AMBIVALAND:

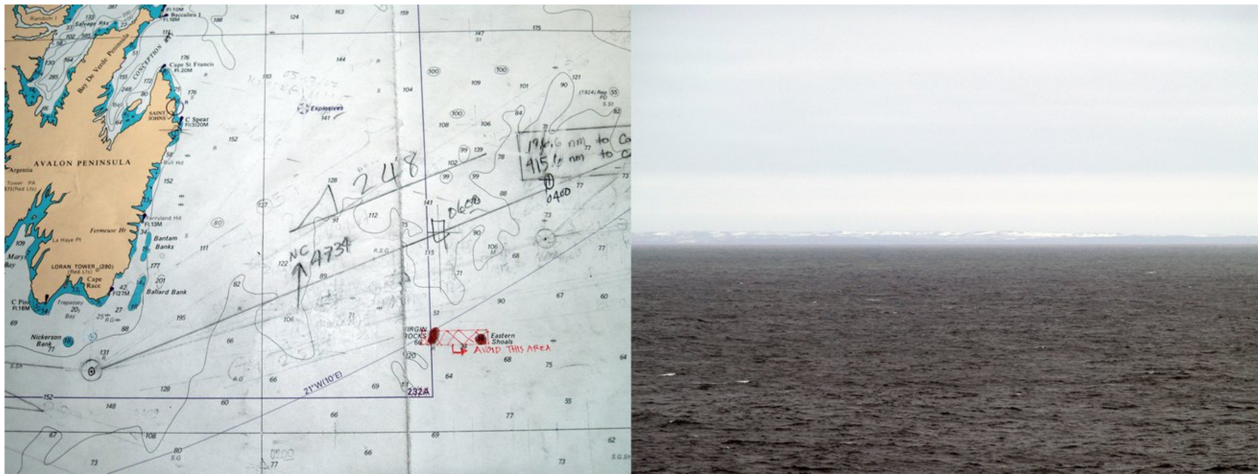
Cultural Ambivalence in Newfoundland

by

© Rona Rangsch

A Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Interdisciplinary Studies
Memorial University of Newfoundland

May 2024
St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador



My first sight of Newfoundland

Abstract

This project revalues the often underrated concept of ambivalence as a distinct concept pregnant with creative potentialities and applies it to settler Newfoundland culture as a research lens. In the process, our understanding and image of the place are enriched by reinterpreting a collection of charged contexts, which have hitherto been considered little related, as belonging to a pervasive and potentially creative web of cultural ambivalence. Contexts studied include the European colonization of the island, the precariousness in Newfoundland outports, the Smallwood era's sociopolitical tangle, clashes between resource exploitation and love of the land, settler Newfoundlanders' non-singular colonial identity, and the place's puzzling quality as both centre and periphery. In terms of research questions, the project asks what a meaningful and productive understanding of ambivalence looks like and how it can be used to develop a richer understanding of settler Newfoundland.[1]

Methodologically, the research is based on discourse analysis with a focus on problematization, abductive reasoning, transversality, and speculation. These approaches share the capacity to open alternative trajectories of reasoning through the radical questioning or active ignoring of existing explanatory systems. This tenor is imperative for a project that attempts to reshuffle both the conceptual and interpretive packs by using an undervalued concept (ambivalence) to re-map a jagged terrain (an array of tensions in settler Newfoundland).

Conceptual key findings include the unambiguity of ambivalence and its overlap with creativity. Within the Newfoundland case study, the lens of cultural ambivalence challenges supposedly demarcated spheres of agency and power in both colonial and postcolonial spheres and exposes Newfoundlanders' enhanced capacity for creativity. Moreover, it allows me to debunk a number of persistent myths and to provide others with actual content. Finally, by assembling a variety of contexts not studied in this constellation before under the umbrella of cultural ambivalence, I am able to identify correlations that have previously gone unnoticed or underappreciated. The resulting web of ambivalence provides a rhizomatic explanatory grid that establishes a creative facet of the place and exposes new leverage points for addressing cultural tensions. This recommends cultural ambivalence as a potent prism for borderlands with complex colonial histories more generally.

[1] Please note that, with the local settler society and culture as my object of study, my focus is on the island part of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, where the large majority of the settler population resides.

Acknowledgements

This may be unorthodox. I hope that's okay. I don't want to wrap my immense gratitude in formal tone or lexicon. This is what comes straight from my heart:

Thank you Jennifer, Valerie, and Steve!
Thank you for believing in me and pushing my intellectual boundaries.
I could not have done this without you.

Thank you Emmanuel and Danine!
Thank you for caring about the Interdisciplinary PhD program and about me.

Thank you Joan!
Thank you Jay and Wayne!
Thank you Colleen, Jackie, and Danielle, and everyone at CNS!
Thank you Andrew and Krista, and all of SGS!
Thank you Jim!

Thank you all for your support, your brilliance, and your kindness.
Thank you and Memorial for this amazing experience!

Thank you Mutti and Papi!
Thank you Robert!
Thank you for being with me, always. I love you so.
Thank you Marita and Thea!
Thank you Dianne, Tim, and Bevin!
I love you, too.

PS: Full names read Dr. Jennifer Dyer, Dr. Valerie Legge, Dr. Stephen Crocker, Dr. Emmanuel Haven, Dr. Danine Farquharson, Joan Ritcey, Dr. Jay Foster, Dr. Wayne Fife, Colleen Field, Jackie Hillier, Danielle Gillespie, Andrew Kim, Krista Shea, James Baird, Birgit Schneider, Günter Schneider, Robert Barmeier, Marita Grimke, Thea Skibbe, Dianne Anderson, Tim Anderson, and Bevin LeDrew. CNS and SGS stand for the Centre for Newfoundland Studies and the School of Graduate Studies at Memorial University.

Table of Contents

Abstract iii

Acknowledgements iv

Table of Contents v

List of Illustrations viii

Chapter One: Introduction 1

1.1 Inspiration 1
1.2 Objectives 2
1.3 Significance 5
1.4 Methodology 7
1.5 Content Overview 10

Chapter Two: On Ambivalence 19

2.1 Origins: Bleuler, Plato, and the Two Strong Sides 20
2.2 The Triumph of Ambivalence 22
2.3 Against the Ambiguity of Ambivalence 24
2.4 The Creative Potential of Ambivalence 33
2.5 Cultural Ambivalence as a Research Lens 41

Chapter Three:
Advocating and Opposing Settlement in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries 44

3.1 On the European Colonization of Newfoundland 45
3.2 Two-fold Ambivalence From Britain 48
3.3 The Ambivalence towards Settlement at Work: Manifestations and Effects 55
3.4 Conclusion 70

Chapter Four:
Autonomy and Dependence in Modern Outports 72

4.1 The Concepts of Autonomy and Dependence 73
4.2 The Modern Outport 74
4.3 Autonomy and Dependence in Modern Outports 79
4.4 Double-Layered Ambivalence 84
4.5 The Autonomy-Dependence Ambivalence at Work in the Local Culture 89
4.6 Correlations with the British Ambivalence towards Settlement 94
4.7 Conclusion 95

Chapter Five:
Modernization and Cultural Preservation in Post-Confederation Newfoundland 97

5.1 The Winding Road to Confederation 97
5.2 On Modernization and Tradition 101
5.3 The Smallwood Government's Ambivalent Approach 103
5.4 Two Types of Ambivalence at Memorial University 109
5.5 The Ambivalence of Newfoundlanders 111
5.6 Effects of the Ambivalence of Modernization and Cultural Preservation 117
5.7 Correlations with Instances of Cultural Ambivalence Studied in Previous Chapters 128
5.8 Conclusion 130

Chapter Six:
Newfoundlanders and the Land: Affection and Abuse 131

6.1 The Role of the Frontier 132
6.2 Contempt for and Abuse of the Land 134
6.3 Affection for the Land 144
6.4 Collective Ambivalence Towards the Land 151
6.5 The Affection-Abuse Ambivalence at Work in the Local Culture 154
6.6 Correlations with Instances of Cultural Ambivalence Studied in Previous Chapters 163
6.7 Conclusion 166

Chapter Seven:
Settler Newfoundlanders as Colonizers and (Post)Colonial Subjects 169

7.1 The Concept of Settler Colonialism Revisited 171
7.2 Settler Newfoundlanders as Colonizers 172
7.3 Settler Newfoundlanders as (Post)Colonial Subjects 174
7.4 Colonial Ambivalence 189
7.5 Expressions and Effects: The Colonial Ambivalence at Work 193
7.6 Correlations with Instances of Cultural Ambivalence Studied in Previous Chapters 201
7.7 Conclusion 205

Chapter Eight:
The Island of Newfoundland as Centre and Periphery and the Web of Cultural Ambivalence 207

8.1 A Hotspot in Western History 208
8.2 Socioeconomic Marginality 213
8.3 Centre-Periphery Ambivalence 217
8.4 The Centre-Periphery Ambivalence at Work in the Local Culture 222
8.5 Correlations with Instances of Cultural Ambivalence Studied in Previous Chapters 230
8.6 The Web of Cultural Ambivalence 235
8.7 Conclusion 240

Chapter Nine: Conclusion 244
9.1 My Analytical Lens 245
9.2 A Shaping Force of Culture 246
9.3 Enhanced Agency and Creativity 251
9.4 New Views on Old Myths 253
9.5 Newfoundland Time 256
9.6 Enhanced Solidarities? 259
9.7 Closing Remarks 264

Bibliography 266

Appendix 1: 300
Seasonal Variations of the Experience of Autonomy-Dependence Ambivalence in Modern Outports
A1.1 The Economic Sector 300
A1.2 The Societal Sector 303
A1.3 The Cumulative Experience 305

Appendix 2:
List of Correlations Between Individual Cases of Cultural Ambivalence 308

Illustrations

Figure 4.1: Inshore fisherman Walter Bowen from Red Cliff, Bonavista Bay; screenshots from a 1964 *Land and Sea* episode 80

Figure 5.1: Jean Claude Roy: *Francois* (2009) 113

Figure 5.2: Christopher Pratt: *Boys Dipping Capelin (*1965) and *House in August* (1969) 120

Figure 5.3: Images from *Newfoundland: Canada's Happy Province* (1966) 121

Figure 5.4: Christoper Pratt: *Breakwater (*1976) and excerpt from *Deer Lake: Junction Brook Memorial* (1999) 121

Figure 6.1: Gerald Squires: Anatomic landscape; *Silent Witness* (1991), *Uprooted* (1989), *White Rocks at Cape Broyle* (1989) 148

Figure 6.2: Gerald Squires: Merging of figures and land; works from the *Boatman Series* (1976) and the *Cassandra Series* (1981) 148

Figure 6.3: Ron Hynes radiating love for Newfoundland while singing the chorus of *Back Home on the Island* during a 1978 television performance 150

Figure 6.4: *Dream Homes on Gravel Pits*; Newfoundland country homes on large cleared and filled lots 158

Figure 6.5: *You Better Get Lost In The Right Direction* (2024); the author's visual interpretation of conflicting land-related Newfoundland experiences 159

Figure 7.1: Former logo of the Wenner-Gren Foundation with othering imagery and the heading of a Newfoundland-related publication funded by the foundation 182

Figure 7.2: *colonizeR/D* (artwork by the author, 2022); visual interpretation of the intertwining of colonizer and colonized affairs in global and domestic spheres 193

Figure 7.3: Government NL tourism advertisements stereotyping rural Newfoundland 196

Figure 8.1: Gander International Lounge 211

Figure 8.2: Visualizations of transatlantic subsea cables in 1866 and 2016 216

Figure 8.3: Allegorical representation of Newfoundland through time; mural by Harold B. Goodridge in the Confederation Building lobby 218

Figure 8.4: *Welcome to Vinland*; sign on Highway 430 North to L'Anse aux Meadows 219

Figure 8.5: *The Newfoundland Centred World*; map on Signal Hill 223

Figure 8.6: Marilyn Koop: *Map of the World* (1988) 226

Figure 8.7: The web of cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland 236

Figure A1.3: Breakdown of the relative annual variations of the cumulative experience of autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports 306

Chapter One:
Introduction

1.1 Inspiration

When I first came to Newfoundland for an artist residency at the Pouch Cove Foundation in the spring of 2007, I was spellbound by the wildness of the place, its beauty and its menace, its sublimity. A city dweller lured into hiking by curiosity and the lack of a vehicle, adrenaline was pumped into my veins each time a bend opened the view on a gulch garnished with icicles, a turquoise cascade over granite rocks, or the ocean stretching behind cliffs washed with snow-white surge. Resting on a juniper bed on a headland in May, the rays of a pale sun warming my face, an iceberg floating below and an eagle circling above, my excitement was crowned with happiness. I felt both grounded and detached, at the centre of the action and removed from everything I had known.

