road to La Scie, Joey came down, had his vehicle towed down with a DC-4 tractor. It was at the intersection of the Tilt Cove road and La Scie. I was asked to bring up a hundred or so students from La Scie for the official opening of the road. There was an election coming up. And of course, he had a meeting after and a supper in the fish plant. And the next day he visited the mine in Tilt Cove where there were 600 and some odd workers. And he talked to them about how things were going and different things like that. (Halfyard, May 17, 2017, p. 19)

One of my earliest childhood memories is standing in my best Sunday dress waving a tiny Union Jack flag and watching a man cut a bright ribbon opening the road to Tilt Cove. John Jim Drover, who was 13 years old and lived in Harbour Round at the time, had vivid memories of the lead-up events to the grand opening:

Of course, the building of the road was a movie in itself. We saw tractors and other things for the first time. We saw dynamite blasts going off that would scare the life out of you. Of course, the opening was the big day. Joey Smallwood came. I don’t have to tell you anything about Joey in Newfoundland. Of course, they even built a platform for him to stand on. They laid down so many timbers on the ground and boarded it over like a deck. And Joey got out of the big black car and just walked onto the platform and had a little say. He cut the ribbon, and then he wanted to see all the children in the community. People were going home and dragging the youngsters back to see Joey. [chuckles] . . . I think he went to every community. He was politicking. He came right into Harbour Round, right by the area of the school. (Drover, August 14, 2015, p. 4)

Outport peoples’ memories of Premier Smallwood were of either listening to him on the radio or watching him open roads, new schools, or cottage hospitals (Smith, August 9, 2012, p. 11). He visited La Scie at least twice during the early 1960s, first to open the fish plant and later to open the road linking La Scie to Brent’s Cove, Harbour Round and Tilt Cove. Biographers

have described how Smallwood, who tailored his speeches “to the sensitivities of his audience,” took every opportunity to expound how “His Majesty’s Outport Government” was working tirelessly to rectify past injustices levied on outport people and to improve the living conditions of the “toiling masses” of Newfoundland, especially rural fisherfolk (Gwyn, 1968, p. 71, 127).

The opening of the short series of roads on the tip of the Baie Verte Peninsula may have been touted by Premier Smallwood as the official opening of the road but it would be 1965 before the Trans-Canada Highway was technically completed. It would be decades before the route from La Scie to Baie Verte junction (58.9 kilometres) and from Baie Verte to the Trans-Canada Highway (80 kilometres) were of any quality. Teachers interviewed, who came to La Scie in the mid-1970s, talked about the terrible road conditions and how they spent many long hours and lost many a muffler traversing those early bedrock roads (Toms, August 13, 2012; Harvey, July 4, 2012). It was the mid-1970s before gravel roads on the peninsula were upgraded to the “all-weather roads” that the government needed for school busing of students from outlying villages like Shoe Cove, Nippers Harbour, Snooks Arm and Round Harbour to the larger towns like La Scie where centralized high schools and multi-room elementary schools were built (Perlin, 1964, p. 19).⁴⁵

On many occasions Halfyard stressed how rural Newfoundland was like a “Third World Country” until the late 1960s. It was not until roads were built that communities could develop and prosper. With roads came electricity, telephone service, followed by septic systems then town water and sewage systems. Halfyard recalled how Babb Construction [a Harbour Grace company] was putting in some of the water and sewage system during that first year we lived in

⁴⁵ Rowe (1980) clarified that it was “1980 before the 1,000 communities scattered along the coastline were connected by a reasonable network of roads and highways” which would allow school children to be bused to “large, modern central and regional high school in rural and semi-rural areas” (pp. 505, 515).

La Scie. John Jim Drover also remembers the workers who came to install the electrical poles in Brent's Cove sometime around 1965:

When electricity came to the area, I was living in Brent's Cove. We moved over to Brent's Cove after my mother married the second time. . . . I was in my mid-teens, seventeen maybe. . . . There was a contractor that came in from Foxtrap, a Mr. Greeley [9:35]. He stayed at our house. Mother kept boarders. So we had two of the guys staying at our place, and they had a couple more who stayed somewhere else in town. They did the wiring and I got the odd jobs when they were doing the survey for the poles. When they put the wires on the poles, I worked with them. When they built the power house, I worked with them. Of course, the driving force was my mother. She said, "There's somebody in town and they might be looking for someone. You better go, make it a job." (Drover, August, 14, 2015, p. 5)

Some local young people like John Jim Drover, who were exposed to modern industry, were starting to understand that they needed to upgrade and get a formal education in order to advance within emerging industry standards job qualifications (GOVNL, 1960, p. 28)

A Core of Skilled Newcomers

The year before Halfyard and his family arrived in La Scie, Bert Lush and his family from Gander and Walt Rogers and his family from Twillingate came to work as engineers at the new fish plant. They became close friends; some even suggested they formed an exclusive club (Colbourne, August 6, 2012, p. 47). They played cards together, they partied together, and their children played together. Audrey Halfyard remarked how the imported new breed of skilled workers were "CFAs":

Bert and Marge, they'd just come to the fish plant a year before us, and so did Ann and Walt Rogers. They come at the same time. And then Margaret Burton; she came from Twillingate because she married Rex Critch from here, and she was new here, too, about my age. And so we were all very good friends that first year, I would say. Really good.

If there was a baby shower, a wedding, or whatever, we all went. We all got invited. . . . We were also invited out to a lot of peoples' houses for meals. Older people. . . . I thought we had a lot of friends and company. (Halfyard, A., August. 30, 2013, p. 16)

Even though Audrey and Marjorie Lush described being invited to weddings and to people's homes for meals, they were still in many ways outsiders (Lush, August 13, 2012, p. 18). They were all relatively young, their husbands held full-time salaried jobs, they had lived in towns or cities such as Gander, St. John's, and Toronto, and they had become accustomed to modern amenities. Some of the wives smoked, played cards and drank, activities that were considered morally wicked or taboo in places like La Scie, which were still guided by older Wesleyan Methodist elements of the United Church (Faris, 1972/2001, p. 46; Rowe, 1988, p. 35;).

James C. Faris (1972/2001) in his anthropological study, *Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement* conducted for the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER), at Memorial University, discussed the perceptions of acceptable behaviour and social codes that influence successful interaction patterns in a small rural fishing village of the 1960s. In the chapter "The Moral Order and Interaction Dynamics," Faris, who conducted his anthropological field work in a small northeast coast fishing village from January of 1964 to March of 1965 posits, some "naturalized citizens" of a community might "transgress the moral order and violate many of rules, attitudes, and values defining citizenship and thus become, in a sense, 'outsiders,' strangers in their own community" (Faris, 1972/2001, p. 101). Meanwhile, 'strangers' from the outside world are even more "ominous because one is not certain of what to expect" (p. 101).

When it came to local leadership and authority Faris proposed,

No one would seriously allow 'strangers' to dominate local decision-making unless such decision-makers were backed by threat of force. People have been exploited for the decisions made by strangers outside the local universe too often. (Faris, 1972/2001, p. 104).

Both Faris (1972/2001, p. 103) and Gerald Sider (2003, p. 113), theorize that a very delicate balance of multiple social structures co-existed within communities and among the

cluster of communities in close physical proximity of each other. That was very much the case for La Scie. Despite the fact that there was a mix of Protestant and Roman Catholic families, United Church followers, especially the women, determined the overall conservative nature of the town. According to sociologist Ralph Matthews in his study, *“There’s No Better Place Than Here”: Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*, the church filled “a spiritual and social function” and provided residents with “some place to go” (Matthews, 1976, p. 36). Unfortunately, the different local churches also reinforced religious bigotry and exclusion.

Because cultural practices and customs were being severely threatened during those transition years, backlash from established authority figures was inevitable. It would be some 20 years later, with the formation of the Kinsmen Club in 1975, before a liquor license was allowed in La Scie (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, p. 21; LSCHY, 2012, n.p.). The formation of the Kinsman Club, a non-church oriented service club which was driven by a central core of “outsider” teachers, will be discussed further in Chapter 10.

Halfyard, Lush and Rogers and their families, despite having grown up in outport Newfoundland, had to learn the acceptable cultural patterns and moral order of La Scie. Then, they had to decide whether the cultural practices, attitudes and values of the community were ones they would adopt. The government, for their part, knew that economic development would bring cultural changes to people and places and wanted those individuals to help with the transition. The dynamics of being an outsider and a local leader will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 9 and 10.

Fiercely Independent People

Halfyard characterized the people of La Scie, partially because of the remoteness of their location and the nature of the traditional fishing industry, as

fairly progressive. Very, very independent individuals. Nobody tells them what to do and when to do it. . . . A politician said to me one time, “As a politician I can run a lot of my district because they will follow ideas I want to perpetuate. Not La Scie.” Nobody can tell people in La Scie what to do. That’s because of the independent trap crews, who became independent long-liner fishermen. Very independent thinkers. (Halfyard, July 21, 2012b, p. 6)

Halfyard explained how the old trap skiff crews were made up of three to five crew members. Tom Philbrook (1963), in his ISER study of three communities on the Baie Verte Peninsula, examined the leadership dynamics of trap skiff crew within the traditional fishing village of Nippers Harbour. He described how there was generally a kin or family relationship. The bulk of the gear used by trap skiff crews was owned by the skipper. In some cases, the property was jointly owned, but the control and direction of its use rested with the skipper (Philbrook, 1963, p. 58–64). Philbrook explained how trap crews required “elaborate organization under the leadership of the skipper” (Philbrook, 1963, p. 58). He noted how the trap skiff skippers of Nippers Harbour exhibited good organizational skills, good judgment and knowledge of fishing conditions, plus the ability to make a reasonable deal with fish buyers or merchants. This is very different from Faris’s (1972) assessment that “the status of skipper carries no real authority” in Cat Harbour (p. 104).

According to Halfyard, the trap skiff crew structure in La Scie was very similar to that of Nippers Harbour. He described how the trap skiff crews of La Scie worked well together for hauling cod traps that required larger working units. Most were also very good independent workers during the times of years when they would jig cod and other fish from smaller speedboats. He also explained how the inshore trap skiff fishers’ structure and work ethic practices of the mid-20th century allowed fishers of La Scie to transition from the small boat inshore fishery, to the mid-shore long-liners after the establishment of the 200-mile limit in 1977 and eventually to the larger lucrative long-liner enterprises that evolved after the Cod

Moratorium of 1992 (Forbes & Muise, 1993/2001, p. 512; Rowe, 1980, p. 497).

Halfyard estimated there are about 40 or 50 long-liners in La Scie today and about “twenty-odd” of them are larger long-liners with anywhere from four to eight people in a crew (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 17). Halfyard claims there was, “More money in La Scie than there was in any place on the peninsula and I’d say there still is” because of the organizational skills and work ethic of La Scie fishers (Halfyard, July, 10, 2012, p. 17).



Figure 52. Post cod moratorium long liner fleet in La Scie
(Courtesy of Clyde Saunders, 2008)

Without even asking who among local residents were community leaders in the 1950s through 1970s transition years, Harvey Toms launched into a true Newfoundland storyteller’s rendition of how it came about:

There was fast changes, yes. Because I can remember this fella, Art Toms. He worked with the Department of Fisheries and Cooperatives (and Bert, his brother worked with him too). And they went into St. John’s. They were kicking for this fish plant down here, see? And old Art, he was going on and on and Bert said, “Sit down, boy. There’s somebody else besides La Scie.” “I don’t give a damn about anybody else,” Art said. “It’s only La Scie for me.” I don’t think we’ve had anybody since, to fight like Art fought for the plant. (Toms, H., July 30, 2012, p. 27)

Older residents of La Scie quickly identified Art Toms (United Church) as a key leader and the

main driving force behind infrastructure development that was made available by the government in those years. Both Art and his older brother Bert, who lived in Springdale, worked with the provincial government as rural development officers (Toms, E. 5005). Because of their knowledge of government plans and policies, they saw the big picture. Art Toms was also politically connected and able to lobby on behalf of La Scie (Goodson, 2012, p. 7; Gladwell, 2000/2002, 49; Stanley, 1992/2001, pp.421-430). Claude Martin (Roman Catholic) and Clarence Hewlett (Salvation Army) were other individuals of that era who were identified as important community leaders when Halfyard first moved to La Scie.

The majority of local La Scie residents were very independent-minded and industrious individuals. Unlike other larger ‘growth centres’ such as Baie Verte or Springdale, the people of La Scie did not spend a great deal of time or energy courting government initiatives or investments. Neither did they always appreciate young ‘come-from-away’ professional upstarts, especially teachers, impinging on local leadership. Leadership during the 1960s and 1970s was still very much centred within the domain of local merchants, clergy, and prominent family working units such as the traditional trap skiff crews with their skipper who also took on leadership roles within the community (Philbrook, 1963, p. 57). There was, and still is, a delineated social-class structure within rural outport Newfoundland communities.

Many of the long-liner skippers and crew members who emerged after the 1970s attended Cape John Collegiate and went on to train at the Marine Institute of Memorial University for fishery related programs or to complete degrees at the main campus of Memorial University. They are part of the “professionalization,” the “body of highly educated fishermen” and “progressive fishery technology,” that Smallwood envisioned in the early 1960s (Horan, 1984, p. 62; Perlin, 1964, p. 30). According to Halfyard and other older fishers interviewed for this study,

“greed” and other factors, including an inability to work as a collective for the community, led to the demise in the La Scie fishery in the early part of the 21st century. Halfyard recalls:

I think that the fishermen themselves, the catchers, are the main reason that the plant is not working. The second reason, and equally important, is that you have terrible [fish plant] ownership. They have no interest in the town, in the world. All they have an interest in is making money. The faster they’re gone the better it’ll be for this area. . . .

I would say all together there’s 15 to 20 million pounds of product comes into La Scie every summer. And 98% of it is trucked out over the road. Can you imagine what the shrimp are like when they get down to the Avalon Peninsula after pounding over the road? You’ve got much better product if it was processed here.

There’s too many fish plants. But the government did that to get elected back in the 70s and 80s. That’s how they got elected. They set up development associations, and the strong representative from Fleur de Lys wanted a fish plant. They said to Tom Rideout [MHA] and later Paul Shelley [MHA], “We will not support you”. . . . But the fish was getting less, not more. But they don’t care—as long as they get elected. It’s elected officials who had no vision of what they were creating. And then all of a sudden they realize, eight or 10 years ago, that we’ve gone the wrong way. (Halfyard, July 21, 2012, pp. 2–3)

Ted Morey, who worked in the fish plant in the 1970s and fished with his wife in the 1980s, concurred with Halfyard about the size and volume of fish brought over the wharf by the long-liner enterprises in La Scie of today. He also expressed concerns that too many successful long-liner fishers of recent years are “Looking for the big bucks. Greed is a bad thing” (Morey, July 18, 2012, p. 12). He hopes someone from the younger generation will step up to lead the way. Places like La Scie are feeling the same global generational attitudinal shift from a more collective community to a more individualistic, self “commodity capitalism” lifestyle and focus (Giddens, 1991, p.196, Theobald, 1997, p. 113). It is a conundrum that is plaguing leadership uptake and the general social and economic sustainability of communities that were once maintained through formal and informal group activity at the school, church, and organizational (union etc.) levels (Hargreaves & Fink, 2007, p. 49; House, 2003; Reimer, et al., 2011).

It was only in recent years that Halfyard started to express his disappointment with the

lack of collective community action:

But there's no interest. A cooperative might work. I've thought and did a little bit of research on the cooperative down in Fogo Island. There's a lot of things I didn't like about it. A lot of my readings on cooperatives in PEI and New Brunswick, I didn't like what I'd seen. But what's the alternative to it? The alternative is 'no plant.' But here in this area, if you had 20 or 30 million pounds of product coming in, not just produced in block, but secondary processed, you'd create more work than you did when you had 50 million coming in. (Halfyard, July 21, 2012, p. 3)

Local leaders from the 1950s to 1980s, such as Art Toms, Claude Martin, Clarence Hewlett and Job Halfyard felt "called to serve" and were committed to the collective development of La Scie as a sustainable community. Morey stated, "I think people respected them because of who they were and what they were doing . . . [they] had the nerve to try anything" (Morey, July 18, 2012, 10).

Growing Dissatisfaction with Church-Led School Boards

As the 1962–63 school year wore on, Halfyard experienced a number of issues related to work and living conditions that he found difficult to tolerate. He explained:

I had a marvellous year, worked hard but I had problems in pushing some of the teachers to shape up. I had a meeting with the school board chairman and told him that I couldn't tolerate the housing conditions, and I couldn't tolerate having the yearly turnover in staff—to be able to do the work that was needed. He agreed with me, but he was stuck the same as I was; when you're dealing with prominent people in the town, you have trouble to make changes. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 2)

Halfyard remembers meeting with one of the United Church School Board members about his quandary. Unfortunately, given the nature of non-professional local school boards in the early 1960s, that person was not able to help Halfyard with his concerns that the United Church School Board in La Scie was not being strict enough with policies around teachers on his staff who were absent from the classroom for days and weeks on end for no valid reasons. He explained:

The most precious thing that you could take from a kid is the right to be educated. . . . I won't say any names, but one particular teacher was out of school, I would say 60 odd days in the year – very difficult to deal with because her husband was in a very prominent position in the town. So I talked to the school board chairman in the spring and I said, "This can't continue if you want to try to improve your school." (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, pp. 1–2)

Those were the days before substitute teachers, so, if teachers were not in school, neither were their students. School principals across the province, who were at the mercy of non-professional denominational local school boards, were finding it more and more difficult to tolerate outdated school board practices. As principal, Halfyard felt the clergy and other non-professional local school board officials wielded too much power over the administration of the school.

Schools were changing and the old small school board model for administering to the needs of school facilities, staff and students was no longer effective. School principals like Halfyard, who had more formal education and experience, started to question whether the old small local denominational school board system was equipped to deal with the issues that arose within the schools or between the school and community. Some of Halfyard's administrative concerns were likewise related to his growing belief that there could not be significant improvement to the overall quality of education as long as there were three separate denominational schools in one small community.

Over the years, he observed how the duplication of services created by having two or three one and two-room denominational schools in a small community resulted in substandard school facilities which could not be adequately equipped or staffed. He believed rural students should be given the opportunity to attend consolidated schools that had a better chance of providing a quality education. Those circumstances did not seem likely to change in La Scie in the foreseeable future. Fortunately for Halfyard, a new opportunity arose:

In the meantime, I had a delegation from Tilt Cove. They didn't have a principal in their

school. They had six teachers there on staff. So they came down and interviewed me and asked me if would take the job. I refused because until they legally had a vacancy, then I was having nothing to do with it because it was against my principles. A few weeks later they came back. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 2)

Even though they said, “You’re the man we want” to put the Tilt Cove school back in good working order, Halfyard, an honest and forthright individual, told the Tilt Cove School Board representatives, “I can’t take the position if you haven’t cleared up the dispute that you have with the other man [current principal].” The reality was they had a principal who wasn’t working out. In addition, he told them that he was not interested in the job if the school board would not come straight to his face if they had any problems with how he was running the school. In the end, he accepted the offer. When school closed in June the Halfyards packed up their belongings and moved across the tip of the Baie Verte Peninsula to Tilt Cove.

On a positive note, Halfyard felt proud of the accomplishments that were made that one year in La Scie. He stated, “I did a real good job in La Scie that first year. I had 30 kids in Grades 9, 10, and 11 and 21 passed public exams. One even won a White Bay scholarship that year.” (Halfyard, June 7, 2013).⁴⁶

Section IV: Tilt Cove (1962–1967)

I was sitting in an area that had mining in its blood, that had fishing in its blood. (Halfyard, June, 26, 2017, p. 16)

Tilt Cove’s economy represents a version of multifaced urban capitalism collapsed into the single organization of Coastal Mining. . . . a typically suburban way of life is a modern economic imperative. (Philbrook, 1963, p. 112)

Summer Job – Electrician’s Helper

When Halfyard and his family arrived in Tilt Cove in June of 1960, he immediately went

⁴⁶ All students in Newfoundland wrote public exams in Grades 9, 10, and 11.

to work at the mine. He explained the offer the mining company gave, which enabled him to top up his family income. Part of the allure of working in Tilt Cove was the chance for Halfyard to learn about the mining industry:

Well, as my contract with the company (or with the school board) I had the choice to work with the electricians, [Mr. George Hawe] was my foreman for most of the time. He was the electrical superintendent. Edward Snow was really the foreman. We would be divided in pairs – never one man goes alone when he goes down in the mine. It's generally always two. I guess it's built in as a safety factor. But the electricians are in charge of the blasting underground, or anywhere. We had to set up the charges and blow them, whether it was down in a grizzly or if a rock jam had to be cleared up, whatever it might be.

Powder was in about 40-pound boxes. Lots of times you'd be trying to climb the ladder with two 40-pound boxes, one under each arm, and trying to balance yourself by scraping one of the boxes along the ladder to keep your balance. But most of the time you only carried one, so you had a free hand. You were always climbing ladders down in the mine. You'd go down on the lift and you'd get off at the station that you were at, and then you'd walk on that level. If it was up rises you'd climb tall ladders, which might be 800 feet up. (Halfyard, July 22, 2012, p. 2)

Halfyard, a consummate learner and promoter of practical knowledge, was given the choice of working with the electricians, mechanics or drafting people during the Christmas and Easter holidays as well as during the summer when school was out. The chance to work in the mine gave Halfyard the opportunity to better understand the dynamics of the mining industry, knowledge he later used to prepare adult learners and school students for the emerging labour market. It also generated 'connectors' with both junior and senior mine workers (subcultures) typical of successful leadership dynamics (Gladwell, 2000/2002). George Hawe, the foreman for example, was from Saskatchewan. Edward Snow, whom everyone called Hank Snow after the famous country singer, was from Round Harbour a short boat ride away. Hank Snow and Halfyard became best friends, and, as a result, Halfyard established a strong bond with the people of both Round Harbour and Snooks Arm. Years later, Halfyard oversaw the needs of the elementary schools in those villages and taught many of their children who were bused to La

Scie to attend high school. He also got to know men from places further down in the Green Bay like Burlington and Middle Arm who came to work in Tilt Cove because their forefathers had worked in the mining industry when the coastal mining communities of Betts Cove (1874–1886), Little Bay (1878–1902), and of course, Tilt Cove (1864–1917) boomed for the better part of 50 years (Martin, 1983/1998).

Early Mining History of Tilt Cove

It was copper mining, not the fishery that brought many English settlers to the Green Bay coast of the Baie Verte Peninsula (Miller Pitt, 1981). Smith McKay, a mining prospector from Nova Scotia, “sparked the Notre Dame Bay copper boom” when he discovered a large copper deposit in Tilt Cove in 1857 (Martin, 1983/1998, p. 15). The story goes that McKay met Isaac Windsor, a local fisherman, whom he noticed was using heavy metallic rock as boat ballast. It was Windsor who showed McKay the outcrop of copper ore in the steep cliffs of Tilt Cove (Marshall, 1994, p. 387). The Tilt Cove mining operation was set up using miners from Cornwall, England and a ‘Swansea’ cable car system that loaded the copper rich ore into vessels destined for smelters in Swansea, Wales.

The mining operation in Tilt Cove, which ran from 1864 to 1917, transformed the ‘tilt’ (fishing shack) “haven of three families in 1863” to a population of about 768 people by 1869 (Martin, 1983/1998, p. 14). There were in fact a number of peaks and valleys throughout the mine’s early history. The census record of 1884 shows that the population of Tilt Cove dropped to 155 people in the interim. Safety, fire, ore quality, capital, and market fluctuation issues combined to plague the company. While some local miners returned to the fishery, others migrated to the Little Bay Mine which ran from 1878 to 1902, the Pilley’s Island Mine that operated from 1886 to 1908, and other less successful mines that came and went during that time

fame (Martin, 1983/1998, p. 15).

By 1891, the mine started to rebound. The population of Tilt Cove grew to 1,000 people with services provided by a doctor, telegraph operator, policeman, tailor, blacksmith and teacher. After the United States abolished all tariffs on metallic ores in 1894, the mining activity in Tilt Cove grew even more with the population peaking at 1,370 people by 1901 (Martin, 1983/1998, p. 14; Marshall, 1994, p. 388). Considered a “seat of culture,” Tilt Cove had four churches, 250 first-class homes, and three schools staffed by teachers trained in British public schools and universities (Marshall, 1994, p. 388; Burrows, 1992, p. 13). By 1907, ore reserves were nearly depleted. This depletion of reserves, combined with a decline in copper prices in 1914, sent the Tilt Cove Copper Company into liquidation. The population dropped to a low of between 40 to 58 people between 1935 and 1952.

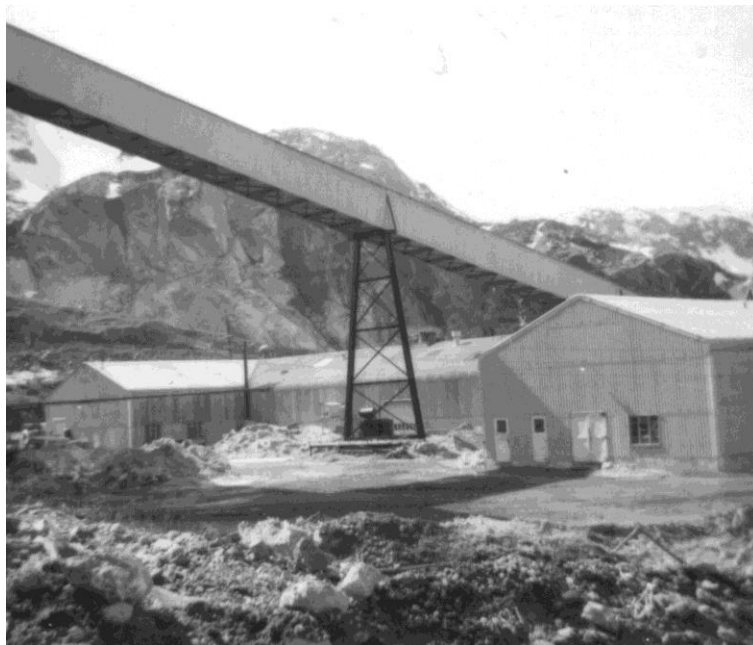


Figure 53. The Tilt Cove mine reopened in 1957
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

In 1955, the First Maritime Mining Corporation Ltd. was formed to reopen the Tilt Cove copper mine using the latest in modern underground and crushing technology (Martin,

1983/1998, p. 84). This time the ore concentrate was shipped to Murdockville, Quebec for further processing (Marshall, 1994, p. 389; Burrow, 1992, p. 15).

Modern Townsite and Its Workers

The Mine Manager, W. Holland Smith, reported the total number of employees remained fairly constant at about 360 workers from the opening of the mill in 1957 until 1962 (Smith, 1963, p. 11). Halfyard estimated that approximately 650 people lived in Tilt Cove during the years he taught there. He also specified that, of the three work shifts, one full crew came from La Scie (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, June 3, 2018). Philbrook outlined in his study how there were approximately 124 general miners, 36 mill workers, 49 surface workers (carpenters, truck drivers, janitors etc.), 12 electricians, 37 mechanical workers (plumbers, welders, machinists and blacksmiths etc.) and 58 junior and senior staff. This was in addition to the diamond sub-contractors and employees of the Tilt Cove Power Company which operated a steam generating plant to supply electricity (Burrows, 1992, p. 16; Philbrook, 1963, p. 10). There were only about 27 non-company workers in the town.

The mine capitalized on hiring stationary engineers, mechanics and electrical workers from Newfoundland who had learned their trades when they served in the Navy or worked on the American military bases, with Bowaters or other mining companies (Philbrook, 1963, p. 104). Supposedly, when Cominco, the diamond drilling sub-contractors, first arrived they asked, “Who are the best trap skiff crews in the area?” According to Halfyard that was how Sid Ward, Jack Foster, the Moreys, and other trap fishing crews from La Scie were recruited as drillers. He described how they worked well together as teams and did not mind getting splattered with lots of water and mud (Halfyard, personal communication, May 28, 2018; Philbrook, 1963, p. 100).

Tom Philbrook who conducted sociological field work in Tilt Cove sometime between

1961 and March of 1963, estimated that 65 percent of the workers were Newfoundlanders⁴⁷. Of those workers, some lived in the bunk houses, some commuted daily from nearby fishing villages, and some brought their families and lived in the apartments built by the company (Philbrook, 1963, p. 76–77; Foote, August 12, 2012, p. 8). Halfyard applied the law of thirds when talking about families who actually lived in Tilt Cove during the five years he taught there. He explained how approximately one third were Newfoundlanders, another third were French Canadians from either Quebec or New Brunswick, and the other third were English-speaking families from Canada and other parts the world (Halfyard, personal communication, February 19, 2017).



Figure 54. Tilt Cove townsite, apartment buildings, and church circa 1966
(Courtesy of Halfyard family)

Philbrook described how Tilt Cove was a deep valley and looked like a “circular amphitheatre” with a pond in the middle (p. 73). Apartment buildings were built around the pond which was about one quarter mile in diameter. Audrey Halfyard described the physical layout of

⁴⁷ Throughout this section, I will use information from Tom Philbrook’s 1963 ISER study, *Fisherman, Logger, Merchant, Miner: Social Change and Industrialism in Three Newfoundland Communities*, as well as the *Tilt Cove Amalgamated School Yearbook 1962–63* and *Tapestry of Memories: Tilt Cove Reunion 1967–1992* for comparison and validity to the narrative interview data provided by Audrey and Job Halfyard as well a few other participants in my research study (Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 101).

the mining town:

Tilt Cove, as you know, is sort of in a circle. On one side was the manager and staff, and then on the other side it was the workers. So when we moved there, we were put on the side with the staff because Halfyard was the principal of the school. And, by the way, as far as I can remember, all of the teachers lived on that side of the pond. I don't remember any teacher living on the side that I lived on after.

After I was over there for, I guess, the summer months . . . I decided, "This is not the side of the pond I needed to be on." The rules were different. . . . I had six kids—most of the other [senior management] families, I'd say had two to four children at the most. So I decided I don't want to be over here. So, they let us move to the other side of the pond, where I consider it was more civilized. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 1)

The design and layout of the mining town was in keeping with the "social stratification" of occupational and educational levels of mine employees (Philbrook, 1963, p. 110). Halfyard was considered management so he was given an apartment on the West townsite side of the pond reflective of his position as the school principal. Yet, Audrey, with her score of young children, was not comfortable on the senior management side of the pond. It was where many of the married and single professional staff, including engineers, electricians, the bank manager, doctor and others senior department heads from places like Ontario, British Columbia, Europe and South Africa, lived. She summarized, "It was just all different—on the other side of the pond it was just your locals" (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 2). It was not just Newfoundland workers and their families who lived on the East townsite side, it was primarily skilled and semi-skilled trades people, which included workers from other provinces such as New Brunswick and Nova Scotia who chose to bring their families to Tilt Cove (Philbrook, 1963, p. 100–103). Most of the general miners were local Newfoundlanders, while mainlanders, who had been working in the industry for years, were valued for their experience and occupational specialties (Philbrook, 1963, p. 103). Halfyard explained:

[I]t was the first time in our married lives that we had real good housing: electric heat and electricity and oil heat. It was comfortable for the children and my wife. . . . to give you

an idea, there were six children and the two of us was eight, and in the five years we were in Tilt Cove, only two had gone to the clinic to see the doctor. So with the change in living style (better food, good clothing, good medical service, and a comfortable home), I think they were the factors. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 2)

Halfyard surmised that the change in lifestyle that included “better food, good clothing, good medical service, and a comfortable home” were factors that led to less health problems within his family.

Audrey went on to describe how the apartments on the management side of the pond were mostly single units or duplexes with the mine manager’s grand two-storey house set in a lovely garden when you first drove down into the town. On the other side was the school and behind it was an eight-unit apartment building followed by a series of neatly laid out quad apartment buildings where the skilled labourers with their larger families lived. According to Audrey the layout of the houses was basically the same: “All apartment buildings were three bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen—it was two-storey homes” (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 2). The Canadian-American standard apartments were fully furnished, had electricity, and a party line telephone system (Philbrook, 1963, p. 76, 85). In addition, nearly every household had a black and white television, and many of the latest modern electrical appliances. It was natural that Audrey would conform to the household norms common among housewives in Tilt Cove.

My washer gave out, so I needed a new washer. . . most people who were getting new washers were getting automatics. There were a few problems with automatic washers at this time, so they were brought to the electrical shop for repairs, and I guess the men were swearing on those automatic washers. . . And Halfyard said, “No way. You can have the ringer washer like you had before, because the automatics are nothing but trouble.” My friend, Dorothy,⁴⁸ (she was much older than me), she had an automatic so she said, “Now, do not have a ringer washer. You stick it out for an automatic washer.” (Halfyard, August 30, 2013, p. 3)

Automatic washers must have been the talk of the town that year because sociologist

⁴⁸ Dorothy, a first cousin of Halfyard's, took Audrey under her wing. Her husband, Mark Roberts was the chief steam engineer at the power plant and was among the school board officials that recruited Halfyard from La Scie.

Tom Philbrook dedicated almost two pages to discussing how “modern, labour saving appliances” were “usually purchased at the wife’s behest” (1963, p. 85). He also explained how Newfoundland housewives adopted “new patterns quickly and nonchalantly to suit their new settings” even though the labour-saving appliances would be of no use when they moved back to outport villages that still lacked electricity and running water (Philbrook, 1963, p. 85).

Philbrook also examined how the Newfoundland household at the time “normally contains rather large extended families” (1963, p. 81). Audrey likewise described the mix of single male relatives, brothers and cousins, who lived with them and worked in the mine:

Job [my second oldest brother] came first and then he left and went in the Armed Forces. And then Bond came, then Ross and Harold. They all stayed at my place. We had one long bedroom in the place. I suppose we had a set of bunk beds and two other beds in that one room. . . . I’d say there were about seven people for sure in that big room. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 2)

The seven people included four of the Halfyard children who slept two to a bunk bed, two of her brothers who slept in the double bed, and either one or two of her children and any overflow visitors slept in the single bed in the middle of the room. Fortunately, the young men worked shift work, and, sometimes one got in bed when the other got out. Audrey explained how she also had a servant girl that had her own room. The first girl was a cousin from Port Anson and the second was a teenage girl from Burlington who eventually married Audrey’s eldest brother. The youngest child slept in the crib in her parent’s room. The situation was much like households in places like Fort McMurray today. Relatives came and went until they were economically stable enough to find their own accommodations. Halfyard explained how some people, who could not get housing in Tilt Cove, lived in a trailer park set up in La Scie by a senior staff member of Tilt Cove. Audrey added, “They even had a laundromat” (A. Halfyard, personal communication, April 2018).

Just past the quads stood a small cluster of traditional Newfoundland homes that had been moved from the outer cove to make room for the building of the mill and mine site near the ocean's edge. Those homes belonged to some of the original settlers of Tilt Cove. They were members of eight families including the Rideout, Short and Winsor families, who had returned to fishing and chose to stay in Tilt Cove after the mine closed in 1917 (Martin, 1983/1998; Smith, 1963, p. 11). Then, there was a cluster of four bunk houses, Severance's Garage, the modern supermarket, the butcher shop, the bank, the laundromat, and the recreation centre (Rogers, 2005, p. 195–196). Audrey explained:

Tilt Cove had, I guess you can say, everything that you could get in St. John's, or anywhere at that time. It wasn't as big and as elaborate, but we had a recreation centre, which consisted of a bowling alley and a curling rink and a canteen, and a huge dance hall with a stage, and all that kind of thing.

We had a grocery store called the Northern Stores. Everything you needed was there. If it wasn't there, you asked for it and they got it. We had fresh fruit and vegetables and milk flown in every Friday. Everybody rushed to the store Friday evening – they were just trampling over each other.

If you ordered anything you got that too, on that flight: fresh flowers for every occasion, Christmas and Easter and whatever. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 1)

In addition to small plane shipments, fresh meat and other supplies for the mine were delivered four times a week by the MV *Nonia* and the SS *Maravel* (Burrows, 1992, p. 16). Those were the days when major mining companies built town sites and provided the best in accommodations and amenities for their workers. Despite this, some of the “housewives” of seasoned miners interviewed for Philbrook's study criticized the standards of life in Tilt Cove, indicating it was “middle of an informal scale for mining company housing” (Philbrook, 1963, p. 84). Many of them had previously lived in larger, newer and more permanent mining towns in other provinces or countries. Their perspective on the quality of services was thus very different from the Halfyard's and other local Newfoundlanders who went on to adopt lifestyles practices

experienced in Tilt Cove when they returned to traditional outport communities.

Tilt Cove Amalgamated School

By the end of August, Halfyard started his job as the principal of the Amalgamated School in Tilt Cove. He explained:

It was an amalgamated school, as I said, run by the local school board. But the first copy of my monthly report went to the mine manager, because they considered the school a department of the mine. . . You had to be good in your work, because you were treated just the same as a department of the mine. You produced or you had to shift out. I didn't mind that because I didn't mind working. But I was given the flexibility to go out across Canada, anywhere I wanted to hire teachers. The only stipulation I was given by the school board was not to ask what religion they were. That was unheard of in Newfoundland at that time. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 10)

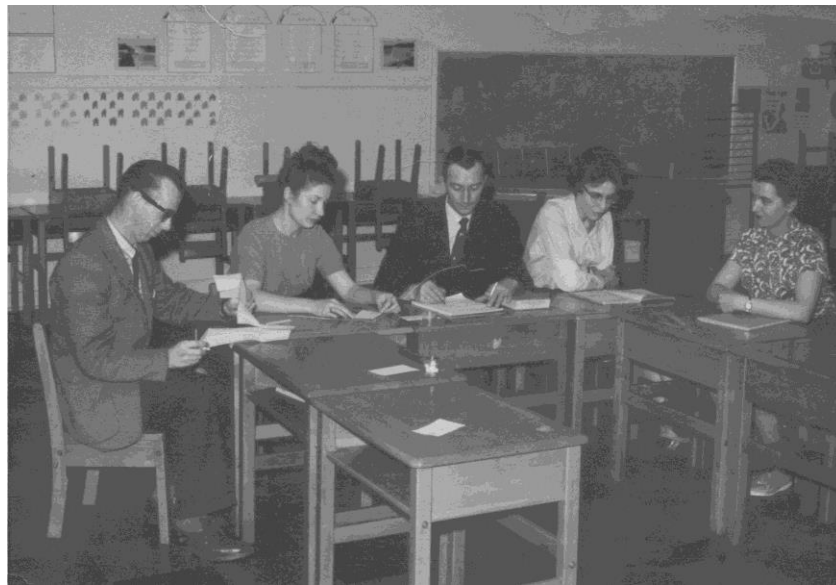


Figure 55. Staff meeting at Tilt Cove Amalgamated School circa 1965
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Halfyard was pleased with the policies of the mine and the school board which consisted of an all-male 10-member group because “you knew exactly where you stood” (Halfyard, August, 27, 2013, p. 2; Wight & Stewart, 1963, p. 9). In most cases, Halfyard hired primary and elementary teachers for the school from Newfoundland; however, he advertised in both Halifax and St. John’s for High School teachers because he was looking for teachers with strengths in the

sciences so they could offer laboratory programs, especially in chemistry and physics. In contrast to his experience in La Scie, he discovered “It wasn’t hard to get teachers in Tilt Cove”

(Halfyard, August 27, 2013, p. 3). The first year Halfyard taught in Tilt Cove there were six teachers, four female teachers and two male teachers counting himself (Wight & Stewart, 1963, p. 7). The mining company was also generous with educational resources:

I got \$1,000 or \$2,000 worth of chemicals for the science labs, if I wanted it. And in Tilt Cove at that time, some of the years we taught chemistry, physics, biology, earth sciences, and general science. We always did the general science because a lot of the students from Brent’s Cove and from La Scie came up and went to school in Tilt Cove, and they required the general science to complete their Grade 11 (Halfyard, August 27, 2013, p. 2)

From the onset, Halfyard tried to offer more than the English, math and basic science programs typical of outport schools:

About one third of the students in Tilt Cove changed each year because of the mobility in the labour force. And, therefore, you had to have a very flexible program because they might be in school in British Columbia next year or up in Thompson, Manitoba, or anywhere there was a mine. One family went to Iron Knob in Australia. . . I had the full cooperation of the board to try to give as diverse a program in the school as possible. (Halfyard, August, 27, 2013, p. 2)

Halfyard explained how Tilt Cove was able to provide programs and standards of formal education typical of the larger company towns such as the paper towns of Corner Brook and Grand Falls or mining towns such as Buchans. Company towns in the province could offer better educational programs because of “the infusion of money and talent” (Halfyard, August 27, 2013, p. 2). Teachers who taught in Tilt Cove were given a bonus of up to \$1,000 at the end of the year, based on their qualifications (Philbrook, 1963, p. 91). In addition, there were copious other social perks besides the subsidized housing and recreational activities which attracted better qualified teachers who chose to stay for more than one year.

Information provided in the *Tilt Cove Amalgamated School Yearbook 1962–63* edited by

Lillian Wight, a Grade 11 student, showed that approximately 100 students attended school that year. Halfyard described how there were five classrooms, a small gym, male and female washrooms with flush toilets, the latest in audiovisual aids, plus fully equipped chemistry and physics labs. That year the mine manager's wife taught French part-time for students wishing to attend Canadian universities (Philbrook, 1963, p. 90).



Figure 56. High school students in this group come from many parts of the province and country (Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

In reflecting on the accomplishments of the high school students in Tilt Cove Halfyard described how:

We had a class in my second year, I think it was, in Tilt Cove. Eleven kids were in Grade 9 and 11 of them finished Grade 11. Altogether, from Grades 9 to 11—I don't know how many scholarships (18 or 20 scholarships they won). It was a good crop of kids, but parents were interested in education as well. We had teachers with one and two degrees in science. So the quality of the teachers was better. (Halfyard, August 27, 2013, p. 3)

Better school facilities and equipment in addition to better qualified teachers and engaged parents who “supported the school,” stimulated Halfyard's desire to offer enriching programs for

students (Halfyard, June, 26, 2017, p. 21). Invigorated by the whole atmosphere of the community and the school, Halfyard was inspired to attend summer school in St. John's in 1963 (Halfyard, August, 27, 2013, p. 4).

One of the students Halfyard talks about with pride is Gordon Wight who, won one of the chemistry scholarships: there were three given in Canada. I think it was \$50,000 a year for three or four years. He came from a little five-room school with six teachers. It was a fairly progressive school. (Halfyard, August 27, 2013, p. 3)

Gordon's father, Victor Wight, was a member of the school board. Originally from Rocky Harbour, he met his British-born wife, Millie, while he was serving overseas during the Second World War. The Wight family had four children and lived in the apartment building just up from the Halfyard's. Their son Gordon won the \$50,000 scholarship when he was an undergraduate student at Memorial. The scholarship allowed him to go to Oxford where he completed his PhD.

Philbrook noted in his study how the school had introduced a system of student prefects to develop leadership skills among the students. There were eight student prefects who were chosen based on grades, marks and "apparent ability" (1963, p. 91). Halfyard speculates that the prefect system was adopted from the more prestigious St. John's schools or other provinces. Other school practices, adopted from other places, included the Parent Teachers' Association (PTA) and the publishing of the 1962–63 yearbook which Halfyard says probably originated with Dan Steward, a Grade 11 student, who was born in New Westminster, BC (Wight & Stewart, 1963, p. 28).

In July of 1962, a Roman Catholic Church School was built on a small block of land near the mine site and medical clinic. Local history relates how the Roman Catholic Priest from Brent's Cove petitioned and was successful in setting up a separate one-room school for students from Grades 1 to 7 in Tilt Cove (Robinson & Singer, 1963, p. 63). Philbrook suggested that the

construction of the Roman Catholic school came about as a result of Premier Smallwood's pre-election road opening visits to communities in the region in October of 1961. After that visit, pressure was put on "the Company by the Premier at the behest of the Bishop and the Roman Catholic Superintendent of Education" (1963, p. 93). Under the Provincial Education Act, Roman Catholic followers had the denominational right to establish their own school and receive proportionate public funding (Philbrook, 1963, p. 92–93). According to Philbrook, the events posed a dilemma for some Roman Catholic parents who felt:

the amalgamated school provides a better education for their children, but by patronizing a non-Catholic school they are disobeying canon law and facing possible disciplinary action by the Church. (Philbrook, 1963, p. 93)

Meanwhile, amalgamated school board officials were concerned that the transfer of 32 students to the Roman Catholic school would result in a loss of teachers and thus negatively affect the quality of programs that could be offered to their students. In Halfyard's case, the introduction of a new Roman Catholic school ultimately influenced his growing views that the denominational education system needed to be phased out. He expressed the opinion that the Roman Catholic school, which was closed the next year, created unnecessary tensions among the children and residents of Tilt Cove who had been accustomed to attending the amalgamated school. The school building, which had been built with a church altar, became the Roman Catholic Church for the roughly one hundred followers in the town (Philbrook, 1963, p. 87).

A non-denominational Protestant Church had been built in Tilt Cove after the Church of England church was destroyed by fire in 1958 (Marshall, 1994, p. 389). The new ecumenical church hall served the spiritual needs of United Church, Salvation Army, and Anglican followers. None of the religious groups had full-time resident clergy (Philbrook, p. 963, 87).

The Halfyard children attended Sunday school regularly as did Audrey who was a

Sunday School teacher. Meanwhile, Halfyard rarely attended Sunday services; soon his wife started to drift away from attending the morning and evening services on a regular basis.



Figure 57. Halfyard children. Audrey walks friend’s son home from Sunday school circa 1965. (Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

One minister informed Tom Philbrook that residents of Tilt Cove were quite “lackadaisical in religious observances” (1963, p. 87). He attributed it to the lack of full-time clergy and the mine operating schedule that included Sundays. Tilt Cove also had more social activities to offer residents than communities that depended solely on church-run organizations. Workers and their families, who once followed religious and spiritual practices of traditional Newfoundland villages, were in effect being secularized.

Social Life

For Job and Audrey, the social life was beyond their wildest expectations. It provided an abundance of ideas for amenities they later nurtured in order to motivate teachers to stay in La Scie. Audrey elaborated:

The social life started Friday night. Well, Friday and Saturday night were social nights.

And there was always something at the recreation centre, they had some sort of dance. Then you had your curling and your bowling, so you had social hours after that. And in the Rec Hall itself there was a mixed couples bar and another for the miners. You didn't go to the bar with the miners. That was all single men. . . . there were 600 people in bunkhouses, they were all single men. And the town was very strict on that kind of stuff, although there was lots going on. They had to have a little bit of civility there, for families. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 4)

Audrey and Halfyard related how, in the earlier years when they lived in Tilt Cove, it was not uncommon for a major fight to break out and for bodies to go flying across tables. Over time the mine management weeded out those rowdy employees.

The recreational activities were not just limited to weekends or to adults. Ray Robinson, whose family came to Tilt Cove from York Harbour near Corner Brook, and Eldon Singer, from elsewhere in Canada wrote about their town in a piece for the school yearbook:

The activities are many and varied. In winter we can skate, ski, play hockey, go tobogganing, sliding, curling, snow shoeing, and ice fishing. In summer there is baseball, fishing, hiking, camping, hunting, softball, swimming, cycling and indoor shooting. Other activities are bowling, bingo, TV, dancing, wiener roasts, Scouts, Brownies, Guides and Cubs. (Robinson & Singer, 1963, p. 64)

Brownies and Guides were important after school activities organized by some very talented and devoted women in the town who brought creative ideas like puppet making and performances, among other ideas, from the many parts of Canada and the world where they had lived. The full-time recreation director at the "Rec Hall" also organized curling, bowling games, and lessons for senior students as well as Saturday afternoon movies for younger children. A qualified swimming instructor taught swimming lessons at Beaver Cove Pond on a daily basis during the summer. Audrey described some of the other special event festivities:

The mine always had a Christmas party and every child in the community was given a Christmas gift, but it went by age groups, and. . . . Every ten-year-old had the same thing, but boys' and girls' gifts were different, of course.

Then they always had a big time for Labour Day. They'd have the crowning of their queen and a king for the town; they had a big celebration. They'd bring in a band from

Gander every Labour Day week, and they brought in other bands during the year—I mean, they had to come in by boat. . . . But the Solidaires came for the Labour Day weekend, and the Ducats I think they used to come for Christmas. . . . Then you had these real fancy dresses. The sheer fabric with the crinolines under them. . . .

If you wanted to set up an afternoon tea or a little card group they just went to the recreation centre and said, “This is what I’d like,” and the canteen would provide everything . . . (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, p. 4)

The bowling leagues had about 12 teams of seven members and the curling club had 12 teams of four members. They were the most active of all the organizations in the town.



Figure 58. Women’s bowling league teams dress up in favorite TV show characters for Halloween circa 1966
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

When Philbrook conducted his study, some residents voiced their displeasure with the overly competitive nature of the curling and bowling and how those activities cut into the potential of other activities such as the bridge club, and the Parent-Teachers Association (1963, p. 94). Philbrook (1963) noted that there were 17 active organizations in the town in the early 1960s and that the same central core of individuals were enthusiastically involved in most of them (p. 95).

Audrey and Halfyard had joined the bowling and curling clubs the year they lived in La

Scie and they drove to Tilt Cove to play with Marjorie and Bert Lush who owned one of the first cars in the area. Both male and female bowling and curling teams from Tilt Cove regularly travelled to places like Grand Falls and Corner Brook to compete in bonspiels and provincial tournaments. Audrey and Halfyard became very skilled players and continued those sports activities throughout their lifetime.

Leadership, Social Stratification, and Cliques

The mine manager was the “de facto political leader of the community” (Philbrook, 1963, p. 106). Because of his dual role as chief executive of the mine and the community, he was perceived as “publicly aloof” or distanced from others within the community. During the time Halfyard lived in Tilt Cove there were at least two mine managers. The organizational leaders were not limited to just the senior staff or mainlanders (Philbrook, 1963, p. 107). There was also a regular contingent of Newfoundlanders who took on volunteer organization positions with the school board, parent-teacher association, curling club, bowling leagues and church groups.

Besides the occupational classification and mine management stratification levels that delineated work responsibilities, levels of authority, and social standing within the Company town, there were other social, cultural and occupational “cliques” that overlapped (Philbrook, 1963, p. 95, 97, 101, 110). Philbrook identified: mainlanders; Newfoundlanders; bunk and staff house residents; frequenters of the Rec Hall; the Powerhouse crowd (mostly Newfoundlanders); the warehouse crowd; mine mechanics and surface tradesmen; old resident kin-group; Newfoundland professional groups (school principal, store and bank managers, telegraph operator, etc.); the gambling group; and the children’s parties and shower groups, among others. Knowledge about such informal collective networks or ‘cliques’ is important to leadership:

Current theory is defining leadership less as an individual’s ability and more as a force that creates direction, aligns efforts and creates commitment. . . . leadership is a social

process that occurs within a collective (e.g., team, department, organization) and through relationships between people. These relationships form a leadership network that emerges and shifts over time. (Cullen-Lester, 2016, n.p.)

Contemporary leadership scholars include social cliques as important elements in “the collective, intra-influence group dynamics” needed for the effective analysis of adaptive leadership, interaction and organizational capacity (Marion, Christiansen, Klar, Schreiber, & Erdener, 2016). Those formal, as well as informal, social networks abounded in Tilt Cove.

Salmon Fishing and Outdoor Pursuits

The third year Halfyard was in Tilt Cove he decided it was time to resume some of the fishing activities he pursued as a boy:

During the summer, I always preferred to be outdoors. I was an outdoors person. Myself and Louis Tilley and Bryce Fudge from Round Harbour (there were a couple of other people too), later on Victor Wight, we had a license – I had a license from years back to catch salmon, lobster, and so on. So, I made a couple of salmon nets and with the permission of the mine manager, I hired the blacksmith on a Saturday night and we forged the anchors. The only time we were allowed to go in was Saturday night at 12 o’clock until Sunday morning 8 o’clock. And we forged 14 or 15, 80–100 pound anchors that I used on the salmon nets. (Halfyard, July 22, 2012, p. 3)

Halfyard described his summer fishing and mine work routine:

I’d look after my nets in the morning, five o’clock until seven o’clock, and then I’d come in and have a wash and a lunch and go to work in the mine. In the afternoon, when I came off at four o’clock, I’d have something to eat and go out and clean all my nets again. (Halfyard, July 22, 2012, p. 3)

Over time he realized that selling unprocessed salmon was not very lucrative so he decided to experiment with smoking salmon.

Salmon, at that time, were selling 15 cents a pound for the small ones (that’s under five pounds), and 25 cents a pound for the bigger ones. Later it went to 40 cents a pound for the bigger ones and 25 for the smaller ones. Now remember that was during the 60s. I thought it was ridiculous because the value of the fish in the marketplace was much higher than that. But that’s the price that was paid in the plant in La Scie and in the plant in Nippers Harbour. . . . But you could smoke them – that is, put them in a smoke house—and you could get \$2.25 for them, or \$2.75 for a smoked salmon. That more than

doubled the price. . . . There were times I had 120–130 salmon hanging in the smoke house.

But I'll tell you, there was some salmon on the go there. There was one day I had over 1,000 pounds. So much that I couldn't handle to sell it locally or to smoke it. So I took it to Nippers Harbour and sold it. (Halfyard, July 22, 2012, p. 4–6)

Halfyard firmly believed that the Newfoundland fishing industry should work towards value-added secondary processing. His study of geography and emerging knowledge of industry taught him that secondary processing in factories or fish plants would generate more local employment and command higher prices in the marketplace. This he felt was a better option for the province rather than the practice of shipping fish in bulk to factories in the United States or later to China for secondary processing.⁴⁹

Halfyard said he learned how to smoke the salmon by trial and error and by reading up on the process. Years later, Mr. Barrett, President of the Fisheries College, asked him about the smoking process “so he could learn about it to teach it in the Marine Institute, or the Fisheries College” (Halfyard, July 22, 2012, p. 4). Halfyard described how he “smoked with hard German style heavy-smoked salmon—not like you buy in the restaurants or anywhere now. That’s what we call soft smoking.” (p. 5). Experimenting with the process of smoking salmon was, in essence, an “inner quest to discovery.” This kind of “self-development” is considered typical of potential leaders who often seek fulfillment by exploring what they care about and value (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, p. 344). After Halfyard moved back to La Scie in 1968, he continued to fish and smoke salmon with the help of his son. In addition to selling smoked salmon to regular clients in the area, he periodically sent shipments to Toronto and Chicago.

Halfyard has no shortage of fish-related tales or memories of fishing and hunting

⁴⁹ In the early 1950s American consumers developed a taste for the pre-cooked, breaded, frozen cod portions. It was dubbed the “fish stick boom” (Horan, 1984, p. 160).

ventures. There are stories of nightly vigils he and his son Job Jr. spent in the 1970s watching to see if they might have to take up the salmon nets or use explosives to change the direction of icebergs looming too close. There is also the story of how the industrialist, K. C. Irving, wanted to buy Halfyard's full smoke house inventory when he happened to visit Tilt Cove during the dismantlement phase of the mine. Irving, who was not used to being denied requests, was perturbed when Halfyard agreed to sell him just a few salmon because he had commitments to his regular clients. There are also vivid memories of how he prepared his nets during the long winter evenings. Halfyard explained:

When the linnet was new I knit them into nets, put them together. That was done from the inside part of my bedroom to the bathroom door. Of course, this was all clean linnet right out of the factory. Sometimes there'd be a little bit of a state—we had a cat and she had three kittens at the time. They'd get tangled up in the linnet. Your mother would have to clear them out. There would be claws and scratches going. (Halfyard, July 22, 2012, p. 4)

The story of how Halfyard branched out into lobster fishing revolved around his next-door neighbour and gives a sense of the eclectic mix of people he socialized with plus how rural Canadians' traditional knowledge of fishing and coastal environments was still a big part of who they were and how they lived:

Henry Frenette, from Bay Chaleur in New Brunswick, and I were talking one evening; we were having a game of cards. I said, "We should make seven or eight lobster pots and see if there's any lobster around," because nobody fished lobster at that time. So we did. . . .

Anyway, we made eight or 10 lobster pots, and went up and set them up in Venoms Bight. There's a hydro station there that supplied power to Tilt Cove and to Round Harbour. There was another hydro plant, of course, in Snooks Arm. They both supplied the mill with part of its power.

. . . we were amazed when we hauled them: we had 20 or 25 lobsters and they were all about two-pound lobsters, because nobody had fished there for I don't know how long. . . But it was right at the northern end of where you would get lobsters. If you come around Cape John, you don't get any lobsters. . . . You don't get them in deep water because they're up trying to get the sunlight, get the warmth.

Anyway, we fished lobster pots – you’d only get 200–300 pounds in a year. After the mine closed, I fished it a little heavier, but then other fishermen came down from up in Triton and so on, and the lobster is not plentiful enough to sustain that kind of fishing. . . (Halfyard, July 22, 2012, p. 6)

When the Frenettes first moved in next door to the Halfyard’s in Tilt Cove, no one in the family, except Mr. Frenette, could speak English. While the men fished lobster the children played together and the women chatted over the clothesline. Those stories illustrate what Philbrook described as “two ways of life which interact but are distinct” (Philbrook, 1963, p. 111). Philbrook also noted how local fishermen, “commuters from nearby villages” gained “a considerable measure of social honor” because of their experience and skills with hunting and fishing. He, and other mainlanders he interviewed, expressed their amazement at how “outporters” “with so few specific occupational skills” could “acquire exceptional competence” in a short period (1963, p. 111).

Upgrading for Newfoundland Workers

I remember three people came up to visit me in Tilt Cove when I was teaching there. They said they were having trouble with their math and science and needed it to write their fourth-class ticket in engineering (for the plant down here). And from that I set up the Adult Education. . . . I saw the advantage of this, so when I came back to La Scie in the 70s, I brought the idea of Adult Education back here. (Halfyard, July 21, 2012, p. 8)

And so I sat down and I called and did some research of what help I could get from the department, and found out that they would give some help and a small amount of money for wages if we would set up classes of English, Math, and Science – ABE program basically. There were other programs as well. (Halfyard, August 27, 2013, p. 10)

Walt Rogers (b. 1929) who worked in the the La Scie fish plant explained how he went to see Halfyard because he did not have the certificates needed to manage some of the technical problems associated with the new plant and it’s “absorption system, refrigeration” (Rogers, July 30, 2012, p. 11). When Rogers emigrated from Twillingate to Toronto in 1947 he was 18 years old and only had Grade 8. In Toronto, a supervisor at the sheet metal factory where he worked

encouraged him to do night school upgrading (Rogers, July 30, 2012, p. 11). There Rogers completed his Grade 10 certificate, but he needed his Grade 11 certificate if he was to qualify to study for the various class certificates within power engineering. Rogers talked about the night school program Halfyard set up in Tilt Cove:

So, I thought, well, I'll do math and English through the night school in Tilt Cove. Yeah, I enjoyed that as well because your father and I had quite the talks sometimes. Because power engineering itself, to me, is a lot of math work. (Rogers, July 30, 2012, p. 16)

Rumours of the mine closing also sparked Halfyard interest in setting up adult education courses to help Newfoundlanders who had dropped out of school in early grades but now required their GED to enrol in certified skilled trades programs that were becoming industry standard.

Seeking Liberal Nomination – 1966

In 1966, Halfyard decided to seek the political nomination for St. Barbe South. That dramatic event unfolded before his children's unenlightened eyes. I remember that day well. I was 10 years old. The rain was pounding against the windshield. The wipers were flapping at top speed. I was on full alert because my parents were clearly having a serious debate about something. My mother had still not given my father the green light to seek the Liberal nomination for the West Coast riding where he had grown up. She must have succumbed because all of a sudden my father spun the car around and we headed back towards St. John's. Candidates seeking nomination had to register in the capital city, which was a 10-hour drive from where we were. Fortunately, the Trans-Canada Highway, completed in 1965, was now 'almost' completely paved, so the risk of one of us getting car sick was somewhat reduced.

My father immediately started thinking about what needed to be done. Driving was to become his most productive time for contemplating and planning. In typical fashion, he passed my mother his notepad and pen, essential tools he, to this day, keeps in the breast pocket of his

shirt or suit jacket for such occasions. He dictated while my mother, in her secretarial mode, made a list of what needed to be done during the short three-week election campaign.

Eventually the car was quiet. As always, the car radio was on. Before we reached Grand Falls, there was a news announcement. Audrey repeated what Premier Smallwood said in his typical oratorical style on the radio:

“There shall be one Liberal candidate for St. Barbe South – and that shall be Gerry Myrden.” I can remember that now. We were in Badger. We turned around and went back to the West Coast. (A. Halfyard, personal communications, May 4, 2017)

Joey Smallwood selected the Liberal candidate for St. Barbe South, foregoing the democratic nomination process. Gerald H. Myrden, a successful business person from Corner Brook, was his chosen candidate (Thoms, 1968, p. 192). Halfyard recalled:

And I said, “That thieving bloody liar. He [Smallwood] only told me to go to St. John’s to be out of the way. . . . So we came back as far as Badger and I went into Stacey’s, Hubert Stacey’s. They were friends of ours in Tilt Cove. A couple days before, I had phoned a man I was using for a contact in Woody Point, my Uncle Octavian Taylor and asked him to call the radio station and tell them that there were four or five people running for the nomination of St. Barbe. But recently a young fellow by the name of Job Halfyard was interested in it. (Halfyard, June 26, 2017)

Initially livid, Halfyard, always a pragmatist, did not wallow. Instead, he turned the car around and headed back to meet his brother and start the family camping vacation. Supposedly, Halfyard had called Joey a few days earlier and “told him that I would put my name forward as a candidate.” But that was before he convinced his wife to let him run. Halfyard explained how he “wasn’t as active politically until I decided to run there in that election and then I got more interested” (Halfyard, June 26, 2017, p. 8).

Being commandeered out of the possibility of seeking the Liberal nomination marked a transition point in Halfyard’s loyalty to Premier Smallwood as well as his view of political practices. He learned from personal experience and how not much had changed for aspiring rural

leaders. Instead of leaving the Liberal Party, he decided to work within the ranks to advocate for changes. He stated: “It never turned me sour against the Liberal Party because the people I was involved with, they had no part in that” (Halfyard, August, 29, 2013, p. 2).

It should also be noted that there was a distinct divide between Liberal and Progressive Conservative followers on the Baie Verte Peninsula. Protestants on the Green Bay side were traditionally Liberal, while Irish Roman Catholic voters on the French Shore White Bay side were traditionally Progressive Conservative. This may stem back to the days when William Ford Coaker and members of the Fishermen’s Protective Union (FPU) formed the Liberal-Union Party alliance in 1913 which saw fishermen, a boat builder, a tinsmith and a school teacher elected to the House of Assembly for the first time in the colonies history (McGrath et al., 2008, p. 21; Smallwood, 1927/1998). Protestant working-class fishers of the Green Bay side were Coaker followers, while M. F. Howley, the Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church, who felt threatened by the FPU, effectively forbade his parishioners to vote for Union members (McDonald, 1987, p. 39; Coaker, 1930/1984).

The political dynamics of that rural area of the province help explain why Halfyard did not seek either the Liberal nomination for the Green Bay District, which took in Tilt Cove, where he was living in 1966, or nearby La Scie where he taught in 1961–62. Tilt Cove was in the Green Bay district where William Smallwood, Joey’s eldest son, a lawyer in St. John’s, had been elected as MHA for the first time in October 1956. Halfyard was about the same age as Bill Smallwood and knew him from his years teaching in Port Anson and Roberts Arm. Leading up to that election, the Liberal government had increased the number of ridings from 28 to 36 which partially reflected the increase in the outport population. However, it was also beneficial to the Liberal Party in those days.

La Scie was in the White Bay South electoral district which had been represented by the Liberal Cabinet Minister, Frederick P. Rowe, since 1952. Because of growing political discontent in parts of the province, Premier Smallwood decided to have Rowe move from the safe Liberal seat of White Bay South to the Tory riding of Grand Falls (Gwyn, 1968, p. 281). Citizens and community leaders in places such as Grand Falls and other growing industry-based urban middle-class towns were starting to question government practices. Consequently, Fred Rowe's 24-year-old son William, a recent graduate from law school, was parachuted into the White Bay South District where his father had been MHA for 14 years.

The White Bay/Green Bay districts, which were traditionally Liberal and politically active, represented Premier Smallwood's political stronghold. On September 8, 1966, Smallwood won 39 of 42 seats (Gwyn, 1968, p. 278). Gerald Myrden won the Liberal seat for St. Barbe South. Smallwood, who had set out to woo young urban voters, had reduced the voting age from 21 to 19 years just prior to the election (Gwyn, 1968, p. 281). Three 'twenty-something-year-old' law graduates, including Bill Rowe in his father's former seat of White Bay South, Clyde Wells for the Humber East (Corner Brook) district and Edward Roberts in White Bay North, were also elected (Bates, 1993, p. 609; Winter, 1993, p. 648; Bates, 1994, pp. 527–528). Leading up to the election Smallwood had indicated he was looking for a political successor. Among the promising candidates were John Crosbie and Alex Hickman, two St. John's lawyers with well-established connections to the St. John's merchant and political elite. Another was Aiden Maloney, described as "a forty-seven-year-old progressive, a former fish plant manager, and deputy minister" who was a rising star with *Fisheries Products* Inc. during the later years when Halfyard's father was also a manager with the company (Gwyn, 1968, p. 282).

After the election, Smallwood reshuffled his cabinet and replaced 60- and 70-year-old

veterans with some of the newly elected young blood (Gwyn, 1968, p. 282; Neary, 1994, p. 298). John Crosbie became the Minister of Health and Clyde Wells was appointed Minister Without Portfolio (Gwyn, 1968, p. 284). Smallwood, then approaching his seventies, was still not willing to relinquish authority. Two years later, in May of 1968, John Crosbie and Clyde Wells resigned to sit as Independent Liberals. On the Federal Government scene, the tide was already changing; on June 25, 1968, the Progressive Conservatives captured six of the seven federal ridings in the province (Gwyn, 1968, p. 285).

Economic Downturn and Political Discontent

The cabinet split, rising unemployment, low fish prices, a general global recession, plus questionable economic strategies started to take their toll on Smallwood leading into the 1970s (Gwyn, 1968, p. 285). Smallwood had elevated the standard of living of outport people; he had also raised their expectations—and stirred them to action. But not much had changed on a political level; government leaders were still being selected from more elite members of society—lawyers, prominent city businessmen or their sons. Smallwood had made teachers “crucial agents” of his social modernization plans, yet he had failed to consider them good enough for political leadership ranks (Cadigan, 2009, p. 255). Meanwhile, MUN Extension workers were fostering grassroots community involvement and invoked a new breed of local leaders to take action. At the same time, the St. John’s press had “rediscovered their critical instincts,” and they questioned Smallwood’s dictatorial style (Gwyn, 1968, p. 283). In the late 1960s, political debates about reforms to the denominational education system plus the creation of local divorce courts upset the Roman Catholic Church. In combination, those factors engendered the “Anti-Smallwood Revolution” of 1968 (Gwyn, 1968, p. 283).

By October 1971, Frank Moores, one of the six Progressive Conservative candidates

elected as Members of Parliament in 1968, won the provincial Tory leadership. Earlier that summer John Crosbie crossed the floor of the House of Assembly and joined the Progressive Conservative Party (Neary, 1994, p. 299). Smallwood, feeling political pressure, called an election for October 28, 1971. During the time leading up to the election of 1971, Frank Moores, Brian Peckford, a teacher from Springdale who was acting as his assistant, the independent Liberal leader, Clyde Wells, and union leader, Richard Cashin, sat in our living room discussing politics with my father. Halfyard explained how school administrators were often “the sounding board for a lot of politicians who came in looking for the ideas in the election” (Halfyard, February 11, 2014b, p. 6). He also related how politicians of both stripes visited local shop owners, the postmistress or master, along with other community spokespersons to gauge the political climate and leanings of people in rural communities (Halfyard, June 26, 2017, p. 10):

They always came to the house, didn’t matter if they were PCs. When Crosbie was running as a Conservative, he came to the house. Clyde Wells came to the house. They always, generally when they were in the area, ended up in our house in a merry discussion, especially Frank Moores and the union man Mr. Richard Cashin. . . .

I supported the reform Liberals strongly. I thought that it was time that our premier step down and let some younger people, like Wells and Cashin and others, to run the country, but Joey wasn’t having any of that. The number of young people that were interested in politics in Newfoundland that he hurt, and hurt their careers, either in politics or in business, was astounding. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 2)

A record 86.28% of voters flocked to the polls, many to register their disenchantment with the Smallwood administration in October of 1971 (Neary, 1994, p. 299). After ballots were counted the results showed 21 Conservative, 20 Liberal, and one New Labrador Party (Morgan, 1991, p. 606). It was the time of the infamous burning of the ballots in Sally’s Cove, petitions for re-counts in five electoral districts and the Supreme Court decision on the Conservative victory in the St. Barbe District. It would be January 18, 1972 before Smallwood resigned and Frank Moores was sworn in as the second premier of Newfoundland. Biographer Richard Gwyn

suggested that “the young, the educated, the middle class, the townies” plus organized labour combined to defeat Smallwood (Gwyn, 1972, p. 334). Other historians note how, “Smallwood underestimated the degree to which teachers enjoyed popular support” and acknowledged teachers as “one of the major causes of his defeat” (Cadigan, 2009, p. 255; Cuff, 1994, p. 345).

The Moores political campaign slogan was “The Time Has Come” and the old system of one man dominating was challenged by a “growing public awareness of social inequalities” that was sweeping North America in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 436). Concerns about minority rights, public policies and government legislation were the order of the day. Seeing themselves as the catalysts of social change, student activists on university campuses in Canada and across the Western World became crusaders for social justice. They organized sit-ins and demonstrations for everything from more democratic university governance, to protests against the Vietnam War, to Afro-American civil rights, to concerns about cultural and linguistic survival among Indigenous people and women’s liberation (Stanley, 1993/2001, pp. 440, 448).

Conclusion

Halfyard was a keen observer and participant in many of those social changes which were permeating the far reaches of Newfoundland’s cultural landscape. A pragmatist at heart and strong believer in the merits of “progress and change,” he saw the benefits of modernization and changes for people living on the tip of the Baie Verte Peninsula. Even in retrospect, Halfyard does not question the value of the social and economic changes that transpired during the 1960s. Yet, as historian Della Stanley explained, there were definite pros and cons:

There were substantial improvements in income levels, employment opportunities, municipal services, education, health care, ethnic relations, and interprovincial co-operation. But rising expectations still came short of fulfillment, and by the end of the decade disillusionment had once again begun to set in. Though the region’s relative decline had been checked, statistically the gap between regional and national living standards narrowed only a little. As the end of the decade neared, accomplishments were

taken for granted while hopes were tempered by industrial failures, continued unemployment and the realization of an unprecedented dependency on federal assistance. (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 42)

Many of the social, economic, and political trends and initiatives Stanley discussed in her article, “The 1960s: The Illusions and Realities of Progress,” parallel Halfyard’s lived experiences and social history narrative. Was Halfyard’s leadership development a phenomenological coincidence or was it because of his “resolute” personality, his general curiosity, interest and enthusiasm for learning new things which he could then use to inspire others (Fullan, 2011, p. 17)? Fortunately, Halfyard, like so many of his generation, did not see the world in silos; everything was interrelated and needed to be woven into a holistic arrangement suited to the needs of the people and places in specific regions.

As events in this chapter illustrate, Halfyard had what Malcolm Gladwell (2000/2002) called “high connectedness” (p. 49). He had a “combination of curiosity, self-confidence, sociability and energy” thus he was able to “move up and down and back and forth among all the different worlds and subcultures and niches and levels” (Gladwell, p. 2000/2002, pp. 48–49). Halfyard’s networking ability supports ideas put forth by adult leadership development scholars such as Burbaugh and Kaufman (2017) and Van De Valk and Constan (2011) who examine the outcomes of leadership development programs (LDPs) and the causal relationship between networking ability and ‘social capital’. In summary, Halfyard seized opportunities for the kinds of ‘leadership learning’ promoted by scholars such as Fullan (2004, 2011), Kouzes and Posner (2007) and Northouse (2007). Those special opportunities are available to ‘outliers’ who exhibit “extraordinary effort” during specific times and places in history (Gladwell, 2008, p. 67).

In the next chapter, I explore what Halfyard added to his ‘toolkit’ as a result of returning to university after the Tilt Cove mine closed in 1967.

CHAPTER 8: A TRANSITION YEAR AT MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY (1967–68): FOURTH YEAR

My sense is that for some people their narrative is a kind of ‘commanding voice’ not only in the way they present their life but also in the way they make key decisions – instrumental, economic, political and moral – about how to live. In other words, their life narrative is a major source of inspiration for the way they act in the world; it informs and guides their actions. (Goodson, 2013, p. 72)

Introduction

Major autobiographical lifetime periods and transitions are characterized by historical as well as personal circumstances and critical events (Brown, Hansen, Lee, Vanderveen, & Conrad, 2012). It is evident that “the impact and profound effect” of critical events can lead to “re-selfing and continuous learning,” especially for those individuals who “respond flexibly to new situations” (Goodson 2012, p. 7; Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 73). Webster & Mertova (2007) describe how,

a critical event as told in a story reveals a change of understanding or worldview by the storyteller It is almost always a change experience, and it can only ever be identified afterwards. (pp. 73–74)

I have determined that over time Halfyard (the storyteller) reviewed past events and made judgments that shaped his narrative (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p. 930; Webster & Mertova, 2007, p. 74). The stories he told became his version of events, his perspective—his subjective truth. Often Halfyard failed to remember the institutional forces at play that may have influenced how he responded to situations and his later direction in life. In this major transition year, I explore some of the many intertwining social, economic, political, and educational forces that profoundly impacted his personal narrative.

The second major transition or turning point in Halfyard’s life course trajectory occurred in 1967 with the closure of the Tilt Cove mine in June of that year. Normally, school principals

and teachers would obtain contracts for the following teaching year by April. The sudden closing of the mine in June did not provide the opportunity for some teachers working in Tilt Cove to secure positions for the coming school year. With no teaching job for September, Halfyard decided to return to Memorial University to complete his degree. That critical event triggered a series of unforeseen events that might have stymied the progress of someone who is less of a risk taker (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, p. 19). Instead it “kick started” Halfyard into action and ultimately led to productive new directions professionally and personally (Fullan, 2011, p. 53).

The focus of this analysis of Halfyard’s transition year at Memorial University is on the personal obstacles he and his family faced as a result of the critical event (closure of Tilt Cove mine). These obstacles included securing funding to return to university, finding housing while in St. John’s, and locating adequate schooling for the children. Newman and Newman (2007) in their principles for the life course theory stress that researchers cannot separate the story of a person’s life from the historical context of the times (p. 190). Thus, I also look at the historical, societal, and institutional forces that came into play that year, including: the rapid population growth and construction boom in St. John’s and at Memorial University which was impacting housing and schooling availability; the release of the *Royal Commission Report on Education and Youth* (RRCEY) in 1967–68 which brought to the forefront weaknesses in the education system and the enormous needs for consolidation, reform and change; the shifting philosophical and pedagogical approach within the Faculty of Education at Memorial from the more traditional British teacher preparation model to the more child-centred ‘progressive pedagogy’ approach of John Dewey; the new breed of educators at Memorial that was being educated across Canada and the United States and bringing new ideas back to teachers in the province; and, the growing fervour of the late 1960s anti-establishment counterculture movements, partially sparked by the

atrocities of the Vietnam War, where university students and intellectuals on campuses across North America were demanding civil rights reforms and democratic governance (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 421–459).

This chapter is about what Halfyard learned and how he persevered during that year of transition. In the analysis and interpretation, I examine how his individual choices and actions demonstrate leadership development for the collective, not just the individual. I suggest that Halfyard's personal (home and family) lived experiences strengthened his resolve to use his skills and abilities to improve circumstances for other families in similar situations. I also surmise that other collective community factors, including a housing and schooling shortage crisis in St. John's, became motivators and practical leadership learning opportunities for Halfyard (Goodson, 2012, pp. 6–8). Halfyard saw the substandard schooling his children and others were receiving on the outskirts of the city and was appalled. Furthermore, I conclude that what he learned from his studies and course work at Memorial, as well as through his interactions with other students, professors, and teacher colleagues, both on and off campus, exposed him to new ideas, challenges, and possibilities for future courses of action (Goodson, 2012, p. 8). Events of that year ultimately “awakened” (Greene, 1978, p. 17) or inspired Halfyard to come up with a vision of how he might improve both the educational and socio-economic opportunities and conditions for people living in rural La Scie and area.

Section I: Personal Critical Events and Obstacles

Tilt Cove Mine Closes – Personal Trigger Crisis

In 1967, the First Maritime Mining Corporation Limited, the owners of the Tilt Cove mine, announced it was shutting down (Burrows, 1992, p. 15). The mine, which employed as many as 400 men in the underground operation, was having cave-in safety issues and according

to Halfyard “getting worked out” of quality ore. The closure displaced at least 70 families and 350 single workers. Halfyard described the implications for himself and his teaching staff:

The mine closed two days before the end of the school year. They came up and notified us in the school. There were six teachers in the school. They told us we were out of a job or they couldn’t open the school in the fall. The town was shutting down. [Long pause]. Well, it was no good to go and try to get a principalship or a good teaching position that late in June. And then, what was terrible, there were a couple or three of the other teachers looking for jobs. Our bonuses were all with the school board. And I asked the school board to release the bonuses for the next year so that the teachers could use that money to look for another job. And don’t mind naming him, Mr. Victor Wight, refused to allow it to go through. He was the secretary-treasurer of the school board. . .

And I fought it for my teachers and for myself until another factor of human life came into play. I had a call from St. John’s asking me, not asking me, telling me what was happening behind the scenes. Because I was pushing the issue so hard with the NTA, at least give us some assistance in going back to university, or to look for new jobs for the teachers, and so on. I was told by the person who called me it had to be dealt with carefully. They considered me a rabble rouser and there was a blacklist coming out on me. That really surprised me.

And, in fact, one of the superintendents in St. John’s was one of the ones that called me and told me what was happening. And even the NTA was involved in it. And I won’t say who it was on the NTA. And I was one of the strongest supporters in the development of the NTA. I was amazed that they weren’t following up on it. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 16)

Because of the NTA’s efforts to collectively improve the working conditions of teachers, as well as the quality of education for students in the province, Halfyard faithfully supported the teachers’ union from 1954. After he moved to the La Scie/Tilt Cove area in the 1960s, he helped to organize a Baie Verte Peninsula Branch with affiliation to the Green Bay area. For years, he echoed the NTA’s mutual interests, values, and beliefs. Hence, he was taken aback when he learned that the NTA might blacklist him because he was speaking up for the needs of teachers in his school.

Added to his shock was the moral dilemma he felt because he had persuaded four members of his staff to not resign in April but to hang on for another year. Teachers traditionally

resigned and looked for new teaching opportunities in April. Halfyard explained how, “The mine manager was telling us that we had another year. So, I encouraged teachers to stay for another year and then go. And then all of a sudden they were chopped off. It wasn’t only me” (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, p. 16). Despite the fact that Halfyard could have held onto his own teaching position in Tilt Cove for one more year, he and Audrey decided it was better to go back to university to improve employment opportunities for the future. Audrey was already missing her mining friends who had left one after another throughout the year to find jobs in mining towns elsewhere. Tilt Cove’s heyday was over. Apartments were becoming vacant. Buildings were being dismantled; life would never be the same.

The critical incident of the mine closing brought with it a series of other personal dilemmas or critical events including: financial and socio-economic challenges, housing and schooling issues, as well as stress and family health problems. Each of those issues and themes will be explored in the context of the major socio-economic and educational changes which were part of that modernization period.

First Obstacle – Limited Financial Resources

Halfyard, in his mid-thirties at that time, did not have enough money saved to go back to university in 1967–1968. Single and married workers in the company town of Tilt Cove may have had better wages and much better standards of living than most people in Newfoundland; however, like so many workers living in oil towns like Fort McMurray today, they tended to live life to the fullest, saving little for a rainy day. Halfyard pondered:

Well it’s a hard thing to say if I had any money saved. I’d say that we might have had five thousand dollars, four or five thousand dollars. Because we always tried to keep a cushion of a few dollars in case somebody got sick, and so on. We always ran our family like that. . . .

But then, Audrey and I talked about it. Well, at this time, we had six children and I had a

little fishing business going, catching salmon in the spring and summer. And I worked with the company. There was still some work. They wanted to close the bunkhouse and the cookhouse. They approached Audrey and asked her if she would cook meals for the men that were dismantling things. And she agreed and she made a lot more money than I made. She had a real good four months. (Halfyard, June 20, 2015, pp. 15–16)

According to Audrey, it was for just over two months that she cooked lunch and supper for 20 men in the family kitchen. Audrey described how they set up tables in the living room, how the children (six in total, ranging in age from six to 13 years) were “going to and fro” and probably not being “looked after very properly.” She remembered how they only had one bathroom and no family room. She recalled how she had no servant girl and that it was well before the time that homes had modern dishwashers. Audrey remarked, “It was a pretty mad household,” and “I was pregnant” (Halfyard, A., June 20, 2015, p. 17). In hindsight, Halfyard reflects how it would have been “so simple to make it better because all the apartments were vacant and you could have taken a chain saw and cut a hole into the next apartment.” Of course, hindsight is 20/20, especially when faced with a mad flurry of unpredictable and unplanned events. Never averse to hard work, Halfyard and Audrey were ultimately able to raise most of the money needed to finance a year at university in St. John’s.

Second Obstacle – Finding Accommodations in St. John’s

The second obstacle they had to overcome was to secure a place for the family to live in St. John’s. This time they had both Halfyard’s cousin Jessie and his brother Horace to help look for a house to rent. Horace and his family had moved into St. John’s from Woody Point around 1963 because his wife, Rita, the daughter of a merchant, wanted to have their school-age children receive a quality Roman Catholic education. By the late 1960s, the housing shortage in St. John’s had reached crisis proportions as more and more people were moving to the city (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 445; Rowe, 1976, p. 92). The rural-to-urban population shift, partially related to

capital infrastructure development (i.e., the building of schools, the university, modern shopping centres etc.) contributed to the city's housing crisis. There was also a rapid growth in both federal and provincial public service jobs as well as an increasing number of students, staff, and faculty at both the Memorial University campus on Elizabeth Avenue and the College of Trades and Technology that was opened in 1963 (Rowe, 1976, p. 116).

As a result of the housing shortage, Halfyard was forced to head off to St. John's in September, where he stayed with his brother, while leaving Audrey and the children with her mother in Roberts Arm. The children attended school in Roberts Arm for almost a month before Halfyard was able to find a house and a school for the children to attend in St. John's. Audrey talked about the house they eventually found:

We were offered different houses, but we took the one, which was at a Botanical Gardens. It was owned by the university. I don't know if they gave us that house or if they just charged us \$50 a month. It was a very big house. I guess we just had our electricity bills to pay there. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, pp. 8–9)

It took a while to find appropriate housing. New subdivisions were growing up on the outskirts of the city around places like the university and the Avalon Mall, which opened in June of 1967. That same year the Arts and Culture Centre, the CBC building, plus two new campus residences for single students had been completed along Prince Phillip Drive near the university (MUNCAL, 1967–1978, p. 43). Other residences for single students, plus Hatcher House for more mature senior students and a new dining hall, were under construction. A residence for married students was not built until the late 1970s when the number of graduate students increased (Rowe, 1976, p. 92). The Newfoundland Teachers Association also opened their new headquarters for their growing full-time staff in a modern art deco style building near the Avalon Mall on Kenmount Road (Pitt, 1990, p. 54).



Figure 59. New NTA headquarters opened on Kenmount Road, St. John's, in 1967 (Courtesy of Newfoundland and Labrador Teachers' Association, Pitt, 1990, p. 54)

Halfyard recounted how he had been offered a summer home owned by the Crosbie family, but it was too far from the university and schools for the children. Eventually the university provided a few married students like Halfyard with some of the vacant homes and cottages on Mount Scio Road. Today, the spot where the large ranch-style house was located is the heart of the MUN Botanical Garden (Memorial University, 2018). My pregnant mother, who was at home all day by herself, would prime the pump in the back porch to get water from what is now the Botanical Garden wishing well.

Third Obstacle – Limited and Poor Schooling

St. John's had three tiers of education, dating back to the 1800s, that was still somewhat alive and well into the late 1960s (Rowe, 1976, p. 20). The five denominational colleges located in the heart of St. John's transitioned into modern regional high schools between 1956 and 1962. The school boards claimed to remove "the discrimination that had existed" under the old system during those transitions (Rowe, 1976, p. 152). Nevertheless, substandard multi-grade elementary public schools were still scattered throughout the margins of the city. The inequalities were very much evident when Halfyard's children started school in St. John's in 1967–68. Audrey

explained:

The most we had trouble with in St. John's was schooling. . . . The school, of course, was Groves Road. And Groves Road at that time was where the rough people went to school—you know, the toughies that weren't allowed, I guess, to go to other schools. But that's where our children went and another teacher's children who moved next door to where we were living on Mount Scio Road. . . .

We were there three weeks or a month, I think, and we were sort of monitoring what was going on at the school. After a while we found . . . you [Sharon] and Job were doing the same lessons. . . . But the thing that really got us, when we found out, was that every Friday the principal would leave to go duck hunting. So, there was no school Friday afternoon. Your father said, "Well, this is not very right. Nobody gets Friday off to go duck hunting or to do anything."

That's when we started to look into it and found out that you were both doing the same school work, and the rest of the kids were probably doing nothing. So Halfyard said, "Well, that's enough of that." He contacted the Department of Education and told them what was going on and that the kids were going into the other schools. But the schools were full and they could not take any more kids. He said, "If you've got a university here, you've got to provide for the people who are coming in from out around the bay because this is where we have to go to university." It was just a whole week of fighting, really. (Halfyard, A., August 30, 2013, pp. 8–9)

Paulo Freire (1970) and Joe Kincheloe (2004), along with scholars in other disciplines, emphasize that "education is always political as it supports the needs of the dominant culture while subverting the interest of marginalized cultures" (Kincheloe, 2004, pp. 14). They also recommend that teachers and students seize the opportunities to expose the oppressive workings of power and offer more democratic power-sharing alternatives. Halfyard is an example of an educator who challenged the institutional status quo of the day when others may have been fearful of standing up and taking action. Freire in his 1970 ground-breaking work reasoned,

in order for the oppressed to be able to wage the struggle for their liberation, they must perceive the reality of oppression not as a closed world from which there is no exit, but as a limiting situation which they can transform. . . . It must become the motivating force for liberating action. (Freire, 1970/2012, p. 49)

The ideas expressed by Freire raise questions as to why Halfyard felt compelled to question the schooling available to the children at Grove's Road school in 1967. Why did he risk

exposing “the hidden politics” that he discovered still existed in St. John’s? (Freire, 1970/2012, p. 49). Was Halfyard an example of a public-school teacher who developed “a social activist teacher persona” and challenged the status quo because of his concerns about how too many school-age children were being marginalized and disadvantaged? Did he feel optimistic that transformation was possible? Or was it only an attempt for better educational opportunities for his own children? (Kincheloe, 2004, pp. 2, 11, 14).

Halfyard always had what Kincheloe calls an “impassioned spirit” (2004, pp. 4, 11). He had empathy for the suffering and poverty of marginalized people and the need for justice, democracy, and equality. Of course, Halfyard was also motivated by the fact that each day, for the two months leading up to discovering the schooling situation of his children, he was attending classes where professors were teaching about new pedagogical approaches and thinking. According to Halfyard’s university transcript for 1967–68, he took: two education courses including Curriculum Development 350 and Foundations of Education 430; three Geography courses; and the first-year French course for a third time. He elucidated on how his children’s school situation reflected systemic problems in the educational system:

I was down there doing education courses. . . . And all the things that you fellows were going through were the same as the things that we were learning was wrong with our education system [rise in voice]. I said, “There has got to be something wrong here.” And so I went to the powers that be in the United Church [school board], all of St. John’s really. And I asked what was going on. I found out there were 80 to 100 students not even in school. They were children of teachers who were in town trying to upgrade. And here the powers that be were doing nothing to accommodate their children.

I mean, it was a direct slap to the integrity of the outport teacher, and so I politely picked up the phone and phoned the superintendent [Department of Education] and told him that I wanted my kids placed in a proper school in St. John’s. And he said, “We can’t do it. They are all up to 40 and 45 students.” And I said, “You’ve got until Monday morning to make a decision.” And I got a call Sunday evening that you fellows were to go down to St. Andrew’s. (Halfyard, June 16–20, 2015, p. 24)

It would be mid to late October before five of the younger Halfyard children finally got

placed in St. Andrew's school. Then, on October 24, his father died suddenly of a heart attack at the age of 77, adding to his personal stress.