Soon, I was also captivated by the history and culture the place was breathing. Coming from a highly industrialized and landlocked region in Europe, I was fascinated by the long tradition of the Atlantic fishery and the outport culture it entailed. However, at the time, the cod moratorium had already been in force for fifteen years, and there was no ignoring of resource depletion and socioeconomic crisis. The Newfoundlanders I met were, to an overwhelming majority, warm, generous, and humorous. Yet, many also radiated the prudence and gravity of people familiar with struggle, be it due to recent developments or as part of their heritage. The end of the commercial cod fishery in Newfoundland has clearly figured as a disaster for many, but life with the Atlantic fishery had never been easy or abundant to begin with. Another early observation that stuck with me was the coexistence of settler Newfoundlanders' dearness of their "Old World" heritage – reflected in stories, songs, place names, material culture, and cuisine – and a strong regionalism that stressed the cultural distinctness of the place.

Returning to Newfoundland for artist residencies in different parts of the island, I was surprised time and again by learning about the island's central role in a series of far-reaching historical events: the completion of the encircling of the globe by humankind marked by the encounter between Indigenous and Norse people near today's L'Anse aux Meadows; the reception of the first transatlantic telegraph and radio signals in Heart's Content and on Signal

Hill, respectively; the first non-stop transatlantic flight from St. John's to Connemara, Ireland; and the conclusion of the Atlantic Charter off Ship Harbour in Placentia Bay. Newfoundland's relevance within world history appeared at odds with its felt remoteness, as seen from Europe, and its location at the very eastern edge of North America. Of course, in earlier times, the island's geographical position between continents had very different implications than it has today. The phenomenon of the place being both central and peripheral will be analyzed in detail in Chapter Eight. When I first realized it, the juxtaposition of centrality and remoteness augmented my sense of being at the centre of things, yet away from it all.

My Newfoundland experiences continued to resonate with me while I was visiting other parts of the globe. Captivated by the baffling yet curiosity- and creativity-stimulating tension inherent to my conflicting observations on the island, I eventually wondered whether they were manifestations of a multilayered ambivalence. This study is inspired by my early Newfoundland experiences and the desire to better understand the place and its special appeal to me through further exploration of this hypothesis.

The case study presented here is concerned with the local settler culture and society as the locus of the dominant discourse prompting my original experiences. Accordingly, my focus is on the island part of the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador, where the large majority of the local settler population resides. Extending the analysis to Labrador with its distinctly different historical, cultural, and political settings would no doubt be a rewarding field for future research.

Please note that because this study is entirely about *settler* Newfoundland culture and society, I will only make this explicit in selected contexts (and sometimes in brackets). When unspecified, Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders here refer to the local settler society and population. Of course, I hope that my analysis will be of interest to all Newfoundlanders and everyone concerned with the place.

1.2 Objectives

My objective in writing this thesis is two-fold. First, I aim to establish ambivalence as a clear concept and broadly applicable research lens capable of opening alternative lines of interpretation and revealing latent creative potentialities, where impasses of understanding or

daunting prospects have yet limited fruitful research. Second, by applying that lens to Newfoundland as a case study, I aim to enrich and revalue the image and understanding of the place by reinterpreting selected contexts bearing cultural and social tensions as nodes in a potentially creative web of cultural ambivalence. Moreover, by re-reading key aspects of Newfoundland culture and society through the lens of ambivalence, I expect to uncover hitherto overlooked or underappreciated intersections of the histories of the place. In terms of research questions, the project asks what a meaningful and productive understanding of ambivalence looks like and if and how it can be used to develop a better understanding of settler Newfoundland culture.

My outsider's view is both boon and bane in this endeavour. While it allows me to discern phenomena and correlations that insiders might overlook or deem unremarkable, it requires addressing complex and sometimes sensitive matters I am neither part of nor intimate with. Moreover, the broad scope of the project implies that it touches on virtually all aspects of the place and its cultural, political, and historical embedding. As a consequence, this study is necessarily non-exhaustive. However, by prompting new interpretations, connections, and histories, it does enrich the image and understanding of the place. In doing so, I believe that it has the potential to spark discussions and challenge routines.

At the roots of my objective to establish ambivalence as a clear concept and meaningful research lens is the observation that the notion is deployed profusely across contexts and disciplines. As a consequence of the heterogeneous understanding, together with an often casual use, ambivalence has acquired an air of vagueness and actual confusion. For instance, interchangeable use of ambivalence and ambiguity is common, and, at times, ambivalence is applied to merely denote uncertainty. Moreover, associations of ambivalence with indifference or indecision have induced a pejorative connotation in a world that treasures ambition and efficiency. To overcome this confusion and disregard, and to establish the concept as a distinctive and potentially creative idea and analytical device, a comprehensive study of ambivalence is provided. Drawing on the etymology of the term and taking selected applications from the humanities and social sciences into account, I propose a concise for ambivalence: ambivalence is what arises if two opposing values or concepts are of simultaneous relevance for an individual or within a collective, a situation, or a structure. As we will see, this makes dynamic tension a central element of ambivalence. What I call “cultural ambivalence” are the non-individual

applications of the concept, that is, the ambivalence of collectives, structures, and situations. The narrow set of conditions for ambivalence to arise allows for a distinction of ambivalence from other concepts with which it is at times conflated, such as ambiguity, indecision, or hybridity, as well as the establishment of its overlap with creativity. Moreover, it enables me to develop an understanding of the process of ambivalence at work. The concise definition of the concept, the appreciation of its creative potential, and a tangible idea of its workings then combine to establish ambivalence as a research lens that is highly effective for identifying and analyzing the simultaneous relevance of opposing values within the clutter and complexity of reality.

Cultural ambivalence is put to the test as an analytical device by applying it to settler Newfoundland society and culture as a case study. The objective is to open up alternative viewing angles and alleys of understanding for a series of charged contexts and, by tracing correlations between them, the place more generally. Contexts across fields and time studied through the lens of ambivalence include: conflicting mindsets of British stakeholders regarding settlement in Newfoundland in early-modern times; the socioeconomic ecology of autonomy and dependence in nineteenth-century outports; concurrent efforts of modernization and cultural preservation in post-confederation Newfoundland; the abusive exploitation of an otherwise beloved homeland and environment; and conflicting aspects of settler identities as both colonizers and (post)colonial subjects. The spectrum is complemented and completed by analyzing the place's concurrent qualities as centre and periphery with regard to economic, sociocultural, and geopolitical perspectives, thereby illuminating and embedding the observation that first startled me about the place.

In sum, this study seeks to demonstrate that the analysis stimulated by the lens of cultural ambivalence allows for the reinterpretation of a wide range of tension-filled historical and cultural discrepancies or anomalies as well as the reassessment of distributions of power, agency, and creativity. Moreover, by assembling a collection of otherwise little related contexts under the umbrella of cultural ambivalence, it traces unrecognized correlations between them. The result is the emergence of a highly interconnected web of cultural ambivalence, which can be expected to advance our understanding of as yet under-addressed matters within and across individual ambivalent domains and to add an iridescent ambivalent facet to the image of the place. Finally, by presenting cultural ambivalence as an immensely fruitful lens for studying Newfoundland, this study seeks to establish the concept as a potent analytical device more generally.

1.3 Significance

The analysis in this thesis creates new insights within conceptual as well as historical domains and suggests leverage points for addressing pressing contemporary matters. The notion of ambivalence – once tied to psychological studies or psychiatric assessments – has long spread beyond the realm of psychiatry and psychology and is regularly used to characterize not only the mindsets of individuals but collectives, structures, and situations as well. However, to my knowledge, this expansion has, so far, not been thoroughly theorized. The present study closes this gap. Furthermore, the proposal of a concise definition facilitates the distinction of ambivalence from concepts it is often conflated with, as, for instance, ambiguity or indifference, and allows for its conceptual association with others, such as paradox and aporia. Not only does this provide ambivalence with enhanced clarity, it also enables me to develop its overlap with creativity. A remarkable finding in itself, the establishment of ambivalence's substantial creative potential also provides the concept with a solid desirable tenor. The promise of creativity and productivity in the context of ambivalence, together with the illustration of how we can imagine their actualization, enhance our motivation and capacity to (re)address tension-filled, stalled matters. Drawing on the combination of clarity, appreciation, and the consolidation of the concept's expansion to contexts beyond the individual, cultural ambivalence is developed as a potent and widely applicable research lens.

Applying that lens to settler Newfoundland as a case study, a number of contexts that are central to the place's history, society, and culture are reinterpreted with a focus on cultural ambivalence. According to our definition of ambivalence, the analysis within each domain begins with scrutinizing the simultaneous relevance of opposing values or concepts at play. Once we have ascertained that ambivalence is a meaningful lens for the context at hand, its impact on the local culture and society are exposed. Reinterpreting context-related phenomena as expressions or effects of cultural ambivalence and availing of our capacity of imagining ambivalence at work, we can shed new light on several intensely studied fields, like the settling of Newfoundland, outport culture, post-confederation politics, or Newfoundlanders' complicated relationship with the land. Two hitherto less attended yet topical ambivalent contexts are the complex colonial position of settler Newfoundlanders and the centre-periphery iridescence of the place.

The awareness of ambivalence's creative potential fosters the recognition and appreciation of positive effects in past ambivalent matters besides more problematic ones and encourages developing creative strategies to tackle contemporary issues involving cultural ambivalence. Key findings include the undermining of allegedly demarcated realms of agency and power in both colonial and postcolonial settings in Newfoundland and the exposure of new modes of engagement as well as an unexpected richness of creative responses to economic and societal impasses. Moreover, ambivalence is found to debunk local myths, such as the constant neglect of Newfoundland interests and the recurrent failure of local politics, while providing tropes like deep conservatism and a distinct capacity for endurance with actual content.[2]

One rung up on the interpretive ladder, the identification of cultural ambivalence across an otherwise rather eclectic collection of contexts allows for the joint analysis of processes and phenomena that have not been studied in this constellation before. The correlations that can be traced among individual instances of cultural ambivalence form a complex and rhizomatic web that provides anomalous, inconsistent, or peculiar syndromes and mindsets with enhanced cultural interconnectivity, embedding, and meaning. In sum, these correlations, together with the appreciation of the productive effects of specific ambivalent contexts and the creative potential of ambivalence in general, engender a different perceptual palette that adds a coherent and colourful facet to the picture of a place that is otherwise painted in more sombre tones of crisis and anomaly.

Finally, by establishing cultural ambivalence as a potent analytical lens for Newfoundland culture, this thesis encourages related research in other places and contexts as well. Notably, the exposure in Chapter Eight that the island's situation between the continents, together with its colonial history can be considered as the sources of cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland commends pointing that lens at other (post)colonial locales within complex geographic settings. While the insights to be gained from studying any place or context with a focus on cultural ambivalence will be as specific as the object of study, there is a practical benefit which is common to all. Recognizing an ill-defined or irritating tension as rooted in the well-defined and potentially creative condition of cultural ambivalence, I suggest, helps overcome mechanisms of deferral or avoidance and encourages facing and tackling otherwise neglected issues.

[2] Please note that I am using the term “myth” in the sense of a narrative, statement, or belief that comes widely unquestioned and unexplained.

In brief, the project's originality lies in establishing a widely underestimated concept as a productive interdisciplinary research lens and applying it to Newfoundland society and culture to engender more accurate and fruitful understandings. In the process, new light is shed on a variety of charged contexts, some of which are, to my knowledge, put to scholarly scrutiny for the first (like settler Newfoundlanders' position as (post)colonial subjects and the island's centre-periphery ambivalence). Moreover, assembling a variety of contexts not studied in this constellation before under the umbrella of cultural ambivalence allows me to identify correlations that have hitherto gone unnoticed. The resulting web provides a new explanatory grid and develops a potentially creative facet of the place. In the content overview in section 1.5, I will situate the thesis and its findings within existing scholarship on Newfoundland.

1.4 Methodology

Following a distinctly interdisciplinary approach, this thesis does not rely on a single or homogeneous theoretical framework. Rather, in the spirit of Foucault (1994), who recommended his works to be “a kind of 'tool-box' that others can browse for an instrument to be used for whatever they deem it fit within their own field” (523, translation is mine), I conceive theory as a cross-disciplinary methodological kit from which I choose the appropriate intellectual devices for my purposes. Thus drawing on sociology, philosophy, anthropology, and postcolonial studies, the approaches I deploy include problematization, abductive reasoning, historical genealogy, reassembling the social, and transversality. What unites these modes of thought is their capacity to open alternative realms of reasoning and understanding by radically questioning or actively ignoring existing explanatory systems, focusing on relations rather than isolated truths, and fundamentally appreciating contingencies. This tenor is imperative for a research project that attempts to reshuffle both the conceptual and interpretive packs by applying an undervalued concept (ambivalence) to re-map a jagged terrain (selected charged and purportedly anomalous domains within Newfoundland history and culture) in order to open new axes of interpretation and understanding and reveal unexpected creative potentialities.

My strategy of identifying and applying the concept of ambivalence to reinterpret a number of puzzling and, at first glance, largely unrelated scenarios is a case in point for abductive reasoning, a non-deductive process of generating explanatory hypotheses introduced

by Charles Sanders Peirce. Abduction avails of plausibility and efficiency to introduce an idea that is originally external to the observed phenomenon. In Peirce's own words: "The surprising fact C is observed/But if A were true, C would be a matter of course/Hence, there is reason to suppose that A is true" (quoted in Bradley 2009, 59). The procedure is, in principle, open-ended in the sense that its repeated application may lead to a continued revision of the hypothesis in the light of new observations (Bradley 2009). These characterizations nicely reflect the process of how I first hypothesized, then analyzed and gradually substantiated the significance of ambivalence within the society and culture of Newfoundland. It also matches the observation that my analysis is, in principle, never finalized, although – from the point where I had identified six different ambivalent contexts across time – the open-endedness was eventually reflected in constant (if unexhaustive) refinement rather than major revisions of my basic assumption.

Methods-wise, my research is based on discourse analysis and a hermeneutic approach to the process of understanding as a dialogic, practical, and situated activity (Malpas 2022). Besides relying on scholarly sources, I also draw on selected literary and educational works, as well as media sources. As postcolonial literary studies have long demonstrated, novels and poems both mirror and shape the conception of a place, and the same holds for publications more generally, be they educational, journalistic, artistic, or promotional.

***

The project's interdisciplinarity, as well as its focus on relations, is first exemplified in the analysis of ambivalence, including tracing its origins in psychiatry and the expansion into the sociocultural realm, the proposal of a clear and concise definition, and the motivation of its creative potential. The paradigm shift from ambivalence as a phenomenon experienced by an individual to a quality inherent to situations, structures, or collectives is administered by taking into account how selected authors use the notion across disciplines. Here, a focus is on sociology as a pioneering discipline for the application of ambivalence to non-individual entities (Bauman 1991; Merton 1976). Ambivalence beyond the individual is what I call "cultural ambivalence," with "culture" conceived in its most general understanding as "a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general" (Williams 2015, 52) in order to maximize the conceptual range. The narrow set of necessary conditions for both individual and cultural ambivalence to arise that I propose (the presence of two opposing values, their simultaneity, and their relevance) allows for the clear distinction of ambivalence from other notions such as

ambiguity, indecision, or hybridity as well as for its association with paradox, dialectics, and aporia. This association then serves as the foundation for my argument for ambivalence's creative potential because it allows me to establish an actual overlap with selected more recent approaches to creativity.

Bringing together understandings of ambivalence from across disciplines and comparing the concept to other notions, one might argue that I am practising what Nietzsche calls “the equation of unequal things” (quoted in Stoler 2016, 14). However, I do not equalize the different notions and understandings but expose differences as much as similarities by transcending traditional boundaries between disciplines and epistemologies. This stance is also at the heart of transversality, a term coined by Pierre-Félix Guattari to refer to methodologies that search for the new not by critiquing the old but by radically questioning the barriers that supported it (Tuck and McKenzie 2014).

The so-inspired and defined concept of cultural ambivalence is then applied as a research lens through which I study Newfoundland society and culture. Attempting to shed new light on sociocultural phenomena that span both time and contexts may appear unorthodox. Yet, meticulously tracing an idea or concept across contexts and taking contingencies into account for making sense of uneven observations is a core strategy of Foucauldian genealogical analysis (Gutting and Oksala 2018). Moreover, by ignoring disciplinary and contextual barriers, it is another application of transversal thinking. Finally, roaming freely across cultural spheres reflects the effort to transcend the idea of a confined set of social ties in favour of looking for traceable associations between human and non-human actors in order to “reassemble the social,” as advocated by Bruno Latour's Actor-Network-Theory (ANT, 2005). In fact, the act of reassembling is imperative for research like mine, which seeks to fathom the creative potential of scenarios that are commonly considered as sources of sociocultural stress yet otherwise little related, including British stakeholders' ambivalence regarding settlement in Newfoundland, the traditional outport economy reflected in a cashless credit system named “truck,” or the Smallwood government's uneven politics of “modernization” and preservation. ANT moreover recognizes controversies as particularly rich sources of study, a point that resonates with my focus on cultural ambivalence as a condition inherent to charged or tension-filled scenarios. In brief, the cross-temporal and cross-contextual foraging for lessons to be learned from cultural ambivalence is another deeply interdisciplinary methodological strategy (besides the

interdisciplinary approach to ambivalence itself), which allows for the dispensation of clichés and transmitted fallacies in favour of new vantage points and transversal paths of reasoning.

In the context of studying the ambivalent position of the collective of settler Newfoundlanders as colonizers and (post)colonial subjects, I draw on a series of ideas and approaches from postcolonial and settler colonial studies. They include variations of the concept of the Other (Ashcroft et al. 2013; Veracini 2010; Wolfe 1999), the malleable imperial construct of “whiteness” (Mizutani 2011; Stoler 2010), literary reterritorialization of a lost or alienated environment (Dreese 2002), ahistoricity or cultural freezing in time (Memmi 2003; Smith 1999), self-othering (Mocan 2022), and the impossibility of colonial binaries (Coulthard 2014; Said 1996; Smith 1999; Taylor 2018; Troutt Powell 2003). The Other, “whiteness,” and reterritorialization figure in the establishment of settler Newfoundlanders' position as (post)colonial subjects, while cultural freezing and self-othering are presented as manifestations of their ambivalent colonial role. Challenges of colonizer-colonized binaries in various imperial contexts by other authors substantiate my argument of the related ambivalence in settler Newfoundland. At the same time, my analysis adds another tune to the scholarly canon on post- or neocolonial ambivalence (see, e.g. Caldwell 2017; Taylor 2018; Troutt Powell 2003).

Naturally, I also avail myself of my scientific background, although there is nothing quantitative to this study. What I take from my education as a physicist, besides rigorous scrutiny and the capacity for systematic investigation, is the general harbouring of doubt regarding a hypothesis until sufficient evidence is provided to sustain it. This implies the ability to detect findings that challenge my claims and the willingness to embrace them. Finally, I use a number of visuals of varying documentary and artistic character to illustrate or augment selected arguments and findings. Adding a sensory element to the written text will, I hope, upgrade the experience of the study and deepen its impression.

1.5 Content Overview

This thesis comprises nine chapters. A comprehensive study of the concept of ambivalence in Chapter Two is followed by a case study on Newfoundland culture across contexts and time in Chapters Three to Eight that puts ambivalence as a research lens to the test. The conclusion in Chapter Nine provides a synopsis and bundles key findings from across chapters to derive some more speculative observations and suggest areas for future research.

Chapter Two "On Ambivalence" is dedicated to a comprehensive assessment of the concept of ambivalence, the exposure of its creative potential, and its establishment as a cultural research lens. In order to develop how ambivalence is conceived and applied in this thesis, I first trace the term's origins in psychiatry and its etymology before I study the (heterogeneous) application of the concept across disciplines as well as its expansion from individual to cultural contexts. Taking the information gathered into account, I then propose a narrow set of necessary conditions for ambivalence to arise. This allows me to flesh out our understanding of ambivalence by distinguishing it from notions with which it is not uncommonly conflated, such as indifference, indecision, hybridity, and ambiguity. Comparing it with paradox, dialectics, and janusian thinking reveals interesting parallels. With the latter three concepts figuring in different approaches to creativity, an actual overlap of the creative process and ambivalence can be exposed. Ambivalence's creative potential is rendered tangible by providing different illustrations of how to imagine the condition and phenomenon at work. Equipped with a rich yet clear understanding of the concept of ambivalence and its potentialities, Chapter Two concludes with considerations on research lenses more generally and the prism of cultural ambivalence as a device for qualitative research in particular. The chapter is conceived as a comprehensive archive, on which I can draw in the following chapters without the need to reiterate more abstract considerations about our understanding of the concept and process of ambivalence.

Chapters Three to Eight apply the research lens of cultural ambivalence to Newfoundland as a case study. Five of the six chapters trace and study culturally ambivalent scenarios from across Newfoundland's history, with two arguably being of particular momentum today. These historical contexts have been the subject of analysis before, if with different focuses, which is how they caught my attention when I pointed the lens of cultural ambivalence at the local discourse. The sixth case of cultural ambivalence – the island of Newfoundland as both centre and periphery – is less era-specific yet certainly strongly palpable today. It is related to the Newfoundland experience that first startled me. It now brings my study full circle.

In each chapter of the case study, extensive scrutiny is applied to determine whether the context under consideration can indeed be understood as an instance of cultural ambivalence, as per the definition proposed in Chapter Two. To this end, I assess the presence of two context-

specific opposing concepts or values within local collectives, institutions, or situations. In the second step, their simultaneous relevance is probed. Once ambivalence is established as a meaningful focus for the context at hand, its role as a shaping force of culture is established by identifying and analyzing related manifestations and effects. In the process, new planes of reasoning open up, and allegedly anomalous developments, tendencies, or mindsets are provided with enhanced contextuality and meaning.

Chapter Three studies the ambivalence towards European settlement in Newfoundland by two British stakeholders – the Crown and the West Country merchants – in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[3] It begins with a brief review of the commonly accepted narrative of Newfoundland's colonization from Europe. Exposing a number of early colonial particularities facilitates the subsequent analysis of why the two stakeholder groups had strong reasons for both opposing and advocating settlement on the island. On the one hand, Newfoundland's character as a seasonal fishing station bore essential benefits for both parties regarding political and economic control. Moreover, it secured the availability of able seamen for the Navy. On the other hand, successful claims of this fishing station against European competitors and the optimization of commercial benefits required settlement on the island (Cadigan 2009a; Matthews 1973). The ambivalence inherent to the simultaneous relevance of these opposing positions towards settlement is then shown to be at work by reviewing the content and impact of central contemporary British legislation for Newfoundland. The legislative tangle it represented, together with a number of its effects – like a surprisingly efficient system of governance on the island and a specific ambivalence of Newfoundlanders towards Britain that exceeded typical settler colonial relations, among others – then allow me to argue for enhanced spaces of agency on the Newfoundland side of the colonial relations. Following a more speculative line of thought, local tropes like endurance and conservatism are provided with enhanced logic when viewed through the lens of ambivalence.

The British ambivalence towards settlement in Newfoundland has been studied before (Bannister 2003b; Cadigan 2009a; Matthews 1973). However, it has not been related to other manifestations of ambivalence, let alone seen in the context of an encompassing web of ambivalence in Newfoundland. Moreover, the ambivalence towards settling on the island has

[3] The West Country merchants were the merchant firms from the southwest of England that instantiated and operated the Newfoundland fishery at the time.

regularly been viewed as a downside alone, fostering neglect and impeding allegedly desirable developments in the local economy and society. The current study challenges this view and enriches our understanding by relating the British ambivalence to productive processes and the undermining of allegedly immutable power hierarchies.