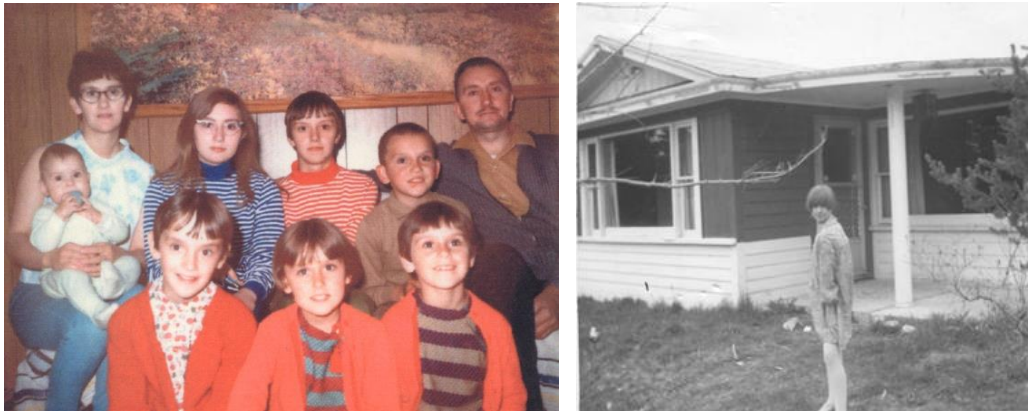


Figure 60. Halfyard family during university year (left). Sharon in front of house on Mount Scio Road (right). (Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Viola, (front row left in photo) who was in Grade 4 that year, described the poor “Hillbilly conditions” at the Groves Road school. (Rice (nee Halfyard), August 8, 2014, p. 2). While we were at the Groves Road school, we were bused to St. Andrew's Elementary School once or twice a week to take French, gym and music. Viola emphasized how she felt stigmatized by both students and teachers after being transferred to St. Andrew's school:

We were perceived as if we were from Groves Road, not from Tilt Cove, you know. And so the stigma was placed on us, on our family. “Well, they're from Groves Road,” and we were [pause] abused, we were made fun of. And I think, in all of us, all of the children in the family, I think I was the one it affected probably most, and it probably affected everybody else too, but I felt [pause] I don't know if it was my personality or whatever, but it really affected me. I felt that the teacher that I had was down on me from the first day we got there. “She's from Groves Road.”

And my brother was a year older than I was, and I think I had a fear every day. Every recess time we would go out and he would be bullied and pushed around and his clothes would be torn up. His lunch would be thrown. Most days he never got his lunch. I went through that all year and I could not function in my class because I was afraid if I didn't get out to the lunchroom or to the playground before he did, then something would happen to him. And I just couldn't even function in school. And I didn't function all that year.

My grades suffered. I have a report card from when I was in Tilt Cove, and I still have

the report card from when I was in St. John's. I went from 60–70s, which was average for me, down to the 18–20 mark. I just lost the total year. (Rice, August 8, 2014, p. 2)

Audrey also explained how, “when she [Viola] came out of St. Andrew's she didn't pass a subject. Not one. And the teacher told her, in school, that her old man could put her there, but he could not make her teach her. She came home and told us that” (Halfyard, A., June 16, 2015, p. 25). Fortunately for Viola, when the family moved back to La Scie the following year, the elementary school principal was Pratt Burton, who had taught her Grade 3 in Tilt Cove. At that time, students who failed had to repeat grades. However, Mr. Burton suggested they move Viola on to Grade 5 and see how she performed. Viola, who was always somewhat shy and introverted, eventually blossomed again. I believe that the traumatic events of that year shaped her future interest and sensibilities.

After graduation from high school she went to Memorial University but quit and worked at a home for seniors in St. John's. She also spent a year in the nursing program in Corner Brook. Each time she returned to La Scie which had, for all intents and purposes, become home because it was where our parents lived. For a period, she worked as a social worker in the area. Eventually, she went back to university and completed her Special Education Degree and later a Masters in Educational Leadership Studies. As an elementary and later high school special needs and art education teacher, she displayed great compassion and understanding for the disadvantaged in society. After retiring as Principal of Hillside Elementary school in La Scie in 2015, she followed a dream and went to Clyde River, Nunavut where she was a Learning Coach helping northern teachers with their teaching strategies.

The injustices Halfyard's children experienced that year no doubt motivated him to take action. I would also argue that because of the emerging educational reform and social activism climate of the late 1960s, Halfyard believed that transformation was possible. He felt that old

institutional practices and injustices needed to be challenged and could be reformed.

Section II: Institutional Forces

The teacher is the keystone in the arch of education . . . This being so, the qualities and qualifications of teachers who man our schools must be a primary and ineluctable concern of all who are interested in education and its improvement. (GOVNL, 1967, p. 109)

World-wide recognition is now being given to the fact that the real wealth and security of any society lie in the human resources at its command. Natural resources and physical capital alone are not sufficient to ensure either economic progress or social well-being. Only human wisdom and skill can make these elements productive and direct them toward those ends which lead to both a higher standard of living and a more satisfying way of life. (ADB, 1969, p. vii)

Government Focus

In the 1969 Atlantic Development Board (ABD) study on the status of education in the Atlantic provinces, human resources development was identified as “key to all progress – individual, social, economic, and political” (ADB, 1969, p. vii). The study stressed the role of education in preparing young people to take their place in a rapidly changing, highly industrialized and highly urbanized society. The answer to the growing number of students destined for public schools throughout the second half of the 20th century was “new education factories” and “centralization and bureaucratic organization” (Conrad, 1993/2001, p. 398). The school consolidation and reform process which began in 1954 in Newfoundland, was a slow process due to monumental needs and limited financial resources (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 442).

In 1967 and 1968, the two volume *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth* (RRCEY) was released by the Newfoundland provincial government. During the course of the Commission’s study (1964–1968), much public interest was generated. Among the hundreds of recommendations related to the public school system, the Royal Commission made 27

recommendations specifically related to teacher education and another 18 to address the province's severe teacher supply problem (GOVNL, 1967, p. 126–128 & 140–143). While it was not the institutional recommendations from the RRCEY that motivated Halfyard to return to university in 1967, I suspect much of the discussion in classes and during break times revolved around the report.

Many of the recommendations in the long-range plan were aimed at raising the professional standards of teachers in order to improve the quality of education in more rural, remote communities where the population was still large and the needs were enormous (GOVNL, 1967, p. 126). Memorial University played a key role in providing more teacher education with the goal of improving teacher qualifications (GOVNL, 1967, p. 115). Between 1967 and the late 1970s, massive numbers of older practising teachers scurried back to university to upgrade and complete degrees as a result of the recommendations put forth by the Commission. (See Appendix B: Education Related Statistics)

In 1961, only 10.7% or 463 out of 4,317 teachers in the province had completed Bachelor's level university degrees (McCann, 1994, pp. 287, 291). By 1966, 14% or 776 teachers of the then 5,543 teachers in the province had completed university degrees. Of the 1966 figures, 26.4% or 537 male teachers and only 6.8% or 239 female teachers had completed four-year degree programs. Only a small number of the more qualified teachers were found in "small schools" where the workload was generally heavier and the remoteness was a deterrent to attracting "a teacher with qualifications higher than Grade 1" (Rowe, 1976, p. 138). Ten years later, in 1971, the number of teachers with a university degree was 59.4% and grew to 74% some 20 years later in 1981.

To encourage more young people to pursue higher education, special grants and

incentives were brought in by the provincial government. The teacher supply problem was “a matter of the greatest urgency” (GOVNL, 1967, p. 115). University-trained teachers were leaving the profession for better-paying jobs in the private or public sector (Rowe, 1976, p. 137). The government’s goals were: to encourage high school students to enter the teaching profession; married female teachers to upgrade and return to teaching; and senior teachers like Halfyard to improve both their qualification and certification levels. In 1965, the Smallwood government introduced free tuition and increased “the indenture grant for student teachers from \$600 to \$800 a year” (Rowe, 1976, p. 90 & 138). Halfyard missed that short window of opportunity but his nephew George did benefit.

Memorial University – Late 1960s Coming of Age

Student enrolment at Memorial University had quadrupled from 1,400 students when Halfyard attended the old campus on Parade Street in 1960–61 to 5,561 in 1967–68. The new campus on Elizabeth Avenue which opened in the fall of 1961 to much fanfare, was already bursting at the seams. As a result, the university was once again forced to limit first-year enrolment until new infrastructure was in place to meet the phenomenal growth (Rowe, 1976, p. 93). Government and educational leaders were still concerned because “only 4.7 percent of Newfoundland’s young people were in university as compared with 10.3 percent in Nova Scotia and 12 percent in the Prairie Provinces” (Rowe, 1976, p. 91).

The new Arts Education building, which had a large library reading room, opened its doors for classes in the fall of 1966 (Baker, 1991, p. 507). The building, with its modern Educational Television Centre (ETV), was also the home for the Departments of Nursing, Classics, Modern Languages, Geography, and Psychology (MUNCAL, 1967–1968, p. 37). That year the Faculty of Education was divided into three new academic departments and

a graduate program was instituted to meet growing educational needs. The Faculty of Education had almost quadrupled from a faculty of 10 professors when Halfyard was at the old Parade Street Campus in 1960–61 to almost 40 professors in 1967–68 when he returned for his fourth year as a full-time university student (MUNCAL, 1960–61, p. 131; MUNCAL, 1968–69, p. 260). In 1967, the Chemistry-Physics Building plus Barnes, Burke, Curtis, Blackall, Hatcher and Squires residences were opened to accommodate the growing number of students (Baker & Graham, 1999, 36).

There was not just one factor or one individual that shaped the goals for rural educators in Newfoundland throughout the 1950s to 1980s. There was a mixture of converging influences and ideas that emanated from the many corners of the world. More and more of the new faculty members hired at Memorial came from varied cultural backgrounds and had studied at different universities in Canada, the United States, and Europe (Davies & Guppy, 2010, p. 169; Goodyear, 1982, p. 184).

Faculty of Education

Fred Rowe, a key minister in the Smallwood government and an important figure in shaping the direction of education in the new province, stated:

Without doubt the greatest single contribution that the university has made to the province has been in turning out thousands of trained, professionally oriented teachers. Indeed, the Faculty of Education has consistently dominated the University numerically, making up half the student body for most of the period. (Rowe, 1976, p. 94)

Influential professors within Memorial University's Faculty of Education shaped the pedagogical practices of the hundreds of teachers, like Halfyard, who were in training during the late 1960s and 1970s. The Dean of the Faculty of Education from 1949 to 1974 was G. A. Hickman (b. 1909). He was an outport-born Newfoundlander who progressed from teaching in

one-room schools to becoming the “Headmaster” at Grand Falls Academy before being appointed the Head of the Department of Education at Memorial University College in 1944 (Pitt, 1984, p. 937). In 1954, Hickman spent a year studying at the world-renowned centre for pedagogy at Columbia University, New York (Goodyear, 1982, p. 181; Andrews, 1985b, p. 360). Upon his return to Memorial, Hickman endeavoured to replace the traditional British teacher preparation model with the ‘progressive pedagogy’ philosophical approach of John Dewey. As mentioned earlier, the word progressive was repeatedly used by Halfyard. It also appeared in university textbooks he studied and the academic literature related to religion, history, politics, economics, geography and education of the times. Contemporary educational sociologist, Scott Davies and Neil Guppy (2010) note how Dewey’s intellectual ideas, which stemmed back to the early 1900s, became a big force in Canadian schools during the 1960s:

Dewey’s philosophical writings proclaimed the need to make learning child-centred. According to his philosophy, learning should be an engaging activity directed as much by the students as by the teacher. Teachers should cater to students’ interest, not vice versa. (Davies & Guppy, 2010, p. 168).

At the turn of the 20th century, Dewey called for a new movement in education. He advocated for “changes in the school practices and traditions better suited to the changing needs of the factory system. It was reflective of urbanization, and “the new society,” with new “modes of industry and commerce” where home-based industry was replaced by automation and greater commercial activities (Dewey, 1902/2001, p. 5–6). Those changes, described by Dewey as happening in American cities in the early part of the 20th century, did not really start materializing in rural Newfoundland until the mid-1960s.

Dewey recommended that schools adapt to embrace the radical changes in society; it was essential to “train the child in relation to the physical realities of life” rather than “bemoaning” their loss (Dewey, 1902/2001, p. 9). Like contemporary educational theorists who value lived

experience (van Manen) and place-based teaching (Theobald), Dewey called for schools to be more spontaneous, less rigid, less class oriented, less guarded, less passive listening and more active and reflective of life experiences and societal occupations. Dewey wrote in 1903:

There is a certain disorder in a busy workshop; there is not silence; persons are not engaged in maintaining certain fixed physical postures; their arms are not folded; they are not holding their books thus and so. They are doing a variety of things, and there is the confusion, the bustle, that results from activity. But out of the occupation, out of doing things that are to produce results, and out of doing these in a social and co-operative way, there is born a discipline of its own kind and type . . . the only training that becomes intuition, is that got through life itself. . . . But the school has been so set apart, so isolated from the ordinary conditions and motives of life, that the place where children are sent for discipline is the one place in the world where it is most difficult to get experience. (Dewey, 1903/2001, p. 12)

At one point in May of 2017, I asked Halfyard if he had read or studied the work of John Dewey. He said he didn't think so. But later Audrey told me she knew the name and thought he had studied Dewey's work. Some of Dewey's philosophical underpinnings trickled down to Halfyard through professors' lectures, assigned readings and class discussions at Memorial. An examination of materials from Halfyard's home office also shows that the Department of Education, Newfoundland Teachers' Association, and the School Administrators Association, among other educational stakeholders distributed articles related to the latest trends in education at conferences and annual meetings. Sometimes leading publications were packaged and sent to school administrators via mail. Halfyard was also exposed to the influential ideas of Dewey when he took off-campus distance courses in psychology from Memorial in 1971–72 and when he spent a summer studying Industrial Arts at the University of New Brunswick in 1972.

Among Halfyard's collection were at least three philosophy of education textbooks which he had used for the Curriculum Development 350 or Foundations of Education 430 courses he took at MUN in 1967–68 (MUNCAL, 1967–1968, pp. 158–159). There were also three textbooks from the "Foundations of Education Series," which he presumably read. He also had in

his personal collection some history, philosophy, and foundations of education textbooks, which referenced the work of Dewey along with other educational ideas (Curtis & Boulton, 1953/1965; Kneller, 1964/1967; Brauner & Burns, 1965). At the back of *Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* by George F. Kneller (1964/1967), Halfyard had written the following definition for philosophy, which may have been a note dictated by his professor: “Philosophy: pursuit of wisdom; study of realities and general principals; system of theories on nature of things or on conduct; calmness of mind as of philosopher.” Dewey’s ideas plus other ideas found in the old university texts speak to the potential pedagogical influences that shaped Halfyard’s philosophy and approach to teaching after his year at Memorial in 1967–1968.

Professors of Influence

Halfyard repeatedly mentioned three professors when talking about his years at Memorial in the 1960s. First and foremost was Dr. William F. Summers. Halfyard took three geography courses in 1967–68. The *Geography of Newfoundland 330* was described in the Memorial University Calendar as a study of physical, human, and economic geography of the Province of Newfoundland with an emphasis on population distribution, resource use and economic activity (MUNCAL, 1967–68, p. 171). He scored 76% in that course. The second course was *Fisheries Geography 361* which was taught by a new faculty member whom Halfyard described as a “poor professor” who left seven older students in the class at the risk of failing (J. Halfyard, personal communication, September 17, 2017). Halfyard’s final grade for that course was 56%. The third geography course was *North America 430*. The Memorial calendar described the course as “a systematic and regional geography of the North American continent” (MUNCAL, 1967–68, p. 172). It included the physical, economic and political geography of Canada, the United States and Mexico.

The two education professors who Halfyard repeatedly mentions were Dr. Herbert Kitchen and Dr. Philip Warren. It is not clear when Halfyard first met Kitchen or Warren. More than likely he encountered them and other senior educational professors like G. A. Hickman (Dean), W. G. Rowe, G. L. Parsons, and O. K. Crocker, to name a few, at conferences or seminars organized by Memorial University, the NTA, and the School Administrators Association sometime in the 1960s (MUNCAL, 1967–68, p. 156). Halfyard also knew Kitchen from his involvement with the Liberal Party in the mid-1960s. Both Warren and Kitchen were graduates of the PhD program at the University of Alberta.

As the number of students attending university increased during the 1960s, the faculty complement in the education department grew. There was a shift towards hiring more professors from outside the province, which influenced pedagogical thinking and approaches. Networks, and thus awareness, of trends and best practices changed. This is an example of the significance of connector networks and the idea of the tipping point as put forward by Malcolm Gladwell (2000/2002). He illustrates the value of networks or “connectors” in the sharing of knowledge between people who occupy many different worlds and subcultures. A review of conference and other educational resource material among Halfyard’s private papers shows that professors built on their networks of connectors when they invited renowned scholars or colleagues from other parts of the world to the province to give presentations at conferences. New pedagogical ideas were transmitted along the chain to education students, classroom teachers, school principals, and other administrators in the teaching profession. Those networking and transmission practices grew even more throughout the 1970s as transportation and technology improved. It was part of Memorial’s outreach plan to distribute educational ideas and best practices strategies to school principals and education students, who would then pass those ideas down the chain to those on

the ground in classrooms in smaller communities.⁵⁰

Dr. Philip Warren, the chair of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth* (RRCEY), was on leave from his position as Head of the Department of Educational Administration the year Halfyard was at MUN in 1967–68. Halfyard’s memories are mostly of Dr. Kitchen:

There was a lot of pressure on to get teachers more educated. . . Herb was the big push in changing the education system. Because he attacked the Roman Catholic organization, and how they never had a graduate teacher in Newfoundland. . . he pointed out that 80% of the teachers in Newfoundland, with some university training or degrees, were from the United Church. And then within 10 years the most [best educated] were in the Roman Catholic system. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014b, p. 2)

Was Kitchen, like Halfyard, characteristically forthright and not concerned about creating political waves? Wary of the denominational prejudice evident in the interview statement, I searched for written evidence that Kitchen actually did make such a comment but was unable to find anything. Neither did the educational statistical tables produced by Phillip McCann (1994), or information provided in the Royal Commission Report of 1967–68 provide breakdowns on the percentage of teachers, by denominations, with university degrees (McCann, 1994, p. 291; GOVNL, 1967, p. 109–118). If Kitchen did make such a statement, he may have done so to spur more teachers from the Roman Catholic system to upgrade their university qualifications. What I did discover in searching for substantiation of Kitchen’s statement was a better understanding of some of the main ideas put forward by both Kitchen and Warren, along with other educational

⁵⁰ Among the collection of books, pamphlets and education related articles in Halfyard’s home office and attic were the two volumes of the Royal Commission Report spearheaded by Phil Warren, plus his 1973 text, *Quality and Equality in Secondary Education* in Newfoundland. Also in his files were professional development articles published in the NTA Journal, and in the Department of Education News Letters. There were also a number of leadership related “Educational Administration” booklets that were published by the Faculty of Education starting in the late 1960s (Griffiths, 1970; Buffett, 1970; Davis, 1969). In the mid-1960s the Faculty of Education started publishing and distributing more educational policy, administration and leadership ideas, first through the Monographs in Education series and later through the Annual Lecture Series which started in March of 1969. One of the slender Monographs in Education booklet series in Halfyard’s collection was titled *The Principal as an Educational Leader*. It was written by Phillip J. Warren in 1965.

scholars and government officials who were shaping the direction of education in the province throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s.

Conclusion

Halfyard's personal collection of books and files, related to his transition year at Memorial, sheds light on some of the institutional influences that shaped his educational focus and direction moving into the 1970s. I was very familiar with the stories he told of the circumstances the family faced the year he went back Memorial to upgrade after the mine closed in Tilt Cove. I was also very familiar with the struggles and trauma related to schooling for his children. However, it was only after I scanned the topics listed in the texts Halfyard used in courses that year and re-read specific chapters of the 1967–68 RRCEY that I truly saw the connections between Halfyard's family's lived experiences and the historical context of the times. The release of Volume One of the Royal Commission Report during the winter of 1967, followed by the release of Volume Two early in 1968, would have resulted in much public and professional discourse. Some more controversial recommendations would have been fodder for angry rebuttal in local newspapers, open-line, and possibly even church pulpit sermons.

Halfyard's personal family situation in St. John's in 1967–68 when analyzed in the context of the times and juxtaposed against the five wonderfully enriching years of schooling and social activity in Tilt Cove (1962–1967) clearly awakened his understanding of the urgency for major changes in the educational system and motivated him to take action. The socio and economic bubble in which he and his family lived in the mining town of Tilt Cove was by no means typical of the lived experiences of thousands of Newfoundlanders in outport fishing villages or even those living in emerging semi-urban 'growth centre' towns or company towns. As will become evident in the next chapter, towns with modern amenities (electricity, water and

sewage) were still in the early days of development. Regions like the Baie Verte Peninsula were in a transition mode under a second phase of resettlement and modernization strategies, driven by the federal and provincial government's large-scale regional economic development programs of the 1960s (Conrad, 1993/2001, p. 401).

The education courses Halfyard took that year exposed him to new educational trends and ideas. The geography courses, when combined with those he took in 1960–61, gave him a better theoretical understanding of geographical concepts, factors and strategies that influence social, human and economic planning, growth and stability. He was able put the pieces of the puzzle together and to understand the big picture of how educational and socio-economic transformation was necessary to improve social well-being and to meet the changing global trends of the times (GOVNL, 1960). There are striking parallels between Halfyard's practical approach to rural needs, and the issues and questions raised by contemporary scholarly geographers like Halseth, Markey, and Bruce (2010) in Canada, Michael Woods (2007, 2009, 2010) and Anne Buttmer (2001) in Britain, as well as a growing number of international geographers about constructing sustainable rural places within the context of global trends. Modernization was inevitable.

In the next chapter, I show how Halfyard took up the challenge to experiment with educational programs and materials in his new job as a coordinating principal. He embraced Kitchen's recommendation that "schools and teachers must assume a greater measure of direct responsibility for community and social development" (Kitchen, 1969, p. 6). The chapter explores how he adopted and adapted ideas from university courses, the many publications and reports he read, and his personal lived experiences to develop concrete "plans of action" to meet "the real world" needs of the residents of La Scie and area in the 1970s and 80s (Goodson, 2013,

p. 8). The chapter also examines the many obstacles Halfyard faced as an administrator of a small “end-of-the-road” school zone from the emerging professional school board office staff who were in the early stages of establishing centralized district authority and policies.



Figure 61. It was May 1970 before Halfyard was able to make his mother proud when he received his B.A. (Ed.)
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

CHAPTER 9: VETERAN TEACHING YEARS LA SCIE (1968–1987)

An Educational Vision Realized, Creative Leadership, Creative Solutions

We've got geography against us; we're at the end of the road. So, we've got to somehow overcome that. (Terry Ryan, July 17, 2012, p. 15) (Former student of Halfyard's and MUN grad)

Every single personal-best leadership case we collected involved some kind of challenge. The challenge might have been an innovative new product, a cutting-edge service, a ground-breaking piece of legislation, an invigorating campaign to get adolescents to join an environmental program, or the start-up of a new plant or business. Whatever the challenge, all the cases involved a change from the status quo. Not one person claimed to have achieved a personal best by keeping things the same. All leaders challenge the process. (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, p. 18)

A genuine purpose always starts with an impulse. Obstruction of the immediate execution of an impulse converts it into a desire. Nevertheless, neither impulse nor desire is itself a purpose. A purpose is an end-view. That is, it involves foresight of the consequences which will result from acting upon impulse. Foresight of consequences involves the operation of intelligence. It demands, in the first place, observation of objective conditions and circumstances. For impulse and desire produce consequences not by themselves alone but through their interaction or co-operation with surrounding conditions. (Dewey, 1938/1997, p. 67–68)

A life-history approach to school leaders' lives and work has potential to identify and document these lay theories that propel them in a role that is increasingly challenging and difficult to fulfill. These experiential theories-in-use have potential also to divulge what principals are passionate about, as well as provide insight into what sustains them in turbulent times. (Sugrue, 2005, p. 7)

Introduction

When Halfyard finished the year at Memorial University in 1968 he was ready to look for teaching opportunities in other regions of the province. That year he was offered positions in Coley's Point, Carmenville, and Baie Verte. He had also applied and wanted to go to Churchill Falls to teach. The Churchill Falls hydroelectric mega project was at the height of construction in 1968 and the company town had all the state-of-the-art facilities to which Halfyard and his family had become accustomed in Tilt Cove (Feehan & Baker, 2010, p. 5; Gwyn, 1968, p. 274).

Perhaps, more importantly, he would get to be a part of an exciting new industrial development. The company did not hire him once they discovered he had seven children. They said they could not provide housing for such a large family.

Unbeknownst to Halfyard, during the spring hiring period, the United Church minister and chair of the new Amalgamated school board in La Scie had called Halfyard's home in St. John's to offer him a principal/teaching position back in that community. Audrey answered the phone. She vividly remembers the minister's call and her prompt reply, "Not a chance. Not if I have anything to do with it." Audrey, just in her early thirties, did not want to go back to the traditional lifestyle of a fishing village where the church dominated and people could sometimes be judgmental and unforgiving to come-from-aways. In contrast, the Tilt Cove years had been very kind to Audrey. She enjoyed the pleasurable more cosmopolitan lifestyle, that included the best of everything, in terms of food, clothing, and shelter with people who were worldly and exciting. In many ways, what she got to experience in Tilt Cove was what a young person encounters when they go off to university for five years. Once exposed to shiny new things and ideas, she changed and her expectations in life changed. Nevertheless, it may have been events that transpired in the 1980s that really tainted my mother's deep-rooted feelings about La Scie.

Audrey kept the message about the job offer to herself for almost a week. Fearful that Halfyard would eventually find out, she finally told him. He promptly called Reverend Fellows, the school board chair, and made these requests:

"If you build a new house for me, insulated, well built, then I'll come back. But not before." And so, they made arrangements through the powers that be and built two houses: one for the vice-principal and one for the principal, for me, in La Scie. That was only two. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 8)

This time he had ammunition when it came to requesting better housing because the recent Royal Commission had recommended "suitable housing be provided for teachers living in rural

sections of the province” (GOVNL, 1967, p. 127). Much to my mother’s chagrin, we were on the way to La Scie, this time by road. Unfortunately, it would be a month before the new house was ready for the family.



Figure 62. La Scie Amalgamated High School now Hillside Elementary School
(Courtesy of Clyde Saunders, September, 2018)

When Halfyard returned to La Scie in 1968, he became a teaching principal of the Amalgamated Central High School, a new facility opened in April of 1967 (Halfyard, May 17, 2017; LSCHY, 2012, n. p.). The new Amalgamated high school had 10 classrooms and a non-regulation size auditorium/gym but no science labs like those in Tilt Cove. Nevertheless, it was a vast improvement over the four-room school where Halfyard had taught high school students in 1961–62. Elementary school facilities were still abysmal. The primary and elementary grades were housed in two separate structures, the old four-classroom school, plus the two-room primary building. Modern toilets had been installed by the early 1970s; however, they lacked running water. Teachers I interviewed chuckled when they recalled having to use buckets of water for flushing toilets. Halfyard described his general educational strategy accordingly:

My effort at the time was straightforward: we’re here to improve the educational system.

And if that requires a new physical building, then that must be done. If it needs new equipment, then that needs to be done. And I'd turn over hell to see that it was done. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014, p. 7)

What seems to be a rather basic strategy, I would argue, turned out to be a big picture transformational vision for future actions and initiatives to improve the educational system and the quality of life in La Scie.

Cornerstones for a Vision

In this chapter I explore the cornerstones of Halfyard's plan to improve education in the small traditional Newfoundland fishing village of La Scie in the 1970s and 1980s. My father often recounted how he started to formulate a plan of action, a strategy for improved schooling (purpose), as soon as he was offered the job in La Scie in 1968. In all likelihood, he chose to teach in La Scie instead of the more heavily populated, modernized town of Coley's Point in Conception Bay or the mining town of Baie Verte because he knew those larger communities had strong established leadership – the needs of those communities were being adequately met. Furthermore, he had developed an affinity with the region and understood the potential of La Scie and the needs of the people. At the same time, his experiences in the mining town of Tilt Cove provided fertile juxtaposition to the still rudimentary fisherfolk lifestyle offerings of La Scie. He had a vision for what La Scie, with its modern fishing industry, could become.

The first of four main cornerstones of Halfyard's long-term strategic plan was building a state-of-the art comprehensive⁵¹ or "composite" high school with more hands-on pre-vocational options that might address the dropout problem that was particularly high in La Scie. Young

⁵¹ The "comprehensive school concept" was generally only envisioned for high schools with more than 1,000 students (Warren, 1973, pp. 154–155). Warren described how the comprehensive school concept would provide for a variety of vocational as well as academic general education courses for all students. It was recommended that school administrators practice a "high degree of flexibility and adaptability in their offerings." School principals/administrators were encouraged to take initiative, use judgment in their "practices so that students have

people were still leaving school in Grade 8 or 9 to go to work in the fish plant or to fish with their fathers (Andrews, 1985b, p. 330; Warren, 1973, p. 154). His second strategy was to make the school facility into a community centre and a hub for positive learning experiences for young and old alike. By day, it would offer regular high school academics and extracurricular activities. By night, it would offer Adult Basic Education (ABE) upgrading for young adults who had left school early in the junior high grades. Night school was even more important for people who had recently resettled from communities where schooling was sporadic and students did not progress much past Grade 9.⁵² Halfyard also envisioned providing lifelong learning courses such as sewing, typing, and physical education, and enrichment courses that would be made available to both adults and interested high school students (again, something only offered in larger more urban centres). This third cornerstone was to improve housing for teachers to increase teacher retention, which would, in turn, improve the quality of education for students. Finally, Halfyard's fourth priority was to improve social, recreational, and other amenities for the community (e.g., Kinsmen Club, medical clinic, etc.) for the benefit of both local residents and teachers.

Halfyard wanted to keep teachers happy and working in the community. It should be noted that Halfyard never articulated a formal 'strategic plan'; he simply repeatedly described key things he tried to accomplish for the area. Nevertheless, he had a vision, he embraced "a plan and method of action" in order to improve education and socio-economic conditions for the community (Dewey, 1938/1997, p. 69). He was one of those passionate and innovative rural educators of the early post-Confederation years who applied "creative leadership" and creative

many options depending upon their individual needs and changing educational and vocational plans" (Warren, 1973, p. 155).

⁵² In 1971 some 65.6% of the Newfoundland population, aged 15 to 44 years, had less than a Grade 9 education (McKim, 1988, p. 270).

solutions to meet the needs of the students in his care (Warren, July 2, 2012, p. 13; Goodson, 2013, pp. 7–8). He saw how the educational improvements could tie into the government’s long-term social and economic development plans for the community, the region, and the province. Most of the strategies Halfyard put into action were, in various forms, among the 340 recommendations of the RRCEY.

Halfyard was moving into the “autonomy” self-actualization stage of his career which reflects elements from Day and Bakioglu (1996), Ribbins (2003), and Inman’s (2011) models for leadership development within education fields. Day and Bakioglu describe the autonomy stage as the “most active, most satisfactory, most rewarding” stage (1996, p. 212). While Day and Bakioglu depict ‘Phase 3: Autonomy’ as the most self-confident stage of an educational leader’s career journey, they suggest the phase is followed thereafter by ‘Stage 4: Disenchantment’ because “their control can be under threat, due to the restrictions placed upon them through government initiatives and institution requirements” (Inman, 2011, p. 4). While issues related to the ‘disenchantment’ stage will be discussed in the next chapter, elements of institutional control and restrictions become visible in the examination of this stage of Halfyard’s leadership development.

Kouzes and Posner (2007) write:

Being forward-looking is not the same as meeting the deadline for your current project. Leaders have to prospect the future. They have to be on the lookout for emerging developments in technology, demographics, economics, politics, arts, and all aspect of life inside and outside the organization. They have to anticipate what might be coming just over the hill and around the corner. (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, p. 110)

This chapter demonstrates how Halfyard was a competent, forward-looking change leader who was, as Kouzes and Posner suggest, always “on the lookout for emerging developments.”

Sugrue (2005) in *Passionate Principalship: Learning from the Life Histories of School*

Leaders contends that “lay theories of leadership are developed . . . from untutored interpretations of lived experience ideas” and that life-history approaches “have the potential, also, to divulge what principals are passionate about, as well as, provide insight into what sustains them in turbulent times” (p. 7). Sugrue borrowed from the ideas of Holt-Reynolds (1992) who wrote:

Rather, lay theories represent tacit knowledge lying dormant and unexamined. . . . Developed over long years of participation in and observation of classrooms . . . and teaching/learning incidents occurring in schools, homes or the larger community . . . lay theories are based on untutored interpretations of personal, lived experiences” (Holt-Reynolds, 1992 as cited in Sugrue, 2005, p. 7).

Halfyard is also an example of one of those school principals, albeit from an earlier generation, who had the passion that Sugrue argues should be put back into the school leadership equation for contemporary school administrators:

[I]t is necessary to put passion back into the leadership literature, both for its own sake and as an important instrumental means of providing the individual and collective ‘glue’ that begins to focus on continuity and purpose rather than a bewildering array of choices and demands that no amount of problem-solving capability can deal with unless fuelled by passion to act in particular ways. (2005, p. 13)

Halfyard was a catalyst within the system who could inspire and motivate “co-actors, be they colleagues, students or parents, [to] become co-creators of alternative and empowering scripts” (Sugrue, 2005, p. 20). Sugrue (2005), who draws on the ideas of Theobald (1993, p. 21), also argues that during times “when the pace of change is more rapid and its context more turbulent,” school leaders are positioned to devise “alternative scripts for their professional selves and the communities in which they toil” (p. 20). Such was the case in Newfoundland, especially in the 1960s through to the mid-80s, when government policy-makers introduced massive new policies as a result of the recommendations within the RRCEY.

Meanwhile, the literature reveals that not everyone bought into the more creative and

innovative possibilities put forth in the RRCEY. A few years later, the creators of the plan recognized the need for school principals in the trenches to experiment and to modify. They provided workshops, seminars and professional development literature about the role of principals in leadership and the development of best-practices for their schools and the local communities they came to serve (Warren, 1973, p. 155; Colloquium, 1971). The educational needs were local and the model, especially in the first decade, was very much a decentralized version where senior teacher/principals with years of experience were expected to take the lead when it came to education and efforts to improve the overall quality of life for citizens (Goodson, 2013, pp. 4–5; Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 421; Warren, 1973, p. 153).

Section I: Era of Educational Change and Reform – Institutional Forces

Profound educational changes to meet the needs of today's society are taking place in most of the provinces of Canada. It appears that education is taking precedence over every other Provincial matter. There is evidence to show that the general public is displaying a greater interest in education than ever before. Newspapers, reflecting this general interest, are giving greater prominence to educational matters. Provinces which have been notably conservative in educational matters are now making liberal changes, which can be termed 'dynamic.' (Parson & Hatcher, 1965, p. 4)

Royal Commission Inquiry on Education and Youth, 1964–1968

By 1966, the Newfoundland population of students from age 5 to 15 was 146,503, up from 128,917 in 1961 and 79,324 in 1951 (Andrews, 1985b, p. 336; McCann, 1994b, pp. 277–298). The student population peaked at 160,915 in 1971 (see Appendix B: Education Related Statistics). Almost one third, or 30.8%, of the province's total population was attending school (McCann, 1994a, p. 220). Education was in a crisis; more classrooms and more qualified teachers were needed to meet evolving societal demands. To compound matters, the Newfoundland economy was not keeping pace with the rise in population; a decline in the fishery, post-war reorientation in trade markets, and limited success of Smallwood's industrial

economic strategy contributed to higher unemployment, out-migration, and a growth in welfare recipients (McCann, 1994b, pp. 222–23). At the same time, Newfoundland had the largest proportion of its population, 15 years and over, with less than a Grade 9 education (McCann, 1994b, p. 225; McKim, 1988, p. 270). While efforts to improve schooling had been going on throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Newfoundland government budget allocation per child was still, by far, the lowest in Canada (Parsons & Hatcher, 1965, p. 6; McCann, 1994b, 298). Most were living in rural outport areas of the province. In order to meet the growing post-secondary training requirements of industry and society, a comprehensive plan for a sound general public education was needed to retain students, and to provide the necessary upgrading for those who had left school early (GOVNL, 1967, p. 17).

In 1964 the Minister of Provincial Affairs, G. A. Frecker, drew up the terms of reference for the *Royal Commission on Education and Youth* (GOVNL, 1967, pp. xiii–xiv). Philip Warren, was appointed chair of the 12-member (all men) Royal Commission of inquiry conducted between 1964 and 1969. The Commission looked at strengths and weaknesses, and studied everything from the teacher supply shortage, teacher salaries, teacher qualifications and upgrading, school curriculum needs, examination methods, scholarship and bursary policies, education for children with disabilities and gifted children, guidance services, library services, emerging audiovisual trends, student motivation, new busing needs, post-secondary education, the ongoing school facilities and maintenance needs, even housing subsidies for school teachers. They examined practices in other parts of North America and knew that most provinces of Canada had either completed a program of school district reorganization or were moving towards the process of consolidation and the dissolution of small school districts (GOVNL, 1967, p. 81; Parsons & Hatcher, 1965, pp. 27, 48–50).

Consolidation would not have been feasible without the completion of the Trans-Canada Highway in 1965 and the building of approximately 3,200 miles of secondary connecting roads over the next 10 years (Andrews, 1985b, p. 304; Rowe, 1976, pp. 60–61). Other modernization factors, including the introduction of hydroelectricity and resettlement of smaller island communities to larger centres, brought the province to the stage where large-scale improvements to the public educational system could become a priority. Educational change and reform was a lengthy purpose-driven process with many layers and intertwining factors. It took a number of decades to evolve (Dewey, 1938/1997, p. 67).

Financial resources were limited, thus, duplication of services in communities was a major problem that had to be addressed to improve the quality of education (McKim, 1988, p. 232). As noted earlier, the number of small individual school districts peaked at 289 and levelled off at 232 denominational districts and 270 school boards in the 1960s (GOVNL, 1967, p. 75). While 80 modern regional and central high schools had been built between 1954 and 1965, other schools were “completely unfit for human habitation,” especially elementary schools in remote locations (Parsons & Hatcher, 1965, pp. 14, 35). Too many communities, with a mix of denominations, could not agree to combine efforts to build and operate a larger more cost-efficient consolidated school. At issue was the denominational education system. The right of the churches to own and operate their own schools had been entrenched in the Terms of Union with Canada in 1949 (Cuff & Baker, 1994, p. 105).

Government policy-makers were aware of the growing trend towards consolidation and amalgamation of schools among Protestant denominations which was part of the growing “ecumenical movement that was gaining acceptance across the Christian community in Canada” (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 442). By 1965, the number of amalgamated schools operating in the

province had grown to forty-two (Parsons & Hatcher, 1965, p. 17). While the NTA, as well as teachers who taught under the amalgamated system in company towns, were big promoters of “change in education,” opponents argued that consolidation would destroy community spirit and cost too much (Warren, July 2, 2013, p. 30; Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 443; McCann, 1988, p. 75). Others were concerned the consolidated school district model promoted “decentralization of Supervision away from the Central Department authority” (Parsons & Hatcher, 1965, p. 48). This threatened the power base of the church and the denominational superintendents of education who had been granted major power within the Department of Education under 1950s legislation (Cuff & Baker, 1994, p. 105).

As a result of mounting public criticism of the denominational education system, the Commission proposed a reorganization of the Department of Education; they suggested that church superintendents of education assume advisory roles, not controlling policy-making (Cuff & Baker, 1994, p. 106). Meanwhile, the three Roman Catholic members of the Commission disagreed and submitted a minority report which was supported by the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland (GOVNL, 1967, pp. 194–197). Eventually, a compromise was reached which saw the abolition of the departmental church superintendent positions and the formation of a Denominational Education Council (DEC). The Commission had done what it could within the political climate of the late 1960s. Church leaders were not ready to relinquish their power and influence within education - an area in which they had taken initiative and assumed leadership for centuries (Warren, 2012, p. 51). Despite the fact that secularism was growing across Canada, the climate was not ripe for massive changes to the church-run system of education in Newfoundland until the 1990s (Warren, July 2, 2012, p. 7).

Instead, three DEC's, appointed by church authorities were established. One was for the

Roman Catholic, one for Pentecostals, and one for the newly Integrated United Church, Anglican, and Salvation Army denominations. The DEC's negotiated and were granted specific legislative powers as well as large operating budgets reflecting their proportion of the population (Warren, 2012, p. 51). One of the main functions of the DEC's was to determine how, and where (in collaboration with their specific school boards), money was to be spent for new school buildings, extensions and equipment (McKim, 1988, p. 229). For all intents and purposes, the churches had moved out of the Department of Education; however, they still had major control over very large sums of money. This, William A. McKim (1988) suggests, allowed the government to avoid the responsibility for making decisions of a sensitive political nature. It was also common practice, well into the 1990s, that the divisions within the Department of Education be equally managed, on a rotation basis, by a person from each of the five major denominational groups.

While profound changes were to take place over the next 25 years, the chair of the 1992 *Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Delivery of Programs and Services in Primary, Elementary, Secondary Education* suggested they were not “genuine reforms, but rather *ad hoc* adaptations often to localized or short-term exigencies” (GOVNL, 1992, p. 211). In essence, the 1967/68 *Royal Commission* recommendations did not address “the underlying problems of the system itself”—the denominational education system (p. 211). The modified consolidated school board system for administration of schools needed time to evolve. In the meantime, the Commission drafted governance flowcharts to outline the possible school district configurations, which included models for a Roman Catholic school board, Protestant consolidated school board, or an interdenominational consolidated school board (GOVNL, 1967, pp. 85–90).

Integrated School System Is Born – March 27, 1969

On March 27, 1969, after years of negotiations, the Anglican, Salvation Army, and United Church “formally signed a ‘Document of Integration,’ whereby each church relinquished its right to operate its own school, in favour of a system integrated at all levels. Shortly afterwards the Presbyterian Church requested to be admitted, and was accepted into the integration” (Rowe, 1976, p. 159). Consolidation resulted in three major school board systems: the Integrated School Boards, the Roman Catholic School Boards and a newly sanctioned Pentecostal School Board. There was also the Seventh-Day Adventist school board in St. John’s (Andrews, 1985b, p. 306).

On second reading of a Bill for the School Act of 1969, the Minister of Education, the Hon. F. W. Rowe, put forward five recommendations. The first of these was, “that the province be divided into approximately 35 consolidated school districts” (GOVNL, 1986, p. 220; Rowe, as cited in Andrews, 1985b, p. 304) (see Appendix D). The Roman Catholic Church had started the process of reducing the number of boards in their system in the 1960s (Rowe, 1976, p. 153). Consolidation or integration of the Protestant boards, which really started with amalgamation, was a slower process, perhaps because it crossed denominational jurisdictions. In discussing the viability of consolidation and integration, Andrews notes, “it was up to the teachers and the local administrators to make integration work” (1985b, p. 322).

The problems created by restructuring and the formation of the 35 school districts from some 270 were “many and varied” (Andrews, 1985b, pp. 304, 322). There was ongoing jockeying for position with “local jealousies and animosities” cropping up among church and community leaders (Rowe, 1976, p. 158). Thus, the establishment of school boards continued to evolve into the 1974–75 school year (Andrews, 1985b, 371). Joe Kincheloe (2004), in his book

Critical Pedagogy Primer wrote:

Education is a political activity . . . decisions all hold profound political implication. They refer to power and how it is distributed and engaged in the world of education and life in schools . . . decisions made . . . will often privilege students from dominant cultural backgrounds. (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 8)

Kincheloe emphasizes that education is “shaped by a plethora of often invisible forces,” it is bound by social regulations which operate in the name of democracy and justice but are often biased, oppressive and even indoctrinating (2004, pp. 2–3, 9). Kincheloe’s work on the marginalization of African American, Native American, and poor white Appalachian and Latino students reflects socio-economic class divides and discrimination that is similar to what anthropologist Anthony Cohen described as being present in rural outport Newfoundland during the 1960s and 70s (Cohen, 1975, p. 96). Kincheloe also stresses how the process of “constructing a rigorous and transformative education” has many variables; it is a complex, nonlinear, and multifaceted web with many hidden political agendas (2004, pp. 36–37). Such was definitely the case in Newfoundland.

For example, some documents indicate there were 35 school districts while others state there were 37. Some regions started as one district but then later split to become two. Such was the case on the Avalon Peninsula. Ralph Andrews (1985b), in *Post-Confederation Developments in Newfoundland Education 1949–1975*, details the lengthy negotiation process associated with integration on the Avalon Peninsula. Originally, Conception Bay South was to be a part of the Avalon Consolidated School Board. The heavily populated district included the very powerful St. John’s area. Conception Bay South lobbied to be a separate school district. They ultimately formed a small separate autonomous district located between Avalon North and Avalon East (see Appendix D: Map of Integrated School Districts and Roman Catholic School Districts). Another district where there was growing discontent and concern about distribution of power and control

was in the Green Bay Integrated School District where Halfyard was a teacher/principal.