The simultaneous relevance of autonomy and dependence in modern outports is the subject of Chapter Four. The chapter begins with outlining the evolution of Newfoundland's small fishing villages in order to derive the central characteristics of what I call the modern variant as the locus of particularly distinct experiences of autonomy and dependence when compared to earlier configurations in Newfoundland or rural maritime contexts more generally. After a brief review of the concepts of autonomy and dependence, concrete periods and contexts bearing related experiences in the economic and societal realms of modern outport life are identified. Economically, the fishing families' autonomy in the production of salted cod was contrasted by their dependence on the local merchant for the trading of saltfish and the provision of essential supplies that could not be produced locally (e.g. Cadigan 1995; Handcock 1989; Pope 2004). A similar tension existed between the positive freedom of outporters regarding sociocultural affairs within their community and their dependence and powerlessness with respect to external processes and policies. Analyzing the simultaneous relevance of the two opposite concepts in these two realms and combining the results, a dynamic, double-layered climate of ambivalence of autonomy and dependence is exposed. Manifestations and effects that show the ambivalence at work as a shaping force of culture include the development of a distinct idiom and the successful tackling of social conflicts, thus highlighting often underrated capacities for agency and creativity in modern outports. Probing correlations with the early modern British ambivalence towards settlement, I find that it has fostered the ambivalence of autonomy and dependence in Newfoundland outports. The chapter concludes by acknowledging the different dynamics by which the British ambivalence towards settlement and the autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports facilitated agency and creativity on the island.[4]

[4] Please note that I use the hyphen rather than the slash in my terminology of ambivalence ("autonomy-dependence" rather than "autonomy/dependence"), as it symbolizes a concurrence rather than two possibilities or options, a tension rather than a divide. This relational implication of the hyphen has also been employed in postcolonial studies in the form of the "Indigene-colonizer hyphen" (Jones and Jenkins 2022) to signify the observation that the antagonistic positions of the colonizer and the Indigene are necessarily connected.

The concurrence of autonomy and dependence in Newfoundland outports has been problematized by a number of authors before (Cadigan 2009a; Matthews 1973; Neary 1988; Pope 2004; Story 1969). Gerald Sider (1986) explicitly addresses the socioeconomic tensions created by this concurrence, thus coming close to interpreting it as a case of cultural ambivalence in our understanding. Stopping short in doing so, however, his analysis, like the other studies, largely misses its creative implications as well as the interconnectedness with other ambivalent contexts.

Chapter Five is dedicated to analyzing the ambivalence of modernization and cultural preservation in the era of Joseph R. Smallwood's twenty-three-year-long tenure as premier of the new Canadian province. As a prerequisite and backdrop for my arguments, I first outline selected political and economic developments along the winding road to confederation and clarify how I understand and use the concepts of modernization and tradition. I then turn to identifying and analyzing different realms exhibiting conflicting efforts of modernization and the preservation of traditional outport culture, which was expected to be eroded in the wake of that modernization. These realms include the Smallwood government's ambivalent political approach, two different types of ambivalence at Memorial University, and the collective ambivalence of Newfoundlanders who both resisted and embraced modernization along Canadian blueprints. Each ambivalent realm is shown to have been shaped by the modernization-preservation ambivalence by presenting specific manifestations, such as the emergence of a “capricious fishery” (Neary 1980), a “tandem” approach (Webb 2015, 37) to Newfoundland speech, or rural Newfoundlanders' love-hate relationship with outport culture, among others. Developments within the local culture and society at large that were spurred by the multilayered ambivalence include the emergence of the Newfoundland Studies Movement, a particularly strong relation between the university and the people, the entrenchment of the urban/rural divide, and specific effects of ill-conceived measures of social engineering.

The simultaneity of the counteracting efforts of modernization and cultural preservation in post-confederation Newfoundland has been described and studied before (e.g. House 2018; Neary 1980; Webb 2015). Similarly, the side-by-side of modern and traditional elements in rural Newfoundlanders' lives has not gone unnoticed (Pocius 1991). However, only by explicitly acknowledging the two contrasting aspects as inducing a case of cultural ambivalence can creative developments in the era, such as the Newfoundland Studies Movement, the Newfoundland Cultural Revival, and the emergence of Memorial as a “people's university,” be

appreciated as outcomes of that ambivalence. Furthermore, the ambivalence of modernization and preservation is shown to be tightly interlocked causally and conceptually with the instances of cultural ambivalence studied in Chapters Three and Four, thus providing all three of them with enhanced logic and contextuality.

Looking at contemporary Newfoundland, two ambivalent contexts figure particularly prominent in the local society and culture. This is not meant to obscure their local history nor to belittle contemporary resonances of the other cases of cultural ambivalence. Rather, it refers to the intensity and societal relevance of these two instances of cultural ambivalence today. One is the tension between the affection for and often radical exploitation of the land as home, resource, or environment, which is addressed in Chapter Six. Whereas this ambivalence is certainly not unique to Newfoundland, it appears to be of particular momentum here. After addressing how the proximity of the frontier figures within conceptions of and relations with the physical land and how this applies to Newfoundland, I turn to exposing the presence of abusive practices and tendencies with regard to the physical environment in Newfoundland. Here, I include institutional abuse of the land based on policies of the provincial government and selected agencies, besides collective acts and dispositions. The reason is that these institutions are directly or indirectly elected by the people and their operations can, hence, be considered to reflect leading trends within the local society. The evidence I provide for Newfoundlanders' affection for the land spans scholarly and creative expressions as well as specific sociocultural trends. After arguing that affection for and abuse of the land are both relevant in Newfoundland on a collective level today, I present various land-related practices and conceptions that reflect the resulting affection-abuse ambivalence, including "dream homes on gravel pits," a "schizoid petroculture" (Polack 2017), and a "symbiotic ideology" (Stoddart and Graham 2018). Finally, the collective affection-abuse ambivalence towards the land is found to be well integrated into the web of cultural ambivalence I am weaving. I conclude the chapter by discussing how the steep moral hierarchy of the concepts of affection and abuse compromises the direct creative potential of this case of cultural ambivalence without diminishing its potency for propelling the reassessment of related issues.

The profusion of expressions of both affection for and abuse of the environment in Newfoundland has been noted before, but so far they have left scholars and other observers puzzled (Fusco 2007b; Kennedy 2010; Stoddart and Graham 2018). The lens of cultural

ambivalence provides the supposedly anomalous scenario with an inner rationale. Moreover, my analysis encourages readdressing the underdevelopment of environmentalism in Newfoundland as well as the ultimate dismissal of local narratives of victimization.

Chapter Seven is dedicated to the analysis of the other case of cultural ambivalence that is of particular momentum today. It addresses settler Newfoundlanders' conflicting positions as colonizers and (post)colonial subjects. After a brief review of the concept of settler colonialism, I draw from the outline of the settling of Newfoundland given in Chapter Three for a basic redevelopment of settler Newfoundlanders' position as colonizers. An obvious truth, this point is reiterated in the light of tendencies of denial, which – spurred by “irregularities” in the colonization process – have kept reemerging in Newfoundland (Goldie 1989). The (post)colonial character of settler Newfoundland has been acknowledged with respect to different aspects and phenomena by various authors (e.g. Chafe 2008; Crocker 2000; Crocker 2016; Kennedy 2010; Lodge 1939; Manning 2018; Neary 1980). The position of settler Newfoundlanders as (post)colonial subjects, however, is mostly unrecognized. I systematically develop that position by demonstrating that they have been subjected to central elements of metropolitan colonialism, like the exposure to distant authorities and racialization, while equally pointing out that physical violence was not at play. Moreover, I refer to a number of mindsets and practices in settler Newfoundland today that have been recognized as typical responses to the colonial experience, such as the propensity for authoritarian leadership and literary reterritorialization, among others. Once both opposing colonial positions are established, their simultaneous relevance follows from their centrality for questions of identity and the relevance of colonialism in the contemporary discourse in Newfoundland, Canada, and beyond. The colonial ambivalence of settler Newfoundlanders has impacted the local culture in various ways and throws new light on contexts as diverse as the self-dissolution of the Newfoundland parliament in 1933, contemporary tourism strategies, and the local culture of pessimism and blame. Tracing correlations with the instances of cultural ambivalence studied in previous chapters, we find that settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalent colonial identity provides the four other cases of ambivalence studied so far with enhanced comprehensibility. At the same time, it can be understood as an immediate reflection of the British ambivalence regarding settlement on the island studied in Chapter Three. I conclude the chapter by revisiting Susan Manning's (2018) vision of creating enhanced solidarities through an enhanced balance of diverging colonial narratives in Newfoundland.

The existing discourse includes two different approaches to the (post)colonial position of settler Newfoundlanders, but neither provides us with a comprehensive analysis of the theme. One consists of largely unsubstantiated claims by local settler authors that Newfoundlanders were or are colonized (e.g. Blackmore 2003; Doyle quoted in Hernáez Lerena 2015; Jackson 1984. Peckford 1983; Poole 1982). The other is represented by the above-mentioned well-researched studies that establish the postcolonial character of settler Newfoundland as a place with respect to various contexts.[5] However, these studies focus on the locale rather than the people and on specific phenomena rather than the culture more generally. This is why their arguments for the local settler population's position as (post)colonial subjects is merely indirect. Making that argument both more direct and more comprehensive enables me to expose and study the emerging colonial ambivalence, which has hitherto been acknowledged implicitly at best. An exception is Paul Chafe's (2003b) study of Wayne Johnston's *Colony of Unrequited Dreams*. While Chafe speaks of a “hybrid 'Newfoundlandness'” (333) rather than an *ambivalent* settler identity, his observations suggest that the discrepancy is merely within the terminology. Yet, he confines settler Newfoundlanders' colonized experience to the mental and emotional domains. In contrast, I argue that while settler Newfoundlanders were barely exposed to direct colonial violence, their colonized experience did bear both mental and physical elements. Looking beyond Newfoundland, the impossibility of clearly separating colonizer and colonized realms has been acknowledged in various contexts before (e.g. Caldwell 2017; Taylor 2018; Troutt Powell 2003). The situation on the island is, thus, shown to enrich the spectrum of cases that defy the colonizer/colonized binary rather than representing an isolated anomaly.

The above cases of cultural ambivalence related to specific times or periods are complemented by a time-spanning element in Chapter Eight: the ambivalence of centrality and marginality or remoteness that I had already sensed during my first stay on the island. The observation that Newfoundland has been central in a number of historical contexts of global significance and marginal in others has been made before (e.g. Matthews 1973; Pope 2004). However, to my understanding, the concurrent relevance of these two poles in contemporary society and culture remained to be acknowledged. I do so by focusing on the observation that Newfoundland's geographical situation has radically different implications today than it had in the

[5] Authors include Paul Chafe (2008), Stephen Crocker (2000; 2016), R.M. Kennedy (2010), Thomas Lodge (1939), Susan Manning (2018), and Peter Neary (1980).

past: what was once acknowledged by European explorers, adventurers, and pioneers as the closest destination in the "New World," lies off all major routes of transport and communication since long-distance aviation and the laying of subsea cables have become routine. The past centrality is mirrored in a series of historical events inextricably linked with the place, including the completion of the encircling of the globe by humankind and the reception of the first transatlantic telegraph and radio signals, among others. It is contrasted with Newfoundland's continued role as a resource periphery that implies societal marginality besides economic insignificance. The centre-periphery ambivalence of the contemporary place is established by arguing that the past centrality is part of the collective memory and still very palpable on site today, together with the island's marginality. A context of actual simultaneity of the island's centrality and marginality was the early-modern Atlantic Triangle in which Newfoundland figured as trading hub and resource periphery. While being a scenario of the past, it serves as a historical backdrop and embedding of the contemporary place's ambivalent character as centre and periphery. Manifestations of Newfoundland's centre-periphery ambivalence at work include conflicting conceptions of Newfoundland as island and mainland and ambivalent visual representations of the place in artistic as well as scholarly contexts. Enhanced centrality through strategic relevance in times of crisis and the inconsistency of the local discourse on ferry services are shown to be among the cultural effects of the centre-periphery ambivalence. Multiple correlations with all other instances of cultural ambivalence establish the centre-periphery ambivalence as the final node in the ambivalent web I have been weaving throughout my case study. The visualization of this web allows for a synoptic analysis and establishes ambivalence as a rhizomatic, culture and society-pervading condition in Newfoundland, which can be understood as rooted in the geographical in-betweenness and the complex colonial history of the place.