Section II: Green Bay Integrated School District

Halfyard is not exactly sure when the Green Bay Integrated School District officially came on stream, but he does remember the discussions and debates that led to its formation.⁵³

Baie Verte was against the Integrated Board, except being just the peninsula. I was against that [a separate board for the Baie Verte Peninsula] idea because you needed a larger area to draw the expertise needed to operate a good school system. (Halfyard, July 21, 2012a, p. 3)

Letters from G. R. Vincent, a member of a Baie Verte Peninsula school board, to the Denominational Education Committee (DEC) in St. John's are found among the papers of Clarence Hewlett, the chairman of the La Scie school board throughout much of the 1960s and 1970s. The letters establish the fact that two years after the official formation of the Green Bay Integrated School District for the fall of 1969, a concerned citizens group from the peninsula sent a brief and "petition requesting a separate school board district for the Baie Verte Peninsula" (Hatcher to Vincent, Letter, April 8, 1971). A letter of reply dated June 3, 1971, from C. C. Hatcher, the executive secretary of the Integrated Education Committee, to the concerned citizens group states:

[I]n view of the Sub-Committee's report the [Integrated Education] Committee agreed that it would not be in the best interest of all concerned to create a new district at this time. It was agreed that a special study will be made over the next few months of all districts in the Province and whatever changes are deemed necessary will be made, effective July 1, 1972. (Hatcher to Vincent letter, June 3, 1971)

⁵³ In the November 21, 1969, minutes of the Northeast Branch, Mr. Roger Simmons, who was principal of Grant Collegiate in Springdale and the president of the NTA at the time, explained the merits of the integrated school model recommended by the Warren Commission to those present at the NTA meeting. Therefore, I came to the conclusion that schools on the Baie Verte Peninsula did not officially join the *Green Bay Integrated School Board* until September of 1970, one year after the district was formed in Green Bay (Halfyard personal file, Northeast Branch NTA Minutes, November 21, 1969). That year there were 4,300 pupils in the proposed district and 167 teachers (Halfyard personal file, Northeast Branch Minutes, Sept., 26, 1969).

The Green Bay Integrated School District, which initially assumed responsibility for all Protestant schools on the Baie Verte Peninsula for the 1969–1970 school year, continued to do so. The politically ambitious Roger Simmons, President of the NTA in 1968–69, maintained his position as superintendent of the Green Bay Integrated School District until 1974.

The Green Bay Integrated School District had a relatively small student population compared to other proposed school board districts. In 1974, the student population of the school district was 3,815 as compared to Bay of Islands-St. George's Integrated which had 7,897. The St. John's Roman Catholic Board was even larger with 20,707 students (Harte, 1981, p. 2 as cited in *Report Declining Enrolments*, 1981, Appendices). Studies conducted elsewhere indicated the advantages of an optimal student population size of 10,000 with the minimum being 5,000 for effective school district reorganization (GOVNL, 1967, p. 80). Unfortunately, Newfoundland's sparse population and large geographical land mass complicated matters, especially "in areas such as the South-West Coast, the Labrador Coast, and sections of the North-East Coast" (GOVNL, 1967, p. 82; Rowe, 1976, p. 61). Hence, special treatment and strategies were sometimes required for remote communities like La Scie and other parts of the Baie Verte Peninsula.

Green Bay Integrated School District Structure

The initial Green Bay Integrated School District staffing structure included a Superintendent of Education (Roger Simmons), a business manager (Hardy Sparkes), a secretary to the superintendent (Beverley Ivany), and two supervisors of instruction (Larry Moss and Margaret Vincent). In 1971, there was also an art specialist (Gary Hill) and an accountant (Rex Leyte) (Halfyard Personal Files, Coordinating Principal Meetings, 1970–1972). The staff were generally well trained, experienced professional educators, and most had Master's level

qualifications. It was common for larger school districts to hire assistant superintendents and more specialists, especially for reading and religion (Andrews, 1987b, p. 310). It was the responsibility of the district specialists to help the many elementary and high school teachers who were still not well trained. Elementary teachers had less formal education than high school teachers. In the 1964–65 school year, 82% of elementary teachers (K-8) had less than two years of training beyond junior matriculation (Kitchen, 1966, p. 17).

As new programs were implemented, especially throughout the 1980s, language arts, math, second language, and other curriculum specialists were added to the district office. An assistant superintendent was also hired. A system of coordinating principals was set up within the districts and became an important element for local coordination of efforts to tackle some of the facilities, curriculum and staffing needs especially in the early years of the professional district office administration (Parsons & Hatcher, 1965, p. 35). Halfyard described the position of the coordinating principal:

Really, the power in the schools and what was done wasn't from the school board; it was from the superintendent down to us as coordinating principals, or up from us as the coordinating principals. The biggest fight that I used to have at those meetings was that all the effort was put into Grant Collegiate and Baie Verte, and we were only left with the crumbs. They got one, two, and three more teachers than we did.... And that's where smaller schools should have gotten more of the help. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014, p. 7)

It is not clear where the coordinating principals model originated, however, Eli Harris, a coordinating principal in Roberts Arm, outlined how the model was used in the new Norris Point Regional High School when he taught there in 1964 (Harris, August 6, 2012, p. 20). The model, which had some “weaknesses and inefficiencies,” was practised in other regions of the province before being officially adopted, with modifications, under the Integration Act of 1969 (Parsons & Hatcher, 1965, pp. 35–36).

Coordinating Principal Model

Halfyard was one of five coordinating or supervising principals in the Green Bay Integrated School District throughout the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s. As coordinating principal, Halfyard oversaw the hiring, supervisory, and logistical needs of the primary and elementary schools that fed into the Integrated Central High School in La Scie. High school students from the smaller nearby communities of Nippers Harbour, Snooks Arm, Round Harbour, Tilt Cove, and Shoe Cove were bused to La Scie. Primary and elementary students still continued to be schooled in small one- and two-room community schools well into the 1970s, pending improvements to road conditions.



Figure 63. Grade 11 graduating class of La Scie Integrated Central High School (1969–1970).
It was the first year students were bussed from nearby communities.
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

In the Green Bay Integrated School District, there were originally six coordination principal cluster zones where primary and elementary schools fed into one central high school that was located in a larger town. They included Triton, Roberts Arm, Springdale, Kings Point,

Baie Verte and La Scie. The number of central high schools changed to five in 1977 when Dorset Collegiate, a new central high school, was build to accommodate students from both the Roberts Arm and Triton catchment areas.

A key responsibility of the coordinating principal was to supervise and offer assistance to the feeder schools in their zone. If teachers needed assistance with certain areas of the curriculum, over and above what the coordinating principal could provide, it was their responsibility to make school board personnel aware of the issues. Halfyard, a veteran teacher of 20 years, made decisions and adopted strategies based on the needs of the cluster of schools for which he was responsible. He described how

the superintendent of the day called us together every month. We had a meeting a month in which there was a strong agenda drawn up on what the issues of the district were. Suggestions were made of how to tackle them. Not only that, but it was a way to weld us together as a group too. We argued together, fought together, had a few toddies together, but got a lot of work done. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014b, p. 6)

Ed Smith, who became coordinating principal in Springdale in 1971, recalled getting a phone call from Job Halfyard shortly after he took up his position:

“This is Job Halfyard calling from La Scie.” And I thought to myself, now who’s Job Halfyard in La Scie? He said who he was. “I want to welcome you to the district.” I never forgot it. As a matter of fact, he might have been the only one who called. (Smith, E., August 9, 2012, p. 22)

Twenty-eight-year-old Chris Amos, born in Bletchley, England in 1943, became coordinating principal of a two-room high school and three-room elementary school in Triton in 1971. It was one of the smallest zones or clusters of schools in the Green Bay Integrated School District. Amos, a Masters student in marine biology at Memorial said, in an interview for this study, that he had run out of his university grant funding and was hired by Roger Simmons during the heavy teacher recruitment of the early 1970s (Amos, August 8, 2012, p. 3; Warren, 1967, p. 122). He described his first impressions of Triton:

It was very different, yes. A lot of things were very different. Triton itself was very different because it had only recently had the road put through, and there was no water and sewer system. Things were very different from home. But on the whole, I quite liked it. (Amos, August 8, 2012, p. 4)

Triton had just been linked to the mainland by a causeway. Amos was also responsible for the two-room elementary school in Brighton, another island settlement that had not yet been linked by a causeway. Amos taught in the Triton area until 1993 when he became the coordinating principal of Grant Collegiate (Amos, August 8, 2012, p. 4). He talked about the monthly coordinating principal meetings:

I found them very valuable because there were people there, including your father, of course, who did understand the system. As soon as I got to know them I realized that I had a source of people that I could talk to. So, I found them very good. In fact, I thoroughly enjoyed going to the principals' meetings and was very sad when they did away with them. (Amos, August 8, 2012, p. 9)

The coordinating principal model was only in use for about 15 years. Paradoxically, or maybe coincidentally, it was phased out in the Green Bay Integrated District just after Halfyard retired in 1987. The 1979 *Task Force on Education* identified that the co-ordinating principal positions had "become redundant." Conditions had changed from the early days of Integration when qualified principals were in short supply and district office staffs were small (GOVNL, 1979, p. 200).

Role of Coordinating Principal

Tucked away in an old filing cabinet among Halfyard's personal effects were minutes from some of the first coordinating principal committee meetings in the Green Bay Integrated District. The earliest minutes were dated May 18, 1971 and indicated that it was their fifteenth meeting. Given that the group traditionally held 10 meetings per year, the coordinating principal system probably started in the Green Bay Integrated School District at the beginning of the

1969–1970 school year. The file also contained a green covered brochure titled *Colloquium – Theme: The Role of the Coordinating Principal Grand Falls – April 30, 1971*. The district superintendents of education from the Integrated, Roman Catholic, and Pentecostal school boards within the Central Newfoundland region organized the seminar to discuss some of the problems faced by coordinating principals.

Coordinating principals, along with a select few high school vice-principals, elementary principal/teachers, regular high school teachers, plus school board supervisors from Glovertown to Bay d’Espoir to La Scie attended the one-day session. Of the group, only five were women. There were three nuns from the Roman Catholic system and two women from the Green Bay Integrated School District. The description of the role and responsibilities of the coordinating principal ranged from “formulating policy for his (sic) system,” solving problems, identifying weaknesses and initiating programs to develop and strengthen the system, identifying in-service needs, resolving teacher problems, and the list went on (Colloquium, 1971). It seems coordinating principals were also expected to supervise janitorial services in all the schools in their zone and review exams written by teachers.

Some of the coordinating principals, especially those in small remote schools who also had almost full-time teaching responsibilities, expressed concerns with the amount of work they were required to do. They wanted to know whether their first priority was the high school where they were a teacher/principal or the network of schools in their zone or cluster. It was suggested by one group at the workshop that “the office of Coordinating Principal is a throwback to the days when qualified personnel for principalship were at a premium and before the advent of school board supervisors, Specialists and Superintendents” (Colloquium, 1971, n.p.). What was not taken into account was how smaller remote schools in the new school districts were still

struggling to attract and retain the quality teachers needed to address major problems in education.

One of the eight groups at the colloquium described the coordinating principal as “Mr. Education” responsible for feeling the education pulse of the community, conveying this feeling to the superintendent, and interpreting Board policy to the people (Colloquium, 1971, n.p.). The coordinating principal was to offer “the personal touch which could mean the difference between success and failure.” That skill and ability was important during those days of major social, cultural, economic, and educational transformation.

Hiring of Teachers

The responsibility of hiring new teachers was generally left to the coordinating principal, especially if they were experienced veteran school administrators. Eli Harris, coordinating principal in Roberts Arm, who grew up in Jacques Fontaine on the Burin Peninsula, explained:

I hired all the teachers. You know, you knew what you were doing, you knew what you wanted. So, you hired the teachers according to what you wanted to do in your school. . . First of all, you had to look at your own philosophy (what you wanted to do), whether it's just academic or co-curricular, or that type of things. And that's the way I looked at it. You want to do more than just academic, and we did eventually. So, you hire teachers that you knew had a good reputation in former schools and had a decent education, and according to the subjects that you wanted. You might want a history teacher, so you would obviously go for a history teacher or whatever. So that's the way I used to look at it and you interviewed the people and sometimes you were lucky and a lot of times you weren't so lucky. [chuckles] (Harris, August 6, 2012, p. 24)

Like Harris, Halfyard posted job notices, reviewed applications, and interviewed and hired teachers for their cluster of schools. Most of the coordinating principals interviewed for this study talked about their philosophy and management style with students, the teaching staff and parents. They used words like ‘empathy’ to describe the qualities they looked for in the teachers they hired. They all mentioned how some teachers were not cut out to be teachers. They encouraged those teachers who lacked empathy for children to resign or move on. Ed Smith

explained:

It depended who it was. If it was somebody who never should have been a teacher in the first place, had no empathy with the kids, wouldn't learn. . . . One fellow was working with a special needs child and picked up a chair one day and threw it at a student. Found that out at lunchtime. I called over to Roger and I said, "Roger, as far as I'm concerned, that man is out of here. There's no way I'm having him with students." Roger agreed. I have no idea what happened to him afterwards. (Smith, E., August 9, 2012, p. 26)

As coordinating principal in La Scie, Halfyard was also responsible for hiring teachers for the two-room schools in the tiny fishing villages of Nippers Harbour and the sole-charge one-room schools in Snooks Arm, Round Harbour and Tilt Cove. Being small and extreme 'end of the road' settlements created even greater hiring challenges. He recalled:

Sometimes you couldn't always get the right teacher to go to those schools (and I've had some interesting ones). I had a flower child come in from Nova Scotia in a one-room school one time who believed learning was best done in a free, open environment. And so, the kids would only go to school when they felt like it. If he felt like sleeping in until after dinner, he slept in until after dinner. No penalties. If you felt like not going to school that day, but next day, that was okay.

This went on until after Christmas, and I became more and more concerned over it. I called the superintendent at the time . . . and I said, "You should come down and evaluate it." It was an interesting situation. . . . I think [the superintendent] handled it very poorly. He used the axe. He dropped the axe on him. If you go down through your teaching career, you'll find out a lot of things that you would do differently, differently in a good way and differently in a bad way maybe. (Halfyard, January 15, 2012, pp. 13–14)

On the brighter side, things did improve and there was more potential for hiring competent, professionally trained teachers by the mid-1970s. Halfyard explained:

We went through a period, about 40 years ago, in which a lot of young people were coming out of Memorial in math and in sciences and in literature and languages. I know that when we were building the new high school here, in the early 70s, I went and picked up a lot of those young fellows. They were 22–23 years old and had just finished one and two degrees in science, in mathematics, and so on. They were the key whereby you were building a program. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 11).

While the individual coordinating principals did the bulk of reviewing of applications and actual interviewing of candidates (by telephone), the school district superintendent did most of

the advertising and, in the early 1970s when there was a severe teacher shortage, they spearheaded recruitment efforts in England and in Canada (Amos, August 8, 2012; Harris, August 6, 2012, p. 25).

Coordinating Principal Monthly Meetings and Dynamics

According to Eli Harris, Halfyard was not afraid “to rock the boat” and if there was an issue that needed discussion “he brought it on the carpet”:

He spoke it as it was. He never held back. Sometimes he got in a little bit of hot water with some of the superintendents, but that’s what you need, see? That’s exactly what you need, and that’s lacking in our society today, isn’t it? In a lot of cases, you won’t tell it as it is. You want to try to cover it up. But Job wasn’t like that. Like I say, what he thought, he was going to say it. . . . He didn’t mean to offend, but that was his opinion. But that’s what it’s all about, isn’t it? (Harris, August 6, 2012, p. 32)

Harris emphasized, “I had no problem” with Halfyard speaking his mind. However, he noted how, “some people would try to put him in his place,” but that supposedly did not “put any damper” on Halfyard (p. 2).

The six coordinating principals would meet once a month with the school board superintendent to discuss board policies and other needs of the district.⁵⁴ Each coordinating principal hosted at least one of the monthly meetings in their respective communities, which gave principals and school board staff the opportunity to visit each centre and see first-hand how programs were functioning. The vice-principal and principal of the elementary feeder schools for each zone were also invited to portions of the meetings held in their respective areas. It was a time to bond, share strategies, debate, discuss new board policies, and hear presentations from colleagues on issues of concern (Harris, August 6, 2012, p. 31). It also became a time to socialize, have a meal, and chat. Those meals were prepared by the host principal and his wife.

⁵⁴ Roger Simmons was the Superintendent of Education with the Green Bay Integrated School District from 1970 to 1974. In 1974 Larry Moss, the Supervisor of Instruction, took over the Superintendent of Education position.

In Halfyard's case, Audrey did all the cooking, I remember the Baked Alaska she served one year.



Figure 64. Coordinating principals relax at the end of a busy day of meetings in Roberts Arm circa 1974. (Courtesy of Molly Harris)

Chris Amos⁵⁵, who became the vice-principal of Dorset Collegiate in 1977, and the coordinating principal after Harris retired in 1981, reflected on authority, rural society and the coordinating principal meetings through a different lens:

I found that a lot of teachers in Newfoundland, and even a lot of principals in Newfoundland, were not prepared to rock the boat. . . . There was a fear of authority, which I never understood. I've had teachers on my own staff who would say that they would not say something because they were afraid of getting in trouble. I said, getting in trouble with whom? It was either me or the school board. I could never believe it. It's just crazy to me. . . .

In fact, Job probably got marks on his legs now from Mike and I kicking him every now and again. Job, for god's sake shut up. You're getting us in trouble! . . . Your father liked - if something was being done, he liked it out in the open and he liked the board, or Roger or whoever, to say yes that was all right. And in many cases that was okay. . . . I found your father great. I always said that your father was probably one of the archetype

⁵⁵ Chris Amos, Mike Perry and Ed Smith all went on to become assistant superintendent for the Green Bay Integrated School District.

Newfoundland principals, and people really. I mean, he did everything: he did fishing, he did gardening. . . And he was very forthright. (Amos, August 8, 2012, p. 29)

Both Chris Amos and Mike Perry, who became the Coordinating Principal of Beothuk Collegiate in Baie Verte and its feeder system around 1970, were from Great Britain. They did not have to work as hard for respect as Halfyard, Harris or Ren Clarke (Kings Point school zone) who were rural-born school principals. Their position reflected somewhat the “chains of colonialism and its oppressive legacy” that Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), a scholar of Indigenous Education in New Zealand, examined. Similarly, Anthony Cohen who conducted anthropological research on identity and “managing marginality” in Springdale, noted the “out porter’s peripheral status,” how “stigmatizing” trickled down the chain in Newfoundland based on where you were born, your social status, and, in teachers’ cases, their university qualifications (Cohen, 1975b, p. 96).

The coordinating principals in the three smaller zones were not always accorded the respect or the privileges given to school administrators from away or those in charge of the more prestigious Baie Verte or Springdale jurisdictions. Ironically, much of that treatment came from individuals who started their professional careers in smaller outport places. It is perhaps reminiscent of the lobster or crab metaphor where members of a group try to reduce the self-confidence of any member who might possibly crawl out of the pot and achieve success.

Three of the six coordinating principals, including Job Halfyard (La Scie), Chris Amos (Triton), and Mike Perry (Baie Verte), were all very active with the Northeast Branch and provincial level of the NTA (Amos, August 8, 2012, p. 28). Their involvement with the NTA kept them in tune with the latest educational initiatives. They were colourful, knowledgeable, and forthright individuals, who often exuded different viewpoint (Dixon, September 17, 2012).

Facilities Management

Volunteer school board officials under the old denominational system generally left the upkeep and operation of the schools to the initiative of the teacher/principal. Most veteran principals like Halfyard were used to overseeing the maintenance needs of schools for decades prior to Integration. With the professionalization of school boards, those responsibilities were technically transferred to the business manager. Hardy Sparkes, a 28-year-old Bachelor of Commerce graduate, took over as business manager with the Green Bay Integrated School District in 1971. Sparkes recalled:

My job was to oversee all of the business activities of the school board. You know, to make sure that procurement – that things needed were purchased. We only had 4,000 students, just under 4,000. You couldn't afford to have a purchasing agent and a maintenance manager, you know. We had an accountant. So, a lot of those roles were combined under the business manager, my responsibility. . . . I hired people. Not teachers, mind you, but everybody in the support staff . . . school secretaries, janitorial personnel, bus drivers, bus supervisors, that sort of thing. (Sparkes, November 16, 2015, p. 11)

It was a period of comprehensive administrative changes in the way schools operated. Sparkes was born and raised in Humbermouth, where his father worked as a machinist at the Bowater paper mill in Corner Brook. For his parents, it became “all-important” that some of the children got a university degree (Sparkes, November 16, 2015, p. 4). Sparkes was familiar with Springdale because his mother was born and raised there.

During the 1970s-transition phase, school principals and school board staff had to adjust to new district policies and administrative practices. Sparkes recalls:

Job was fairly practical. He fought for what he felt the town or school deserved. [pause] He was a jack-of-all trades. I mean he was very helpful. La Scie was one of the furthest communities away from our board office. It helped that we had a person there who understood and had practical experience in a lot of things. He knew and could appreciate the problems you were facing, and could help you. . . . I know on many occasions Job got people to do work down there. I mean, I'm in Springdale, he's down there. He knows the local area. He could hire people, or he would just call people up and he would tell me,

We got so and so to do the job,” and it would be done. (Sparkes, November 16, 2015, p. 22)

Veteran school principals like Halfyard, who knew what was needed, were accustomed to autonomy, making judgments and “taking action” (Goodson, 2013, p. 69). Under the new system, having to ask before acting was sometimes hard for Halfyard. Like any good ship’s captain, he knew what needed to be done to keep his school ship-shape. Edna Martin, his school secretary for 15 years explained:

I’m sure that he would have been aware of everything that went on under that roof . . . when [the next principal] came, he didn’t bother with the physical part of the school. Like if there was a lot of snow up on that flat roof, you knew you were going to be in trouble eventually. You would have to tell him. But your father would have been on that before the last snow fell, you know? I know he had his finger on everything that went on in that building. Everything, every part of the building, the system, the whole thing. I’m sure that he knew every student, the potential and whatever was happening.

One of the things that he did, and I don’t think I would be wrong to say it, I’m not sure I would do it now, but exam time individual teachers made the exams. Perhaps now they’re using last year’s (I don’t know how they do it now). But he insisted that he saw every exam before it was done. He had to okay that exam before the teacher could pass it to me to be prepared, to be typed. (Martin, July 11, 2012, pp. 25–26)

Edna Martin came to La Scie to teach at the elementary school in 1961 after teaching for one year at the Salvation Army School in South Brook. In 1972, she left teaching because teachers were being required to upgrade. She had a small child and did not want to go to St. John’s to complete the new Grade II Certificate minimum requirement brought in by government for primary and elementary teachers as a result of the RRCEY (GOVNL, 1967, p. 128). Edna had 10 years of teaching experience but only the six-week summer training session. One day Halfyard offered Edna a position as school secretary with the stipulation, “you need to do a typing course” (Martin, July 11, 2012, pp. 5, 13, 15). Edna took typing through the night school program Halfyard had set up.

Both Hardy Sparkes and Edna Martin talked about the importance of understanding

simple needs like the optimal time to shovel snow off the school roof. Not knowing, and therefore not taking the initiative to shovel snow off a modern flat-roofed school building, could be costly, especially in places like La Scie, which were prone to extremely high snowfalls. My sister Viola, who was the principal of Hill Side Elementary from 2010 to 2015, noted how school principals today are advised to be vigilant about snow build-up on school roofs.

Sparkes, who dealt with school principals by phone on a daily basis, described how the main focus of the school board in those early days was new school construction. Curriculum came in second, with busing a close third (Sparkes, November 16, 2015, p. 19, p. 20). School board policy and accounting systems were in the early days of development. The biggest challenges revolved around the physical school structures:

When I came here in 1971, most schools were hovels I would call them. Coming from Corner Brook to this area, they were not what I would have expected to see. And to be quite honest with you, in the first few years, you know, dealing with floor furnaces and freeze-ups (water freeze-ups) and outdoor toilets, man it was a mess. I mean, rural Newfoundland was certainly way behind Corner Brook and the cities and the big towns. . . . Long Island, for example, had seven classrooms in five different buildings. . . . So, we built a school there for 140 kids, back in 1974. (Sparkes, November 16, 2015, pp. 12–13, 18)

Sparkes was business manager from 1971 until 1994 when the Green Bay Integrated School Board was abolished and merged into the Nova School District with headquarters in Gander. The number of school districts had been reduced from 37 to 27 in 1988. After the referendum and abolition of denominational education in 1997, the number of school boards was reduced to 11, and local autonomy was eroded as a more centralized form of governance was implemented by the government (Dibbon, Sheppard & Brown, 2012). Sparkes subsequently became a trustee of the Gander Central Board. He retired in 2001 with 30 years of service but continued as trustee until about 2011. He reflected:

When I retired, well, what was happening is that everything was being drawn into St.

John's. Everything was being sucked into the Confederation Building. We're going back to the old system. . . . It [smaller decentralized school districts] was a good system. I guess we just couldn't afford it. I mean, what we had in the old system was better: you had more local input, more teacher input into buildings. . . . Now nothing. I don't think they have any input in what goes on. (Sparkes, November 16, 2015, p. 17)

Sparkes does acknowledge that rural areas of the province do not have the population base they had in the 1970s. However, like many educators and leaders interviewed for this study, he questions the severity of the school board cuts and the cost effectiveness of the impersonal top-down "mega board" education and health care systems of the new millennium (Sparkes, November 16, 2015, p. 17; Harris, August, 2012b, p. 6).

School Board Staff Expansion

In the early days of integration, school boards had limited staff; however, those numbers grew through the 1970s. By the mid-1980s there were approximately 19 people employed at the Green Bay Integrated School Board office in Springdale. According to Sparkes the need was sometimes questioned:

I know there were some, uh, animosities or jealousies, I suppose, of the school board being here in Springdale. I mean we had a lot of people employed on that board; there was something like 19 people there at one point in time, all the coordinators and everybody else. We got to be referred to as the Senate. [laughs] They understood the teachers' role, but they didn't understand all these specialists, you know . . . consultants. They didn't understand what those people were [chuckles] you know. (Sparkes, November 16, 2015, p. 37)

In many ways, the demise of the coordinating principal model in the late 1980s corresponded with the growth of the district board office staff. Not all coordinating principals, including Halfyard, were convinced that the growing number of curriculum specialists added to the effectiveness of pedagogy in schools. Eli Harris said in an interview. "I get it. They were helpful; but they were also a hindrance at times, you know?" (Harris, August 6, 2012b, 27). However, Harris did reiterate, "We had some pretty good people in charge too" (Harris, August 6, 2012b,

p. 2). On the other hand, Ed Smith acknowledged there were flaws in the coordinating principal model. It was not always administered properly in all regions of the province. “There was a fair bonus associated with that, and a lot of people I know just took their bonus and did absolutely nothing” (Smith, August 9, 2012, p. 41).

Other teachers interviewed for this study expressed similar concerns about the effectiveness of the curriculum specialist working at the school board office level (Harris, August 6, 2012, 3; Burton, G., August 7, 2012, 18). There were growing tensions between the younger Masters-level, university-educated professional school board specialists and the modestly educated rural-born school leaders like Halfyard, who had worked tirelessly in the trenches during the years of massive educational change. In vying to establish themselves, or as some suggested build empires, the professional school board staff challenged the credibility of older more experienced but less formally educated principals. Essentially, as the education system evolved and academic requirements for promotion increased throughout the late 1970s, these older principals were effectively squeezed out or cast aside. They had served their purpose in that they had provided invaluable experiential knowledge during the transition years. Many were too old or too busy teaching and doing volunteer work to upgrade (Clarke, August 8, 2012, 17; Harris, August 6, 2012b, 3). Some of the late-career tensions and disappointments of teachers like Halfyard will be examined in the next chapter.

Section III: Halfyard’s Strategies for Improved Education in La Scie (1968–1987)

Personalities which became effective in action were bred and tested in the medium of action. Again, we cannot overlook the importance for educational purposes of the close and intimate acquaintance got with nature at first hand, with real things and materials, with the actual processes of their manipulation, and the knowledge of their social necessities and uses. In all this, there was the continual training of observation, of

ingenuity, constructive imagination, of logical thought, and of the sense of reality acquired through first-hand contact with actualities. (Dewey, 1902/2001, p. 8)

Cornerstone #1: Visions of a Modern Composite High School

When Halfyard arrived in La Scie in 1968, he started assessing the educational needs of the community. He recalled:

Before Integration [1969] came about, the La Scie school board was one of the few that had money in the bank. And so I pushed to have the school that was here equipped with some of the best audiovisual equipment that you could get; that was prior to Integration. Because we knew that the money would be divided all around . . . the board approached me and said, “You’ve been talking about having a new high school.” That was needed because we had 225 high school students coming in by bus or living here. At that time there was 1,500 to 1,700 people here. So, they asked me if I’d go to St. John’s to see if I could do any work on starting a new high school. (Halfyard, July 21, 2012a, p. 3)

As mentioned earlier, other areas of the province and other innovative school principals and school board officials were initiating similar collaborative educational practices prior to the introduction of official government reforms and Integration (Warren, 1973, p. 155; Kitchen, 1966, p. 24).

Phase II Resettlement – 1965–1971

La Scie was going through a large population growth as a result of jobs created in the modern fish plant and the influx of families brought about by resettlement. Under the Resettlement Act of 1965 larger financial incentives were provided, under a joint federal and provincial government agreement, to enable fishing families in small communities to move to ‘growth centres’ where there were modern fish plants or other industries (Rowe, 1980, p. 520; Iverson & Matthews, 1968, p. 2). People from 23 different communities moved to La Scie in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Cuff, 1991, p. 199). By 1971, the population of La Scie reached 1,255, up from 939 in 1961 (See Appendix C: Population Chart of La Scie). It peaked at 1,429 in 1986 (GOVNL, 1983, p. 26; Cuff, 1991, p. 199).

Halfyard knew that the high school built in 1967 was not large enough to accommodate the needs of the growing population. He envisioned building a new modern composite high school with the elementary grades moving into the still relatively new high school space. Just after Halfyard arrived in La Scie in 1968, he started exploring options. He drew on knowledge gained during his year at Memorial (1967–68). As was his practice, this knowledge was augmented by his extensive reading of provincial government reports, policies, and educational trends plus what he learned from participating in NTA, School Administrators' Association, political, and volunteer organizations. Halfyard also drew from the knowledge he gained as principal of the very well-equipped school in Tilt Cove. He told me that when the La Scie school board sent him to St. John's to explore avenues for raising the money to build a new school, he took a trip to Conception Bay to visit one of the modern schools built in that area (A. J. Halfyard, personal communication, September 2017).

The La Scie school board wanted a fully-equipped school . . . the school that was already there was amalgamation, and they gave me quite a sum of money to bring it up to all the new technology – 16 mm film projectors on down to overhead projectors etc. for the new teachers that you were trying to bring in. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, pp. 11–12)

There were three separate denominational schools in La Scie up until sometime between 1965 and 1967 when the United Church and Salvation Army schools amalgamated under much stronger collective local school board leadership. Clarence Hewlett (Salvation Army) was the chair. Children of Anglican, Pentecostal and Seventh-day Adventist families also attended the Amalgamated School. At that time, the local school boards were still responsible for everything from hiring to dismissing teachers, to managing financial grants, building schools, and arranging for the proper care and maintenance of school buildings (GOVNL, 1967, p. 76). Halfyard describes how the new Amalgamated high school building, which was completed in April of 1967, only addressed some of the needs of the growing population:

But in the amalgamation, we saw that the high school wasn't suitable for the new sciences and the new programs that needed to be brought in. So, the local school board in La Scie asked me to go to St. John's and talk to Bill Rowe – Bill was a member here in White Bay at the time – and see if we could come up with half a million dollars to build a new high school. We would convert the old high school into a new elementary school with some additions. In hindsight, it might have been better to build a composite school with a gym and an auditorium that both could share. But that kind of thing wasn't done at that time. The thinking at the time was the high school had to be separated from the primary elementary. Odd since most of us had come through a system whereby we were all in the same classroom anyway, in the same school. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, pp. 11–12)

At that time, the local La Scie school board gave Halfyard the green light to lobby for a modern high school on behalf of the communities. The biggest challenge was raising the necessary capital. He described meeting with Bill Rowe, the MHA for the district:

The only place that he could meet with me was in the anteroom off the House of Assembly. At that time, of course, in the early 70s, Joey was taking quite a pummelling from the opposition. Bill Rowe and I were sitting down talking in the Liberal anteroom. Joey was walking back and forth – the House was in session – and he was really agitated because they were tearing strips of skin off him. I don't even remember what the issues were. I was focused on getting a new school.

But as the premier walked back and forth, Bill Rowe said to him, "Mr. Premier, Job is in here from La Scie looking for money for a new high school, and for the life of me I don't know where we can get one cent for him." The premier never stopped pacing back and forth in the room, listening to what was going on in the House. He wheeled around and pointed his finger at Bill and he said, "Bill, you know where to get it! You know where to get it." And that's all he said. I never, for years, knew where it came from, but it was money from Ottawa that was converted for a couple of experimental schools, one in La Scie and I think there was one on the Bonavista Peninsula (and maybe one on the Burin Peninsula), in out-of-the-way places that needed upgrading. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, pp. 11–12)

Halfyard cautioned it was not supposed to be common knowledge where the money came from that built the new high school in La Scie. By the time the money actually came through, La Scie was part of the new Green Bay Integrated School District. Nevertheless, the deal and funding arrangement had been solidified by Halfyard before the new professional board took over responsibilities for facilities construction and management (Halfyard, August 27, 2016).

Modern DREE Schools

A select number of schools, commonly called “DREE schools” (Department of Regional Economic Expansion) were built in the 1970s with an infusion of federal government money to combat regional disparity (Cuff & Baker, 1994, p. 106; Andrews, 1985b, p. 325). Other federal government educational funding programs, especially for the building of technical and vocational schools, had been introduced across Canada in the early 1950s. Unfortunately, the Newfoundland government was so inundated with welfare, health, and transportation projects that it was unable to focus on educational needs until well into the 1960s. The new DREE policy recognized how “schools were basic to any ‘social adjustment’ or economic expansion of the depressed or underprivileged and underdeveloped regions of Canada” (Rowe, 1976, p. 81).



Figure 65. Cape John Collegiate open for enriched programming in September 1973
(Courtesy of Clyde Saunders, September 2018)

Under the first DREE agreement, signed on April 21, 1970, eight elementary and high schools, and three new vocational schools were built in Newfoundland. Four new city schools were built on the periphery of St. John’s to replace older elementary schools in the city centre and to accommodate the outward growth of the urban area. Schools were also built in Creston, Marystown, Grand Bank, Stephenville, and Happy Valley according to equitable denominational

allocation (Andrews, 1985b, p. 325; Rowe, 1976, p. 82).⁵⁶

I asked Hardy Sparkes, the business manager of the Green Bay School District, whether Cape John Collegiate was a DREE-funded school. He replied,

The DREE money, they built DREE schools. That's all. They didn't put DREE money out into. . . well, not that I know of. The money for the school, in La Scie, came through Integrated Education Council because that was in place at the time. (Sparkes, November 16, 2015, p. 29).

Halfyard claims otherwise; he argues that he had negotiated the deal prior to integration. The provincial minister responsible for DREE at that time was Bill Rowe and he unofficially referenced the fine 'DREE' school built in La Scie when I happened to chat with him briefly about my research during the winter of 2018. It is very plausible the money was committed earlier because La Scie was a major growth centre with a bustling government-built fish plant. Additionally, Halfyard was an active member of the Liberal Party and other members of the La Scie School Committee, including Mayor Art Toms and Clarence Hewlett, were also politically strong.

Clarence Hewlett was the Chair of the La Scie Board of Trustees and on the Salvation Army School Board when Halfyard first moved to La Scie in 1961. A trap-skiff skipper from a well-established family, the Hewletts took in boarders such as teachers and visiting politicians to the town. I would surmise that Fred Rowe Sr., the MHA for the district, may have stayed there during visits to the constituency. Clarence Hewlett became a supervisor with the Department of Highways in the mid-1960s. Documents show he represented La Scie at the Baie Verte Peninsula

⁵⁶ The federal government's second DREE program allowed for the construction of nine additional elementary and high schools. This time the federal government contributed 75% with the other 25% coming from long-term loans shared 15% and 10% between the provincial government and the school boards (Rowe, 1976, p. 82). According to Halfyard this was possible because the La Scie school board was in a comfortable financial position. "The La Scie school board was one of the few that had money in the bank" (Halfyard, July 21, 2012b, p. 3).

Conference held at the Confederation Building in January of 1961 (GOVNL, 1961). The conference was chaired by the Hon. Dr. F. W. Rowe, the Minister of Highways. On November 5, 1970, Hewlett was appointed a member of the Board of Trustees of the Local Improvement District of La Scie by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

When Halfyard returned to La Scie in 1968 he had the opportunity to work more closely with Hewlett who he described as “one of the finest individuals you’d ever meet” (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 9). While Halfyard was in Tilt Cove, leaders of the United Church and Salvation Army School Board decided it was time to amalgamate schools which they did around 1966. This amalgamation resulted in the Maritimes Mining Corporation Ltd. in Tilt Cove giving between \$70,000 to \$90,000 to both La Scie and to Brent’s Cove to build modern high school facilities. Halfyard clarified what made Hewlett a good volunteer school board official:

He was a good thinker and he didn’t mind expressing his opinion. And he and I really appreciated each other. We used to row over issues. No trouble for Clarence to row over an issue. And no trouble for Job to row over an issue. But he always came back. And he always sounded me out even when he went on the [Integrated volunteer] School Board. He never went to a meeting but he came and had a meeting with me before he went to the meeting in Baie Verte, or Grand Falls. Never. (Halfyard, June, 26, 2017, p. 17)

The La Scie Amalgamated School Board included a small select group of spirited parents or designated male community leaders such as Clarence Hewlett (Salvation Army), Art Toms (United Church), Bert Lush (Anglican) plus clergy and other interested local residents. They knew that integration of school boards was going to come, so they gave Halfyard “permission to go to St. John’s and see if I could get an eye on some money to build a new high school and turn the present high school into an elementary school” (Halfyard, August 27, 2013, p. 8).

Analysis and Interpretation

Halfyard could be described as one of those emerging sophisticates’ “seekers of change”

described by Cohen (1975, p. 59). He would also have been one of the school teachers who was encouraged to take on leadership roles by academics and government officials like Kitchen (1966) and Warren (1973) (Gwyn, 1968, p. 132). Teachers comprised one of the largest professional groups within rural communities. According to the proceedings from a conference held in Gander in January 1971, teachers were encouraged “to play a more active role in community affairs, work with the people, and provide services and information where possible” (MUN, 1971A, n.p.). Teachers wanted outport residents to have more opportunities. They spoke for the new political values (Cohen, 1975, pp. 58–60; Philbrook, 1963, pp. 64–65).

Phillip Warren, who was instrumental in shaping the course of education in the province during the 1970s and 80s, had this to say about Halfyard:

He always seemed to be an activist. . . . Very thoughtful, very insightful, and very passionate about doing what was best for his school and his community. These are the things that come to mind. I would believe that he involved others in the whole process too. (Warren, July 2, 2012, pp. 19–20)

Fred Rowe, the Minister of Education at the time, credited “the valiant efforts of boards and tax authorities” and their ability to augment the massive capital aid from Ottawa with the limited general revenue funds from the Newfoundland government for making it possible to meet the exorbitant school construction needs of the 1960s and 1970s. Ralph L. Andrews, in his history of post-confederation educational development, likewise credits government funding programs of the day, churches, universities, “dedicated civil servants” and above all Premier Joseph R. Smallwood’s emphasis on educational development (1985b, pp. 337, 354). I would concur with the assessment while also highlighting the monumental efforts of educational leaders in smaller schools who saw a need and had the foresight, tenacity, and perseverance to make things happen. The odds were very much stacked against small schools, yet Halfyard revealed:

I came back home with my finger on \$600,000 to build a new high school here in La

Scie. That gave a tremendous boost to the retention of teachers. Tenure increased, better qualified teachers came in, better housing was provided for them, and of course the road was gradually improved as well. You can thank forward-thinking people [on the La Scie Amalgamated School Board] like Reg Critch, Clarence Hewlett, in particular, I would always run an idea by him, Art Toms [Mayor], Bert Lush, and the Minister – there were others, but those people were the key. They supported me in what I was doing and understood what I was trying to do. I think that the effect over the next 10 years was dramatic in the area. . . . The emphasis in education that was given in Tilt Cove was transferred to La Scie. And that emphasis has continued. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 12)

By the time the money earmarked for a new high school in La Scie was made available the power brokers at the new Green Bay Integrated School District and in larger growth centres like Springdale and Baie Verte wanted some of the limited money available to improve their schools. Smaller end-of-the-road albeit designated growth centres like La Scie, were often deemed less worthy. It was a constant battle to gain even a small share (Norris, 1983, 31). Halfyard often expressed displeasure that some of the money raised by La Scie was “siphoned off” and used to add on a state-of-the-art music room and other facilities for the flagship high school that had been constructed in Springdale in 1965. A new wing of Grant Collegiate became the home base for the district school board office.

Among Halfyard’s personal files I found the modest booklet issued for the “Official Opening of the La Scie School Complex.” The event took place on Friday, January, 25, 1974. The booklet reveals that Dr. Phil Warren was the guest speaker, plus other school board officials. Donald Batstone, the chair of the board, acknowledged the new school as “a great achievement for the people of the La Scie area and the Green Bay Integrated School Board [GBISB].” Pratt Burton, the principal of the elementary school, perhaps summed up the achievement best: “As a native of La Scie, I have witnessed a tremendous change in the community’s educational facilities. A momentous occasion such as this occurs rarely in a community of this size” (GBISB, 1974). When Cape John Collegiate opened in 1973–74, it had a separate wing for industrial arts,

music and art education, and the science labs, plus the library, which was the heart of the school. Then, there was the cafeteria, which he had designed to double as home economics and co-operative education teaching facilities. There was also a new gymnasium.

The likelihood of a small traditional fishing village like La Scie acquiring a modern high school was not great. Those opportunities were usually reserved for larger growth centres like St. John's, Corner Brook, Gander and Lewisporte. Money and opportunities did trickle down to mid-sized towns like Baie Verte and Springdale, which were being promoted as industrial development and government services growth centres. They did not often extend to remote, end-of-the road "small school" places (Martin, 1983, p. 84; Rowe, 1980, p. 497; Warren, 1973, p. 155; BVPRS, 1965, pp. 57–59).



Figure 66. Grade 11 students in their new classroom, 1973
(Courtesy of Viola Rice nee Halfyard)

Nowhere in the tiny *Official Opening Booklet of the La Scie School Complex* is Halfyard's contribution acknowledged. Praise was reserved for "Mr. Cliff Hatcher and the Integrated Education Committee, the members of the Green Bay Integrated School Board, the members of the La Scie School Committee, and our business manager, Mr. Hardy Sparkes"

(GBISB, 1974). Despite the omission, I would argue that no one can question the action-oriented ingenuity that Halfyard put into the establishment of such a state-of-the-art high school for such a small community (Goodson, 2013, p. 68; Fullan, 2011, p. 5; Andrews, 1985b, p. 354). It is perhaps fitting that Phil Warren was invited to be guest speaker, given his efforts to promote the “establishment of a network of demonstration schools throughout the province. . . where practicing educators and researchers could work together and where new approaches could constantly be experimented with” (Warren, 1973, p. 225). Halfyard’s composite high school plan for La Scie also fit well with Warren’s assertion that small high schools needed to be identified so that a program for revitalizing could be initiated (Warren, 1973, p. 225).

Halfyard’s closing remarks in the *Official Opening Booklet* sheds light on his philosophy and resolute persistent nature (Fullan, 2011, p. 48; Kouzes & Posner, 2007, p. 26):

I trust that this high school will be used, not abused, as an educational centre and not just a nine to four institution.

In closing I would like to leave this thought with you: education is a conquest, not a bequest; it cannot be given, it must be achieved. The value of an education lies not in its possession only, but in the struggle to secure it. (GBISB, 1974)

A big feature of the new composite high school that was built in La Scie that year was its up to date Industrial Arts Education facilities. This feature was an educational focus which Halfyard deemed essential but that was not fully sanctioned by Green Bay Integrated School District officials. In fact, the following directive was given to coordinating principals in the District at their regular monthly meeting on May 2, 1972: “In view of the coming integration of vocational education and high school programs it is not recommended that schools invest in industrial arts and home economics facilities at this time” (Halfyard Personal Files, May 2, 1972). Halfyard did not buy into that position, yet, paradoxically in January of 1974 Springdale became one of the first six areas where pre-vocational programs for high school students were

offered (Andrews, 1985b, p. 354). What was good for the goose was not necessarily good for the gander.

Industrial Arts and Other Progressive Programs

Undaunted, Halfyard turned his attention to developing an educational plan that included more practical hands-on, pre-vocational-style course offerings for students. In 1972, he undertook training. He explained:

I went back to university in UNB [University of New Brunswick] to do industrial arts, to see what it was all about and what it entailed in setting it up, the cost, and all the rest of it. I brought those ideas back to the school board. In the new school that we had planned, we wanted to have industrial arts and other things. (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, pp. 11–12)

Halfyard had learned about the Conception Bay South pilot project in pre-vocational education planned for the vocational school at Seal Cove sometime around 1969 and UNB was an Atlantic Canada university that offered Industrial Arts Education training programs for teachers (Halfyard Personal Files, 1972). The pre-vocational education pilot project at Seal Cove began in September 1972. In the summer of 1972, Halfyard registered for two industrial arts and vocational education courses at UNB to learn about pre-vocational education (Halfyard Personal Files, 1972). He footed the bill himself.

In an assignment Halfyard wrote for Professor Le Blanc in Education 5461 titled “Project for Pre-Vocational Education Grades 9–10–11 in Newfoundland Schools,” Halfyard outlined his plans:

I feel that the practical experience provided by the industrial arts courses will re-enforce and make more meaningful the more abstract and theoretical content of the science and mathematics courses. (Halfyard, August. 1, 1972, p. 6)

The four aims Halfyard set for the industrial arts program that he outlined on page two of the assignment were: (1) to provide for students’ experience with basic skills used in industry; (2) to

give pupils insight into various occupations and into their own abilities so that they will be able to make a wise choice on their future careers; (3) to give greater relevance to the academic content of the curriculum; and, (4) to improve the retention rate in high school (curb dropout).

The Industrial Arts program Halfyard was learning about at UNB and envisioned for La Scie included three categories: the core program, general electives, and a strand for industrial arts electives. The core program subjects included social studies, English, mathematics, physical education, and science. The general elective category included: language (other than English), social studies, art, and music. The all-new industrial arts elective program included agricultural and fisheries science; woodworking and plastics; typing and shorthand; electronics; mechanics, ceramics; beauty culture; sewing crafts; graphic arts; and home economics, which included cooking, catering, household management, family planning, textiles and child care. Another important element identified to help with the program was the hiring of a guidance specialist.

Once the new school was nearing completion, Halfyard advertised in Halifax newspapers and was successful in hiring a specialist industrial arts teacher. It would be the early-1980s before he encouraged a young diligent female physical education teacher who was from Newfoundland to go back to university to do a Masters degree in Guidance. Raising the money, building a school, developing the programs, plus hiring and retaining quality teachers constituted a long-term process that spanned a decade.

A Practical Yet Philosophical Undertaking

As discussed earlier, Halfyard did not recall studying the school and society ideas put forward by the influential American philosopher John Dewey; yet there are striking similarities to his educational approach and philosophy (A. J. Halfyard personal communications, May 1, 2017). Dewey, who recommended that schools adapt to embrace the radical changes in society,

outlined the four corners of society that should be reflected in a school. They included the home, natural environment, industry or businesses, and post-secondary institutes (Dewey, 1915/2001, p. 45). The new school had a library in the centre in keeping with Dewey's notion of the meeting of theory and practice (Dewey, 1915/2001, p. 49). With the addition of the more practical industrial arts and home economics to enrich standard core programming, students could more easily make the connections between concrete work options and the abstract concepts learned in school. This, Halfyard felt, would inspire and motivate more students to stay in school.

Dewey argued for practical courses like sewing that could teach the child skills; how raw materials are grown, how inventions have impacted humanity, and how "the child can trace and follow the progress of mankind [sic] in history" (Dewey, 1903/2001, p. 14–15). These courses also gave students insight into the materials used and the mechanical principles involved. Former students of Halfyard talked about being engaged by his geography lessons because of the practical connections he made to their own lives. Terry Ryan took the bus from Snooks Arm to La Scie for Grades 7 to 11 and graduated in 1974. He described how both his father, a fisher, and Halfyard influenced his interest in geography which led him on a journey to Memorial, then to teaching and back to the technologically advanced long-liner fishing enterprises in the mid-1990s. Ryan stated:

My father was a bit of a geography buff . . . But another big influence on my life in high school regarding my interest in geography came from my teacher and principal at the time, which was your father . . . I felt he was a very good geography teacher. He just impressed on us the importance of geographic knowledge of the world. (Ryan, July 17, 2012 b, pp. 3–4)

Halfyard made geographical concepts relevant to places familiar to students as well as faraway places, people and their lifestyles. He brought pomegranates, coconut and other fruit he found at the supermarket in Grand Falls to class for students to taste. He would explain where they came

from and how they were grown. In many ways, his teaching approach mirrored Dewey's ideas.

The societal changes Dewey talked about happening in urban industrial centres of the Western World in the early 1900s were only starting to filter down to rural outport Newfoundland in the 1960s and 1970s. Halfyard talked about the implications of those changes for young people:

Well, I was sitting in an area that had mining in its blood. That had fishing in its blood. . . I saw that people who had the white hats were making the most money but all of a sudden the people with the next colour hat . . . the top labourers in electronics, in mechanical and all those things they were moving up and becoming better paid than those who were above them. Now this was happening too in the fishery, they were going back to the fishing boats and the boats were getting bigger and they had to go to trades school and so on. They were now becoming more educated units of five to eight people in a long liner. And, of course, all this had to be taken into consideration. (Halfyard, May 17, 2017, p. 16)

Consistent with the ideas of Dewey, Halfyard had taken time to observe. From there he went on to make a judgment about what might be needed to address the new social reality for people transitioning from the lifestyle of a traditional fishing village to paid employment in the technological and consumer-driven society emerging in rural Newfoundland. He was attempting to offer solutions to “the new order of ideas and activities,” that came with modernization, resettlement, and industrial development (Dewey, 1938, pp. 5, 21, 29). It was not just about “solving the dropout problem” that came with the onset of salaried jobs and a growing need for employees at the new fish plant. It was about offering students new, practical, transferable “pre-vocational education” (Andrews, 1985b, pp. 329–330). It was also about preparing students for the future, and for a changed society and occupations. It was about opening the door to opportunities that came with quality public and post-secondary education. Halfyard described how he tackled the development of new teaching approaches and the backlash that sometimes resulted:

I always checked with other schools to see what they were doing and the effects it had, whether it was physical education or industrial arts. But I was a strong proponent that not all of our students should go to university, which everybody was pushing for. Not me. I believed strongly in working with the industrial arts, with home economics, and things like that . . .

I was in conflict, at many times, with the superintendents because they didn't want anything to do with this. They said this was the trade schools' job. And I used to call them academic assholes. Maybe they were brighter than I was and only saw that side. But I thought that the world wasn't made of academics only. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014, p. 3)

When Halfyard went to UNB during the summer of 1972 to take the two industrial arts education courses, he also completed two advanced history courses for teachers with a goal of preparing for enrolment in a graduate program of study. What really stood out in Halfyard's mind from the Education 5734 and 5735 history teaching methods courses was an assignment his group did using the 1971 NFB film "L'Acadie, L'Acadie!" Halfyard went on to talk about how the film, a controversial "documentary on the attitudes of leaders and the people in the Moncton area," exposed the mistreatment of the French-speaking majority in the English-dominated cities of New Brunswick (Halfyard, June 16, 2015, p. 18). Halfyard commented, "I don't think that Mayor Jones had enough brains to know that he was splitting his province and his community" (Halfyard, June 16, 2015, p. 18). Halfyard's group used the film in one of five demonstration lessons they taught to a group of high school students about Canadian nationalism (Halfyard, Personal Files, 1972).

A series of events, including the CBC telecast of the film in January of 1972, stirred some two hundred students at the Université de Moncton, and later three thousand demonstrators, to protest Mayor Jones's lack of movement on "the issues of bilingualism and civic government" (Belliveau, 2013; Stanley, 1997/2001, p. 280). The NFB documentary was subsequently banned and removed from circulation. Those were the years just after the FLQ crisis of 1970 when

French-English relations and other “regional rivalries and ethnic tensions” incited protest and civic unrest (Stanley, 1997/2001, pp. 448, pp. 456–458).

Unfortunately, the four courses Halfyard took that summer and the evening psychology courses he took the previous fall and winter semesters burnt him out. His graduate education options became even more limited when his eldest daughter, Laura, went off to university in September of 1972. She was followed by four other children, one after another, over a five-year period. Any extra money available was needed elsewhere. His university years were over. With it went the possibility of more senior career advancement to district office positions.

Cornerstone # 2: Night School – A Community School – “Not a Mausoleum”

The second cornerstone of Halfyard’s long-term plan to improve the quality of life for rural residents was the establishment of night school. On a curriculum vitae drafted in 2011, Halfyard insisted on adding this point, “Also promoted and adopted the philosophy of a ‘community school.’ The school was made available to the residents of the community 24 hours a day (not a locked mausoleum).” (Halfyard, personal communication, January 2011). There were practical judgments behind the night school program Halfyard set up in La Scie in the late 1960s. He reasoned:

I always had a lively school; it was fairly noisy, because I gave a lot of leeway to a lot of students, but they knew how far they could go, and that I was going to rein them in from there. . . . I tried to make it a community school. There were night school classes going on. There were students coming in playing volleyball in the night and table tennis in the night. My biggest problem was trying to keep the janitor under control, because he didn’t want anything made dirty and anything out of place. I said, “Well, that’s human nature.”

But that school, to me, was owned by this town, belonged to this town, and it should serve this town, and that didn’t mean just five hours a day – it should be 10, 12, 14 hours a day. I brought the adults in along with the kids, and I brought the kids that dropped out of school. I brought the people that worked in the fish plant. They’d go to night school in the winter. I tried to make it a community school. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, pp. 6–7)

Halfyard's account emphasized the 'how' with only a brief overview of the 'why' behind the night school initiative. The people I interviewed during the summer of 2012 revealed more of the why. Night school was as much about the impact of resettlement, the lack of schooling in tiny isolated communities, the confusion of teenage life, and the hiring practices of fish plant management as it was the job training needs of the emerging industrial workplace (GOVNL, 1968, p. 94). Through some of the personal accounts of former students, I explore the factors that made night school a benefit for both youth and adults of La Scie and area.

A student from the tiny settlement of Snooks Arm who went to La Scie as a Grade 8 "bus student" in 1969 reflected on her situation:

It's kind of a rocky story. I was very confused as a teenager and I was so fed up with the math (I could not do math; nobody could teach me math – I always said I had a blockage against it), but anyway I enjoyed most of my subjects, but math I could not do, or I felt I couldn't. But what was it Mr. Halfyard always said, "There's no such word as can't." I used to say, "But Mr. Halfyard, I can't do math." "Don't you say that word anymore. There's no such word. You can do it."

But anyway I didn't have the confidence. . . I dropped out in Grade 10 against Mr. Halfyard's wishes. He was so upset. "You can't give up high school. You've got to finish." And bla bla . . . But anyway I did go against his wishes and I quit. But I think it was later that year, or the next year, that they started night school here. Your father started night school and encouraged a lot of us dropouts to go back. "You've got to go back. You'll have a better time in night school because you'll only be taking three or four subjects. You'll get more one-on-one . . ." So I did go back and finished my Grade 10 in night school. (Tilley, L., July 20, 2012, p. 12)

Linda's narrative was similar to those of other students coming from sole-charge one-or two-room schools in more remote settlements. The high school was to be a community centre. By day, it would offer regular school academics and extracurricular activities. By night, it would offer Adult Basic Education (ABE) upgrading for adults who had dropped out of school. Halfyard stayed true to the motto he repeated time and again to his students, "If you see a problem, fix it. The word can't isn't in my vocabulary." Halfyard's biggest concern, and a

primary reason for starting night school, was to get around the issue of junior and senior high school student leaving school the first of May. They left to make good money fishing or in the plant during the summer, and ultimately dropped out of school in the fall. He believed by,

setting up a strong night school program so many students could come back. . . [As a perk] they could get involved in the co-curricular (as we called it), while getting involved in the academics as well in the night time. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014, pp. 5–6)

Derek Tilley, a high school teacher in La Scie in the 1980s, recalled how, much later, a study was conducted by the Green Bay Integrated School District on student dropout rates. It showed how the fish plant towns of La Scie and Triton had the highest dropout rates in the district. “And right away the school board nailed the powers that be for hiring these students before school was over” (Tilley, July 20, 2012, p. 24). The hiring practices of fish plant operators in the Green Bay area were very different from the hiring practices of the paper mill in Grand Falls, where young people were required to finish high school in order to get a job (Grimes, January 5, 2016, p. 9). Tilley’s wife, Linda, was one of those students who went to work in the plant. She admitted, “I worked at the plant at age 13 or 14” (Tilley, July 20, 2012, p. 25). Halfyard saw generations of young students being recruited to work in the fish plant throughout the 1960s to the 1990s. To him, night school provided a flexible option to education.

Lifelong Learning and Resettlement

Lifelong learning enrichment courses like sewing, typing, and physical education were also provided for adults and interested high school students. There was a need at that time because in 1967 and 1968 there was a large influx of new residents to La Scie when the people from the Horse Islands and Bear Cove were effectively resettled en masse to the designated growth centre. A total of 11 communities were resettled on the Baie Verte Peninsula from the 1950s to the late 1960s (Dixon, n.d., pp. 1–3).



Figure 67. Mr. Gerald Burton's Grade 10 homeroom class 1973–1974
 Note the number of girls compared to boys. Boys left school to fish or work in the plant.
 (Courtesy of Viola Rice nee Halfyard)

Warrick Randell, who had completed Grade 8 in Bear Cove, was one of those young people:

I was born in Bear Cove, 1952. . . . When I came here in '69, I was only here for 14 days and they give us work at the plant. We had guaranteed work when we came here. So I came on the resettlement program. I think Arthur Toms [La Scie mayor and a rural development officer with the provincial government] was involved with that at that time. So I was only here 14 days, and the 15th day I went to work in the plant. I worked there for 40 years . . . we had 525 people on our seniority list at the plant. We had more than that. We had extra people working, like casual workers and that too. We went from there – that was in 1971 maybe, and 1992 we went down to 70 people – a big change. (Randell, July 31, 2012, pp. 1, 3, 5)

Both Warrick and his wife Donna, who came to La Scie with her parents from the Horse Islands, signed up for ABE upgrading in the early 1970s. They remember “a lot of people here that did night school” (Randell, July 31, 2012, p. 2). Warrick eventually worked his way up to an engineering foreman position in the boiler room. For that he needed to get his “ticket.” This required that he go back to night school where he took math, science, and English courses to complete the graduate-equivalency diploma (GED) program, before being eligible to sign up for

correspondence courses. Warrick took engineering-related correspondence courses through an Alberta college as well as a short refrigeration course in Burin, which allowed him to work up the ranks at the fish plant (Randell, July 31, 2012, p. 10).

In 1971, the population of La Scie had reached 1,255, up by 191 residents from 1965 and a total of 316 residents from 1961 (see Appendix C – La Scie Population Chart). Many of the adults only had Grade 8 and many of the young people went to work in the fish plant right away to subsidize their family's income. In fact, often young males and females from outlying communities spent summers living in La Scie after the plant opened in July of 1960. Most of the men boarded or stayed with relatives and worked at the plant. Many of the young girls came as 'servant girls'. It was common practice "for girls to leave one outport and come to the other [community] to find work. Whichever outport had the more offerings, more opportunity" (Tilley, July 20, 2012, pp. 5–6). Most of the women of La Scie proper who were married with children had taken jobs working on the fish plant assembly lines. Their husbands and fathers continued to fish in their own trap skiffs or as 'sharemen.'

Derek Tilley, explained:

[S]ome who were resettled worked in the fish plant, and that was big for them, because they were moved from Horse Islands or wherever the case may be, and they had no choice and they worked in the plant because their traps and boats and what not were back on the island and it was too inconvenient for them to fish. . . . We were not a resettled area like the South Coast, where they floated their houses in. . . . I have good friends from the South Coast who can tell you different stories about that. Maybe they moved for the same reason, but they moved in many cases to places where they were not employed. It was a matter of going from an employment to an unemployment state. Whereas you talk to people that were resettled here, they were fine with resettlement for the most part because they moved to employment. (Tilley, July 20, 2012, pp. 12–14)

Tilley noted, "the majority of people who worked there [La Scie fish plant], shall we say were single people." He also indicated that people from the Horse Islands had been coming to La Scie for a number of summers to work in the fish plant before they actually resettled. The resettlement

pattern for La Scie raises questions. Was the transition for the people of the Horse Islands, who had summer stints working in La Scie, less stressful than it was for people from Bear Cove? Did they have more kin connections? Did the young people want their parents to move to La Scie? Did young people adjust more easily than their elders? It certainly had more to offer. Linda Ryan recalls how life in La Scie was more exciting, especially for young people:

When we grew up, this was a lively place. . . . Three or four restaurants . . . This place was booming . . . We had street dances on the wharf almost every weekend. We had garden parties . . . We had our own two or three bands there that used to play for dances. This place had so much when we were growing up. (Tilley, July 20, 2012, p. 34)

Resettlement and Difficulties of Transition

Halfyard endeavoured to address transition issues and provide all new residents with options for both educational and social interaction:

I always found that the students that moved in were made welcome in our school. The parents, a lot of them, came to night school programs and did English, math, and science. They also did the physical education programs and so on. It helped them to feel part of the community. Of course, they were made part of the community in the church setting outside of the school. I was always blamed for being anti-religious. I was totally and firmly, from the day that I finished high school, solidly against denominational education. . . .

We couldn't have the typing and other things in the day school because we never had the staff to do it. But I made sure that there were programs in the night time that even the Grade 10 and Grade 11 students, at that time, could go to. So many of our students from the schools now were getting their daytime work, but they were also getting night time work, and courses they could use when they went into trade schools or what not. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014b, pp. 5–6)

Social class structure, related to religious orientation, could sometimes be an issue in outport communities. The United Church congregation was the more affluent or dominant social class group of La Scie during the second half of the 20th century. Many of the people from the Horse Islands, and other resettled communities, were Pentecostal or joined the Pentecostal Church shortly after settling in La Scie. Did joining the Pentecostal Church provide the resettled

‘come-from-away’ group with a stronger sense of identity and belonging? Anthropologist Anthony P. Cohen, in his 1969 study of the leadership dynamics in Springdale, theorized how the Pentecostal Church provided a stronger sense of community and leadership for its followers, especially those displaced as a result of resettlement (Cohen, 1975, p. 68). Many of the people who joined the Pentecostal Church were seasonal fishers and woods workers forced to move from “regressing” communities to growth centres during Phase I (1953–1965) and, then, Phase II (1965–1973) of resettlement (Iverson & Matthews, 1968, p. 2; BVPRS, 1960, p. 48). They were often stigmatized as being dependent on government unemployment or welfare benefits.

Unfortunately, once resettled, older residents could not partake of their normal subsistence lifestyle. They also lost their fishing berths and had to move into homes that were not as well-built as those they left behind. They no longer had land for family gardens and worked in the fish plant for cash to pay for the basic necessities—food, electrical, and phone bills (Iverson & Matthews, 1968, pp. 13–14). Transition was not always easy. Borrowing from J. S. Smith’s (1992) theory on “cultural relocation and the process of adjustment or transition of human beings to a new culture,” as it related to resettlement in Newfoundland (p. 3), I contend that the night school program helped to ease the transition phase. It provided young adults with a friendly place for social and emotional adjustment; thus, giving people an opportunity to “gain a new social role, status and self-identity” (pp. 5-6).

Government Focus on Adult Education

Adult education was a growing enterprise in Canadian society. (Gordon Selman et al., 1998, p. 68)

Technical and vocational education had come on stream in a major way in 1965 as a result of a large infusion of federal government funding. Ottawa’s emerging community

development and local initiative social development approach flowed from the “war on poverty” and a series of important new social movements, which led to a vast expansion of adult education and lifelong learning strategies for community development across the country (Gordon Selman et al, 1998, pp. 66–67). The federal government not only supported provincial government programs but also educational activities carried out by labour unions. Labour-style organizations, dating back to the early history of the Mechanics’ Institute of the early 1800s, generated a tradition of reading rooms and a vested interest in providing literacy development for their members (Welton in Scott, Spencer, & Thomas, 1998, p. 36).

In the 1970s, academics like Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich published influential books about freedom, unconscious assumptions and the oppressive nature of ‘mass education’ that impacted adult education trends in Canada and Britain (Selman, 1998, pp. 70, 374-377). The British Open University, TV Ontario and the National Film Board’s *Challenge for Change* project offered innovative educational alternatives. As part of the decade’s adult education movement, UNESCO released a report in 1972 that promoted the concept of “lifelong learning rather than education” (Selman, 1998, p. 374). The focus of adult education shifted from preparation for the workplace, to enabling more “educationally disadvantaged” men and women to cope in society. Selman et al. elaborated that:

in many cases, some of the most innovative and influential developments in adult education take place at the periphery of public policy. The story of adult education in Newfoundland – Canada’s most easterly, most remote and most economically depressed province – offers some outstanding examples of this fact. (1998, p. 262)

MUN Extension, 4-H Clubs, the Jubilee Guilds or Women’s Institute, school radio broadcasts, as well as Dr. Florence O’Neill’s Community Leadership Development program, which evolved from the 1930s “Opportunity Schools,” were among the most active (English, 2011, p. 47; Selman, 1998, p. 263; Rowe, 1976, pp. 175–176). In the mid-1960s, the government

set-up the Craft Training Division of the Department of Education to offer night school craft programs (Women's History Group, 1999/2013). For my purposes, I will focus on the provincial government high-school-affiliated night school programs.

A new Division of Technical and Vocational Education was set up within the Newfoundland provincial Department of Education in 1965. That first year, 1,550 students were enrolled. The next year, there were 3,000 students taking courses in 50 centres. By 1973–1974 there were 8,400 students enrolled in 103 centres around the province (Rowe, 1976, p. 177).

Frederick W. Rowe wrote,

In summary, it can be said that from 1949 to 1970, the main role of adult education was academic upgrading. In that period in St. John's, thousands of young men and women, working by day, attended night classes to continue from where they had broken off in ordinary school, obtaining eventually a high school or matriculation diploma and going on from there to enter university or take professional courses in stenography, nursing, accounting, and the like. In this respect, therefore, the adult program, narrow as it might seem, filled a great need, particularly for those young Newfoundlanders who, because they had been born and raised in small isolated communities, had no opportunity to realize their potential. (p. 177)

In volume two of the RRCEY, it was recommended that “School Boards, in collaboration with the Department of Education, be responsible for offering all adults who desired it, the opportunity to complete their elementary and secondary education” (GOVNL, 1968, p. 103). It was also recommended that “a policy be established so that school facilities may be available for educational and recreational use by the community after school hours” (p. 103). Just because government encouraged the expansion of adult education programs did not mean that school administrators were able to avail of the possibilities. However, interview data and academic literature from educators in the Green Bay Integrated School District show that at least three high school principals offered innovative community building night school programs starting in the late 1960s. In 1966 Grant Collegiate, in Springdale, started the “Welcome Back Night School

Program,” which offered adults in the town the opportunity to attend classes and receive high school credits (MacDonald, 1996, p. 8). Eli Harris, the school principal in nearby Roberts Arm, established a similar night school program, which he described:

I mean the number of students we had – I mean grown men and women. I’m not talking students of 15 or 16 years old, I’m talking about adults coming to our night school, loving it. We had sewing and all sorts of things. Whatever people required we had. . . men that later went out into the field, like plumbers and electricians and stuff like that. They would never have got into trade schools without their . . . English, math, and science. (Harris, August 6, 2012, p. 5)

Those three core courses gave them their GED needed for high school equivalency.

Another coordinating principal, who came to the district in 1971, described the night school programs as a “scheme” on the part of the school board developed so that the Department of Education would pay money for rental of school facilities and to give teachers extra salary (Amos, August 8, 2012, p. 42). Amos’s (b. 1943) perspective would have been rather different from rural Newfoundland-born educators like Halfyard or Harris. Amos had grown up in Bletchley, England, post the Second World War. In addition, when he started teaching in Green Bay, he already had a Master’s degree, thus higher pay than the average teacher.

Teachers’ salaries⁵⁷ did not increase to any degree until after the Newfoundland Teachers’ Collective Bargaining Act was enacted in May of 1973 (Pitt, 1990, pp. 56–57; Rowe, 1976, p. 140). Salary negotiations had stalled in the last years of the Smallwood administration. Soaring inflation and the devaluation of the Canadian dollar eroded the gains achieved in

⁵⁷ Teachers’ salaries started to slowly rise throughout the 1970s as a result of an NTA-led lobbying, protest, and closure of a select number of larger schools in 1971 (Rowe, 1976, p. 140). After the defeat of the Smallwood Liberal government by Frank Moore’s Conservative Party in 1972, the Collective Bargaining Act of 1973 was passed. The Act made the NTA the bargaining agent for all teachers. Negotiation for a new basic teacher salary scale was a major priority (Andrews, 1985b, pp. 367-368). In 1971 the basic salary for a teacher with a Grade 4 and five years experience was \$7,616 (Rowe, 1976, 140). Of the 6,437 teachers in 1971 only 2,030, or 31.7%, of all teachers had university degrees. The overall average annual salary was \$5,785. (McCann, 1994, p. 291) (See Appendix B: Education Related Statistics). Salaries jumped to \$13,533 in 1976. The annual salaries rose to around \$21,749 by 1981 following another strike by teachers (McCann, 1994, p. 289).

previous years (Stanley, 1993/2000, p. 458). As a result, there was a growing “resentment among teachers” who felt their salaries should be more on par “with lawyers, doctors, engineers, and other professional groups” (Rowe, 1976, p. 140). In 1966, the annual salaries for teachers averaged \$3,285.

Thus, many teachers looked at teaching night school as an opportunity to subsidize their still paltry teacher salary. Young foreign-born teachers with university degrees, thus higher salaries, sometimes considered it an imposition, a point of resistance when asked to teach night school. I would argue both government and school administrators looked at night school as an incentive; it was a means of providing bonuses during the teacher supply crisis that coincided with the peak in school-age children during the 1970s. Furthermore, government officials looked to the extra money earned through teaching night school as a way to curb teacher turnover. Teachers of that era were constantly being wooed into better paying permanent positions with the Canadian Civil Service and other industries (Rowe, 1976, p. 134; GOVNL, 1967, p. 110).

La Scie Night School Program

Starting when Halfyard arrived in 1968 and running through to the mid-1980s, anywhere from 20 to 80 local people of all ages attended the Monday and Wednesday night school program that offered five to seven different courses. Halfyard explained his simple but effective scheduling and marketing strategy:

Generally, I hired people in the academic side who were teaching day school. I would never set up any more than two nights a week; generally, it was a Monday and Wednesday. This gave teachers their weekends and other things. Nobody taught any more than three hours a night and twice a week. . . . I would send out notices around the town that we were setting up a night school program and anybody that was interested could phone and say they were interested. . . . In the regular academics, there would be anywhere between six to 12 students in an academic class. Audrey’s classes were always around 10 to 15 students. (Halfyard, January, 15, 2012, pp. 2–4)

Halfyard also capitalized on the expertise of some of the teachers who came to La Scie to

teach. For example, in the early 1970s, Joan Foster, an elementary teacher who had knowledge of stenography, taught the first typing courses. On Halfyard's request, Anna Templeton, the supervisor of the Craft Training Division of the Department of Education also sent out Karen Thistle and other instructors to teach a few craft courses (A. Halfyard, personal communication, June 9, 2018). Those instructors trained a few local teachers who then taught sewing and other craft courses (Women's History Group, 1999). After those husband and wife teacher couples left the community, Halfyard's wife, Audrey, started teaching craft courses. It was the beginning of the days when they had two to three children attending university at a time. Audrey added:

And then I went to the trade school in Baie Verte. . . . I did duffle and macramé, and then I did the regular sewing from Anna Templeton. . . . But it was Anna Templeton's course we were doing, all of her outlines. (Halfyard, January 15, 2012, pp. 2–4)

The demand was such, especially for the duffle jackets course, that Audrey travelled to Nippers Harbour to teach courses.



Figure 68. Halfyard and Audrey working late into the evenings
(Halfyard, S., c. 1973)

Over the years, Audrey made most of her children's clothing. As a teenager, she had a flair for the artistic, perhaps a skill she learned from her father's mother who painted elaborate designs on canvas floor mats. Now in her eighties, Audrey continues to take painting courses.

She also buys a fair share of craft magazines. Like Halfyard, she is a consummate learner.

I would also argue that educators like Eli Harris in Roberts Arm and Halfyard in La Scie recognized the intrinsic value of night school at that stage in the province's development. If government policy made it possible to offer typing, physical education, French, art appreciation, first aid and sewing courses in St. John's or larger towns like Gander, why not small towns like La Scie or Roberts Arm? Why should residents of La Scie and surrounding area not have the opportunity to upgrade, to broaden and enrich their "social, civic, personal and physical development" (Rowe, 1976, p. 177)? As a result, passionate experienced school principals jumped in with both feet. By that time, they were senior educators in their forties. They had reached the stage in their lives where they had the confidence and insight to seek out solutions and tailor programs to meet the needs of people in rural places that have been underprivileged for too long. Halfyard also felt it was a way for teachers to better get to know the people, and the community.

Halfyard did not limit the program to La Scie. He expanded the program to other more isolated communities around the Baie Verte Peninsula. Instead of having students travel to a central school location, he sent teachers to small communities to teach night school (Job Halfyard, July 21, 2012, p. 9). He argued it helped people who did not own cars, or who lacked confidence when it came to the prospect of entering a classroom at the District Vocational School in Baie Verte (Halfyard, August 27, 2013, p. 11; Halfyard, January 15, 2012). In many ways, Halfyard applied the principles of 'proximity' which the Smallwood government adopted in setting up district vocational schools in regions where rural populations were high. Warren explained, "The closer geographically a person is to a university or to a college or a trade school, the more likely that person is to attend. That's a statistical fact" (Warren, July 2, 2012, p. 10).

The night school program was an incentive program, much like the earlier bursary programs for high school students and the free university tuition of the mid-1960s. It was a way to reduce barriers to educational opportunity. The principle of proximity was also applied when Memorial University established satellite centres around the province in the 1970s. These centres were set up to meet the needs of teachers who were required to complete their university degrees. But Halfyard did have some concerns with the changing practices related to where ABE was to be taught:

They put the night school program, the ABE program, in the trade schools. To me, this was a cruel move because those adult education classes were community oriented. There might be only a class in Nippers Harbour one of the four years. But you'd pick the greatest needs that were there. . . . what happened was that people that were in charge of the trade schools were trying to build little empires for themselves, and so they wanted the adult education too, to help to build their empires. That was a mistake. (Halfyard, August 27, 2013, p. 11)

In the early 1980s, a pre-vocational program was offered to Grades 9, 10, and 11 in Baie Verte and Springdale at the new vocational schools. Chris Amos who was the coordinating principal in Triton during most of the 1980s expressed his appreciation as well as concerns:

So, Grant [Springdale] and Beothuk [Baie Verte] had the opportunity to send students down there to do woodworking, metalworking, drafting, that sort of stuff, and they were high school credit courses, so it must have been after '83 now that I think of it. I don't know whether they did it before then, so maybe it wasn't from Triton.

Anyhow, and then there was a big kick up from probably your father – and certainly me and Eli and Ren Clark [coordinating principals] – why weren't we in on it? And we got buses that used to take them in the morning from school and take them into Springdale, and they would go to these courses and come back again. And whilst it wasn't ideal, it was a great benefit to the students who were not really particularly academic, and even the ones who were. . . .

It was a great program. It was a bit of a trial for the principals. We had problems with the busing. We had problems with students disappearing in Springdale (because of course it was a great chance to go up to Springdale). Not a big problem actually, but there were problems. There were problems with the teachers in the trade school not being used to dealing with Grade 9 students and not understanding the difference between them and eighteen-year-olds. So, there were problems, but on the whole it was a very positive

thing. (Amos, August 8, 2012, p. 43)

In looking at this event, and hearing stories of Halfyard seemingly always kicking up a fuss, I started to question whether he was someone prone to a ‘sour grapes’ attitude. So, I eventually asked Chris Amos who recapitulated:

I wouldn’t have thought so, no. He may, like the rest of us outside of Springdale and possibly Baie Verte, have been a bit jealous of what he perceived was being given to the schools in the main centres, as opposed to the others. But I didn’t feel that in myself or see it in Job as being jealous. I saw it as being what he should be, as an advocate for his school and getting what he could for his school. I don’t think I saw anything that I would call jealousy, no. (Amos, August 8, 2012, p. 50)

Amos, who spent the last 10 years of his career as principal of Grant Collegiate, had earlier made the tongue in cheek comment, “Grant got everything they wanted and the school board was right on side. So, that was kind of neat for me” (Amos, August 8, 2012, p. 35). It was not only Halfyard who felt the inequality.

A Culture of Early School Leaving

From Halfyard’s perspective, the students always came first so he tried first and foremost to meet their needs:

You should never lose focus: that you’re in the school for the students. You’re not in for the teachers and you’re not in for the parents. You’re in for the students. That’s where I would be. The student came first with me. Even in an argument or a discussion or a discipline problem with the student, the student got the greatest number of points because he would not be as mature as the teacher; therefore, you have to balance the situation out. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 6)

In La Scie, Halfyard and his staff repeatedly observed the large numbers of students who dropped out of school in Grades 8 and 9. Rod Toms, who came to La Scie to teach in 1974, talked about how education priorities were very different from where he grew up in the mill town of Grand Falls:

When we first came to La Scie, education had very little priority to a lot of people. La

Scie was a pretty prosperous place too in the 1970s with the fish plant here. A lot of kids never got past Grade 9. Once they reached school-leaving age, which was 16 at that point in time, anyone who was really having difficulty in school would be gone for sure. A lot of people even who weren't having difficulty were only waiting to get to 16, get their Grade 9, get their Grade 10 and then they either went to work with their fathers or most of them went to work in the fish plant. . . . So we had a huge dropout problem. . . . It was economics. There were jobs. You could leave school in Grade 9 and go get a job at the fish plant. There was still that idea, especially among girls, that they didn't need an education anyway. . . . A lot of them never came back. You lose your seniority in the plant, I would think. (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, p. 13)

Toms, who went to work in Fort McMurray after he retired from teaching in 2004, noticed a similar trend among students in that industrial town. Students left school early because they could make good money in the oil patch (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, p. 7). Toms also talked about the mix of students which was partially reflective of busing of students from nearby communities:

At the same token, there was a lot of very bright kids around. I've always said that. A lot of bright kids here. There was a good diversity of kids too, because they were coming from Nippers Harbour in big bus loads. They were coming up from Shoe Cove. They actually weren't even all that clannish. The Shoe Cove ones would mingle pretty well with the ones here. Later on, when they got down the [Roman Catholic] high school students from Brent's Cove [early 1990s], that was very clannish for a while. They grouped together and ours grouped together. Then, some of the b'ys found out some of the girls on the other side were okay and things started moving. (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, pp. 24, 35)

Alexia Ward (nee Barnes), who came to teach in La Scie in 1978, saw the same dropout trend. She noted one year that only half of the forty-plus Grade 9 students came back to school in September. Initially a physical education teacher and later a guidance counsellor, she shed a different light on the economics of working in the fish plant and the dynamics of the community:

I think some of the students' income supplemented the family income. So that was part of it, too. . . . It wasn't a well-to-do community, but the people were comfortable. The plant was working three shifts at that time: they were working 8–4, 4–12, and 12–8. And they had . . . I'm thinking 600 people working over those shifts. And you dare not go to the post office at lunch time because there was just a stream of cars back and forth. You would never get in the parking lot and out again to go back to school on time because the people were going to lunch and they were coming home. So people worked very, very

hard for very little, but that carried them through the winter months. They weren't rich, but they were comfortable. (Ward, July 14, 2012, p. 11)

Ward described how that pragmatic attitude to work and schooling continued until the 1990s when other ecological, political and institutional factors brought changes:

Eventually people realized, okay, the plant is dwindling now, the fishing is dwindling, working in the fish plant is hard work. The older the people got, they would encourage, like even their grandchildren, "Don't ever go to the fish plant to work, because my knees are shot and I'm going to have to work until I'm 65," and that type of thing, and the fishery was dwindling and dwindling.

So, in between there, there was a big renaissance of – everybody was chomping at the bit to go to university, or go to CONA [College of the North Atlantic], or go somewhere. And now it's gone to another phase; it's gone to a phase where, again, a lot of people are apathetic. They don't want to go to university. They don't want to go to school. They just want to do whatever. (Ward, July 14, 2012, p. 12)

Ward, like Toms, also talked about the Cod Moratorium phase of the 1990s and "what they called a TAGS program," which meant workers were getting an income and given opportunities for educational retraining. Barnes, who had earlier described the people of La Scie as very hardworking people, expressed concerns that the government assistance programs:

Kind of taught your child, well, things can go wrong but I'll be looked after anyway. So, they got this apathetic attitude that, 'Well, anything happens, the government will look after me anyway. (Ward, July 14, 2012, p. 12)

Teachers like Ward and Toms, who taught in La Scie for all 30 years of their teaching careers, provide a strong sense of the culture of work and schooling in the community and how it evolved after the 1970s.

Composite High School – Curriculum Counter Solutions

Halfyard's vision for a new high school facility was not limited to the physical structure of the building (Halfyard, July 21, 2012, p. 4). It encompassed a well-thought-out curriculum development framework and foundation that would include the needs of primary, elementary,

and high school students as well as the needs of adults who had dropped out of school to work in the fishery. His plan was also sensitive to the needs of families from outlying fishing communities who traditionally had limited educational opportunities. Thus, when designing his curriculum, Halfyard, in his ever-practical manner, looked at the economic needs of the community and the kinds of work the students could find in the region. His idea behind what he called “the composite school” was that all students were not destined for university. Young men would need technical skills that they learned in trades-type courses, in order to find work in the fish plant, mines, and emerging long liner enterprise industry.

Young women would need typing courses to work in the fish plant, the bank or even as secretary of the school. They would also need science courses in order to take the nursing or lab technology courses needed to find jobs at the regional hospital in Baie Verte or local clinics. Halfyard’s composite high school model approximated the early 1970s pre-vocational high school programs offered to students in larger growth centres with vocational schools (Andrews, 1985b, p. 354). It was also similar to the vocational courses, stenography and Grade 12 courses offered at elite city schools like Prince of Wales Collegiate and Holy Heart of Mary throughout the 1960s and 70s.

It would be 1981, after following up on the recommendation of the 1979 Task Force on Education, before Grade 12 was introduced. The new focus was not to be purely “vocationalism” nor “academic curriculum.” Instead, they went in search of a new model that embraced practical notions of enriched curriculum with a focus on “what has been called relevance” (GOVNL, 1979, 117, 124). Grade 12 was to offer a “broadened program” based on a course credit system with enrichment programming over and above the core curriculum (GOVNL, 1979, p. 124). The goal was to provide students with more course selection options and another year to improve

their performance before moving on the post-secondary education. Halfyard had already implemented some of those curriculum options by 1975; the government was finally catching up with standardized programs for the whole province. He summarized his approach related to the core curriculum:

The basic concern was to make sure that your English program was well looked after, your math program was well looked after. Then you work into your humanities. You work into your history and your geography. I had a lot of love for history and geography, economics and geology, and things kicked back to my university days. But I was a little bit old-fashioned in saying that – look, you’re coming in as a teacher; you’re going to have to teach more than one thing. Most of the teachers today only want one course. That was not in my book at all . . . you’ve got to have the people who have that flexibility. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013)

Halfyard was in many ways an oddity among high school teachers and administrators of the day, who had a tendency to promote only university education, especially for the brighter students (Harris, August 6, 2012, p. 21). Halfyard dared to be different—“forward-looking,” flexible, “adaptive,” and practical (Fullan, 2011, p. 18; Kouzes & Posner, 2007). Maybe that can be seen in the career choices of his own children, which ran the gamut of what was becoming popular within society. His children’s career choices ranged from hairdresser/yoga instructor/artist, electrician, lab technologist, teacher, documentary filmmaker, and aquaculturist.

Innovative Instructional and Curriculum Activities

Another keen interest area of Halfyard’s was the modern audiovisual tools that were coming on stream to stimulate students’ interest. Once again, he took it upon himself to learn how his school might make the best use of new technology such as 16 mm film and overhead projectors. Halfyard signed up for a night course at Memorial’s satellite campus in Grand Falls in the fall of 1972. Like many teachers from outlying communities, Halfyard would leave La Scie right after school. He would complete the one-hour drive to Baie Verte, then join other teacher/principals in a carpool. From there they drove another two and a half hours to Grand Falls for the

seven o'clock class. He would arrive back home at 1:00 and, then, the next morning, he would be off to work again. At school, he would pass along the new ideas he learned to his staff.

Halfyard reflected on why he introduced Friday afternoon arts-oriented classes which also proved to have a positive impact for a number of future visual artist:

To try to make the school a little bit more enjoyable, I used to take (at least every two weeks) a Friday afternoon, and there would be no regular classes; everybody would do art. You could sketch pretty well what you liked, you could do different things. It was a saviour for teachers, don't forget, you were preparing and trying to teach thirty-odd kids in a classroom, from Grades 7 to 11, all the different classes. So that Friday afternoon was a real joy to a lot of students and teachers. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 5)

The initiative was also designed to take pressure off teachers who had more courses to prepare than in the larger multi-stream schools. Unfortunately, his Friday afternoon arts sessions were severely curtailed in the 1970s when the Department of Education came out with a new policy that students could only qualify to write the art public exam if they were taught by a qualified 'specialist' art teacher. Halfyard explained:

Their recommendation was that if you didn't have training in art, then you shouldn't be in the classroom, it shouldn't be done. So, art was pretty well destroyed. Within three years, most art classes in Newfoundland in the rural schools were gone. And that was a government decision, and that was terrible because you might have 100 people in your school, who were involved in doing this Friday program twice a month, and if they had more interest in art, then you've got other things for them to do to help them along. You weren't trying to make them artists or anything like that, but to give them a feel for it. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 5)

It is still a sore point for Halfyard who was appalled that the government policy effectively "relegated art [as a public exam option] to the larger centres like St. John's, Corner Brook and Grand Falls" (Halfyard, June 9, 2013). He considers the move a regressive step driven by growing bureaucracy and the emerging specialists' model of schooling:

I find that in education if you specialize too much you get out of touch with 50% of the people. I find the best people to work and initiate change is not a strong scientist or a mathematician. It's a good generalist education person who will look at a place for the arts, a place for the mathematics, a place for the English, and be able to look at the

overall picture better. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014a, p. 2)

Extracurricular Activities

There were always many after school and lunch time sports activities and, periodically, there was also a debating club and school newspaper. Those extracurricular activities waxed and waned according to the interest of the “young and very vibrant staff” (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, pp. 23–24). Halfyard talked about some of the sports activities:

I would try to get all of the staff involved. This teacher would look after softball; this teacher would look after hockey; this teacher would look after volleyball; and this teacher would look after table tennis. But it ended up that a lot of times myself and my car would be the ones that would get the crap knocked out of it on the bad roads taking kids out to table tennis tournaments, or cross-country tournaments, and so on. . . . But that had to be done; the kids had to be exposed to it. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 4)

Halfyard was disappointed that the new high school gym was “a smaller gym than it was supposed to be” (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 4). Because the Green Bay Integrated School Board shaved some space off the new gym and cafeteria area, the gym was not regulation size and therefore, the school could not host provincial tournaments for some sports.



Figure 69. La Scie High School table tennis team placed second at Provincials in 1973
(Courtesy of Halfyard family)

In the early 1980s', Halfyard was awarded a Certificate of Recognition by the Newfoundland and Labrador High School Athletic Association in acknowledgement of his "dedicated service and contribution to the aims and objectives of the organization" (Halfyard, personal file, 1980).

In addition to promoting traditional sports activities which allowed students to socialize and compete with other students from larger towns, Halfyard was also eager to introduce new outdoor activities. When lifelong learning recreational trends were being promoted to foster the general wellbeing of individuals in society in the late 1970s, Halfyard hired Alexia Barnes, a new university graduate who could develop those programs:

First when I came here, like I said, the school was relatively new. So the first thing we kind of had to do was to get some good equipment; part of the degree that I did was concentrating on outdoor activities, like skiing, snowshoeing, winter camping, survival We had to go after that kind of equipment that they didn't have because they just had the typical—volleyballs, basketball, that type of thing.

They [the students] wanted the traditional activities, but once they started to try out the snowshoeing and the skiing (especially the camping), they were gung-ho for it. They wanted to go. They enjoyed it. It's funny how it was reflected in graduation night, because they would fill out a form, and on the form were certain questions like, "What was your favourite activity or thing you remember in high school?" – and guaranteed it was always, "Our survival trip, our bivouac building day, our skiing trip, our camping night." It always came up, over and over and over again. So, it was an activity that they remembered, and it wasn't offered to them before. So, this was their opportunity to do it and they loved it. They really, really loved it. (Ward (nee Barnes), July 14, 2012, pp. 5, 8)

Starting as early as 1973, Halfyard encouraged students to take part in school trips to Europe and set up exchange programs with schools in Saskatchewan, Alberta and Ontario. He described how some students blossomed on those trips:

There were kids here that hadn't been to the Trans-Canada highway, let alone being to Ottawa or elsewhere. The exposure is good for 90-odd percent. . . . We had one young fellow who was a fairly good artist on one of our trips—and he just blossomed, and the kids from Alberta were amazed at how well he could sketch. He later worked in business and sketching in advertising. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 5)



Figure 70. High school students travel to Ottawa and Saskatoon, Saskatchewan on a student Young Voyageur exchange program in 1975.