The thesis concludes with an overview and a cross-chapter compilation of the findings that ambivalence allowed me to develop, including the exposure of enhanced agency and creativity, new views on old myths, and the exposure of an irregular Newfoundland rhythm and conception of time. Moreover, I speculate how embracing the rhizomatic ambivalence in Newfoundland could mitigate rifts between divided parties, such as urban and rural populations, environmental activists and proponents of natural resource extracting industries, and main islanders and offshore islanders. Further development of these speculations and the development of concrete approaches for readdressing related frictions are recommended for future research.

Chapter Two:
On Ambivalence

To substantiate the hypothesis that it was the interplay of different instances of ambivalence that spurred my ongoing interest in the society and culture of Newfoundland, I first set out to enhance my understanding of the concept of ambivalence itself. What I found was initially more confusing than instructive. The understanding and application of ambivalence vary enormously across authors, contexts, and fields. Moreover, compared with its profuse utilization, the concept itself appears to have received relatively sparse attention. Often, it is used with what seems to be little reflection and apparently confused with notions such as ambiguity, hybridity, or indecision, a circumstance that has also been observed by sociologists Heinz Otto Luthe and Rainer Wiedenmann (1996) and historian Kenneth Weisbrode (2011), among others. Finally, in contrast with my own experience, ambivalence often carries a pejorative connotation. Arguably, this is due to the understanding that associates (if not conflates) ambivalence with indecision and, moreover, with indifference, procrastination, or vagueness – all concepts that clash with the "virtues" of modernity, notably with orderliness, efficiency, and ambition (Bauman 1991). Finally, the view that ambivalence challenges conceptions of subjectivity and agency, which has long prevailed in philosophy, still resonates today (Razinsky 2016).

In order to establish ambivalence as an analytical device able to shed new light on an array of tension-filled contexts in Newfoundland society and culture hitherto considered as largely unrelated, I will provide a closer assessment of the term on etymological, conceptual, and processual levels. As a result, ambivalence will emerge as a multi-faceted yet distinct concept and analytical lens, which has the capacity to prompt new perspectives and conclusions and expose latent creative potentialities. In section 2.1, I review central aspects of the conceptual origins of ambivalence as a mental condition of an individual and address the etymology of the term. The latter bears some interesting and perhaps unexpected content. Section 2.2 is devoted to tracing the expansion of the concept from psychiatry to other disciplines and from characterizing an individual to describing external phenomena, including collectives, situations, and structures. The latter is what I call "cultural ambivalence" and will guide my study of Newfoundland in the chapters that follow. Section 2.3 is central in that it

addresses and counters the indefiniteness of ambivalence by proposing a concise yet comprehensive definition that accommodates the original subjective conception of ambivalence as well as its cultural expansion. This enables me to clearly distinguish ambivalence from terms it is often conflated with, including ambiguity, hybridity, and dichotomy. Moreover, I will spell out the differences in my understanding of ambivalence with that of Zygmunt Bauman (1991). The clarity of the concept is key for its effective application to the clutter and complexity of a wide spectrum of real-world contexts in my case study on Newfoundland. I also compare ambivalence with several other concepts from which it can be differentiated while also featuring parallels, such as paradox, aporia, and dialectics. These parallels then figure in the establishment of the concept's creative potential in section 2.4. I begin with presenting a number of authors who have acknowledged the productive or stimulating potential of ambivalence, including Swiss psychiatrist Eugen Bleuler, who coined the term. Taking a closer look at creativity itself then shows that it bears a number of characteristics that are highly reminiscent of ambivalence, thus creating a conceptual and processual tie between the two. In fact, if we adopt the widespread approach of describing the creative process as being composed of different stages, I suggest that one of them is reminiscent of (or triggered by) ambivalence. This view renders the relationship between ambivalence and creativity straightforward and immediate, thus spurring the screening for productive effects of cultural ambivalence besides less desirable ones in our case study. Moreover, we are encouraged to fathom ambivalent contexts for creative potentialities yet to be tapped. To facilitate that screening and fathoming, I propose several ways of how to imagine ambivalence as a dynamic state and phenomenon. Section 2.5 summarizes central findings and addresses the concept of analytical lenses in qualitative research. It concludes by proposing cultural ambivalence as a productive and broadly applicable analytical device.

2.1 Origins: Bleuler, Plato, and the Two Strong Sides

Given the profuse application of ambivalence across fields and disciplines and its role as a signifier for the presence of and wrestling with opposing perspectives, one might be inclined to think that the notion has been around since the dawn of critical discourse. However, the term “ambivalence” was not coined before 1910, when Swiss psychologist Eugen Bleuler

used it to describe the nature of schizophrenia.[6] The early twentieth century was, in fact, destined for the explicit articulation of dispositions like ambivalence. It was a period of intellectual upheaval that challenged comprehensible worldviews and "certainties" across domains. Novel approaches from that epoch include the development of the theory of relativity and quantum mechanics in science and the emergence of cubism and abstraction in the arts (Fischer 2005; Miller 2001). The paradigm shift in the Western world was further propelled by Sigmund Freud's new approaches to the human psyche (Jones 1955), which leads us back to psychiatry and Bleuler.

With ambivalence, Bleuler (1979) meant to describe a state of the human mind, and he identified two different types of ambivalence: emotional (or affective) ambivalence, that is, the presence of positive and negative feelings about the same object (a prominent example is the love-hate relationship); and intellectual (or cognitive) ambivalence, the attachment to incompatible ideas or beliefs.[7] It is important to note that Bleuler considered "normal" ambivalence an integral part of the lives of healthy individuals. Only in cases where it acquired pathological dimensions would neuroses be induced.

The recent nature of the term "ambivalence," however, cannot disguise that the according condition or phenomenon has been observed and described long before Bleuler. Indeed, it appears as early as in Plato's *Republic* (1998 [ca. 375 BC]) in the context of the virtues of a guardian who, according to Plato, needs to have a character that is simultaneously "gentle" and "high-spirited" (67–68), two traits he considered contradictory. Another prominent example is Montaigne's (1743) ambivalence-invoking finding that "[t]here is no reason but hath a contrary to it" (328). Many others could be mentioned, up to Freud, who, a few years before Bleuler's coinage, described the alternation of love and hate for the same person (Jones 1955, 80).[8] The recurrence of the ambivalent condition throughout the written discourse reflects Bauman's view (1991) that ambivalence is "a *lasting human condition*; indeed,...this condition's most important

[6] Apparently, Bleuler first publicly used the term "ambivalence" in a lecture given at the annual winter conference of the association of Swiss psychiatrists in Bern on November 26–27, 1910. A report of this lecture was published in 1911 (Riklin 1911). The full lecture was first published in 1914 in *Festgabe zur Einweihung der Neubauten der Universität Zürich 18. IV* and reprinted in 1979 (Bleuler 1979).

[7] Please note that Bleuler (1979) considered the inability to choose between desires or needs, which is often conceived as a third type of ambivalence called "voluntary" or "conative," as a sub-type of affective ambivalence, which he termed *Ambitendenz*.

[8] Note, however, that the alternation of contrasting feelings is not actually ambivalence as it is understood by Bleuler and in this study. This will become clear in section 2.3.

feature" (16, emphasis in original). Along a similar line, Weisbrode (2012) finds that "[a]mbivalence lies at the core of who we are" (11). The recognition of ambivalence as a central aspect of human identity contrasts the limited attention that the concept has otherwise frequently received.

The etymology, that is, the linguistic origin of the term, is helpful for coming to grips with ambivalence as well. The prefix *ambi* is Latin for "both, on both sides," and *valence* can be derived from the verb *valere*, which can be translated as "to be strong, to be effective, to be valid, to be of value" (Traupman 1966). So, literally, ambivalence is the presence of two strong, effective or valuable "sides." This signification defies the vagueness, indifference, or undesirability commonly associated with ambivalence and hints at the potentiality inherent to the condition, which will be developed in detail in section 2.4.

2.2 The Triumph of Ambivalence

While early observations of what would later be labelled "the ambivalent condition" were rather open in scope,[9] Bleuler's coinage then projected the use of the term to the description of the mental state of an individual. Since the mid-twentieth century, however, the utilization of the term and concept of ambivalence has experienced a rapid spread into other intellectual realms as well as a widening in signification and understanding.

Spread Across Disciplines

Let us first address the spread of individual ambivalence beyond psychiatry and psychology as what cultural analyst Mieke Bal (2002) calls a "travelling concept." Robert Merton is one of the pioneers who introduced ambivalence into the field of sociology. Sociological ambivalence, according to Merton (1976), arises as a consequence of conflicting definitions of social roles and statuses. He goes on to observe that "[a]lthough the sociological and psychological kinds of ambivalence are empirically connected, they are theoretically distinct. They are on different planes of phenomenal reality, on different planes of conceptualization, on different planes of causation and consequences" (7).

In philosophy, Hili Razinsky (2016) observes that, after ambivalence of the individual has long been marginalized and disavowed as challenging predominant conceptions of subjectivity

[9] Compare the approaches by Plato and Montaigne mentioned in the previous section.

and agency, there has been an increase in publications on ambivalence in philosophy since the turn of the millennium. Another indicator of the widespread interest individual ambivalence has attracted outside psychiatry and psychology is the popular scientific booklet *On Ambivalence – The Problems and Pleasures of Having it Both Ways* by historian Kenneth Weisbrode (2012). Besides ambivalence proper attracting interest and attention beyond psychiatry and psychology, its increasing confusion with indecision or indifference has no doubt further propelled the proliferation of its application across contexts and disciplines. A similar argument can be made for its conceptual broadening.

Conceptual Expansion and Cultural Ambivalence

In addition to the spread across disciplinary boundaries, the conception and understanding of ambivalence have experienced an expansion as well. Today, ambivalence is not only applied to describe the mindset of an individual but to characterize collectives, language, structures, and situations as well. Regarding the ambivalence of collectives, it has been observed that there are different ways a group can be ambivalent: either a majority of its members are individually ambivalent, or a significant part adheres to one idea or value while another holds the opposite. Borrowing from Albert and Whetten's work on identity in organizations (1985), Blake Ashforth, Kristie Rogers, Michael Pratt, and Camille Pradies (2014) call these types of ambivalence "holographic" and "ideographic," respectively.

Naturally, the application of ambivalence to realms beyond the individual or subject has also further facilitated its spread across disciplines. Again, we find a sociologist at the forefront. Zygmunt Bauman (1991) extends the applicability of ambivalence from the individual to the realm of signification and language when he defines ambivalence as "the possibility of assigning an object or an event to more than one category" (1). We will look at Bauman's conceptualization of ambivalence in more detail in section 2.3.

Other disciplines in which I have come across the application of ambivalence include history, philosophy, anthropology, folklore, cultural studies, settler colonial studies, literary studies, political science, business and management studies, and biology. The wide spectrum suggests that further fields could be added by further broadening the reading range. Realms beyond the individual, to which ambivalence (or an ambivalent nature) is assigned in these disciplines include collectives (such as authorities, organizations, communities, or peoples) and

cultural structures or constructs (like language, rhetoric, conventions, status, or the state). Moreover, I found studies of settings or situations shaped by ideas (like ontology, epistemology, identity, or self) or circumstances (such as colonialism, sexism, or prejudice) that are deemed ambivalent.

What I call "cultural ambivalence" summarizes the types of non-individual ambivalence, that is, the ambivalence of collectives, structures, and situations. Culture is here conceived in the general understanding of "a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general" proposed by Raymond Williams (2015, 52). This allows me to assemble, interpret, and correlate phenomena from a wide range of contexts under the umbrella of cultural ambivalence and develop transversal pathways of reasoning and understanding.