Viola is wearing a suit her mother made.

(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Halfyard also had a penchant for taking every opportunity to enrich the school and community cultural offerings by taking advantage of theatre, sports and music groups that were touring the province. He brought in well-known Newfoundland writers like Al Pittman and musicians like Rufus Guinchard. There were theatre groups, including emerging members of CODCO, and other Newfoundland talent. There were also boy-band style evangelical performers who were touring the province from other parts of North America. There was even an infamous wrestler who roused a packed house from the community in the high school gym and tried to skip town without giving the school their share of the gate. Halfyard was having no part of such unethical practices (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, p. 32). Rod Toms often tells the story of how Job chased the humongous wrestler and caught him and his manager before they could get over the run. Toms also pondered:

Your father was very dedicated to students and to his job. And he had 15 jobs: he was mixed up with everything, including mixed up with NTA, big time; one of the political parties, I think, he changed horses in mid-stream there somewhere, library boards and all that. Your father was continually coming and going, involved with everything. But he

was very much involved with his job as a teacher. Very much so in hindsight. (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, p. 25)

Not all teachers bought into the plethora of enrichment curriculum or extracurricular activities Halfyard introduced for students. However, most of the central core of teachers he cultivated during the 1970s did. Rick Harvey, who taught in La Scie for four years before moving on to vice-principal, then principal positions in other larger communities, explained:

One of the biggest things successful teachers do is to get engaged with kids in the community and their parents. Job taught me that. He wasn't a laid-back type guy. He wanted you involved. And if you didn't get involved, he'd ask you to get involved. [chuckles] (Harvey, July 4, 2012, p. 10)

Section IV: Establishing a Central Core of Teachers

Small schools generally are unable to attract and hold well qualified teachers. This is especially disturbing because the quality of education is greatly determined by the quality of the teacher. (GOVNL, 1967, p. 97)



Figure 71. Teaching staff 1969–1970
Fraser March, a future union leader, is in the back row, middle.
(Courtesy of Halfyard family)

Problem – Teacher Recruitment and Retention

Teacher retention, especially in small remote all-grade schools across the province, was a

major challenge for coordinating principals throughout the 1970s. The exodus from teaching, which began in the early 1940s, grew throughout the 1950s as better qualified and more experienced teachers were lured into higher paying jobs (GOVNL, 1967, pp. 109–110). To compound matters, more children were staying in school for longer periods during the 1960s and 70s, and school enrolment numbers soared as children born during the post-war baby boom were moving through the school system. While teacher shortage problems improved in larger schools, such was not the case in small outport communities like La Scie (Rowe, 1976, p. 138). Halfyard explained:

The tenure of a teacher for the first 10 years that I was here was not much over a year. You couldn't really develop a program because a teacher's tenure wasn't long enough to be able to implement and to analyze if this was the right direction to go. So, what has to be done – there has to be better housing provided for teachers coming in. Along with that, we have to get a more qualified staff. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, pp. 10–11)

The RRCEY identified the following ways to address teacher recruitment and retention: more teacher education; increasing the number of high school matriculates; raising teachers' salaries; improving working and living conditions; providing a pattern of advancement and a recruitment program; improving teacher certification; and deployment (GOVNL, 1967, pp. 115–128).

Action – Building Apartments for Teachers

Halfyard addressed the challenges of improving teacher retention, hence the quality of education for the growing student population in La Scie, through a methodical, well-thought-out series of practical strategic steps that included: (a) building apartments in order to improve housing conditions for teachers and their families; and (b) improving social and recreational amenities for both teachers and local residents. Within each of those two strategic solutions, there were another series of evolving actions and phases that Halfyard plodded relentlessly through for the better part of a decade. He formulated a long-term strategic plan that had an

unending sidebar of sometimes unpredictable challenges which he had to navigate. Fortunately, Halfyard was “resolute,” a “reflective doer,” a “deep accomplisher,” who could roll with the punches and not an “armchair elaborator” who had great ideas but was unable to take action and bring ideas to fruition. (Goodson, 2013, p. 72; Fullan, 2011, p. xiii). Halfyard summarized:

So, my wife and I gambled. My wife was a full-time housekeeper, no Canada pension in the future because she didn't pay into it. So, we said we'd try an experiment and we'd build four apartments for teachers. And so, in the early 70s we hired carpenters and built four apartments in the summer. It made all the difference in the world, just those four apartments. The teachers only stayed in those apartments for about five years – because don't forget that teachers' qualifications were improving; therefore, they got better salaries. They were also able to build their own houses, while they were in the accommodations that we had provided.

It became a business and a necessity in the town. The tenure of the teachers here went from a little over one year to a little over three years. Some of them settled here and taught here until they retired. So, it was a vast change. And I was also, intentionally, trying to get a better balance of male and female teachers on the staff. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, pp. 10–11)

Between 1971 and the early 1980s, Halfyard and his wife built apartments to accommodate the needs of at least 15 of the 20 to upwards of 30 teachers working on a yearly basis at the elementary and high school in La Scie. His strategy was in keeping with Warren's (1973, pp. 155 & 157) suggestion that Newfoundland administrators “experiment,” plus Kouzes and Posner's (2007, p. 188) notion that leaders are innovative and risk taking.

In 1971, Halfyard and Audrey bought one of the vacant duplexes being sold off by the mining company in Tilt Cove. They bought two small blocks of land in La Scie, one across the street from the house they rented from the school board and the other on a bog that was being drained for new housing development. During the summer, they dismantled the duplexes, section by section, and transported them to La Scie. In between, Halfyard fished salmon and lobster in order to earn extra cash needed to cover bank loans, pay for building supplies and to hire the two carpenters who did the bulk of the carpentry work.



Figure 72. Teachers apartments built in the early 1970s by Halfyard.
(Courtesy of Clyde Saunders, September 2018)

The need for accommodations was so great that they built four additional units in 1974.

Rod Toms, who was married and had a young child, explained:

There was nothing here [of any quality] except what your father built. Nothing. . . . When we moved into the apartment down there sure, it was a brand new apartment, a brand new building. . . . We wouldn't have stayed. I imagine [we would have stayed] about a year or two and then had applications out looking around for jobs. But that was perfect. Best kind of accommodations. You were in a very vibrant community and everything was going good. (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, pp. 37–38)

Then, in the summer of 1976, they added four more units, and so on, until there were 16 apartments in total. General management and maintenance of the apartment buildings became a family affair. Audrey and Job would spend a good portion of their summers painting apartments while most teachers were away.

Alexia Ward (nee Barnes) recalls the ease of finding an apartment after she was offered the physical education teaching position in La Scie in 1978:

I rented an apartment from Mr. Halfyard, and he had several apartments that he did rent out to teachers at the time. It was a lovely, two-bedroom apartment, very comfortable, above ground, lots of lighting. I just called and asked if there was anything available and stepped right into it. (Ward, July 14, 2012, p. 6)

Alexia moved into one of the newer Phase III apartment units. The idea of providing apartments

for teachers was not unique to La Scie. Halfyard saw how the mining companies in Tilt Cove, Baie Verte, and Buchans enriched teachers' lives by providing quality subsidized housing options. The impetus of school boards to build teacher accommodations was, in turn, sparked by the 1967 RRCEY recommendation that "suitable housing be provided for teachers living in rural sections of the province" (GOVNL, 1967, p. 127).

The new Green Bay Integrated School Board did provide a small number of rental properties for teachers in the district. They assumed the rental of the two houses built in La Scie for Halfyard and a vice-principal. Meanwhile, most school board-owned rental properties were located in the larger centres of Baie Verte and Springdale where the mining companies similarly provided apartments for their workers to live. In nearby Brent's Cove, the Presentation Sisters built a convent for the nuns who taught there. Many of the Catholic School Boards around the province had convents or homes where nuns or brothers who taught could live.

By the early 1980s, the Green Bay Integrated School Board started to divest itself of rental properties for teachers and Halfyard bought the house they had rented from the school board for almost 12 years (Sparkes, November 16, 2015, p. 38). Teachers' salaries had improved and a growing number of teachers chose to settle in communities for the long haul, hence they started to build their own homes. With fewer teachers needing rental properties more seniors, young couples, and people on social assistance transitioned into renting Halfyard's apartments. Meanwhile, after the Advocate Mines asbestos mine closed in 1981, Halfyard capitalized on buying another four-unit apartment building in Baie Verte which he rented to teachers, police officers and nurses (LeMessurier, 1990, p. 10).

First Wave of Teachers Hired

The teacher turnover rate in La Scie public schools was close to 50% each year until the

mid-1970s. Within a few years of arriving in La Scie, Halfyard hired a central core of young rural Newfoundland-born teachers who had been raised in small fishing villages along the Northeast Coast who were familiar with the lifestyle. Some had family or kin links to La Scie.

He explained:

At that time there were a lot of young people coming out of Memorial, I say, with a lot of piss and vinegar in them. They were all between 21 and 25 years old: good in mathematics, good in the sciences, humanities, and so on. That's the type that I wanted in my school, but I couldn't keep them unless housing was improved (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, pp. 10–11).

It was his hope they would stay in the region for long periods of time, however, only a few did. Halfyard also liked to supplement the high school teaching pool by going outside the province to hire specialists. World events of the late 1960s presented some very unique and fortuitous solutions to the teacher shortage crisis. The Americans were waging war in Vietnam. Many young American college graduates became war resisters or 'draft dodgers' and fled to Canada (Dickerson, 1999; Hagan, 2001). Desperate for work, many of those young men, some with wives who also had university degrees, found their way to outport Newfoundland, which was actively recruiting educated personnel from many parts of the world.⁵⁸ Halfyard recalls those days with a smile:

Don't forget – this was the flower child age, and you did get some real dillies to be able to manage. . . . But nothing beats a creative and understanding teacher. (Halfyard, July 21, 2012b, p. 5, 6).

Halfyard had a knack for hiring an eclectic mix of teachers. They included: university graduates from Canada, war resisters fleeing the United States, a man who had escaped Communist East Germany as a boy, as well as a quiet, older man, a Tamil, who had fled Sri

⁵⁸ Starting as far back as 1957–58, the Newfoundland government advertised in national newspapers in Britain, mainland Canada, the United States and other parts of the world for doctors, dentists, university professors, engineers and other professionals. By the mid-1960s, teachers were also actively recruited (GOVNL, 1967, p. 122).

Lanka (Ceylon) because of growing religious tensions in the country. These were in addition to the interesting mix of Newfoundland-born teachers. School principals were encouraged to hire husband and wife couples. The husbands generally taught in the high school and wives in primary elementary. It seemed that Halfyard took more risks in hiring teachers than some high school administrators. He understood that many of the students in the La Scie area had limited exposure to the outside world and it was his goal to bring little pieces of the world to the students in his charge through the teachers he hired.



Figure 73. La Scie High School ‘central core’ teaching staff of the late 1970s and 1980s, circa 1985
(Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

As more apartments were made available and the new Cape John Collegiate school complex was opened in 1973–1974, things began to turn around (Halfyard, February 11, 2014, p. 8). More teachers started to settle in La Scie. Rod Toms explained:

By the time I first started working in La Scie in '73 ('74, I guess), jobs were starting to get a bit harder to come by, especially in the bigger places. There was no chance of getting a job in Grand Falls or Gander, or St. John's obviously. So, you had to be willing to go to the smaller schools, even at that time. . . .

Mostly what I remember coming here was that it was a very young teaching staff. It was your father and everyone else. . . . A huge turnover of staff every two or three or four years. But, of the group that I started with, around almost the same age, a lot of us stayed for quite a few years. (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, pp. 10, 14)

Toms, grew up in Grand Falls and worked in a bank for a few years before deciding to follow some of his friends to university. At the time, the government was encouraging “young adults,” and high school “matriculants” to “enter programmes of teacher preparation” (GOVNL, 1967, p. 121). Toms was in search of a career that could provide a better livelihood for his new wife and child (Toms, R. August 13, 2012, p. 10). An additional motivator was the fact that teacher salaries and benefits were starting to improve substantially. The average annual salary, jumped from \$5,785 in 1971 to \$13,533 in 1976 (McCann, 1994, p. 289). Halfyard summarized some of the changes happening for younger teachers like Toms:

They felt confident in themselves and the pay scale was getting so that they could make a better living. A lot of them were getting married, and they were able to have better accommodations to live in and all of those things. They were able to go away for additional training. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014, p. 8)

Throughout those years of hiring professionally trained teachers with degrees, Halfyard also encouraged teachers on staff (mainly at the primary and elementary level), who had been teaching for years without completing degrees, to go back to university to improve the teacher qualifications. Another key element of Halfyard’s strategy for the 1970s was to reverse the tradition of only females teaching at the primary/elementary level and males at the high school level. Halfyard explained:

I tried to balance my schools off by having a balance of females and males. You had a job to balance enough good females in the high school, because they needed to be screened more. But in the primary elementary, they had nearly all females. And therefore, the male kids never had any role models. So, I tried to get a balance. You couldn’t totally balance, but a lot of it was done. (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 11)

Historically, teaching was “women’s work” (Grumet, 1988, p. 47). Hence there were more

female than male school teachers in Newfoundland classrooms. Halfyard said he was “always against the elementary schools having all female teachers.”⁵⁹ I tried to, as much as I could, to get a balance of males and females” (Halfyard, January 15, 2012, p. 13).

I remember the principal of the elementary school in La Scie and I sitting down together and discussing what would happen if we had a 50/50. Because we had 50/50 children there, boys and girls, but they were being mentored by all ladies in the elementary schools. And the boys don’t always react well to that. You know that the boys don’t mature and look at things the same way as girls do. We decided to bring in four or five good young male teachers into the elementary school and they did wonders. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014a, p. 7)

The principal of the elementary school was Pratt Burton who was born in La Scie and educated at Memorial University. He had taught with Halfyard in Tilt Cove. John Price, the vice-principal originally came from the Twillingate area, which was technically just across the bay from La Scie by boat. In 1973–1974, a third male teacher was hired for the primary/elementary level. He also came from the Twillingate area. Within a few years a fourth male teacher was hired. Three of those male teachers married local women and settled in La Scie permanently. On the flip side of the coin, finding and retaining female teachers for the high school was not always easy. Every odd year, from 1973 to 1978, Halfyard was able to hire one or two young female university graduates. He expressed surprise that they only stayed one or two years:

I was always amazed that we couldn’t get enough strong girls into the high school system. I always tried to have two or three good ladies in the high school system. Very, very difficult for 20 years. After that it got a little bit easier. It was a weakness I saw in the system. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014a, p. 7)

Halfyard believed female high school teachers sometimes lacked confidence and struggled with discipline issues. He felt they were not adequately trained for the difficult task of managing older high school students, especially the boys. Female teachers were not the norm at

⁵⁹ In 1951 there were 1,652 female teachers in the public elementary and secondary schools and only 847 males. The number of male teachers did not start to come on par with female teachers until 1976 (McCann, 1994, 287).

the high school level in the 1970s or 1980s other than in select specialist positions. Alexia Ward, one of the first long-term female teachers hired by Halfyard at the high school level presents a different picture than Halfyard:

I was the only female. I think it was either 15 or 16 males on staff. So, that was kind of – they made fun of me and would tell me now they were in charge of me. But I think I was in charge of them, because I wouldn't let them get away with anything. I gave back just as good as they gave. And I think they respected that in some ways. So, I was the only female on staff for a while. I think two years. After that, things changed. (Ward, July 14, 2012, p. 5)

In the meantime, Alexia described how “Mr. Halfyard, I must say, was very knowledgeable and knew something about everything and always had the answer. So, I always knew I had backup” (Ward, July 14, 2012, p. 8). She added,

at first, I was very intimidated by him because he was blunt and what he said went. But I guarantee you there were times that I sincerely appreciated that because at first when I came here, there were a few rough characters in the community. . . . Once they hit his office that was it though. He drew the line. . . . So, I appreciated the fact that he was pretty tough and what he said went. And it helped me in the long run because I would go in and I'd say to him, “I'm having this, or I'm having that.” He'd say “Listen. This is what you do. A, B, C, D.” And sure enough, that's what I needed to do. He had so much information and so much life experience that he could say that and do that, and I could learn from that. (Ward, July 14, 2012, p. 8)

When I asked if he gave young teachers, like her, an opportunity to contribute, she emphasized,

he most certainly did so. And in fact, he was, if anything, he almost went the other way. Like he would say, “Well, you know, go do that and try that,” rather than say, “Well no, don't do that because this is what's going to happen.” So, I learned, in some ways, the hard way, but it was the best way because I learned on my own and I knew from my mistakes what not to do and what to do better. (Ward, July 14, 2012, p. 8)

Administrative Style – Staff Meetings and Teacher Input

By the 1970s, Halfyard was in his forties. He had been teachings for over 20 years. He was used to having autonomy and making administrative decisions. Derek Tilley, who Halfyard taught in Tilt Cove, had this to say about staff meetings:

Job was a leader and he always told us that you can have your say (and we always did –

Gerald included), but, he said, when it comes to the decision I'll make the decision, but I hear what you have to say and I'll make the best decision for this time. This is not happening in school boards today. . . .the Job Halfyards of the world had a better grip on how things should be performed and done out here. I mean, it's like an absentee landlord now, isn't it? (Tilley, July 20, 2012, p. 42).

Halfyard was in the third stage, "Autonomy/Maintenance," of school principals' leadership trajectories, as identified in Day and Bakioglu (1996) four leadership career stages (Sugrue, 2005, p. 137). Besides being confident and having autonomy, Halfyard had a strong sense of purpose and displayed the ability to exercise judgment which is more reflective of the positive feelings as reflected in leadership models presented by Ribbins (2003) and Inman (2011, p. 5) and the ideas of Fullan (2011, pp. 55–57) and Dewey (1915/2001). Halfyard talked about his perspective when it came to giving teachers on staff the opportunity to offer input:

I gave everybody a chance to give their input. Now, you had the cocky young fellow who was out the first year and the fellow who's been there for five years, and the fellow that's been there for 10 years. . . . You have to listen to the cocky young fellow because he's going to come up with some pretty fair ideas. He's also going to come up with some ludicrous ideas that can't be carried out. And I'd listen to them all. And what used to make a lot of them angry is that at the end of the meeting I'd say, here's the way we're going to approach it. The fellows would say, "Well, that's not what I said."

But in my leadership position I had to take the crap whether it's right or wrong. So, you have to make the decisions, and I didn't have any problem doing that. But because I had a good rapport (out of school and in school) with over 50% of my teachers; sometimes when they didn't like what I was pushing, they would accept it and try the best they could. I don't know if that's leadership or not. . . . I didn't ignore what they said because I was that cocky young fellow 30 years ago. And out of that came a lot of good ideas. Sometimes I was ashamed of what I did back then, that I didn't think it over better and handle it better. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014b, p. 4)

Michael Fullan (2011), in *Change Leader*, talks about the importance of cultivating relationships, being an effective communicator, being resolute, and fostering collaboration (Fullan 2011, pp. 5, 63). Fullan explains how resolute, empathetic change leaders help people try new things in relatively non-threatening conditions. They are not just persistent and pig-headed; they have the ability to listen and to learn from the reactions of others. Comments made by

teachers on Halfyard's staff and his coordinating principal colleagues show that he had many of the leadership qualities and skills that leadership experts repeatedly identify. Rod Toms clarified:

Definitely not a dictator type. He was more so, probably, with the students . . . But he was certainly open. I mean, we had staff meeting after staff meeting past four o'clock in the day because people were trying to get points across about do this and change that, and your father would hear everybody out. Now, how many of those things he did, I don't know . . . but he'd certainly hear everyone out.

He was not an intimidating principal. And a lot of what Job did was 'follow me,' type of thing. He took his sports and he took his hard days and he expected that you would do the same thing. . . . And he put that list up and he put his name in, and you felt – because Job was going to do it himself, you felt that you had to go along (although you didn't want to). Everyone eventually signed up to chaperone these dances or to do the cheering – that's more or less leading by an example. You knew Job had certain expectations. (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, p. 25)

Fullan emphasizes that “motion leadership” is about the ability to motivate and develop a sense of ownership and “intrinsic commitment and collective identity” within a group (2011, p. 58). An effective change leader has “practical wisdom.” They can activate, enable, and mobilize “human and moral purpose and the skills to enact them.” The main job of change leaders is also to hire and cultivate “critical masses of other focused leaders” (Fullan, 2011, p. 48). Furthermore, motion leaders know “they cannot become successful without the collective commitment and ingenuity of the group” (Fullan, 2011, p. 53). Halfyard described himself as “a good delegator of responsibilities.” He set up committees, ascertained what needed to be done, and delegated:

I never did it all myself. I had a hand in everything, but I would say, “You're responsible for this, and you're responsible for this, and you're responsible for this.” I think that's the reason I had reasonable success. Roger Simmons and Larry Moss [Superintendents – Green Bay Integrated School District] said, “Boy, Job, we disagree with some of the things that you're trying. But when it comes to hooking up enough money to develop a program and get it going, there's nobody around that can do what you can do.” (Halfyard, August 26, 2013, p. 9)

Rick Harvey, a St. John's native, taught with Halfyard for four years, starting in 1975. He

talked about how Halfyard encouraged him to go back to Memorial to do his Masters (Harvey, July 4, 2012, pp. 5–6). From there he moved up the ladder to vice-principal in Baie Verte, then Baie de Verde before becoming principal at Queen Elizabeth Regional High School in Foxtrap, one of the largest high schools in the province. Harvey reiterated:

[Halfyard] was successful. His school ran great. We had great results. He had great teachers. I always said, as a principal, a principal is as good as his teachers. You hire the best, train them right, and they'll do a good job for you. . . . He wanted people that were involved. He wanted people that were committed to school. He wanted people that had energy. Job had no time for people who were lazy. He really didn't. He was a high-energy person and he attracted high-energy people to himself. And I think that's why he was successful. I learned that a lot myself. I always tried to hire high-energy teachers. People who were committed. . . . Teaching, as you know, is multifaceted. (Harvey, July 4, 2012, p. 10)

Eventually, Harvey became assistant superintendent in charge of human resources for the Eastern School District. When asked how Halfyard was with the students in the school, Harvey described him as:

Good. He was a good disciplinarian. He knew everybody. [Chuckles] Brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins; who they were going out with, where they worked; what they did. I think Job knew more about them than they knew themselves. It's quite possible he did. [Laughs] But anyway he was really good, and he was supportive of us when we were disciplining kids. Job made sure we were fair. . . . We never strapped kids or anything like that, but we disciplined them. (Harvey, July 4, 2012, p. 4)

Harvey recalled how "Job loved teaching, loved school. I don't think I ever heard Job say he had a bad day in school" (Harvey, July 4, 2012, p. 5). There were many other things that Harvey noted learning from Halfyard. A re-occurring descriptor of Halfyard was how he was "a storehouse of knowledge," generous and "very dedicated to students and to his job" (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, p. 25; Ward, July 14, 2012, p. 8). School board and government officials who I have interviewed, formally and informally, over the past six years also talked about his general knowledge of the world. More importantly, they noted how he was keen to share his abiding knowledge of the fine nuances of outport people and places—their strengths, weaknesses, and

general needs (B. Shortall, personal communications, October, 2012). That basic theme was reiterated by those who worked with Halfyard over the years. A consummate learner, he was also a consummate teacher. He was as ‘good’ a teacher and mentor to his staff as he was to his students. He was a role model. Rick Harvey recalled:

Job always taught me to find the busiest person I could to work with. “Ask the busiest person,” he used to say . . . He had so many different interests. He was a businessman at heart too, besides being an educator, and he was really good at both. And a great family man. He was really a nice role model, because here he was – he’d invite us all over to his house every weekend (and some of you were just kids then) and Audrey, his wife, always welcomed us. Friday night we’d always have the greatest kind of feeds, and then we’d play songs all night. We just had good times every weekend. So, we became a real little family in La Scie. (Harvey, July 4, 2012, p. 2)

Halfyard talked about how he always gave much of that credit to his wife:

My wife was an extremely good hostess. And once or twice during the year the staff would be invited into our home to have a sit-down meal, the teachers, a toddy or two, if you wanted one, generally on a Friday or Saturday night. I think that helped the teachers to feel as though they were part of the group. Also, I suppose it helped me to be able to do things in the school that I wouldn’t be able to do ordinarily. . . .

Also, I took an active part in sports with a lot of my teachers, in curling and in bowling and different things like that, both my wife and I. This gave us a closer rapport together. I had a good rapport with most of the parents.

I always told my staff that if you have a teacher and a pupil conflict, I’m going to side with the pupil. I told them right upfront; I’m going to side with the pupil until you convince me otherwise. The pupil comes first. Remember, you’re an adult. They’re growing children. That didn’t go over very well with a lot of people. The teacher should come first. And I say no. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014a, p. 4)

By the late 1970s, there were 14 or 15 teachers on the staff in the high school. During that decade Halfyard had successfully achieved his goal of establishing a central core of teachers who would provide quality education for the young people of La Scie and area.

Conclusion

Halfyard clearly embraced the leadership role that school principals could play in modernization and community development. His creative juices were stimulated; he saw a role

he could serve (Fullan, 2011, pp. 46–47). He once again looked to the richness of his past experiences to envision the future (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, pp. 107–109). He could see the big picture, trends, and patterns that Kouzes and Posner (2007) and other leadership scholars suggest are essential ingredients for being a change leader.

In many respects, Halfyard is an example of one of those “high-wire” artists described by Sugrue (2005) in *Passionate Principalship: Learning from the Life Histories of School Leaders* (p. 20). He was an actor with agency who had a strong vision and was able to re-work the scripts of government policy-makers to suit the specific needs of the people in the place where he worked. He was by no means a “puppet” or a “wooden actor” of more powerful players and policy-makers but instead constructed his own “lay theories” and “alternative scripts” (Sugrue, 2005, pp. 6–7, 20).

Margaret Inman (2011), in developing her modified leadership journey model based on the models of Day and Bakioglu (1996) and Ribbins (2003), posits that an educational leader progressing from ‘Phase 3: Autonomy’ to ‘Stage 4: Disenchantment’ can take one of two routes depending on “whether the leader has negative feelings (disillusion and loss of commitment) or positive feelings (confidence and competence)” (p. 5). Inman explains how she favours Ribbins’s explanation that “although this disenchantment indeed may happen, there is also an alternative, that of enchantment” (p. 5). In that case the educational leader will remain professionally satisfied, motivated, and enchanted versus disenchanting with their leadership potential.

The next chapter on community and business initiatives examines in more depth the fourth cornerstone of Halfyard’s strategic plan: to improve the social, recreational, and other amenities for teachers and residents of La Scie.

CHAPTER 10: COMMUNITY AND BUSINESS INITIATIVES – GROWING TENSION

Human beings are incessant storytellers. Essentially, we tell stories to affirm our identities and justify our beliefs and actions in the world. We do this to avoid falling into a huge bog of meaninglessness and chaos. Our stories attempt to stave off despair and darkness by celebrating our joys and successes, our liberatory moments. To be human is to story our lives. But the danger here is that our desire to live in an orderly, predictable and meaningful world will lead us to deceive ourselves. Stories are containers of meaning, but they are selective and may sweep dirt under the carpet or into some dank corner of consciousness. Our desire that things end well does not mean that they will. (Welton, 2001, p. 5)

Introduction

The 1980s was particularly riddled with conflict and tensions for Halfyard. He had reached the career stage Day and Bakoglu (1996) identified as “Disenchantment” (Inman, 2011, p. 4; Sugrue, 2005, p. 137). However, the disenchantment that arrived for Halfyard was not so much reflective of the internal state of his mind but rather external pressures of the times and place in which he lived. The events examined in the first half of this chapter are informed by the insights of Diane Massey’s theory of “uneven development,” and the second half is informed by George Foster’s theory of “limited good.”

Amin, Massey, and Thrift (2003, p. 58–60) describe the “inequalities of power and economy” that resulted in uneven development throughout the 1960s and 1970s in the UK (Massey, 1994, p. 21) where one region becomes more disadvantaged (Amin, Massey, & Thrift, 2003, p. 61). Geographers, Michael Woods (2007, 2009, 2010) and Paul Cloke (1997) also explore the contemporary dilemma of rurality and how unevenness happens when the spatial concentration of political power, hence, economic benefits, are allocated to one place in a region and not others. I argue the theory of uneven development is reflective of the unfair treatment levied against ‘end of the road’ communities like La Scie. They were, and continue to be, places where residents have to fight for crumbs while the ‘chosen’ government service centre

communities, with their influential power brokers, successfully reap the benefits. The clustering of government services in one place guarantees a critical mass of better paid and more politically connected employees. This consolidation of power contributes to the greater socio-economic viability of those “privileged communities” over others that could be more economically sound.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the American anthropologist George Foster, in his 1960s studies of ‘peasant society’ (community), developed the principle of ‘limited good.’ He theorized that traditional societies that struggled through hardship and scarcities in life, developed cognitive behavioural patterns in attempts to “control the conditions of their life” (Foster, 1965, p. 295). Because members of a traditional peasant society or community fear the loss of security they make unwritten rules that everyone must live by. This theory is particularly relevant to the analysis and interpretation of circumstances in outport Newfoundland during the modernization years of the 1960s and 70s. It was a time when many isolated traditional societies still required that everyone live modestly and that it was unacceptable to display wealth (Ginzberg, 2014, p. 22–24). Eitan Ginzberg, in his more recent analysis of Foster’s theory, describes how members of the community resort to “threats,” “slander, backbiting,” and “ostracization” of families; they employ whatever methods at their disposal to bring members back in line (2014, p. 22). Their goal is to maintain the status quo so that the socio-economic equilibrium of the town is not disturbed (Foster, 1965, p. 296). The practice of limited good was especially applied to ‘outsiders,’ including newcomers like teachers, who were promoting modernization and exhibiting greater wealth or moving ahead in rural Newfoundland.

Section I: Community and Volunteer Activities

Kinsmen Club

The Kinsmen Club of La Scie was officially launched on October 22, 1975 (LSCHY,

2012, n.p.). There were 12 charter members, including four high school teachers. Halfyard commented:

You had six or eight or 10 young teachers who came into the area who had no social outlet. So, this gave them a social outlet. Therefore, they were more likely to stay two or three years. (Halfyard, February 11, 2014, p. 5)

The “driving force” behind the Kinsman Club was a core of school teachers (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, p. 22). Rod Toms, one of the founding members, noted that he thought the all-male club was “a big plus for us as teachers too because we got to know the local boys” (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, p. 21). The aim of the young men’s group was to provide community service. During the 1970s and 80s, the organization spearheaded the building of a new medical clinic and partially sponsored the setting up of a dental clinic in a tiny mobile trailer between the elementary and high school. Besides supporting major national charities, they also raised money for the local schools, Recreation Commission, and sponsored the annual Santa Claus Parade among other community events. They accomplished this through their weekly bingo nights and other fundraising efforts (LSCHY, 2012, n.p). Toms elaborated:

It was just a community service group. We’d fundraise and give money to causes and that type of thing. But there was also a social aspect to it, too. It was supposed to be a young men’s group – 21 to 40 year olds. I think your father was 45 when he joined. Bert Lush [engineer in the fish plant] was older. [laughs]. So there was a lot of socializing through that organization. (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, p. 22)

The organization grew to over 30 members and a women’s Kinette Club was formed some years later. Besides their local volunteer activities, the organization enriched their social networks and knowledge about possible service activities by attending provincial Kinsmen Club conferences and events. A plaque in Halfyard’s possession shows that he and Audrey, plus a few other younger couples from La Scie, attended the national Kinsman Convention in Ottawa in 1981. On a regular basis, they also took part in curling bonspiels hosted by the Kinsmen Clubs in

Baie Verte, Springdale and other parts of the province.

Recreation Commission

In addition to “pushing sport pretty heavily in the school,” Halfyard helped to build the foundation for community recreational facilities and programs:

Myself and a couple of others set up a local little committee. We were trying to buy land whereby we could put a hockey rink on it, and later softball (softball was big in our school). . . . we were building the new high school in the early 70s, and going with that we tried to develop a softball pitch here. You had a lot of help with it – fellows like Gerald Burton were a real asset in that. Then others, including Gerald, were involved in the hockey. But it had to be done through involvement in the provincial side. I was very pleased and surprised one year that I was nominated and received the award for upstanding service, from the school to provincial sports. (Halfyard, August 29, 2013, p. 4)

Among Halfyard’s personal documents was a file about the La Scie Recreation Commission, which was formed in La Scie sometime in 1972–1973. Minutes of the Recreation Commission for the winter of 1973 showed that there were five or six founding members including: J. Halfyard (Chairman), Glynn Foster (Secretary), G. Burton, A. Lush, L. Burton and S. Ward. The meetings were held in the high school. Three of the members were high school teachers. The business for that year revolved around buying land to build an outdoor hockey rink and a softball field. Minutes also showed how the Commission applied for a Canadian Manpower LIP Program to hire men to clear the land and cut wood to build a dressing room and the sides of the rink. That year they also consulted with the La Scie Town Council to arrange for the installation of lights plus water and sewer to the site. In addition to letters of application for the construction work, there was a letter from Eugene Gray, a first-year physical education student at Memorial University who was applying for the position of “physical education Instructor.” These details reflect the logistical tasks the committee, led by Halfyard, needed to complete.

Also included in that file was the agenda for the Annual Conference and Annual General Meeting of the Newfoundland and Labrador Parks/Recreation Association (NLP/RA) held in St. John's on May 25 to 27, 1973. Job Halfyard, as the Chair of the La Scie Recreation Commission, and Gerald Burton, a La Scie born teacher in his early twenties, attended the conference. Participants learned about new provincial and federal government policies and programs related to the establishment and role of Recreation Commissions for local communities. Recreation Commission leaders were given information on everything from the function of Recreation Commissions, the planning and management of community arenas, to general information about how to set up recreation programs. Those were the early years of the Canadian government promoting "participation," and the provincial government nurturing the establishment of local recreational organizations that operated separately from the local town councils.

Little information about those early foundational efforts to develop community recreation facilities and programs in La Scie is readily available, and no mention was made of those endeavours in the *La Scie Come Home Year 2012: Making Memories in Our Hometown*. What is included in the book is information about the end product and the efforts of a younger generation who started lobbying for a proper indoor hockey stadium some 10 years later in 1983. The book details how financial support for a new indoor arena came from the local Progressive Conservative MHA, Tom Rideout and Premier Brian Peckford.

The Cape St. John Arena was officially opened in February 1986 (LSCHY, 2012, n.p.). The Come Home Year book also tells the story of how the La Scie Flyers team that started on a pond in 1963, and was coached by teacher Lloyd Colbourne, went on to play in the provincial senior hockey league against teams like the Badger Bombers and the Grand Falls Cataracts in 1966. Everyone still talks with excitement about how the La Scie Jets, as they were later named,

won the Provincial Herder Senior hockey title in 1993/94. The arena is also the home for broomball, curling (introduced in 1991 by members of the Kinsmen Club), and other community events (LACHY, 2012, n.p).

The *Come Home Year 2012* book describes how three ‘local’ teachers/sports enthusiasts (hockey and softball), Gerald Burton, Derek Tilley and Eugene Grey, were instrumental in raising the money to build the arena (LSCHY, 2012, n.p).



Figure 74. The Cape St. John Arena – Halfyard is skipping bottom left. The La Scie high school girls team won the under 17 Provincial Curling Championship in 2003. (Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Nowhere is there mention of the efforts of the La Scie Recreation Commission of 1973, the group who provided mentorship and the foundational knowledge base. Neither is there mention of how high school girls started playing hockey in the early 1970s when a teacher built a makeshift rink on the bog down by the school.

Ren Clarke, coordinating principal in King’s Point, mayor of that community for 13 years and president of the Newfoundland Soccer Association and the Newfoundland Hockey Association for many years, talked about how “Teachers were very prominent in leadership

roles” (Clarke, August 8, 2012, pp. 29–30). He explained:

When I was teaching, I was mayor, a councillor. I was a sports coach, recreation director. I don’t think they’re doing that now . . . I worked 20 hours a day, seven days a week. Now that sounds like bragging too, but it’s not. When I got out of class I went to the [Town Council] office and spent two hours doing office work. When I got out of the office I went on the field or in the gym and did two or three hours work. But I don’t see them [teachers] doing that anymore. I don’t. (Clarke, August 8, 2012, p. 29)

When asked if he thought that what he did or what other teachers and doctors of his generation did was “going beyond the call of duty” he replied, “I think so, yes” (Clarke, August 8, 2012, p. 29). The amount of time Ren Clarke described spending in various community volunteer activities is reflective of the commitment of other school principals interviewed for this study and perhaps typical of a good portion of school principals of his generation.

Local, Regional, and Provincial Library Boards

The official opening of the new La Scie Public Library, a branch of the Central Newfoundland and the Newfoundland Library Board, took place on Saturday, October 15, 1983.⁶⁰ The Hon. William Rompkey, MP, and MHA Tom Rideout were in attendance, along with Weir Burton, the Mayor of La Scie. Job Halfyard was Chair of the La Scie Library Board and long-standing regional representative (1974–1992) as well as Chair of Provincial Library Board for a number of years leading to 1986 (Stroud, June 3, 1986).

On March 19, 1992, Halfyard was presented with a plaque by the Provincial Public Libraries Board that read, “In recognition of his outstanding leadership in the development and advancement of libraries in Newfoundland and for his distinguished service as a trustee of the Provincial Board,” signed by John Snow (a teacher/principal), Chairperson and Pearce J. Penny, Secretary. As this research document shows, Halfyard’s interest in and active involvement with

⁶⁰ The first La Scie public library, established in 1967, was set-up in the old post office building (LSCHY, 2012, n.p.). Female teachers played key roles as long-standing patrons, board members and promoters of the library.

the Newfoundland Public Library Services dates back to 1952 when he started teaching in Port Anson. His interest in books can be traced to Bonne Bay where he grew up. Among Halfyard's folders are documents and letters related to regional budget cuts, local librarian hour cuts, unionization of library workers, and lobby efforts related to some of the many issues local volunteer library representatives (leaders) like Halfyard addressed on a yearly basis. A small portion of one letter written by Charles Mills, vice chair, Bishops' Falls Library Board is revealing:

Our Province has had a past record of illiteracy, and in a period when we are striving to better prepare our young people to live and succeed in a highly technical society where a good Education is a must, and if we are to bring our Province out of the Dark Ages, we need more and better equipped Libraries. As any Educator knows "The strongest weapon in the struggle against illiteracy is Books" and we "The Library Boards" are on the front line of the battle. (Mills letter to Halfyard, December 1984)

Mills attached a note to the letter he wrote to Halfyard adding: "I hope the enclosed letter is what you asked for, best of luck at the NPLB meeting, don't forget to oppose any change in the format of our Board and have a dig about the van" (Mills letter to Halfyard, December 1984). Mills was a rural teacher who, like Halfyard, valued libraries and understood the role they could play in educating rural people. They shared a common belief in the need to fight for equal services.

Changing Political Allegiance

Throughout the 1970s, Halfyard sat on the executive of the Baie Verte District Liberal Association, was the president for about six years, and regularly attended the Liberal Association Annual Conventions. After Tom Rideout, a former vice-principal of St. Pius X High School in Baie Verte, crossed the floor in 1980 to join PC Premier, Brian Peckford (1979–1989), Halfyard left the Liberal Party to support the Progressive Conservative Party (Halfyard, 2011, p. 2; Winter, 1993, p. 597). He explained why he changed political allegiance:

When Tom Rideout was a young man and going to run, he came down to see me and

asked me to support him and help to draw people from this area, because La Scie is sort of the linchpin; it used to be in the old district because there was the Baie Verte area, the La Scie area, and the Roddickton–Englee area. Whoever controlled one or the other of those, and got a reasonable swing vote, they could get elected. I worked with Tom all the years that he was a Liberal, and he came and asked me to go over to the PCs with him when he went across the House. It wasn't because of my beliefs (which are more socialist than even Tom's), but it was because I had a lot of faith in him being able to do things. (Halfyard, August, 29, 2013, p. 2)

Halfyard knew both Tom Rideout and Premier Peckford. They were rural born teachers who taught in the Green Bay, Baie Verte Peninsula region. In many ways, Halfyard was finally being given the opportunity to politically support home grown leaders who might better serve the needs of people in the region.



Figure 75. NTA teachers bonspiel, 1973. Tom Rideout on the team skipped by Audrey. Curling was a time to network and socialize. (Courtesy of the Halfyard family)

Halfyard explained how district political associations generally met about four times a year unless it was an election year. At those regular meetings, they discussed the needs of the region and how to apply “limited” political pressure especially as it related to the mining and

fishing industries. He elaborated:

We sort of left the focus on the mining to Baie Verte and the fishery to La Scie. That wasn't a written agreement but it was a gentlemen's agreement until later when the Baie Verte town council broke all the laws on this. Because now they had the hospital with the staff. They had the social services shifted to Baie Verte and living there. They had the police shifted there. The fisheries officers shifted there. They were scamming all of the other things that makes a little town work (Halfyard, May 17, 2017, p. 6).

Halfyard was so angry about the growing uneven distribution of government services to larger centres like Baie Verte and Springdale that he decided to join the M. J. Boylen Hospital Board.

M. J. Boylen Hospital Board – Clinic in La Scie

In 1955, La Scie was designated a “local service district.” A nursing clinic, with the residence on the second floor, was built in the town by the Department of Health and Welfare to serve the needs of people from Shoe Cove to Harbour Round, Brent's Cove and the Horse Islands. The hospital ship *MV Philip Little* was also based out of La Scie (Giovannini & McNaughton, 1988; LeMessurier, 1990, p. 25). The clinic at La Scie had a full-time nurse stationed in the community until 1964 when the M. J. Boylen Hospital was officially opened in Baie Verte by Premier Smallwood (BVPHCC, 1989, pp. 11–12). From 1964 to 1971, doctors travelled from Baie Verte to La Scie two to three days per week to hold clinics. The medical staff at Baie Verte also assumed responsibility for holding clinics at Tilt Cove from August of 1964 to 1967 when the mine there closed. Prior to 1964, Tilt Cove had its own doctor. No longer having medical staff on site was a major change for the communities on the extreme tip of the Baie Verte Peninsula. They had grown accustomed to more regular medical service.

While Halfyard did not become actively involved with the Baie Verte Hospital Board until 1974, documents found among Clarence Hewlett's personal files reveal that Halfyard expressed concerns about the lack of medical services for La Scie in a letter he wrote to the

chairman of the M. J. Boylen Hospital Board on February 26, 1971. The following is an excerpt from that letter:

Dear Sir:

For the past three years, I have been concerned with the medical attention given to La Scie residents, as well as residents of other communities such as Nippers Harbour, Snooks Arm, Round Harbour, Tilt Cove, Shoe Cove, Harbour Round and Brent's Cove. I have often labelled the waiting room of the La Scie clinic "the Black Hole of Calcutta" because on a couple of visits over the past three years the waiting room held 10 to 27 people in its approximately 4 1/2 by 8 feet. If you check on the Calcutta incident you will find a close parallel in size if not in forced detention, etc., unless you equate it with a group of coughing, groaning, grumbling individuals. If you are not sick before you go there you will be mentally sick on leaving and often physically sick a day or so later. . . .

Respectfully yours,

A. J. Halfyard

A. J. Halfyard
Coordinating Principal

In the full two-page letter, which Halfyard copied to Mr. Clarence Hewlett, La Scie's representative on the Green Bay Integrated School Board, he wrote how he had changed his mind about the practice of having doctors stationed in Baie Verte and commuting to La Scie to hold clinics (see Appendix E for full copy of letter). He went on to outline why a full-time doctor and nurse needed to be stationed in La Scie. He repeated in two separate places how the clinic in La Scie served the needs of over 4,000 people and gave practical reasons, using statistical information, why it was not logical for 4,000 people to travel over rough gravel roads to Baie Verte for medical attention, especially during the winter. Moreover, he emphasized that "over 50 percent of our citizens are fishermen with an average annual wage of less than \$3,000" and how most people did not have cars nor could they afford gas to drive to Baie Verte. He also stated he did not feel the public health nurse services, provided out of Baie Verte, adequately meet the needs of the children in the schools in the La Scie catchment area. He summed up his concerns

when he wrote “As an educator, I know children cannot succeed like this.” The government placed a full-time resident doctor, independent of Baie Verte, at La Scie in 1971 (BVPHCC, 1989, pp. 11–12).

As a result of ongoing concerns about the quality of health care services being provided by the M. J. Boylen Hospital (generally referred to as the Baie Verte Hospital), Halfyard outlined how concerned citizens in the La Scie school zone formed a committee to address matters:

We formed a local medical committee in the mid-1970s with representatives from each of the communities in our area - Nippers Harbour, Snooks Arm, Round Harbour, Shoe Cove, Brent’s Cove, Harbour Round and two or three from La Scie including Art Toms, the mayor. Our objective was to provide medical services by improving the medical facilities locally. In those days, people from those communities came to La Scie rather than going to Baie Verte if they needed anything.