Introducing the distinction between ambivalence of the individual and the cultural, one may wonder whether cultural ambivalence is, in fact, situated in the external feature under consideration or if it is ultimately actualized through the experience of an individual. I argue that cultural ambivalence does, indeed, reside within the cultural feature under consideration and is, hence, a quality that exists independent of an individual. For instance, the ambivalence of British stakeholders regarding settlement in Newfoundland can be established and studied without reference to the disposition of individual members of the collectives involved or to its impact on individual Newfoundlanders. In this context, it should be noted that I use the distinction between "cultural" vs. "individual" where other authors (in other contexts) refer to "objective" vs. "subjective" (e.g. Coulthard 2014; Whitehead 1978 [1929]). The reason for this choice of terminology is that I consider "cultural" suggestive of including situations and collectives, while "objective" appears to focus on structures alone.

2.3 Against the Ambiguity of Ambivalence

The previous section was dedicated to tracing the triumph of ambivalence in the sense of the notion's spreading across disciplinary boundaries and beyond characterizing the mental condition of an individual. The application of ambivalence to characterize collectives, situations, and structures – a trend that prompted me to add "cultural ambivalence" to our interdisciplinary jargon – considerably expanded the concept's analytical scope. However,

along with this expansion (partly as its cause, partly as its symptom), ambivalence developed a heavy heterogeneity in understanding. Moreover, today, confusion or conflation with other terms and concepts, such as ambiguity, indecision, and indifference, can been observed (Newman and Jacobs 2010; Rothenberg 1971; Weisbrode 2012). The limited attention ambivalence has received, I contend, is largely owed to this confusion and the ambiguity in meaning it entails. A similar point can be made regarding the pejorative connotation of ambivalence as a phenomenon leading to torment, paralysis, procrastination, or simply a shrug. How can it have a positive resonance when we do not know what exactly it signifies? To establish cultural ambivalence as a meaningful analytical device and to reclaim ambivalence as a rich and well-defined concept more generally, it needs to be provided with clarity and unequivocality.

A Concise yet Comprehensive Definition

There have, of course, been attempts to define ambivalence after Bleuler coined the term in 1910, but they are confined to specific disciplines or contexts (e.g. Merton 1976; Bauman 1991; Razinsky 2016). Kurt Lüscher (2011) then proposed a definition that accommodates the utilization of the concept across contexts and disciplines. However, his definition is restricted to ambivalence as an individual experience or condition. Moreover, it suffers from lengthiness and complexity that is not resolved by its diagrammatic representation either (see Lüscher 2011, 378). What is needed, instead, to establish ambivalence as a distinct and valued concept is a concise and clear definition that manages to accommodate not only various disciplines but the expansion to manifestations of cultural ambivalence as well. Based on the original understanding by Bleuler and taking the centrality of tension in ambivalence into account, which has been observed by Merton (1976), Luthe and Wiedenmeier (1996), Weisbrode (2012), and Razinsky (2016), I propose the following definition in the form of a small set of necessary conditions for ambivalence:

Ambivalence is what arises when
two opposing concepts or values are simultaneously relevant
for an individual or within a collective, situation, or structure.

This definition highlights the dynamic character of the phenomenon that "arises." The term "opposing" is used to accommodate contrary, conflicting, opposite, polar, antagonistic, or contradictory concepts or values. I have not included "mutually exclusive" here because, in ambivalence, these values or concepts do precisely *not* exclude each other. The simultaneity of the opposing ideas is key and clearly distinguishes ambivalence from processes of vacillation, alternation, or oscillation. The requirement of the relevance of both opposites excludes cases of "moderate" ambivalence (Ashforth et al. 2014), a state or phenomenon that may easily be resolved by compromise. Moreover, while not spelled out, it is presupposed that both opposing values or concepts are *equally* relevant or nearly so. Otherwise, the more relevant pole would triumph over the less relevant one, and ambivalence would dissolve or not occur in the first place. Finally, the relevance is understood as being *constitutive* rather than based on the impact of values or concepts that are explicitly rejected or excluded. The small number of necessary conditions (two opposing concepts or values, simultaneity, and relevance) provides this understanding of ambivalence with great clarity and makes it straightforward to determine whether ambivalence is at play in a specific context or not. This will be vital in my study of Newfoundland in the chapters that follow.

Reproducing a common thread in various conceptions of ambivalence, tension is a central aspect emerging from the above definition. This becomes evident when we conceive of each relevant opposing value as exerting an attractive force along a given axis but in opposite directions. Equal relevance then implies that these two forces are of equal strength so that the ambivalent individual, collective, situation, or structure experiences an equal pull in both directions, which creates an inner tension.

Regarding the ambivalence of collectives, the above definition implies that identifying two camps with opposing values or ideas (as specified by Ashforth et al. 2014 for "ideographic" collective ambivalence) is, in fact, not enough to argue for a case of cultural ambivalence. What is moreover required, I argue, is an ongoing debate between the opposing camps. Debate reflects the relevance each camp assigns to their views and values. Moreover, without debate, both camps remain in their respective "bubble" – reiterating and reassuring a given set of ideas – and tension will not build up. The result is a divide, not cultural ambivalence. The two different realizations of collective ambivalence (a group of individually ambivalent members or two opposed and debating camps) will come into play in my Newfoundland case study with respect to various contexts and

groups. Notably, the recognition that collective ambivalence does not necessarily imply the ambivalence of the group members – because simultaneous relevance of two opposing values within that group can also be actualized by two opposed camps in extended debate – greatly expands the space for analysis and interpretation. Moreover, it allows for the distinction between cases of collective ambivalence and mere divides.

Distinction from Ambiguity, Indecision, Dichotomy, Hybridity, and Baumanian Ambivalence

With the above definition as a device for identifying ambivalence at hand, I will now set out to distinguish it from notions with an alleged overlap. I will start with ambiguity, as its conflation with ambivalence is a common confusion, and then address dichotomy, indecision, and hybridity. The distinction of these concepts from ambivalence then informs my argument for the difference between our understanding of the notion and Zygmunt Bauman's approach. This differentiation enhances our understanding of ambivalence and helps me to ensure I focus on the same condition or phenomenon across contexts and time in my case study without being distracted by other authors' terminologies.

Ambiguity denotes the uncertainty that originates from two opposite yet equally probable, desirable, or merely eligible options. It implies an arbitrariness and vagueness: this value or its opposite applies as a possible answer or choice. Likewise, one or the other, or both, could eventually be dismissed. The vagueness that the concept of ambiguity refers to is also reflected in the widespread and meaningful use of the term "unambiguous." Ambivalence, on the other hand, is a definite and unequivocal state: this value *and* its opposite apply to the situation, object, or structure under consideration, and there is no choice but to consider both at once because both are relevant. Consequently, the term "unambivalent" does not exist, and if we tried to invent it we would encounter issues of vagueness and indefiniteness. Somewhat oversimplified, we can distinguish ambiguity from ambivalence as "A *or* B?" vs. "A *and* B!" where the exclamation mark expresses the relevance of A and B. Vacillation or wavering are possible expressions of ambiguity but not of ambivalence, as they defy the formation of tension by giving way in this or the opposite direction.

Indecision can have different reasons. In the case where it is rooted in the unwillingness to decide between two or more opposite values or concepts, it is arguably often paired with a

more or less explicit indifference. Indifference, then, eliminates any sort of relevance, thus removing indecision from ambivalence, which necessarily implies the relevance of the two poles involved. In the case where actual inability, if not impossibility, to make a decision between two values, concepts, or meanings is the reason for indecision, relevance is likely involved. Yet, indecision is still clearly different from ambivalence because the negative act of not deciding stops early in the sense that it does not include the tension that follows, which is central to ambivalence. In other words, in the case where indecision is prompted by the inability or impossibility to decide, it is merely a potential starting point for ambivalence to arise.

Dichotomy is the division of one whole into two mutually exclusive and exhaustive parts.[10] As such, and this is the first difference from ambivalence, it is necessarily an external construct and cannot be observed in an individual. Regarding non-individual or cultural ambivalence, a central difference to dichotomy is the origin of the poles or classes: in a dichotomy, they are defined or declared, while they are the results of actual or perceived processes, perspectives, or events in the context of ambivalence. More importantly, a dichotomy is finished with the process of classification, whereas ambivalence only really begins after the opposite poles are actualized. Finally, for the opposites in ambivalence, it is not prescribed whether they are fully exhaustive or leave space for possibilities in-between them. That is, ambivalence does not “exclude the middle” in principle, as dichotomy does. However, this is of mostly theoretical value because the two opposites in ambivalence are experienced or conceived as exhaustive. If a third value or compromise between the two opposing poles was considered an option, the tension would be significantly diminished or vanish altogether, and ambivalence would not arise.

Hybridity is situated in the realm between two opposing poles. Indeed, it can be thought of as signifying that in-between space and could, thus, be conceived of as the contrary of dichotomy, which forbids that space. As such, hybridity equally belongs to the realm of classification, although it denotes its evasion. Unlike dichotomy, and in accordance with ambivalence, we can conceive individual hybridity. However, hybridity is *assigned* to an individual, while ambivalence is an inner or intrinsic state that arises without the need for an outside classificatory perspective and act. Again somewhat simplified, one could say that

[10] In terms of Aristotelian logic, the two parts of a dichotomy obey both the Law of Non-Contradiction and the Law of the Excluded Middle.

hybridity is the result of “A and B.” While this appears to locate hybridity close to ambivalence (which we circumscribed by “A and B!”), there is no tension in hybridity, as the poles have been merged and the opposing forces annihilated. A better way to characterize hybridity may, in fact, be to identify it with “C” in the equation “A+B=C.” Because a hybrid object, subject, structure, or situation, will regularly imply attributes of both A and B, deciding which prevails can be difficult. This is why hybridity is sometimes also associated with ambiguity (e.g. Beaudoin 2013). It can then be framed as “more A or more B?”[11]

Baumanian ambivalence, as the “the possibility of assigning an object or an event to more than one category” (Bauman 1991, 1), is located in the realm of classification like dichotomy, although it denotes exactly the complement, that is, that which evades a dichotomous classification. As such, it is closer to hybridity. According to Bauman, modernity can be characterized by the urge to order and classify objects and events. Hence, in his words, ambivalence – understood as the impossibility of clear classification – becomes a “language-specific disorder” (1), “a side-product of the labour of classification” (3), and, ultimately, the “*waste of modernity*” (15, emphasis in original). The observation that Baumanian ambivalence belongs to the realm of classification, like dichotomy and hybridity, again clearly distinguishes it from our understanding of ambivalence. Moreover, like dichotomy and hybridity, Baumanian ambivalence lacks tension. The object, subject, or structure is not torn between two poles but resides between them. In other words, it is not the balance of two forces of equal strength and opposite direction that holds the item in place but the absence of forces. While this is reminiscent of hybridity, Baumanian ambivalence is not the result of a blending or merging process, and hence, there is no space for ambiguity or vagueness in Bauman's concept. This is why I suggest that Baumanian ambivalence can be conceived as a sort of *irreducible* hybridity.[12] In light of the discrepancy between Bauman's understanding of ambivalence and my own, it is interesting that his conception and use of the notion in association with modernity matches one of the contexts for which I identify cultural ambivalence in my Newfoundland case study. In the decades after

[11] Please note that I share the critique of the concept of hybridity if it is reduced to biological considerations (e.g. Palmié 2006). It can be a valuable concept, however, when applied to cultural matters.

[12] Note that Bauman (1991) illustrates his understanding of ambivalence with Jacques Derrida's “undecidables.” as conceived in *Positions* (Derrida 1981 [1972]) and *Dissemination* (Derrida 1981 [1972]). Two of Derrida's examples for undecidables Bauman gives are the Greek *pharmakon*, which denotes both “poison” and “remedy”, and the equally Greek *hymen*, which denotes both “membrane” and “marriage” and, hence, “signifies at the same time virginity and its violation” (55/56).

confederation, the attempts to “drag” the local economy and society into modernity gave rise to enhanced efforts of cultural preservation. Eventually, both opposing dynamics became simultaneously relevant in political, social, and cultural affairs. It thus appears that both conditions – Baumanian ambivalence as the evasion or destruction of clear classification and order and the cultural ambivalence of modernization and cultural preservation (which was not unique to Newfoundland but particularly distinct on the island) – were effects of the project of modernity.

Comparison with Paradox, Hegelian Dialectics, Aporia, and Janusian Thinking

After clearly distinguishing our understanding of ambivalence from a number of concepts, I will now compare it with selected others. The reason why I consider these concepts separately is that, unlike the notions discussed in the previous section, their parallels with ambivalence clearly outweigh the differences. These parallels will then prove helpful in establishing ambivalence's creative potential in section 2.4. The concepts I will compare with ambivalence in more detail are paradox, (Derridean) aporia, Hegelian dialectics, and “janusian thinking.”[13]

According to *The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy*, a “paradox arises when a set of apparently incontrovertible premises gives unacceptable or contradictory conclusions” (Blackburn 2008, no page number).[14] This implies the possibility of more than two opposing conclusions, but most paradoxes involve no more than two. Being conclusions, they are naturally relevant to the situation, structure, or phenomenon in question. As a consequence, their simultaneous presence can be described as a field of tension reminiscent of that created by ambivalence. A processual difference between paradox and ambivalence emerges from the observation that the former implies a kind of surprise based on the unforeseen opposition one is faced with after starting with what were assumed to be consistent presuppositions. Ambivalence, on the other hand, is usually not developed from a clearly defined set of premises, and, hence, the element of surprise in the face of the opposing poles is not one of its central elements.[15] Gilles Deleuze's (1990) conception of the

[13] The term was introduced by American psychiatrist Albert Rothenberg (1971) and will be further discussed below.
[14] Note that here too, a list of conditions for paradox “to arise” is given instead of a static definition.
[15] If ambivalent scenarios provoke surprise, it is rather a mechanism of deferral than an integral part or direct result of it (Stichweh 1997).

paradox in the context of pure becoming places special emphasis on the simultaneity of opposing poles and affirms their equal relevance. Becoming, according to Deleuze, evades determination and (the French) *sens*,[16] because the becoming subject is equally conceived through the contradictory views into the past and the future. For instance, if something is growing, it is both smaller than it will be and larger than it has been. According to Deleuze, the resulting paradox represents "the affirmation of both senses or directions at the same time" (1). Paradox and ambivalence thus share substantial parallels. A difference lies in the observation that paradox is necessarily an external phenomenon, that is, it arises outside the individual, and hence, has parallels only with cultural and not with individual ambivalence. However, a person faced with paradox may arguably be exposed to experiences similar to individual ambivalence, which is why paradox can be related to both individual and cultural ambivalence.

A type of discourse that I would like to compare with ambivalence is Hegelian dialectics. Here, I am not referring to Hegel's dialectics in its over-simplified form as an intellectual operation of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. Instead, I conceive it as the more complex process where two oppositional ideas are in an ongoing connection with one another, which ultimately triggers "the grasping of opposites in their unity or of the positive in the negative" (Hegel quoted in Spencer-Rogers et al. 2018, 16). Hegel's dialectical method, like other dialectical methods since Plato, involves a contradictory process between opposing sides. What distinguishes his approach from that of Plato and others is that, in order to move on, it does not require the arbitrary introduction of new premises from outside once the old ones are proven to be ultimately contradictory (Maybee 2016). For Hegel, there is potential in the contradiction itself, as becomes evident from the three moments by which he describes his dialectical method. The first is the moment of understanding where concepts or forms have a seemingly stable definition or determination; the second is the "dialectical" moment, the moment of instability when understanding cancels or negates itself and the determination passes into its opposite because a specific aspect was ignored in a one-sided or otherwise restricted original determination; the third is the "speculative" moment, the moment that grows out of the two opposing determinations and grasps their unity (Maybee 2016). Like ambivalence, dialectics imply the simultaneous relevance of opposing concepts. In Hegelian dialectics, this state is reached at the end of the second moment. Because this opposition is not resolved by the introduction of new elements, we can think of tension building up until it is fully

[16] Please note that, in French, *sens* denotes both sense and direction.

established as we enter the third moment. The subsequent “grasping of opposites in their unity” underlines both their simultaneity and equal relevance, much like in Deleuze's interpretation of the paradox and our understanding of ambivalence.[17]

Aporia is Greek for impasse, perplexity, or puzzlement and is a concept that has figured in philosophy since antiquity (Frede 1999; Woodruff 2018). I here refer to Derrida's (1993) use and understanding of the term. He observes that “'to experience the aporia'...is not necessarily a failure or a simple paralysis, the sterile negativity of the impasse. It is neither stopping at it nor overcoming it” (32). Of course, an impasse can have reasons other than the simultaneous relevance of opposing values, so an ambivalent scenario would only be one possible source for this kind of experience. What truly correlates Derridean aporia with ambivalence is the tension implied in his description of it as “neither stopping...nor overcoming.” This suggests that the effective motionlessness is not a result of the absence of forces but based on the dynamic balance of opposite forces of equal strength on both sides of the aporetic threshold, much like in an ambivalent scenario. While Derrida reflects on the (possibility of the) experience of an aporia and, hence, envisions an individual subjected to it – and aporia in the sense of perplexity is, indeed, an exclusively subjective event – a dynamic impasse or puzzlement in the sense of confusion can easily be extended to apply to collectives, situations, or structures. Hence, individual and cultural ambivalence can both be thought of as having a conceptual overlap with aporia. At this point perhaps not surprisingly, Derrida also relates aporia to paradox and dialectic thinking, although he ultimately argues that aporia transcends them both.[18]

According to psychiatrist Albert Rothenberg (1971), “'[j]anusian thinking' [is] the capacity to conceive and utilize two or more opposite or contradictory ideas, concepts, or images simultaneously” (195). Being a thought process, janusian thinking cannot be assigned to situations or structures. It could, however, be expanded from assigning it to an individual to characterizing collectives. Hence, it can be compared to experiences of individual ambivalence and a specific type of cultural ambivalence. The final product of this thought process, according

---

[17] Given that Hegelian dialectics were rejected by Deleuze in *Difference and Repetition* (1994[1968]), this parallel with his deliberations on the paradox may appear surprising. It is the detour via ambivalence that reveals the overlap of the two approaches.

[18] Tracing the aporetic back to Aristotle, Derrida (1993) finds that “the [exoteric] Aristotelian aporia is understood, thought, and assimilated into that which is properly dialectical” and goes on by concluding that “Hegelian dialectic is but the repetition, the paraphrastic reedition of an exoteric aporia, the brilliant formulation of a vulgar paradox” (14).

to Rothenberg, is an “integration of opposites” (197). While Rothenberg allows for more than two conflicting ideas or concepts, he underlines their simultaneous utilization in janusian thinking. Moreover, like in Deleuze's paradox and Hegel's dialectics, we again encounter the moment of conceiving the opposites as one integral, dynamic characteristic, which highlights their simultaneity as well as their equal relevance. Ultimately, besides kinships of paradox, dialectics, aporia, and janusian thinking with ambivalence, we have, thus, found parallels between all five concepts considered here.[19]

***

Revealing the differences and parallels of ambivalence with other concepts provides us with a clearer and more comprehensive idea of what we are concerned with. Moreover, the parallels we have revealed with paradox (notably in its Deleuzian interpretation), Derridean aporia, Hegelian dialectics, and Rothenberg's janusian thinking will make a reappearance when we now turn to establishing ambivalence's creative potential.

2.4 The Creative Potential of Ambivalence

Addressing the creative potential of ambivalence implies acknowledging its non-creative manifestations and their impact. Ambivalence, whether in its individual or cultural expression, can inhibit actions or change and induce stress, uncertainty, and destabilization (e.g. Weisbrode 2012; Razinsky 2016). In fact, it is highly plausible that the tension effected by the simultaneous relevance of opposing values or concepts can immobilize and strain the ambivalent individual, collective, situation, or structure. Moreover, the desire to evade the tension inherent to ambivalence may lead to the attempt to ignore one pole, only to find that it is, indeed, relevant and cannot be neglected and subsequently try to ignore the other pole instead. The outcome would be a vacillation of opinions, policies, or actions, which easily induces uncertainty for affected individuals, groups, situations, and/or structures.[20] In both

[19] It should be noted that Rothenberg (1971) explicitly distinguishes janusian thinking from ambivalence (as well as from dialectical thinking). However, his distinction of the two is based on his conception of ambivalence as an alternating and sequential act or process. Moreover, in the same article, Rothenberg also observes that “[a]mbiguity, tension, and paradox very frequently are manifest goals in an aesthetic creative act” (198). Combining this observation with our stress on the tension in ambivalence and the correlation of ambivalence with paradox established above, I argue that, what Rothenberg refers to as ambiguity, is actually closer to our understanding of ambivalence than his conception of ambivalence.

[20] Note that the vacillation, in these cases, is a reaction to ambivalence and the attempt to evade it, not ambivalence itself.

cases – stasis or destabilization – nothing is achieved but potential damage done. The reason why I do not further focus on these effects here but on ambivalence's creative potential instead is two-fold. First, my observation is that the pejorative connotation of ambivalence still prevails over its understanding as a potentially productive force and condition. Second, the creative potential of cultural ambivalence, by holding the promise of identifying productive effects, increases its potency as an analytical device and is, thus, central to its application in my Newfoundland case study.

Appreciative Voices

While ambivalence often carries a negative connotation, the creative potential of the concept has been recognized and acknowledged by individual authors with different backgrounds and at different times. In fact, the correlation between ambivalence and creativity has already been observed by Bleuler in his original lecture on ambivalence. If we acknowledge that his mentions of "the literary arts" and "the true poet" can easily be transferred to creative activity and artists more generally, his argument is close to my own experiences, which is why I want to quote him at length:

> Ambivalence is one of the most significant incitements for the literary arts, and at the same time, it guides and directs their creative forces. The true poet creates based on the complexes that move him (sic.). These are arguably always ambivalent by nature, as completed ideas can hardly move us in a vivid manner (Bleuler 1979 [1914], 92, translation is mine).

Projected into the sociological realm, Walter Bühl's observation that the ambivalence inherent to conflicting social roles is a "constitutive precondition for creative role action altogether" (quoted in Luthe and Wiedenmeier 1996, 14, translation is mine) reflects a similar stance. A gradually weaker but qualitatively similar stance is expressed by Kenneth Weisbrode (2012) when he observes that "[a]mbivalence may not be so bad after all. Yellow lights do not incapacitate us: they merely help us get where we are going safely. When we slow down we look around, contemplate, and create" (29). A similar tenor governs the finding by Laura Rees, Naomi Rothman, Reuven Lehavy, and Jeffrey Sanchez-Burks (2013) that the ambivalent mind can be

wise because emotional ambivalence increases judgment accuracy. Finally, the idea of ambivalence as a potentially stimulating and creative force is also at the core of Hili Razinsky's philosophical perspective on ambivalence (2016). By systematically investigating the different types and effects of subjective ambivalence, she finds that ambivalence does not need to be tantamount to paralysis or distraction and argues that, as long as immediate action is not required, “a wider field may open for acting with both poles in a creative and successful manner” (253). Razinsky also recognizes ambivalence's value for shaping concepts of truth, creativity, and well-being.

Creativity: Origin and Use

The above arguments for the creative potential of ambivalence can be substantiated and augmented by revealing a conceptual and processual overlap between ambivalence and creativity, which is why I now take a closer look at the latter. As in the assessment of ambivalence, I will begin with some remarks on the origin, use, and perception of the term. The parallels I am able to disclose in the “histories” of creativity and ambivalence are first indicators of the deeper conceptual correlations between the two notions.