We applied for Canada Works project grants to cut the lumber. We applied for small provincial government grants to build a new medical clinic. Bit by bit over about an eight-year period we managed to build the clinic and a residence for two doctors. The big challenge was persuading the Hospital Board in Baie Verte to agree that we could have two doctors stationed in La Scie. You see the power base was in Baie Verte. But at that time the mines had closed in Baie Verte and the major employer on the peninsula was the La Scie fish plant. There were almost 4,000 residents strongly connected to La Scie compared to 6,000 connected to the Baie Verte area.

It was also through the efforts of our local committee that we got the dental clinic. . . we needed improved dental services for school students. With the help of the Kinsmen Club we setup the dental clinic in a small trailer between the elementary and high school. The students from the Catholic school in Brent’s Cove also came to La Scie to get their dental work done. You know what, after about a year the hospital administrator in Baie Verte called Audrey in and told her they would have to let her go [Audrey was the dentist assistant]. He said there was conflict of interest because I was on the board. Yet, his wife and daughter worked at the hospital in Baie Verte for years. (Halfyard, February 2, 2017)

Concerned about the lack of services for La Scie, Halfyard joined the M. J. Boylen Hospital Board in 1974 and continued in that position for 12 years until 1986. Halfyard was elected chair of the Board for a two-year term from 1979 to 1981 (BVPHCC, 1989, p. 9). Documents show that four different school principals acted as Chairs of the M. J. Boylen Hospital Board from 1977 to 1986. In January of 1983, the La Scie Medical Clinic finally

opened. It had two full-time doctors, two licensed practical nurses who shared a full-time position, a full-time office clerk and a maintenance/janitor position. There was also a dentist who ran a practice out of the clinic until the mid-1990s and later a full-time public health nurse shared the office space with a part-time community health nurse (LSCHYC, 2012, n.p.). After the Cod Moratorium of 1992, the number of doctors was reduced to one.



Figure 76. M. J. Boylen Hospital, Baie Verte
(Halfyard, S., 2012)

Halfyard's letter to the M. J. Boylen Hospital Board in 1971 is reflective of some of the many colourful letters he wrote to government officials over the course of his teaching career. He wrote countless letters on behalf of the schools in his charge and other concerned citizen groups about the poor conditions of the road, the busing of students, and the need for new recreational facilities. After he retired from teaching, he wrote letters and reports to industry stakeholders and government policy makers about industry need in the region and the sad state of the fishery and how it could be improved. Edna Martin, his long-time school secretary, recalled some of those instances:

There were times, and I've laughed about this, he'd get upset with somebody and he'd

write this big letter, and I'd wait a day and I'd show him, "Are you sure this is what you want to say?" He'd say, "No, no. Don't send that." (Martin, July 11, 2012, p. 24)

Martin noted how "in most cases, probably in all cases" he was right to be fiery.

Halfyard also drafted and helped circulate petitions that reflected the common interests of local residents in the area. As a government-appointed Justice of the Peace (JP), he also witnessed legal papers related to everything from selling a car or a boat to getting a marriage license (Halfyard, May 17, 2017, p. 10). It was not uncommon for people to show up on his doorstep at mealtime needing his JP services. He is not sure exactly when he was appointed by government to be a JP but he claimed the letter of appointment came "right out of the blue" shortly after he moved to La Scie in 1968. He added "I was allowed to charge up to \$8 to \$10 for my signature and so on. I never charged one cent in over 25 years to anybody" (Halfyard, May 17, 2017, p. 10). I have heard similar stories told by or about other teachers who were mysteriously appointed a JP by the government.

'End of the Road' – A Case of Uneven Development

The sub-standard medical service in the La Scie catchment area (4,000 residents), as compared to the Baie Verte catchment area (6,000 residents), is consistent with what Amin, Massey, and Thrift (2003, pp. 58–60) describe as "inequalities of power and economy" that resulted in uneven development throughout the 1960s and 1970s in the UK (Massey, 1994, p. 21). Despite being identified as one of the two main government growth centres, La Scie, which is located at the 'end of the road' on the tip of the Baie Verte Peninsula, did not benefit from the large outlay of government money and government "service centre" facilities (hospital, economic development offices etc.), which automatically boosts employment opportunities, creates spin-off enterprises and generates political power within a place. As such, La Scie was disadvantaged.

It was not until Halfyard returned to La Scie to teach in the late 1960s that he began to notice how “out-of-the-way places” like La Scie were not always treated fairly (Halfyard, August 12, 2011, p. 3). He saw how the allocation of government money was not based on economics or the resource potential of a place. Instead it was about power, privilege, politics and proximity (Amin, Massey, & Thrift, 2003, pp. 60–61). As far as Halfyard was concerned, the government missed the mark in choosing the mining town of Baie Verte as the main government service centre. He argued that La Scie and surrounding area had greater potential for economic resource development and stability because the fishery is a renewable resource (Stanley, 1993, p. 430). Unfortunately, the leadership efforts of Art Toms, Clarence Hewlett, Claude Martin, and Job Halfyard did not filter down to the subsequent generations of townspeople.

Section II: Growing Tensions – End of an Era (1980s)

This period has been increasingly dominated by neo-conservative public policies, including fiscal restraint and the downsizing of both the role and the size of government and of some public institutions. In summarizing the trends of the period, Peter Newman has observed that during these years there was a “power shift from community to self” and that Canadians got the message “that the social contract was no longer valid and that everyone was on their own.” (Selman, et al., 1998, p. 68)

By the late 1970s, Canada was entering a period of economic slowdown marked by rising costs, failing markets, increasing unemployment, and burgeoning deficits. In the early 1980s, Canada experienced higher inflation, bank interest rates, and unemployment rates than the United States. The Bank of Canada rate hit 21 percent in August 1981. The federal government moved to austerity policies to curtail the growth in living standards (Stanley, 1993/2001, p. 429). For ordinary consumers like Halfyard and young teachers, that translated into paying anywhere between 25% and 27% on car and other bank loans.

During the 10-year period from 1972 to 1982, Job and Audrey Halfyard had upwards of

four of their seven children attending university or trades school at any given time. Halfyard recalls:

In the Trudeau years, the 1970s, when the interest rates went to 25%—that was cruel . . . he put thousands of small businesses in bankruptcy. Thousands! Our business we had started in La Scie was within three months of chewing-up everything we had and going bankrupt. Your mother was the one who said that we won't let it happen. If it does happen, we'll start again. That kick started me to think a little more, but also the interest rates started to drop. So we pulled out of the slump. . . .

That winter Audrey made 40 or 50 duffle coats; she kept the family going on her income from duffle coats... And because my salary was just slightly over \$10,000 at the time, the three children I had in university at the time, they could get no grants and no loans because I was making over \$10,000. (Job & Audrey Halfyard, January 15, 2012, p. 15)

The 1980s was also marked by major educational changes on a provincial institutional level. The high school program was reorganized. Grade 12, with its new credit system, was introduced in 1981. It came as a result of a reverse trend from the previous two decades - a decline in the province's school-age population and higher than normal unemployment rates (Norris, 1983, pp. 1, 21). The Department of Education stated the reorganization of high schools was designed to meet three goals: to increase student maturity, broadened the curriculum, and align Newfoundland's school system with the rest of Canada (Norris, 1983, p. 6). Steven Norris, a professor of Education at Memorial University, had this to say about the impact of the reorganization of the high school system:

Profound questions concerning peoples' very concept of education, and concerning their own roles and competencies are raised in any large innovation. The literature on educational change suggests that, among many other things, the success of an innovation depends heavily upon each group beginning to see things in a fundamentally different way. Fundamental changes in perspective are not made easily. In addition, there is often no particular incentive for many of those who must carry out the implementation. (Norris, 1983, p. 46)

Norris's study showed how some educational stakeholders claimed the introduction of Grade 12 was a response to pressure from the NTA and the potential for teacher layoffs. The reality was that Canada and other parts of the Western World were going through a similar

downturn in the economy with limited employment opportunities for workers. According to Norris (1983), 15% of the people interviewed for his study on the reorganized high school program said that the introduction of Grade 12 was politically motivated in one way or another (Norris 1983, p. 21). Whatever the reasons, the changes that came with the introduction of Grade 12 brought new challenges that school principals and teachers had to navigate.

On a personal level, the 1980s was particularly challenging for Halfyard who had reached the career stage Day and Bakoglu (1996) identified as “Disenchantment” (Sugrue, 2005, p. 137). It is a fitting descriptor given the turmoil and tensions Halfyard faced from 1980 until he retired in 1987. Sugrue suggests that school administrators need to be constantly “scanning the horizons in a proactive manner,” especially considering the “rapidly altering social landscape” that is often beyond the control of school communities (2005, p. 145).

Conflicts and tensions arose because of the growth in Halfyard’s business activities in preparation for his retirement, which was on the horizon. Five “critical events” snowballed in rapid succession between the spring of 1979 and December of 1980. On a timeline, they include: (a) Audrey and Job taking on multiple jobs to make ends meet during the global recession. It resulted in criticism; (b) Halfyard’s decision to build a pharmacy in partnership with the pharmacist from Baie Verte near the apartment buildings he owned in La Scie. This decision resulted in the townspeople of La Scie lobbying the government to put a halt to the business venture; (c) Halfyard’s philosophical differences with the Special Needs Coordinator at the Green Bay Integrated School District office. It escalated into a battle and sanctions from the District office; (d) The Department of Education’s unexpected assessment of Halfyard’s administrative style. It culminated in the issuing of a report on April 24, 1980; and, (e) Halfyard’s serious head-on car accident on December 4, 1980. It prompted school board officials

to pressure him to retire early.

Hard Times – Multiple Jobs to Make Ends Meet

To stave off bankruptcy and make ends meet, Audrey went to work in the dentist's office that the Kinsmen Club had sponsored for school students in La Scie and area. The clinic operated out of a tiny trailer located between the elementary and high school. At one point, after the dental clinic had been open for a short while, the hospital administrator of the Baie Verte Peninsula Health Centre raised concerns about Halfyard being in a conflict of interest when hiring his wife as an assistant and cleaner of the La Scie Dental Clinic. Halfyard, who was the chair of the Baie Verte Hospital Board at the time, reasoned if the Baie Verte Hospital administrator's wife and other relatives could work at the hospital in Baie Verte, on a full-time basis, why couldn't his wife work at the dental clinic in La Scie on a part-time basis. The dental clinic in La Scie was eventually closed.

Feeling the financial pressure, Halfyard asked two of his daughters who had just started teaching to take out loans from the bank to help him meet the mortgage payments on the apartment buildings. In the meantime, Audrey travelled to various communities on the peninsula where she taught sewing courses two evenings a week. She also managed to find the time to hand embroider 40 or so duffle coats to sell. Halfyard rationalized, "We were both blessed with good health and those days of 15 or 16 hours of work—it didn't bother either one of us" (Halfyard, January 15, 2012, p. 15). Audrey, aged 75 years at the time of this interview and still managing 20 apartment units, plus her regular role as private secretary, cook, housekeeper, and confidant to her husband, had a different perspective. She wished she could have retired when she was 65. But Halfyard lived to work. On another occasion, Halfyard acknowledged,

there was a lot of jealousy, yes. Yeah, but they didn't see it, that Audrey didn't work in the fish plant, or didn't have a long liner. This was her livelihood. They didn't see that. It

was all me. But it wasn't. It was Audrey, it was Audrey's living. And I was still a local Newfoundlander who didn't belong here [La Scie]. Still prevalent. I had my father in me. I just went on and did – I was a little bit hard-nosed. Now I think it affected your mother a lot more. (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 23)

Plans for a Pharmacy – Insider/Outsider Conflict

Unfortunately, Halfyard was still (and would always be) one of those “sophisticates,” professional outsiders with “new values” that local traditional community leaders feared (Cohen, 1975, p. 59). Moreover, there was growing resentment towards teachers and other permanent full-time government service sector employees who were becoming noticeably higher salaried at a time when seasonal workers in the fishery and industry were facing an economic downturn. Modernization was upsetting the traditional social and economic equilibrium within communities (Ginzberg, 2014, p. 23; Foster, 1965). Halfyard explained how his plans for the development of a pharmacy in La Scie resulted in considerable backlash from local townspeople:

Oh, that's a touchy one. Ah, we found out that there were three areas in Newfoundland that were getting free drugs and the rest of the people in Newfoundland were paying for theirs. One was the La Scie area, another was the St. Anthony area, and I think the other was down towards Twillingate somewhere. And so I was involved in real estate, in building apartments for teachers. . . . And here was an opportunity to bring six or seven or eight jobs to La Scie. And so, we decided to talk to Jim Quick. He was a druggist in Baie Verte. We asked him if he would be interested in expanding his business, have a satellite drug store in La Scie. We went ahead and built the drug store. Well, I guess because I was from out of town it wasn't very well looked at. I was a come-from-away. And even though I had a lot of support there it didn't extend that far. And so the powers that be wanted things kept like it was. (Halfyard, May 17, 2017, p. 25)

Halfyard describes how the doctor and a contingent of other prominent local residents supported the idea of not allowing a drug store to be built in La Scie because they did not want to lose the free drugs available under the old clinic dispensing system. A petition was circulated and a female elementary school teacher actually came to their door and asked Audrey to sign the petition. A public meeting was held in the high school. Halfyard, who attended but did not speak, described the meeting:

So, I had to get the skin tore off me without recourse to answer to anything. Now there were a lot of people agreed with what I was doing . . . the government representative at the time was Jim Morgan. He came to the meeting. And he said, “To the people of La Scie and area. You’re asking me to go back to the government and make a new ruling that there would be no drug store built in La Scie, and Twillingate, and St. Anthony. And that the rest of the people of Newfoundland would pay for your drugs. [Long pause]. When the law of the country says you have a right to apply for this, and this and so on, which Mr. Halfyard did, you’re asking us to have another law that Mr. Halfyard can’t.” He said, “You can’t put citizens in that box.” (Halfyard, May 17, 2017, p. 27)

Halfyard recounted how the local-born teacher who took the petition to my mother’s door was screaming and flailing her arms. He also mentioned how Bill Rompkey, the federal MP who was also in attendance, “walked out of that meeting and he slept in my house, he ate in my house and he had support from my house. And he never spoke to me from that day to this” (Halfyard, May 17, 2017, p. 27). High school teacher, Rod Toms, who grew up in Grand Falls but had family connections to La Scie, gave his perspective:

He had some very negative things going on. He was in business as well. I think there was a lot of people there who would have been pleased if he hadn’t succeeded in business. And sometimes they were in positions to put obstacles in his way, like council members and that type of stuff. So he ran into a lot of conflict with his dealings with other people in the town. I couldn’t understand how you would basically just turn the other cheek. People did things and Job would later do favours for them. That’s the way your father was.

But, you know, the things that stands out, like the drugstore when it was first put there, and a lot of people didn’t want that, your father put it there anyway despite them. And you’ve got this problem in small-town Newfoundland where some people don’t want to see anyone get ahead of them, especially an outsider, and there was a lot of that in La Scie, too. If you’re from the outside, you can come here and teach but you’re not really from here, and your father was not really from here. . . .

I don’t know if he really cared if he convinced them if that they were wrong. I think he understood that he was right in the way he did things. He built apartments to keep teachers here and if he made a few dollars on the side that was fine. But, they all thought he was getting rich from it. But that wasn’t his motivation at all. I don’t know if he really cared, other than to say that’s the right thing to do and I’ll do it. Economically, it would make sense for him to. (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, p. 26)

Halfyard described how the fallout spilled over into other aspects of his job and volunteer activities:

To give you an idea of the stress I was under, I was Chairman of the Hospital Board at the time [1979–1981]. And a high-ranking official in Baie Verte came to me. And he was a teacher, Mike Perry. And he asked me to resign as Chairman of the Hospital Board because I was a disgrace for what I was doing in La Scie. And I said, “You son of a bitch.” I said, “Nearly everything you know you got from me, including your friends.” And Larry Moss [superintendent of the Green Bay Integrated School District] went after me by coming into the Department of Education and getting a high official in the government to come out and do an evaluation of me in school, all because of this drug store. (Halfyard, May 17, 2017, p. 29)

Audrey related being so shattered by the public ridicule and animosity that she never went outside the door of her home for the better part of a year. “It was hell” (Halfyard, A., June, 26, 2017, p. 28). She stopped going to church when the local women gave her the cold shoulder at a church function. Halfyard was more pragmatic. He had that solid self-identity that Giddens talked about (1991, p. 65). Halfyard was able to rationalize, “That’s not all bad, because it [criticism] makes you stronger and makes you more progressive and more aware of other peoples’ ideas and all the rest of it. Criticism has to be taken with a grain of salt” (Halfyard, July 10, 2012, p. 23).

Philosophical Differences – Special Needs Consultant

Throughout the mid-to-late 1970s, the Department of Education and the Green Bay Integrated School District were looking at issues related to “problem children” and slow learners in the classroom. In a letter dated September 1974 to the Northeast Branch of the NTA from G. L. Moss, the Superintendent of Education with the Green Bay Integrated School District, the new elementary supervisor was described as having “considerable experience and training in special education and in emotionally disturbed children” (Halfyard Personal Files). Halfyard had major philosophical and moral differences with the new supervisor, especially as it related to the segregation of special needs students. Halfyard felt all children should be given a fair chance:

I can’t put my finger on the issues now. It just, he and I did not hook. And he was going to get back at me because he came down. They had a policy coming out that all of the

slower learners had to be put in one classroom [Long pause]. And I said, “No god dam way. Not in my school.” Well they said, “This is the way the Department says it must be done and Larry Moss is saying this is the way it should be done.” Well I said, “You’re going to have to ask me to resign.” [Long pause]. And I said, “I’m not doing it.”

A couple weeks later I get a rap on the door in the office. I was in my office. And open comes the door and in comes the Assistant Superintendent of Education and [name of School Board Consultant] . . . And I said, “You were brought down by [name of School Board Consultant] to force me to change my classes [Long Pause] which is against my beliefs.” [Long Pause] (Halfyard, May 17, 2017, p. 31)

Over the previous few decades, educational stakeholders had been encouraging school principals, especially at the coordinating principal level, to experiment and take critical leadership initiative. Unfortunately, many older school principals like Halfyard, who did not have the opportunity to complete a Masters of Education, were once again finding their capabilities were being questioned by others in higher administrative positions. They were being looked down upon by professionals brought in from away who had a graduate-studies stamp of approval. Halfyard, then in his early fifties, was having no part of such colonial practices. Other local Newfoundland-born principals interviewed for this study expressed similar concerns about practices and ideas of district office professionals, although they were, perhaps, less confrontational, more accepting and less willing to rock the boat than Halfyard.

Cape John Collegiate – An Assessment of the Administration

On April 24, 1980, a government Assessment of Administration Report (on A. J. Halfyard) was released by Thomas Pope, Executive Officer, Integrated Education Committee of the Department of Education (Pope, 1980). The conflict that had been brewing between Halfyard and the supervisor with the Green Bay Integrated School District had come to a head in the fall of 1979. Halfyard told the school board that the supervisor was no longer welcome in his school. Halfyard felt he was not being truthful. The Department of Education was called in by the school board to investigate Halfyard’s leadership practices. The report, which Thomas Pope (1980)

wrote, did not find evidence for disciplinary action against Halfyard. In the preface, Pope stated, “The findings belong to Mr. Halfyard. The report is presented to him with the hope that it will be of some assistance as he and his staff strive to serve the cause of education at Cape John Collegiate.” (n.p.)

As part of the study, Pope interviewed 11 staff members and 26 students (Pope, 1980, p. 2). Teachers were also asked to complete a short questionnaire. The findings indicated that teachers were mild in their criticism of Halfyard’s administrative practices. Pope emphasized, “13 co-curricular activities” for a school of Cape John Collegiate size (197 high school students) was “impressive” (Pope, 1980, p. 6). He also wrote in his report how, “All of the staff were pleased with the program emphasis in the school” (p. 6). He described how “the administration was open and willing to hear teachers talk but not good listeners from the standpoint of what teachers had to say” (p. 7). On the other hand, “Teachers generally noted that the administration was always willing to give each student the utmost in consideration and encouragement” (p. 8). The main criticism levied at Halfyard was around the community’s perception of the school. “Teachers commented that the principal’s public image had been tarnished. Some expressed the view that the principal may not have shown sufficient sensitivity in his efforts to expand his business interest in a small town” (Pope, 1980, pp. 6, 8). Pope came to the conclusion that “a climate prevails in the school which promotes and encourages a high degree of openness, frankness and trust (Pope, 1980, p. 9).

Car Accident – December 4, 1980

On December 4, 1980, Halfyard was in a serious head-on car collision. The man in the other car was killed. He recalls:

I was chairman of the Library Board in Grand Falls in Central Newfoundland and I was coming back from a meeting in December and had a car accident on the Baie Verte road.

Unfortunately, the guy that ran into me, he was killed and I survived with major injuries, oodles of broken bones and all the rest of it . . . They told me I'd never get my arms over my head; I'd never be able to walk properly.

I drove, I don't know, two or three boxes of 50-pound nails to be able to get my right arm operating. I went out in the boat and used to tie myself on to go up and down when it was rough, and I'd catch fish and I would do my exercises in the boat to strengthen my legs where they were torn up during the accident. . . .

Well, the school board, the superintendent, wanted me to retire then, but I was off for about six months. I was off up until April or May. . . . Half a year and they still wanted me to take permanent retirement. I sometimes said they wanted to get rid of me, and I told them that nobody is going to declare me a cripple. When I become a cripple, I'll be crippled. (Halfyard, January 15, 2012, p. 16)

Halfyard had been told by medical professionals he would never be able to work again.

The Green Bay Integrated School District, perhaps hoping to kill two birds with one stone, wanted Halfyard to retire. Halfyard was determined to go back to work. Physiotherapy was not available in rural outport Newfoundland at that time. So, he devised his own physiotherapy.

Halfyard weathered the storm of 1979–1980 and continued as coordinating principal at Cape John Collegiate until June of 1987. After he retired from teaching, he went on to pursue even more business ventures in other parts of the province. Halfyard elaborates:

Sometimes you get pushed into a situation by actions you take. After I retired from teaching 33 years, I was healthy, I looked around to see how I could help my community and myself, something that would give me satisfaction that I could do. So, I would spend some years developing businesses. My objective was that I try to have, in the next 20 years, 50 people working in businesses that I would help to start. This past year we had over 50 on the payroll. All of this developing businesses put a big strain on Audrey and the family because all of the money that you would have made and put away was being used to develop businesses, and this puts a strain on things. (Halfyard, January 15, 2012, p. 15)

Rod Toms remembers:

I told your father so many times, "Job, if you went down to any other bigger centre and did what you did here, you'd be a multimillionaire." Not saying he's not, but you know what I mean? He could have done all these things in bigger places and been recognized for it. A lot of the things he did, a lot of people were just. . . . But sometimes he stayed here and fought battles over doing progressive things like that. And why? I don't know. He had a lot of determination, as you know. (Toms, R., August 13, 2012, p. 26)

Creative Leaders, Creative Solutions

There were school principals of Halfyard's generation who were forced, because of isolation and circumstances, to develop creative leadership, creative solutions. Prior to improvements in post-secondary teacher training and the development of the professional school district administration model, educators were required to rely on their own ingenuity. This was especially true if they taught in small one to five room schools in remote outport communities. In our discussion about what makes a "good leader," Dr. Phil Warren, a key shaper of almost every aspect of educational change in the province during the second half of the 20th century, stressed:

Leaders who consult and have around them intelligent people – capable people is a better word – are good leaders. . . . A good leader respects others for what they are as persons and what they can contribute. That's pretty basic stuff in leadership.

Now, a good leader also has to have a vision; has to have a commitment, in my view, to social justice. Now I'm getting philosophical. A good leader has a vision of a future, has a commitment to social justice and values, human rights, has a belief in the importance of others and what they can contribute and respect for them. . . . You've got to have a sense of humour. (Warren, July 2, 2012, p. 20)

Warren also emphasized, "Leadership must come from the bottom, not from the top" (Warren, July 2, 2012, p. 7). Unfortunately, Halfyard like so many rural educators of his generation, especially those with large families, did not seem to have the ability to move up the career ladder. Eli Harris a fellow coordinating principal in a similar situation reflected:

Well, see, at heart I feel, because I knew your father pretty well; at heart, deep down I think he wanted to be more involved with the students, more of a principal. Now I mean he was ambitious – very ambitious – but who's not ambitious. To get to the top of anything you've got to be ambitious. To become the principal of a school you've got to be a bit ambitious.

How far do you take your ambition? I didn't want to move any farther than I was. I was quite happy where I was. I wanted to be involved with the schools on a local level, with students. I could never become a [School District] coordinator, could never do that. I think a lot of them should be put in the schools where they could be more valuable. That's my feeling. . . . I think he was the same way. (Harris, August 6, 2012b, p. 3)

Harris went on to compare Halfyard to an older school teacher he worked with in New Harbour:

And he used to get fidgety when the public exams come out. He was so concerned about his youngsters, about his students. I mean he loved every single one of them. He wanted to see every one of them do well. He wasn't going to move out of a position like that. . . .

I don't think your father could (and I couldn't either) do that if you moved up, say, to a superintendent. Now you're removed. You're removed from that. I don't care who you are. It's like politicians. They've all got good intentions when they become a politician. . . . But soon as they get in there, they get removed from the everyday thing. They change. . . . I may be wrong, but I don't think you could have dragged him out of that position. I really don't. (Harris, August 6, 2012b, pp. 3–4)

Perhaps Halfyard's greatest legacy was his dedication to the students and people of La Scie. It was certainly the legacy of many school teachers and school administrators of his generation who ventured to more remote rural communities and chose to remain there for extended periods of time to teach, to offer leadership, and more than anything, to serve to the best of their ability.

Conclusion

Sugrue suggests school principals cannot just look inward, they have to 'go wider and deeper' if they are to maintain a dynamic learning community (2005, p. 145). I would argue that Halfyard had to develop a very tough skin or "capacity to *keep a particular narrative going*" during the last seven years of his teaching career (Giddens, 1991, p. 54). Giddens postulates:

A person with a reasonably stable sense of self-identity as a feeling of biographical continuity which she is able to grasp reflexively and, to a greater or lesser degree, communicate to other people. That person also, through early trust relations, has established a protective cocoon which 'filters out,' in the practical conduct of day-to-day life, many of the dangers which in principle threaten the integrity of self. Finally, the individual is able to accept that integrity as worthwhile. There is sufficient self-regard to sustain a sense of the self . . . (p. 54)

Ribbins (2003) and Inman (2011) suggest that positive feelings of confidence and competence or "enchantment" and reinvention can occur in the last stage of the leadership journey instead of the negative feelings of disillusion and loss that Day and Bakioglu (1996) describe as part of their "disenchantment" last stage (Inman, 2011, p. 5). Being in the later years

of his teaching career, Halfyard remained positive, confident and competent in the job he loved. Always an optimist, Halfyard seemed to be able to let stressors flow off his back, to maintain integrity, and to feel he had the right to pursue opportunities like other people in society. Audrey did not always manage the tensions so well.



Figure 77. Christmas 1980, Halfyard with his daughter Viola and wife, Audrey, shortly after he got out of hospital after his car accident.
(Halfyard, S., 1980)

Halfyard was still young, only 55 years old when he retired from teaching in 1987. He had dreams of a second career as an entrepreneur in partnership with his son and other local business people. He had the energy, interests and enthusiasm, (i.e., “enchantment”) to reinvent himself, to pursue a new cause. His goal was to develop the aquaculture industry which could potentially provide new work opportunities for rural Newfoundlanders displaced by the Cod Moratorium of 1992. He left the educational system to shift his focus, and his resolve from school to community needs.

CHAPTER 11: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Anyone can write a vision statement describing a better future for the organization, but it requires effective leadership to create a *shared* vision that addresses the hopes and dreams of people within the organization. (Dufour & Marzano, 2011, p. 201)

A life-history approach has potential to illuminate how principals' identities and leadership capacity are re-constructed over time. (Sugrue, 2005, p. 136)

Overview

The purpose of this study was to gain a better understanding of the influences that shaped how school teachers became rural educational and community leaders in rural Newfoundland during early post Confederation with Canada in 1949. It considers: (1) how teachers' lives and leadership development were shaped by educational, social, economic, political, and historical events and trends of that time and place; (2) how institutional forces and trends (government, church, unions, etc.), the collective (communities and workplaces), and the personal and internal factors (home, family, peers) impacted individual development; and, (3) how teachers were able to draw on societal institutional forces and ideas, their personal home and collective community identities, and goal systems to respond, through leadership, to the needs of the schools and communities where they lived and worked.

This project brought together several approaches to leadership development. It was informed by the educational and management leadership development theories, attributes, practices and recommendations of scholars such as: Fullan (2011, 2004, 2001); Hargreaves (2012, 2007); Kouzes and Posner (2007); and, Northouse (2007), among others. It built on the recommendations made by Munro (2008) to follow community leaders over time; borrowed from Giddens's (1991) theory of structuration and his work on culture, place, modernity, and self-identity. It was also informed by the leadership place-based research work of Theobald

(1997) and Beer and Clower (2013); and used the networking ability and connector, ‘social capital’ leadership ‘processes’ explored by Gladwell (2000/2002), Van De Valk and Constas (2011), Burbaugh and Kaufman (2017). A review of Newfoundland educational and historical literature provided a wealth of contextual material for comparison, validity, and reliability checks of the primary source interview data collected for this study (Tilley, 2016; Webster and Mertova, 2007).

The overarching methodology framework was based on the life history narrative inquiry approaches of Goodson (2013, 2012, 1996, 1980-81), Sugrue (2012, 2005), Webster and Mertova (2007) in conjunction with literature on critical events, autobiographical memory and oral history meaning making presented by Portelli (1991), Conway and Jobson (2012) and other theorists. The leadership career stages and trajectories, as presented by Day and Bakioglu (1996), Gronn (1999), Ribbins (2003) and Inman (2011), plus the human development work of Erikson (1950/1963) and Newman and Newman (2007) lent credence to the structural framework.

Findings

An analysis of Halfyard’s formative growing-up years of the 1930s and 40s provided an overview of the major influences in his life. The Christian church, in Halfyard’s case the United Church, and the small one and two-room school system of denominational education were permeating institutional factors. A culture of exclusion, divisiveness and ostracization was often the result of separate denominational schools in the province. Nevertheless, this study found that it was not uncommon for communities to collaborate and divvy up primary, elementary and high school grades among the various denominational schools. Neither was it uncommon for parents to move children to another denominational school if their children were not doing well in a school. Halfyard benefitted from a move to the Anglican School from the United Church School

after he failed Grade 6. The Anglican School school had a strict, but pedagogically good teacher that struck a chord with Halfyard. The multi-grade one-room schools also promoted independent work practices because teachers only had a limited amount of time to help each grade.

The Great Depression and the Second World War stirred in young Halfyard a desire to step up because his father and older brother were away supporting the war effort. It influenced the formation of his moral values and inspired the need to help others less fortunate.

Findings suggest that young Halfyard learned from the eclectic mix of people, who lived in and moved through Bonne Bay, that conveyed new ways of doing things. Throughout the first half of the 20th century, migration patterns for work, trade and post-secondary education for residents of the West Coast of Newfoundland were more so to Atlantic Canada and the United States rather than St. John's. The physical environment also offered unlimited opportunities for free play and exploration. It was during his youth that Halfyard developed a keen interest in fishing, hunting, and reading. His eagerness for those activities fostered his proclivity to embrace practice and fostered a passion for lifelong learning which he carried into his adult life.

Halfyard was also deeply influenced by his mother who, like so many mothers of that generation, wanted their children to have alternate opportunities to the harsh realities of the centuries-old subsistence fishing economy (MacLeod, 1990, p. 56; Warren, July 2, 2012, p. 2). This research also revealed previously hidden Indigenous roots in Halfyard's family and unconscious social class divisions that simmered beneath the surface within families, among neighbours, and between communities. Those social and psychological factors warranted closer consideration because of their potential impact on Halfyard's embedded childhood behaviours and the development of his beliefs, feelings, thoughts and goals (Kincheloe & Pinar, 1991, p. 1). All of these influences from his early-growing up years reappeared throughout the course of his

life, suggesting they shaped his later leadership interests, sensibilities and propensities.

Halfyard's first year teaching in Bonne Bay, when he was just 17 and with no formal teacher training, solidified his desire to be a teacher and not the minister his mother hoped he would become.

The study also examined the factors and influences related to Halfyard's first two years at university and compared Halfyard's lived experiences at Mount Allison University in Sackville, New Brunswick (1950-51) to his second year at Memorial University in St. John's, Newfoundland (1951-52). A comparison of Halfyard's experiences at university with those of other interview participants revealed that students' memories of specific courses were limited, but most identified a select few professors and courses that had lasting impact. Findings related to the systemic tensions and divisions between St. John's 'townies' and outport 'baymen' suggest that many rural-born teachers were able to find the fortitude to master the coursework and to manage the unspoken socio-cultural inequality that pervaded the classrooms, corridors, dormitories and sports arenas at Memorial. Fullan's (2011, 2001) studies of leadership development support the notion that the adversity faced by rural students contributed to the development of the inner resolve, confidence and tenacity they needed to take on rural educational and community leadership roles. Another significant finding was how the piecemeal process of acquiring a university education throughout the 1950s and 60s allowed for continued attachment to rural places. Hence, rural-born teachers were still open to returning to 'outport' Newfoundland to live and work.

Halfyard identified the efforts of Dr. Ira Curtis, the United Church Superintendent of Education, who recruited and provided scholarships for rural high school matriculants to enroll in the teacher training program at Memorial, to be as important as the efforts of Premier Joey

Smallwood who incessantly lobbied the federal government for the money needed to build modern high schools and post-secondary institutes in the new province (Halfyard, August 26, 2013). As well, the findings indicate that the Long's Hill Residence, where most of those United Church students stayed, allowed for the development of connector networks and fostered a sense of pride in the desire to serve society to the best of their ability as teachers, civil servants or business leaders.

Halfyard's early teaching years in the Port Anson and Roberts Arm area of Green Bay reflected the 'accession' stage which Ribbins (2003) described as an experiential career stage of consolidation and development, when individuals gain practical work experience (as cited in Inman, 2011, p. 4). During the Port Anson 'initiation phase' (Day & Bakioglu 1996, p. 208), Halfyard drew knowledge gained from his growing-up experiences in Bonne Bay, his two years of formal post-secondary education and his summer job at the American Air Force Base construction site in Stephenville to help him identify and address needs. The data showed that Halfyard identified four key educational goals and objectives he hoped to achieve as a result of the needs he observed shortly after arriving to teach at the three-room United Church School in Port Anson.

Borrowing from concepts developed by Giddens (1991) and Goodson (2013) related to identity formation, it was shown that during his five years in Port Anson Halfyard solidified his teacher identity and his interest in teaching young people. Joining the Newfoundland Teacher's Association (NTA) in 1953 resulted in a life-long affiliation with the organization that Halfyard considered a key player in lobbying the government for major facilities, curriculum, and professional development, as well as pedagogical improvements desperately needed for rural students schooling. Through his grassroots involvement with the NTA, he learned formal

organizational, management and advocacy leadership skills as well as the value of collective action. In Port Anson, Halfyard came to admire the ingenuity of the local people, who operated thriving sawmills and fished off the Labrador. Both Halfyard and the other teachers interviewed were inspired by the kind of leadership shown by select townspeople who sat on school boards or served in other community leadership positions and acted as role models and mentors.

According to Fivush (2012), marriage and birth of children are important personal events that define life periods and impact career path choices and trajectories. Halfyard's marriage to Audrey Burton, a smart, loyal and hard-working young woman, yielded a commensurate life partner. In addition to assuming the lion's share of child rearing and household responsibilities, Audrey fortified his devotion to teaching and learning, his dedication to community leadership and his entrepreneurial business zeal.

An analysis of the Roberts Arm early teaching years revealed how, on an institutional level, resettlement was bringing major changes to places along the North East Coast of Newfoundland. Halfyard was elected to the town council and was given permission by the Minister of Municipal Affairs "to serve as a councillor as well as the [town] clerk" on a part-time paying basis (Halfyard, August 12, 2013, p. 4). Anthony Cohen's (1974) study of the dynamics between traditional leaders in rural communities and newcomer professionals to Springdale, generated a better understanding of the local leadership dynamics and changes that were taking place in the Green Bay area because of resettlement, the arrival of new professionals and the introduction of the 'growth centre' model. Halfyard's narrative presented compelling parallel insights into how leaders from smaller 'growth centres' in a region had to work harder for their share of the pie. Established political 'brokers' or leaders from larger 'growth centre' towns in a region often had stronger political ties to government officials and were able to secure more

government favours and funding.

Another major finding from the Roberts Arm years revolved around how ‘critical events’ change the course of peoples’ lives. Halfyard was fired from his principal/teacher job in June of 1959, a ‘critical event’ for which there were a confluence of factors. The IWA Loggers Strike, was a major provincial crisis that directly impacted people in Roberts Arm who depended on the logging industry to make a living (Cuff, 1991, p. 630; Gillespie, 1986). Halfyard often engaged in discussions with pro-union local residents and argued that he did not think that the IWA should “tell the government what they can do” (Halfyard, June 20, 2015). Being fired proved to be a significant learning experience; it taught Halfyard to be more sensitive to the beliefs, practices and needs of people in smaller towns. The incident also exemplified how Halfyard, as well as other young teachers of his generation, became imbued with a deep sense of loyalty to Premier Smallwood and his strategic plans for the province.

Critical events leading to Halfyard’s year at Memorial in 1960-61 and again in 1967-68 also altered the choices he made and fashioned the way he responded to challenges and obstacles. For Halfyard, his third year at Memorial in 1960-61 was very much about the influence of key educators. For example, Dr. William Summers added to his passion for geography and the physical landscape, and Dr. M. O. Morgan fed his enthusiasm for history. His involvement with the MUN Student Teachers’ Association, as well as his participation in debating, demonstrates that he was pursuing organizational leadership activities.

Findings also reveal how older married teachers, like Halfyard, who returned to university managed the challenges of securing adequate food, clothing, and shelter for their families. From a leadership development perspective, the year was very much about “re-selfing” and preparing to return to a ‘quest’ or dream of what his life could be after losing his job

(Goodson, 2013, pp. 113-114). The university transition year, with its exposure to new ideas and people, solidified his educational leadership goals and his desire to be a good school teacher and principal.

The major social, cultural and economic changes impacting lifestyles and work practices on the Baie Verte Peninsula in the 1960s were explored in the discussion of Halfyard's mid-career years. According to Ribbins' (2003) leadership model, the mid-career 'accession stage' is marked by continued involuntary and unplanned experiential development and consolidation of ideas. It corresponds with Day and Bakioghu's (1996) phase two "Development: Consolidation and Extension" (p. 212) period of "growing confidence, increased effectiveness and constructive self-examination" (p. 213) and their third phase of "Autonomy: Single loop learning" (p. 215) where leaders become experts in educational management. It is a stable period during which individuals focus on family and other social activities. This period was reflected in the five years Halfyard and his family spent in the affluent mining company town of Tilt Cove after teaching one year in the modernizing fish plant town of La Scie, which was still more traditional and restrictive than he liked.

Findings related to Halfyard's career path trajectory, and Newfoundland school administrator advancement pathways, in general, suggest that teachers interested in administration positions moved from small one and two-room schools to progressively larger schools and communities.

Networking ability, or having "a foot in so many different worlds" (Gladwell, 2000/2002, p. 51) has been identified as an important leadership skill (Burbaugh & Kaufman, 2017, p. 23). A number of teachers talked about the social, recreational, housing and educational benefits that came with living in company towns. Company towns like Tilt Cove were able to hire better

qualified teachers. In addition, teachers who moved on to other parts of the province after teaching in these company towns tended to transfer ideas learned from the eclectic mix of people and wealth of resources. Socializing practices common in mining towns as well as pulp and paper company towns also fostered the spread of amalgamated schools in the province.

Teachers became more politically active in the 1970s and 80s. While teachers in rural communities were starting to join political associations and to seek political election in the 1960s, there were still socio-economic, class and privilege barriers that prevented them from being contenders. Meanwhile, the American civil-rights movement and other emancipatory forces sweeping the Western World in the late 1960s stirred local teachers and other unionized groups within the province to find their voice, to protest and seek reforms (Stanley, 1993/2001).

The sudden closure of the Tilt Cove copper mine was another significant life changing ‘critical event’ that pushed Halfyard out of a comfortable, stable phase of his life and career path trajectory (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 64; Giddens, 1991). Forced to re-assess his career options at a time when the provincial government was on the cusp of introducing major changes to the education system, as a result of the 1967/68 *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth*, was a mixed blessing. It ‘awakened’ Halfyard’s awareness of the weaknesses within the public school system and stirred his leadership desire to become “forward thinking” and committed to action (Dufour & Marzano, 2011, p. 202; GOVNL, 1967/68; Greene, 1978, p. 42). That year, when Halfyard returned to university with his family there was a shortage of housing and schools in the rapidly growing capital city. He demanded that solutions be found since the government required educators like him with families to come to St. John’s to upgrade their teacher qualifications. The findings augment Fullan’s (2011, 2001) suggestions that effective leaders have strong moral purpose and over time develop the confidence to speak up for others.

Meanwhile, the courses he took and discussions he had with fellow students and professors exposed him to new ideas and stimulated his interest in finding ways to tackle the systemic weaknesses in education (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, p. 19).

Kouzes and Posner (2007) identified five practices of leadership. They included: (1) model the way; (2) inspire a shared vision; (3) challenge the process; (4) enable others to act; and, (5) encourage the heart. An examination of Halfyard's veteran teaching years in La Scie from 1968 to 1987 show how he used creative leadership and creative solutions to realize the educational vision he had for La Scie and area.

This study found that Halfyard identified and pursued four key strategies as part of his long-term plan to improve the quality of education and life for students, teachers and residents of La Scie when he returned there to teach in 1968. The first was to build a state-of-the art comprehensive or composite high school that offered more hands-on vocational style courses designed to address the high dropout problem and emerging industrial style work options.

The second was to provide enriched night school programming, including the standard Adult Basic Education (ABE) upgrading, for people who had moved to La Scie from smaller communities as a result of resettlement. His motto for the school was that it not "be a mausoleum", instead it was to be open to the whole community 12 to 15 hours a day as a centre for positive learning and sharing.

Halfyard's third leadership strategy was to improve housing for teachers in order to increase teacher retention, and ultimately, the quality of education for students. The impetus behind that goal was to establish a 'central core', or team of quality teachers who would stay for greater than the typical one to three-year period. Increasing teacher retention allowed for continuity in curriculum development and instructional practices resulting in overall

improvements in teaching and learning. Halfyard's hiring practices and administrative style, highlight some of the leadership skills and traits he employed to engage, motivate, train and mentor the younger teachers on staff. Comments made by teachers, students, coordinating principals and school board officials show that he displayed many of the leadership qualities described by Northouse (2007). Halfyard was described as knowledgeable, approachable, fair, and; he had integrity, was an effective problem solver and manager; and, he knew how to make things happen (Northouse, 2007). As a couple, Job and Audrey were also praised for being sociable, for creating a warm, sharing, family atmosphere for the young come-from-away teachers. They served as human resources, team management and, sometimes, even child, medical and family consultants for the young teachers on staff. While Halfyard displayed the classical "autocratic management style" described by Day and Bakioglu (1996) as being outdated and in need of change, colleagues stressed that Halfyard consulted, shared knowledge and sought input (Tilley, D., July 20, 2012, p. 42; Ward, July 14, 2012, p. 8; Harvey, July 4, 2012, p. 12).

Halfyard also took efforts to address gender imbalances in schooling. He hired more male teachers for the female-dominated elementary schools and more females for the male-dominated high schools. But efforts towards gender equality and balance, within the school administrator domain and society still had a long way to go. This study identified how, because of the leadership roles of the Presentation Sisters and the Sisters of Mercy within the province's public education system, the Roman Catholic School System had more women in key administrative positions. Further study of the leadership development of those women is recommended.

The fourth cornerstone of Halfyard's strategic plan was to improve the social, recreational, and general amenities available to both local residents as well as to teachers in La Scie and area. He may not have been the leader in the establishment of the local Kinsmen Club,

or a long-standing member of the Recreation Committee that lead the building of Cape St. John Arena, but he was the driving force behind a core of emerging young teacher leaders.

A ‘doer’, he consistently demonstrated the essential characteristics of a “change leader” as described by Michael Fullan (2011). After his return to La Scie in 1968, Halfyard recognized that the people of the modern fish plant town were not being treated fairly when it came to allocation of government services on the Baie Verte Peninsula. He organized a committee with representation from the various communities, circulated petitions and lobbied government officials for improved road conditions and a new medical clinic with two full-time doctors to serve the needs of workers and residents in La Scie and surrounding area.

This study also outlined the organizational role and structures that evolved with the formation of the Green Bay Integrated School Board and the coordinating principal school leadership model. The study showed how the Board produced some quality and effective educational leaders during the 1970s and 80s period who subsequently entered important leadership roles in education and politics at the provincial and national levels.

With respect to organizational practices at the school board district level, Fullan (2001) identified how successful districts adopt a variety of practices “in order to broaden and deepen the array of leadership strategies” (p. 127). They included: regularly scheduled visits of principals to other district schools; monthly principal meetings; principal peer coaching; supervisory on-site visits; district institutes on urgent topics; principal study groups; and, individualized coaching. Coordinating principals in this study identified how the Green Bay Integrated School District utilized many of those same strategies. Unfortunately, school principals of Halfyard’s generation, accustomed to the more informal ‘decentralized’ system of education, started to lose their autonomy and independent decision-making freedom as the

district school boards and the provincial Department of Education grew in staff, knowledge and experience and became more ‘centralized’.

Day and Bakioglu’s (1996) named phase four of school leaders’ career stage trajectory as the “disenchantment” phase (p. 219). They described how headteachers of that generation chose to retire early because they “suffered illness (mental or physical)” after they “lost their control over the school” (p. 220). While one coordinating principal interviewed for this study did experience ‘disillusionment’ (p. 219) and retired early, Halfyard did not succumb to the pressures to retire nor did he lose his optimism and enthusiasm for change or progress. Instead, he continued to express his views to government and school board officials when he felt new policies or regulations negatively affected the needs of the students in his school.

Ribbins (2003) and Inman (2011), unlike Day and Bakioglu (1996), suggest that the last stage of a leadership journey can offer the potential for new opportunities, new “enchantment” and reinvention (Inman, 2011, p. 5). Even though Halfyard’s personal business ventures became a source of criticism and tension during the last seven years of his teaching career, he remained positive, confident and competent in the job he loved. Foster’s (1965) theory of ‘limited good’ and Ginzberg’s (2014) more recent analysis supported the finding that teachers who were not born, raised or married into local families faced more criticism and found it more challenging in smaller homogeneous outport communities. Meanwhile, Cohen (1975) suggested that the politics of leadership was as concerned with the creation of legitimacy as it was with the actions of leaders (p. 6). This study ascertained that it was acceptable for some individuals within the school board, regional volunteer organizations and communities to engage in activities and leadership roles outside the parameters of their formal work positions but not acceptable for others. Even more disturbing are indications of how coastal, ‘end-of-the-road’ communities,

despite their economic sustainability potential, faced “inequalities of power and economy” making it almost impossible for them to survive (Amin, Massey, Thrift, 2003).

Conclusions

As an educational leader, Halfyard was neither all about management nor all about planning. He saw the big picture and the steps he could take to make things better. He had a cause; he was part of a movement—the reform of education in the province of Newfoundland (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, p. 110; GOVNL, 1967, p. xix). He kept abreast of social, political, and economic trends through his involvement with political associations as well as local, regional, and provincial boards and organizations. He is a life-long learner who read a wealth of the latest government reports and professional magazines and attended many seminars and conferences. His career-long involvement with the NTA kept him zealous and gave him a sense of purpose and commitment to a shared vision for better education (Kouzes & Posner, 2007, pp. 122–123; Cuff, 1994, p. 345).

Halfyard’s leadership developed over his life course, like so many of his generation, through a confluence of factors, which multiplied, fused and created synergies for him, and other educators of his generation who embraced the ‘call to serve.’ Giddens (1991) wrote:

A person’s identity is not to be found in behavior, nor – important though this is – in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to *keep a particular narrative going*. . . . It must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into, the ongoing ‘story’ about the self. (Giddens, 1991, p. 54)

Giddens posits feelings of self-identity are “both robust and fragile” and the biography a person holds in their mind is only one among many potential stories that can be told about a person’s development (Giddens 1991, p. 54).

This longitudinal study, which has explored A. Job Halfyard’s life and times as an educational and community leader in rural Newfoundland, is buttressed by historical context,

local detail, and personal experience; key factors “that our particular place in history presents us with” (Gladwell, 2008, p. 137). Ultimately, it sheds light on both the individual leadership development and career path trajectory of one person as well as the sociocultural factors that shaped his life (destiny), and that of the people in the communities where he taught (Conway & Jobson, 2012, p. 60; Inman, 2011, p. 2; Webster & Mertova, 2007).

An overarching finding of this study is how educators who became actively involved with the NTA, School Administrators Association, town councils, library, hospital and other boards and organizations learned practical organizational, planning, financial, negotiating, lobbying, networking or ‘social capital’ abilities (Burbaugh & Kaufman, 2017; Van De Valk & Conostas, 2011). More importantly, involvement with those organizations taught the importance of strength in numbers, the collective. Fullan (2011) noted, when it comes to change leadership:

The problem is that not enough organizations are “making” such leaders; that is, there are not enough resolute, empathetic leaders at the top who see their main job as hiring and cultivating critical masses of other focused leaders. (p. 48)

Moreover, many people of Halfyard’s generation, who experienced the affects of the Great Depression and Second World War, developed “a clearer sense of common mission” and empathy which shaped and motivated them to help others less capable (Fullan, 2011, p. 48; Giddens, 1999, p. 54; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012, p. 90). Teachers and school principals felt it was their job, their mission, to improve the quality of education, hence the standard of living, for rural outport people. Unfortunately, the communal spirit of the ‘30 glorious years’ faded with the emergence of the neo-liberal economic practices of the 1980s. The phenomenal rural leadership development period, of which Halfyard was a part, may be gone, but there are ideas and lessons learned that can be gleaned and shared from social history narrative accounts of this era.

A. Job Halfyard continued to exercise leadership in rural contexts long after he retired

from teaching. In an ever-changing province no longer able to rely on the natural riches of the ocean to sustain its communities, new ways to maintain the well-being of communities had to be found. In what is now a post-Cod moratorium context, and as ocean species decline worldwide, aquaculture is increasingly important. Halfyard's 'second career' quickly arose in this new industry. While this career story is for another day, a comment by former teacher and Premier, the Honorable Thomas Rideout, on Halfyard's 30-year career in the aquaculture sector, suggests how his post-public school education leadership continued to evolve and impact, undaunted by circumstance or challenge:

Job gave freely of his leadership talents for the good of the aquaculture industry through his unselfish and tireless efforts in the NAIA (Newfoundland Aquaculture Industries Association) . . . My Assistant Deputy Minister of Fisheries and Aquaculture told me, when I asked him, what we really needed to promote the growth of the aquaculture industry in our province, "another 100 Job Halfyards." That is the depth of Job Halfyard's contribution to aquaculture industry in NL—all of it made during an active retirement! (T. Rideout, personal communications, January 25, 2011)



Figure 78. Halfyard, at 80, preparing spat lines for his mussel farm operations (Halfyard, S., 2011)

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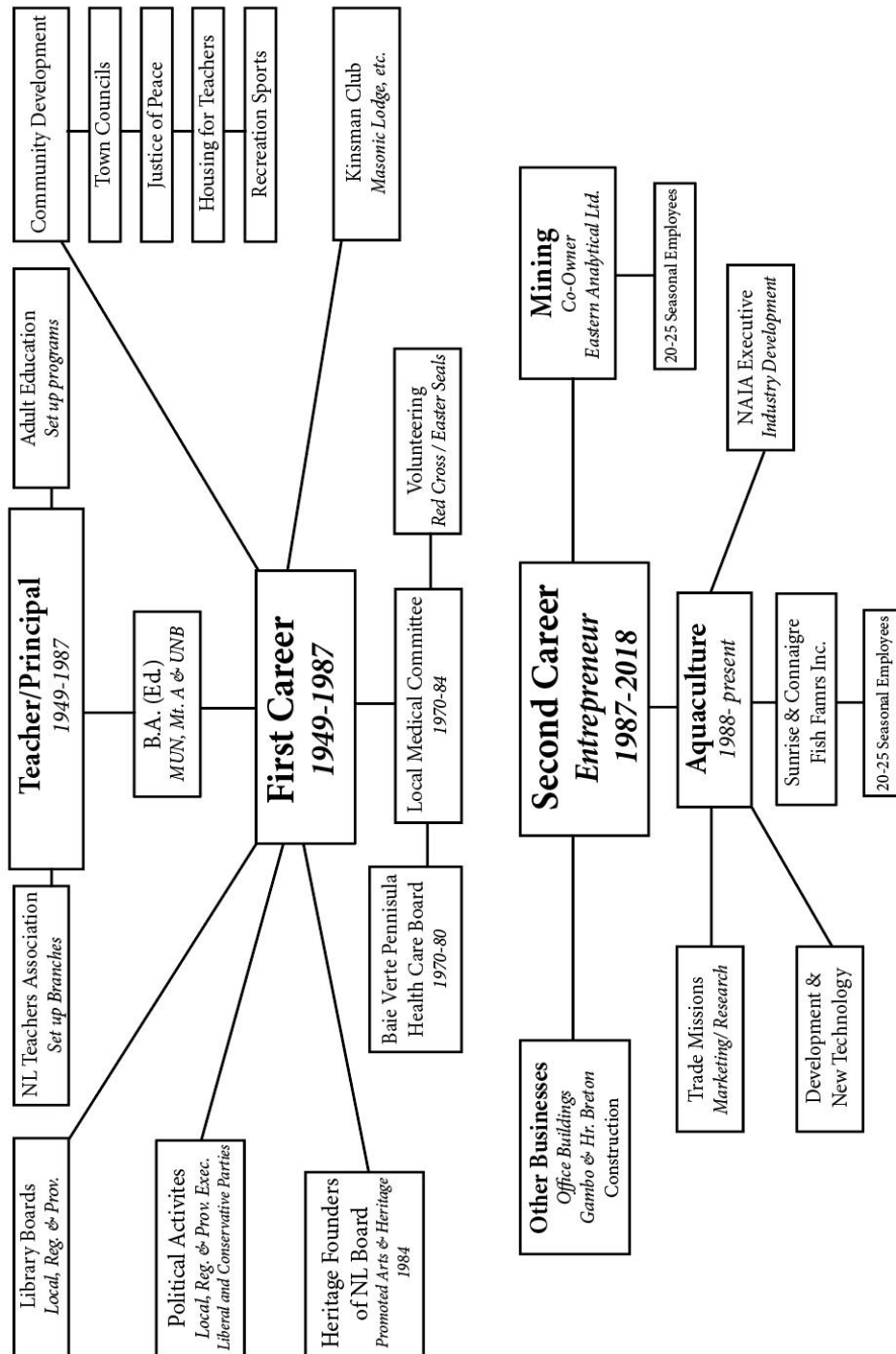
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Appendix A: Flowchart of A. Job Halfyard Work & Volunteer Activities



Appendix B:
Summary of Education Related Statistics,
Newfoundland and Labrador (1951–1986)

	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986
Population	361,416	415,074	457,853	493,396	522,105	557,725	567,725	568,350
Children Attending School 5-15 Years (#)	79,324	102,633	128,917	146,503	160,915	157,768	148,533	142,333
Schools (#)	1,185	1,164	1,253	1,216	826	719	667	607
School Board Districts (#)	270	270	270 (1960 peak: 289)	270	35 to 37	35 to 37	35	(1988) 27
Teachers (#)	2,499	3,106	4,317	5,543	6,437	7,426	7,738	8,097
Teachers With Degrees (#)	61	217	463	776	2,030	4,415	5,723	6,768
Teachers With Degrees (%)	2.4	7.0	10.7	14.0	31.7	59.4	74	84.1
Teachers Annual Salary (\$)	1,186	1,938	2,557	3,285	5,785	*13,533	21,749	31,222
Student/Teacher Ratio (%)	32	33	30	26	25	21	19	18
Government Expenditure (\$000)	\$4,653	\$8,100	\$16,090	\$27,865	\$77,451	\$196,341	\$325,583	\$377,118
Expenditure Provincial Budget (%)	17.0	20.3	20.7	20.7	**34.5	35.1	27.7	19.7

Source: (McCann, 1994) - Summary of Data Statistics included in Phillip McCann's *Schooling in a Fishing Society: Education and Economic Conditions in Newfoundland and Labrador 1836-1986: Companion Volume: Tables*, pp. 277 to 298).

Contributing factors for dramatic increases:

* Premier Frank Moores Progressive Conservative government was elected in 1972. The Newfoundland *Teacher's (NTA) Collective Bargaining Act* was enacted under government legislation in May of 1973 and teacher's went on strike a number of times to fight for improvements throughout the 1970s & 80s (Cuff, H. A., 1994; Morgan, 1991; Pitt, 1990, 57).

** Increase in teacher's salaries and number teachers with university degrees as well as formation of 35 Professional School Districts.

Appendix C:
Population Chart for Study Area Communities

Table						
Population Changes						
Year	Town					
	Port Anson	Roberts Arm	Springdale	La Scie	Tilt Cove	Baie Verte
1891	209			104		13
1901			319	429		
1935 ⁽¹⁾	275	45	889	490	58	27
1945 ⁽¹⁾	319	341	1,205	437	49	282
1951 ⁽¹⁾	391	406	1,543	601	40	553
1956 ⁽¹⁾	386	606	2,125	702	157	704
1961	407			939		958
1966				1,064		
1971	123			1,255		
1976				1,256		2,528
1981				1,422		
1986 ⁽²⁾	185	1,110		1,460		2,050
1991 ⁽²⁾	210	995	3,545	1,430		1,915
1996 ⁽²⁾	185	960	3,380	1,265		1,710
2001 ⁽²⁾	175	895	3,045	1,075		1,495
2006 ⁽²⁾	155	890	2,765	980		1,360
2011 ⁽²⁾	165	807	2,907	899	2	1,370
2016	130	805	2,971	872	5	1,313

⁽¹⁾ Source of these numbers was (BVPRS 1960, p. 60-63). The numbers shown for Springdale include both Springdale and South Brook which were incorporated as a Rural District in 1945 and shared services until 1965 when each town was incorporated separately. (CUFF 1984, p. 281)

⁽²⁾ Source of the figures were found on the following website

<https://nl.communityaccounts.ca/>

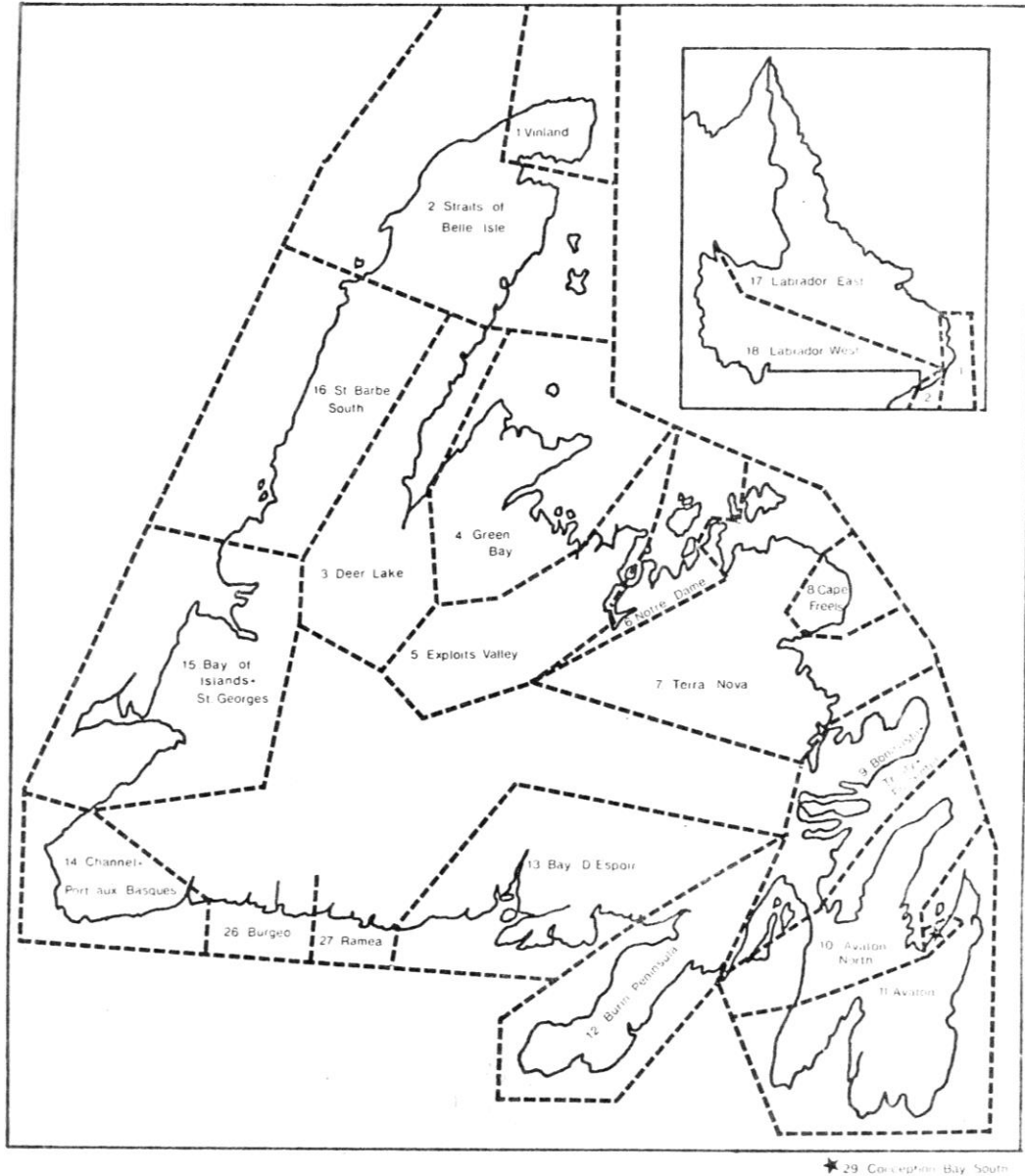
Data for Tilt Cove was not included here as its population was less than what was required to have it included.

All other numbers were sourced from the Encyclopedia of Newfoundland.

Appendix D: **Map of Integrated School Districts and Roman Catholic School Districts**

- 62 -

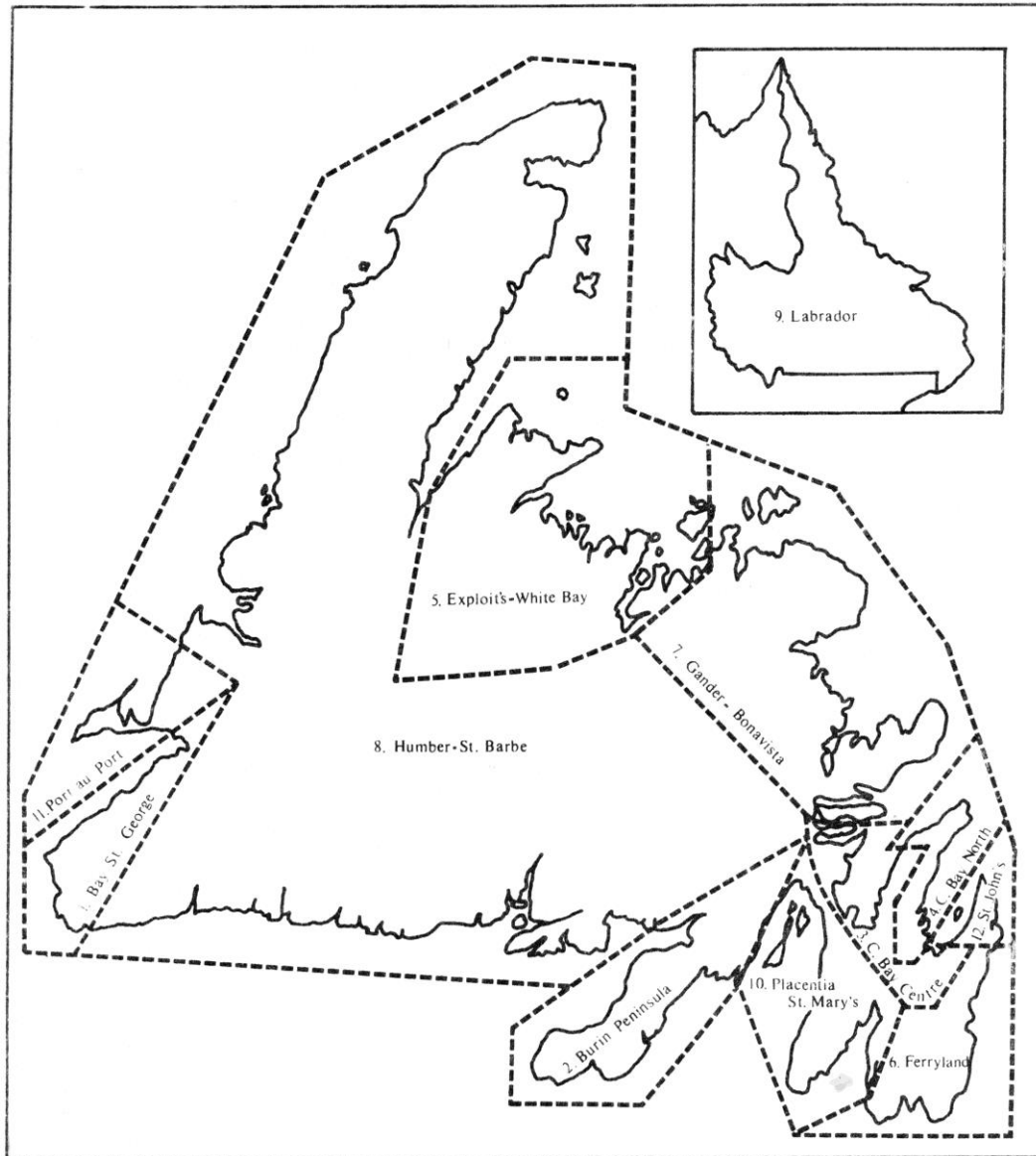
INTEGRATED SCHOOL DISTRICTS



Prepared By: Division of Research, Planning & Information

(GOVNL, 1979b, April)

ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOL DISTRICTS



(GOVNL, 1979b, April)

Appendix E:
Letter from Halfyard to the Chair, M. J. Boylan Hospital Board
(February 26, 1971)

INTEGRATED CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL

LA SCIE, WHITE BAY SOUTH, NFLD.

Date February 26 1971

The Chairman,
M. J. Boylan Hospital Board,
Baie Verte, Newfoundland

Dear Sir:

For the past three years I have been concerned with the medical attention given to La Scie residents, as well as residents of other communities such as Nipper's Harbour, Snook's Arm, Round Harbour, Tilt Cove, Shoe Cove, Harbour Round and Brent's Cove. I have often labelled the waiting room of La Scie clinic "the Black Hole of Calcutta" because on a couple of visits over the past three years the waiting room held ten to twenty-seven people in its approximate $4\frac{1}{2}$ by 8 feet. If you check on the Calcutta incident you will find a close parallel in size if not in forced detention, etc., unless you equate it with a group of coughing, groaning, grumbling individuals. If you are not sick before you go there you will be mentally sick on leaving and often physically sick a day or so later.

I have always maintained that the doctors should be stationed at Baie Verte Hospital for consultations, etc, and commute to La Scie. I have now changed my mind because, even with the doctor coming more often than last year, it is far from adequate to serve the needs of over 4,000 people. What is needed here is a resident doctor and nurse, closely connected to the present hospital at Baie Verte, extensions to the waiting room and clinic in general, plus a public health nurse. I am not making an equation with Baie Verte, but just stating honest needs for minimum service for the people here. I think you, as a Board, have a responsibility to push this with the hospital authorities, the Department of Health, and Mr. William Rowe, the M. H. A. for White Bay South.

You, as a Board, must surely realize the cost of transportation to Baie Verte by car, plus drugs. Over 50 per cent of our citizens are fishermen with an average wage of less than \$3,000. If you discount this and just think of the saving on welfare trips, etc., the setting up of a doctor, etc. would be justified.

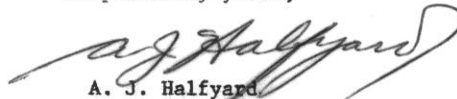
Under the present system a most disturbing fact has come to my attention. That is, people who are really sick and have not been able to get an appointment, either because of not being able to get through by phone as it is continually busy or off the hook, or booked up for two or three days in advance. People stay at home, sick, instead of going to clinic and waiting two or three hours. Even very sick children have been

unable to be attended to on this ridiculously strict appointment plan. Sure, I agree with appointments, but when do they outdo their purpose?

Last, but by far not least, the public health nurse is not able to cope with the hundreds of children in our schools. We have families with children too sore with scabbies, etc. that they have been out of school over a month. As an educator I know children cannot succeed like this. I request two checks per year for the children from Nipper's Harbour to La Scie and I imagine Brent's Cove does likewise. Not one check has been completed this year. It's about time a regular nurse comes with a doctor so the public health nurse can do her regular work. Surely you cannot sit idly by and allow a situation like this to continue.

Give your support for a doctor and regular nurse with adequate clinic facilities to supplement the public health nurse in this area. Surely our 4,000 people are not asking too much of everyone concerned.

Respectfully yours,



A. J. Halfyard
Co-ordinating Principal

cp. Mr. Clarence Hewlett

Appendix F: Interview Participants – Transcript List

Halfyard, A. Job. (2012, July 3; 2012, July 10; 2012, July 21; 2012, July 22; 2012, July 28a; 2012, July 28b; 2012, July 28c; 2012, August 4; 2013, August 26; 2013, August 26 & 27; 2013, August 29a; 2013, August 28b; 2014, February 11a; 2014, February 11b; 2014, February 11c; 2015, June 16, 17 & 18; 2016, June 29). Personal Interviews.

Halfyard, Audrey. (2012, July 3; 2013, August 30a; 2013, August 30b). Personal Interviews.

Halfyard, Audrey & A. Job. (2012, October 18a; 2012, October 18b; 2013, January 15; 2015, June 20; 2017, May 17). Personal Interviews.

Dixon (Barnes) Zelda. (2012, June 26; 2012, September 17). Personal Interviews.

Dixon, William. (2012, June 26; 2012, September 17). Personal Interviews.

Warren, Dr. Philip J. (2012, July 2). Personal Interview.

Harvey, Richard W. (2012, July 4). Personal Interview.

Martin (Price) Edna. (2012, July 11). Personal Interview.

Hamlyn, Lottie. (2012, July 13). Personal Interview.

Ward (Barnes) Alexia. (2012, July 14). Personal Interview.

Ryan, Terry. (2012, July 17). Personal Interview.

Randell, Allan R. (2012, July 18). Personal Interview.

Tilley, Derek. (2012, July 20). Personal Interview.

Tilley (Ryan) Linda. (2012, July 20). Personal Interview.

Halfyard, George M. (2012, July 25). Personal Interview.

Toms, Harvey. (2012, July 30). Personal Interview.

Morey, Ted. (2012, July 30). Personal Interview.

Rogers, Walter. (2012, July 30). Personal Interview.

Randell, Warrick. (2012, July 31). Personal Interview.

Randell, Donna. (2012, July 31). Personal Interview.

Ryan, Maxwell. (2012, July 31). Personal Interview.

Foote, Ted. (2012, August 2). Personal Interview.

Snow, Wayne. (2012, August 3). Personal Interview.

Burton, Job E. (2012, August 6). Personal Interview.

Harris, Eli M. (2012, August 6). Personal Interview.

Colbourne, Lloyd. (2012, August 6). Personal Interview.

Burton, Madeline. (2012, August 7). Personal Interview.

Burton, Gilbert. (2012, August 7). Personal Interview.

Amos, Christopher. (2012, August 8). Personal Interview.

Clarke, Renold. (2012, August 8). Personal Interview.

Smith, Ed. (2012, August 9). Personal Interview.

Burton, Ruth. (2012, August 9). Personal Interview.

Lush, Marjorie. (2012, August 13). Personal Interview.

Toms, Rodney. (2012, August 13). Personal Interview.

Drover, John J. (2012, August 14). Personal Interview.

Peckford, Brian. (2012, September 14). Personal Interview.

Halfyard, Job Jr. (2012, September 26.). Personal Interview.

Williams, Reginald. (2012, September 30). Personal Interview.

Sheppard, George. (2013, June 5). Personal Interview.

Rice (nee Halfyard) Voila. (2014, August 8). Personal Interview.

Sparkes, Hardy E. (2015, November 16). Personal Interview.

Sheppard (nee Halfyard) Marguerite. (2015, November 11; 2016, January 21). Personal Interview.

Grimes, Roger D. (2016, January 5). Personal Interview.

Appendix G: Ethics Approval Letter – Memorial University



Interdisciplinary Committee on
Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR)

Office of Research - IIC2010C
St. John's, NL Canada A1C 5S7
Tel: 709 864-2561 Fax: 709 864-4612
www.mun.ca/research

ICEHR Number:	<u>2012-340-ED</u>
Approval Period:	April 16, 2012 – April 30, 2013
Funding Source:	
Responsible Faculty:	Dr. Ursula Kelly Faculty of Education
Title of Project:	<i>Intertwined: A Social History Narrative of A. Job Halfyard – the interrelationship between educators, leadership, and rural development in post-confederation NL</i>

April 16, 2012

Ms. Sharon Halfyard
Faculty of Education
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dear Ms. Halfyard:

Thank you for your submission to the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) seeking ethical clearance for the above-named research project.

The Committee has reviewed the proposal and appreciates the care and diligence with which you have prepared your application. We agree that the proposed project is consistent with the guidelines of the *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (TCPS2). *Full ethics clearance* is granted for one year from the date of this letter.


The Committee advises that you consult with your supervisor about whether approval of the NLTA may be required if any of your participants are representatives of the NLTA and are providing responses in that capacity.

If you intend to make changes during the course of the project which may give rise to ethical concerns, please forward a description of these changes to Theresa Heath at icehr@mun.ca for the Committee's consideration.

The TCPS2 requires that you submit an annual status report on your project to ICEHR, should the research carry on beyond April 30, 2013. Also, to comply with the TCPS2, please notify us upon completion of your project.

We wish you success with your research.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "M Shute".

Michael Shute, Th.D.
Chair, Interdisciplinary Committee on
Ethics in Human Research

MS/th

copy: Supervisor – Dr. Ursula Kelly, Faculty of Education
Associate Dean, Graduate Program, Faculty of Education

Appendix H: Research Consent Form

Interdisciplinary Ph.D. Research Project MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

Title: Intertwined – A Social History Narrative of A. Job. Halfyard: The Interrelationship between Educators, Leadership and Rural Development in Post-Confederation Newfoundland and Labrador (NL)

Ph.D. Researcher: Sharon Halfyard
474 Newfoundland Drive
St. John's, NL, A1A 4E3
Phone: (709) 754-7859
e-mail: s.halfyard@nl.rogers.com

Ph.D. Supervisors: Dr. Ursula Kelly
Faculty of Education
Phone: 864-3409
e-mail: ukelly@mun.ca

Dr. Diane Tye
Department of Folklore
Phone: 864-4457
e-mail: dtie@mun.ca

Dr. Kelly Vodden
Environment Policy Institute
Grenfell College
Phone: 613-2703
e-mail: kvodden@grenfell.mun.ca

You are invited to take part in a research project titled, "Intertwined - A social history narrative case study of A. Job. Halfyard: The Interrelationship between Educators, Leadership and Rural Development in Post-Confederation Newfoundland and Labrador."

This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this form carefully and to understand any other information given to you by the researcher.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in the research or decide to withdraw, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future.

Purpose of Study:

The research project is being conducted as part of the thesis requirement for the Interdisciplinary Ph.D. program at Memorial University.

The **primary goal** of my research is to contribute to a better understanding of the multiple roles played by rural educators in community development during the post-Confederation years with the aim of providing insight for present day educators and community stakeholders. The study will be a multi-disciplinary examination of education, place, identity, rural development, grassroots leadership, social history and socio-economic development in the White Bay/Green Bay area of the province. Using my father's life history as a case study, I will examine the following question:

- What insights can be gained about leadership and the characteristics of leaders for rural

NL by conducting a life history case study of A. Job Halfyard and his work as an educator in the White Bay/Green Bay area from 1949–2012?

What you will do in this study:

Take part in an interview which will provide context and comparison about A. Job Halfyard's role in rural education and community development. You may be asked questions to provide information about your role as an educator in rural NL; the general role of teachers in rural NL; life in rural communities; support available from educational stakeholders such as the Department of Education, School Boards, Newfoundland Teachers' Association, community organizations, churches, and parents, especially during the first three decades post-Confederation.

Questions:

You are welcome to ask questions at any time during your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study please contact the researcher or her supervisors listed above.

The project has been reviewed by my program supervisors/advisors and the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) and has been found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research (such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant), which cannot be resolved by the researcher, you may wish to contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at (709) 864-2861.

Consent:

Your signature on this form means that:

- * **You have read the information about the research;**
- * **You have been able to ask questions about this study;**
- * **You are satisfied with the answers to all of your questions;**
- * **You understand what the study is about and what you will be doing;**
- * **You understand that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason, and that doing so will not affect you now or in the future.**

Audio and/or Video Recording:

Check below to indicate whether or not you consent to audio or video recording of the interview.

I consent to audio tape recording of the interview. Yes ____ No ____

I consent to video tape recording of the interview. Yes ____ No ____

I, _____ (participant) allow Sharon Halfyard (researcher) to use the voluntarily recorded materials described below for research towards the completion of an Interdisciplinary Ph.D. research study that will be conducted from May 2012 to April 2016, through Memorial University.

Below is a list the materials obtained from the participant (i.e. recordings, photographs, etc.).

I give the researcher permission to use these materials at his / her discretion for all academic purposes.

Yes: ____ No: ____

Yes, with the following exceptions: _____

Reporting of Results:

Most of the information gathered through interviews will be presented in a summarized form. Direct quotes from any participants will be presented anonymously unless the interview subject grants permission to use findings with academic, government, and community stakeholders as well as students for years to come.

As the participant, I understand that the uses of this research may include: a Ph.D. thesis; journal articles, conference papers and presentations; a documentary or educational video; a possible spine-off book for academic or general public use; electronic Internet and other new media platforms.

Yes: ____ No: ____

As the participant, I give permission for the researcher to use my proper name in the communication of this research.

Yes: ____ No: ____

I wish to be identified as _____ (give preferred name or pseudonym).

Storage of Data:

All materials with personal information will be stored in a secure location. I grant permission for the researcher to keep the materials in their possession for a minimum of five years after the completion of the Ph.D. thesis.

Yes: ____ No: ____

As the participant, I understand that the researcher will (choose one):

_____ deposit the materials in a public archives or museum collection once any post-doctoral research has been completed (such as Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive or the Centre for Newfoundland Studies.)

_____ destroy the materials after the five-year minimum requirement of completion of the Ph.D. thesis.

If depositing in Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive or in the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, **I have read and signed the *Informant Contract*** and I understand that the Archive will, at the discretion of the archivists, allow researchers to use the materials listed above.

Yes: ____ No: ____

Signature of participant:

I have read and understood the description provided; I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I consent to participate in the research project, understanding that I may withdraw my consent at any time. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

If you sign this form, you do not give up your legal rights, and do not release the researchers from their professional responsibilities.

Signature of participant _____ Date: _____

Print Full Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone number: _____ E-mail address: _____

Researcher's Signature:

I have explained this study to the best of my ability. I invited questions and gave answers. I believe that the participant fully understands what is involved in being in the study, any potential risks of the study and that he or she has freely chosen to be in the study.

Signature of researcher: _____ Date: _____

Appendix I: Interview Questions

**List included in proposal to:
Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR), Memorial University
March 15, 2012**

Sample Questions for A. Job Halfyard

Note: Responses may lead to additional prompts and questions. These questions are a stimulus for ideas and will ensure key topics are covered rather than a rigid, structured interview schedule.

General Questions

1. What are your **greatest assets/strengths as an educator and/or community leader**?
2. What are your greatest weaknesses (as an educator and/or community leader)?
3. How would you describe your philosophy on life? What do you think contributed to that philosophy or your values, interests, etc.?
4. What have been your **greatest challenges** in life? What were your most challenging years? Why?
5. What were your biggest challenges as a teacher?
6. Your biggest challenges in your local businesses?
7. Your biggest challenge with school board officials and/or other educational organizations?
8. Your biggest challenges in community leadership?
9. How would you describe your **style of leadership**?
10. Who **most inspired** you in life?
11. Who most inspired you as a teacher?
12. What are your most **memorable moments** as a teacher? Why?
13. **School board governance** – How have things changed? Do you think it has gone too far with restructuring (making too few boards/regions too large)?
14. When did you retire from teaching? Did you go back to substitute?
15. Relate other **memorable stories** – Struggles – car accident, inflation; high interest rates; drug store; paying for university, etc. Memorable times – turs; berry picking; summer before going to MUN in Tilt Cove; storm at Christmas in La Scie etc.
16. Mussel Farm – When and why did you start it? What are you presently doing?
17. Can you tell me about your university years at MUN and Mount A? Can you tell me that story about when you attended UNB? Why did you go there to study in the summer of 1967?
18. What were your experiences with the language requirements (French) at university? How did you deal with that challenge?
19. Did your university years prepare you for life as a rural educator? Please explain why or why not.

20. What limitations did having a large family place on you in your educational and professional pursuits? Did having a large family limit job opportunity? Affording further education? Your role as business person or community advocate?
21. Did you **encourage your children to go to university**? Did you guide them in any way?
22. What was it like teaching in Tilt Cove?
23. What impact did resettlement have on La Scie – Horse Islands? What were the different groups like that moved into La Scie? How did it change the dynamics of the community? The role and nature of education?
24. Did you have any relatives that were teachers or who had gone to university before you?
25. You recently had your 80th birthday. Can you tell me about the people who came to visit?
26. Do many former students come to see you?
27. What did you look for when you hired teachers? Did they have much experience? What role did you play in their professional development?
28. Did you interact socially with the teachers? Tell me about some of the different teachers you hired? What did they do later?
29. What are your most memorable moments in your volunteer work in the community?
30. Can you tell me some of the stories of your moose hunting trips or other outdoor pursuits?
31. Can you tell me the story of swimming out to get the duck? Where was that? When?

Questions about La Scie

Note: Similar questions will be asked about Port Anson, Roberts Arm, Tilt Cove, and the other communities where Halfyard taught.

1960–1963 – Accommodations/Family Life

1. How did we travel to La Scie?
2. Why did you apply for the job in La Scie?
3. How did you come to live in the Bartlett house in La Scie?
4. What was the house like? Did it have electricity? Running water? How did you heat the house? What kind of stove did you have? Did you have a fridge, washer, dryer?
5. Did you have a telephone?
6. Of us children who went to school in La Scie that year? Where did Laura go to school in St. John's the previous year?
7. Did Mom have a servant girl that year? Why or why not?
8. How did Mom originally feel about moving to La Scie? Did that feeling change? Why? How?
9. What organizations did you get involved in that first year? Did you go to Tilt Cove at all that first year for sports or social events?
10. Who became your friends? How did you meet them?
11. Did Mom make many friends that first year?

12. Did you hunt, fish etc. that first year? Sealing, turs, rabbits etc. What was your means of transportation?
13. Did you have a boat? When did you get your first boat or a new boat in La Scie? Did you fish? Who fished with you?

1969–1985

1. Why did you move back from La Scie from Tilt Cove? What did Mom feel about the move back?
2. Were there any other options of places to teach?
3. What did La Scie (who was the spokesperson) or the school board offer you to encourage you to move to La Scie? Did that happen in other communities at that time?
4. How was life different in La Scie in 1969?
5. What were some of the biggest adjustments you had to make from Tilt Cove/St. John's?
6. How old were your kids? What was the adjustment like for them?
7. What did you and Mom do for recreation then? Did you miss the curling, bowling etc.? When did you start to go to Baie Verte to curl and bowl?

Amenities and Community Life in La Scie

1. Did it have electricity? Did the community in general have electricity in those days? Did you have a TV? If not when did you get your first TV?
2. How did people heat their homes?
3. Was there running water and an in-door bathroom? Did all of the community have running water?
4. Were there general stores? Who were the main merchants? What could you buy in those stores? Did you pay by cash or were you on an account? How did most people pay for groceries?
5. Was Schwartz there at that time?
6. Did people have their own gardens?
7. What was the physical layout of the community?
8. Was there a town council? What form of community leadership was there at that time? Did you get involved in community organizations? What/when?
9. Was there a school council or home and school association? What was their role in the community and in the school?

Transportation

1. Was there a road to La Scie when you arrived in 1961? If not, when was it finished? What was it like? Where did it link to?
2. How did people get to La Scie at that time? How often was the Coastal Boat Service? Describe what it was like when the Coastal Boat came in the harbour.
3. Describe the harbour. How was it set up for fishing in those days? How did it change over the years?

Church/Religion

1. Describe the religious mix of the community. Was there a noticeable place in the community where each denominational family lived or owned land?
2. What role did the church play in education?
4. As the principal, were you and your family expected to go to church? How did you feel about that? Did those feelings change during the course of the year? How and why?
5. How did the role of the church in La Scie compare to the role of the church in Roberts Arm and Port Anson?

Employment/Industry

1. Where did the people in the community work?
 - a. Small boats – Inshore fishery
 - b. Fish plant
 - c. Mining – Tilt Cove
 - d. Sawmills etc.
2. Describe the fish plant – physical structure, owners. Was it very modern? Had it been upgraded?
3. Describe the seasonal lives of the people in the community. When/who worked in the fish plants?
4. Were there many workers from outside the community at that time? Where did they live?
5. What areas did the plant process fish for?
6. How did the nature of the economy of the area affect education?

Schools/Education

Note: When asking questions about this try to break it into phases (1961 first, then 1968, then the 1980s).

1. How many schools were in the town at that time – United Church, Salvation Army, and Anglican?
2. How did the initiation of the amalgamation of those three schools come about? Why did you think it was important?
3. Describe the physical structure of the school when you went there first.
4. When were the new schools built? How did that come about? (DREE school etc.)
 - a. Hillside Elementary
 - b. Cape John Collegiate
5. How many students were in the school and how did this change over this period?
6. How many teachers were in the school? Where were they from? (1960–1961) How old were they in general?

7. What were their qualifications? What kind of professional training did the teachers have? How did that change over the years? Was there one period when you remember major improvements in the training of teachers? When why?
8. What was the teacher retention rate like when you went to La Scie first? How long did they stay? Why didn't they stay longer? Did it change? When?
9. What did you look for when hiring a new teacher?
10. Did many people from the community go into teaching? Why or why not?
11. Name a few of those that you remember well. Why do you remember them? What strengths did they bring to the school/community?
12. Describe what you did to try to increase teacher retention in the community.
13. What was the quality of education like in the school when you started teaching there?
14. What new subjects, curriculum did you introduce to the school, especially after you returned to La Scie after living in Tilt Cove?
15. Was there a School Board at that time? Where was it located? What role did they play?
16. When were Coordinating Principals introduced? Describe your role, job as a Coordinating Principal?
17. What was the next major change in the school board run system?
18. How did your autonomy, authority change over the course of your years as a teacher? What do you think are the strengths/weaknesses of the more centralized management system?
19. What was the means of communication – mail, telephones, telegraphs?
20. What was the attendance rate like? The drop-out rate and their general age? What were the main reasons for dropping out of school? How did this compare to the other communities that you lived in? Why do you think there was a difference?
21. What was your involvement with the Catholic School in Brent's Cove? Did both systems work together at any time on any specific issues?
22. When did you start getting involved in the fight for changes in the denominational education system? Why did you think change was needed?
23. Would you describe your focus as being student-oriented or teacher-oriented?
24. What was your relationship with the community?
25. Why did you organize the "Miles for Millions Walk"?
26. Why/when did you introduce student school trips to Europe? To other parts of Canada?
27. What new things did you introduce to the school over the years?
28. Why/what sports and recreation did you introduce/promote?
29. Why did you bring in Industrial Arts to the school?
30. What bands, poets, theatre troupes did you bring to the school over the years? Did they come to you or did you seek them out? Why did you bring them to town? How did the people respond?
31. In your original biography/chronology you "also promoted and adopted the philosophy of a "community school." What did you mean by that? How did you achieve that? How did the community respond?

32. Why did you have school dances? What were some of the problems you may have experienced? Was it still important that you have the dances?
33. What kind of programs did you generally try to offer on Friday afternoons? Why? Was there a nice mix between the creative and the technical in the student population?
34. Can you recall any interesting stories of students that stand out in your mind?

Night School

1. Can you describe your involvement in adult education?
2. Why did you get involved in adult education?
3. What were the benefits? Challenges?

Library Board – Provincial Board

1. When did you first get involved?
2. What were the benefits? Challenges?

Recreation Commission

1. When was it formed? Who was involved?
2. Why were you interested in community recreation?
3. What are the benefits? Challenges?

Medical/Health Boards

1. When did you first get involved? Why?
2. What were the benefits? Challenges?

Heritage Founders of Newfoundland and Labrador – Provincial Board

1. How and why did you get involved?

NTA – Branch and Provincial level

1. When did you first get involved? Why?
2. Why did you put so much effort into the NTA?
3. What were the benefits? Challenges?

Politics – Local and Provincial level

1. How did you get involved in politics? Why?
2. What were the benefits? Challenges?