Given its prolific use today, as well as its Latin etymology, the term “creativity,” like “ambivalence,” may easily be taken to be of ancient origin. However, as in the case of ambivalence, it was only coined in the twentieth century. Alfred North Whitehead introduced the notion of creativity in his Gifford Lectures 1927–28 and defined it as “the ultimate which is actual in virtue of its accidents” (Whitehead 1978 [1929], 10). The Whiteheadian accidental nature of creativity has been translated by philosopher Carl Hausman (1975) into instances of spontaneity and emergence, that is, processes whose products cannot be anticipated or derived from historical or experimental contexts. However, like in the case of ambivalence, the discourse on the nature of creative acts is much older than the term. In Western thought, the discourse on creativity can be traced to Aristotle and Plato. The latter understood the creative act as an inscrutable process based on inspiration during which the artist is “out of his (sic.) mind” (Hausman 1975, 5), whereas the former saw the artist create according to a preconceived plan.[21]

[21] Plato's approach can be seen as the origin of non-rationalist theories of creativity, whereas Aristotle is at the roots of naturalist (and hence, the most rigorous rationalist) conceptualizations of creativity (Hausman 1975).

Creativity also faces some of the same conceptual problems identified in the context of ambivalence. As a consequence of the dissemination it has experienced across disciplines, its use and understanding are highly heterogeneous (Hausman 1975; Rothenberg 1976). A clear difference between ambivalence and creativity is that the former is often perceived or presented as a pejorative phenomenon, whereas the latter is conceived as genuinely positive and desirable. In the words of Raymond Williams (1965): "No word in English carries a more consistently positive reference than 'creative'" (19). This disparity in appreciation, however, will here be challenged by taking some more recent approaches to creativity into account.

Alternative Approaches to Creativity

What I conceive as alternative approaches to creativity are lines of thought that belong neither to the rationalist nor to the non-rationalist movements that can be traced back to Aristotle and Plato, respectively. Instead, these alternative approaches assume that creativity is neither a pure mystery that defies analysis and comprehension altogether nor can it be explained in a rigorous way that predicts creative acts or their results. Briefly describing three of them will make my argument for an overlap of creativity and ambivalence straightforward.

The first approach I would like to draw upon goes back to Hausman (1975), who holds that "paradox is an inevitable condition of creative acts" (7) in two ways. First, the outcomes of these acts, as "identities in difference" (10), are general as examples of their kind, while, at the same time, they are uniquely different or original. Second, the activity of the creative actor – not unlike biotic creation through ontogenesis and evolution – lacks a blueprint but is conceptualized in the process, and hence, based on simultaneous creation and revelation.[22]

The second approach to creativity I want to call upon underlines the centrality of dialectics or dialectical thinking in the creative process. This approach has been developed across different disciplines, including philosophy, psychiatry, and education. Philosopher Albert Hofstadter (2009) argues that, like the dialectic process, creativity is generally a reaction to "a crisis of estrangement, alienation, otherness, difference" (207) and a means to overcome this crisis and achieve reconciliation and identity. Another reference to dialectics in the creative process is made by

[22] Please note that the parallel between biotic creation and human creativity found here does not imply that there is a creative designer at work in the former, as the proponents of the creationist movement of "intelligent design" want to make us believe. Rather, it suggests that there is something unintentional, non-deliberate, and undirected about creativity.

psychiatrist and psychotherapist Rainer Holm-Hadulla and psychologist Alexander Wendt (2020). They argue that "[a]t each stage of the creative process, we can recognize the dialectics between coherence and incoherence, stability and instability, and order and chaos" (335). Educational scholar Patrica Arlin (2011), then, refers to different psychological and philosophical studies that relate invention, discovery, originality, and the use of metaphor as a process of thought – all phenomena that are considered to involve creativity – to dialectical thinking.

The third alternative approach to creativity I would like to reference is by Albert Rothenberg (1971), who conceives janusian thinking as a central aspect of the creative act. Rothenberg holds that janusian thinking – "the capacity to conceive and utilize two or more opposite or contradictory ideas, concepts, or images simultaneously" (195) – results in the integration of opposites which, he argues, is at the core of many creations, including music (where he points to conceiving consonances and dissonances as equivalent within Schoenberg's twelve-tone scale) and visual arts (where he cites Op-Art as provoking dynamic perceptions in a clearly static setting).

The Overlap of Ambivalence and Creativity

My argument for the creative potential of ambivalence is now straightforward. Ambivalence has a strong overlap with paradox, dialectics, and janusian thinking, and so does creativity, according to the approaches described above. While aporia does not nominally appear in the alternative approaches to creativity considered here, its proximity to paradox and dialectics certainly suggests its accommodation in that context as well. Indeed, Derrida (1992; 1993) positions aporia close to productive outcomes such as free decision-making and responsibility. In any case, ambivalence and creativity appear to be not only not counteracting but, in fact, strongly overlapping concepts. Indeed, Hausman acknowledges a genuine tension inherent to creativity, a characteristic that we have also identified as central to ambivalence. While the poles between which that tension builds up are variable in ambivalence, Hausman locates the tension in creativity between the disruptive force of spontaneity on the one hand and the orderliness and intelligibility of the creative activity together with the continuity between creations and their contexts on the other. Tension can moreover be identified in what he calls the paradoxical in creativity, which is represented by the concurrence of creation and revelation or, in Whitheadian terms, of becoming and being.

The overlap of ambivalence and creativity becomes even more concrete when we look at what various authors have identified as the phases of the creative process, that is, a succession of mental states and actions leading to original and appropriate productions (Lubart 2001). While the number of phases, as well as their names, vary, a stage called "incubation" figures in most approaches to structure the creative process (compare *Table 1* in Botelli et al. 2018, 3; Holm-Hadulla 2013; Miller 2001). Incubation, according to Holm-Hadulla (2013), is characterized by incoherence and destabilization, which is reminiscent of the dialectical moment in Hegelian thought. In this phase, the creative task is set aside and left to autopoietic and often unconscious processing, which requires the balancing of purposeful activity and undirected processes (Holm-Hadulla 2013; Holm-Hadulla and Wendt 2020).[23] Historian and philosopher of science Arthur Miller (2001) moreover considers the situation of getting stuck during the creative process (whether it is in science or art) as central for entering a phase in which the subject or problem at hand is further developed in the unconscious.[24] The descriptions of the presence of incoherence and alleged impossibility, the need for balancing, and the reference to Hegelian dialectics in the early incubation phase, together with the tension-laden mental aporia that initiates it, make ambivalence a likely candidate for the process at play in this phase. Under the reasonable assumption that this phase of the creative process is indeed ambivalence, the latter becomes an integral part of the former, which makes the overlap of creativity and ambivalence direct and specific. In fact, in this view, ambivalence figures as a necessary condition for and indispensable element of creativity. This does not imply, however, that it is sufficient to evoke creativity. Creativity remains a potentiality of ambivalence, which may be tapped, or tappable, or not.

***

In view of our case study, where we will use the abstract lens of ambivalence to (re-)map real-world matters, it makes sense to ask when or how creativity may (or may not) be expected to emerge from ambivalence. In other words, are there necessary preconditions or disqualifiers for this to happen? Illustrating the process of ambivalence will be helpful in answering this question. Indeed, developing a more intuitive understanding or "feel" for the condition serves as a meaningful preparation for its application as an analytical device more generally.

[23] Please note that, while the detailed characterization of the incubation phase no doubt varies across authors, the matching context and vocabulary legitimize the assumption that there is an agreement upon its core features.

[24] Here, the unconscious is not understood in the Freudian sense of being concerned with a separate set of emotional agendas but as the part of the mind to which the conscious has no access (Miller 2001).

How to Imagine Ambivalence and its Creative Potential

This section aims to make ambivalence and its creative potential more tangible. The question I want to address is: how can we illustrate or imagine the condition of two opposing values or concepts being simultaneously relevant and creativity emerging from it?

One approach has already been alluded to. It is based on the observation that when we face the conflicting poles, we are pulled into opposite directions and slowed down or stopped altogether, and immediate action is inhibited. This deceleration or interruption of action, if embraced, enables us to ponder the ambivalent situation by examining the conflicting values and to identify angles or aspects, which are only revealed at second sight. A deeper understanding of the contributing elements of the scenario, as well as their interplay, will, in turn, favour the development of creative ideas for restoring agency. This process resonates with Weisbrode's (2012) quote given at the outset of this section: "When we slow down we look around, contemplate, and create" (29).

A more dramatic way to illustrate ambivalence is based on conceiving it as an act of constant balancing on the thin line where the forces exerted by the opposing values or concepts, taken to be of equal strength and opposite direction, annihilate each other. Mastering this unstable state of dynamic equilibrium requires our undivided and constant attention, and, again, this makes us alert for the recognition of factual and discursive nuances, which might otherwise escape us. An augmented repertoire will then enhance our possibilities and favour creative acts.

In yet another image, the field of tension between the opposing poles of an ambivalent scenario can be imagined as similar to a magnetic or electric field created by opposite magnetic poles or charges. Both fields contain energy that accelerates magnetic (or magnetizable) or charged matter. Similarly, the tension between the two poles of ambivalence may be imagined as bearing the capacity to propel the thought process. Staying in the picture of the electric field, a high voltage between the positively charged anode and the negatively charged cathode creating the field can, moreover, lead to spontaneous discharge in the form of an electric arc, a phenomenon which is easily associated with idea-sparking.

The above illustrations or metaphors suggest that ambivalence is an iridescent condition pregnant with creativity, a dynamic equilibrium and energy field capable of sparking new ideas and adding momentum to existing ones. They also imply that, in order for any of this to happen, the ambivalence has to be recognized and embraced. If the simultaneous relevance of the

opposing values or forces is ignored, denied, or deferred, we will benefit neither from increased alertness nor the nuances and alternative viewing angles they may entail. In the image of constant balancing, we will leave the line of vanishing forces and fall off the rope, so to speak. This means that recognition and embracement are necessary conditions for creative outcomes to emerge from an ambivalent scenario. Wondering where these conditions may likely be met, I suggest that ideographic collective ambivalence, where two opposing camps are in extended debate with one another, is a particularly promising scenario. The reason is that ongoing debate (which means listening to the other party besides making one's own point) implies both the recognition and the embracement of the tension at hand. A vivid example of the propulsion of creativity through embracing ambivalence was the situation at Memorial University in the Smallwood era described in Chapter Five. The intense debate between two opposing camps advocating modernization and cultural preservation, respectively, was central to spawning the Newfoundland Studies Movement and the Newfoundland Cultural Revival.

It has to be kept in mind, however, that embracing ambivalence is a necessary, not a sufficient condition for creative outcomes to emerge. This implies that, at all times, ambivalence also has the potential to exhaust energies invested in constant balancing and alertness and to slow down the ambivalent person, group, or structure to the point of temporary or ultimate paralysis or withdrawal. The lack of attention that Newfoundland was at times receiving by British stakeholders in the early modern era described in Chapter Three represents such a case of temporary withdrawal due to ambivalence. Yet, as we shall see, there is potentiality even here, as the withdrawal of one party can benefit the freedom and agency of another. Nonetheless, direct tapping of ambivalence's creative potential requires embracing the ambivalence at hand.

I want to close this section by acknowledging that, in the cases where embracing the ambivalence does prompt creative ideas or other productive output, this generally implies that the tension, and with it the ambivalence itself, dissipates at least to a certain degree. In the image of the electric field, the spark or electric arc represents a charge output that reduces or annihilates the voltage between the anode and cathode, at least temporarily. The picture of regaining agency after having had to halt due to conflicting values or concepts, on the other hand, suggests the opening up of a new dimension or pathway that takes us beyond the field of tension that temporarily immobilized us. Both the dissipation of restraining forces and the unblocking of hitherto inaccessible avenues represent moments of stimulation and empowerment.

2.5 Cultural Ambivalence as a Research Lens

In sections 2.1 and 2.2, I have looked at the origins, etymology, and use of the concept of ambivalence across disciplines and over time. This allowed me to propose a concise yet comprehensive definition of the notion in section 2.3, which then enabled me to reveal its differences from and parallels with other notions, including ambiguity, indecision, and paradox, among others. As a result, the neglected and vague notion of ambivalence was turned into a well-defined and intelligible concept. By revealing its conceptual and processual overlap with creativity in section 2.4, ambivalence has moreover shed its widely pejorative connotation and acquired a distinct air of desirability. The section concluded with developing a more intuitive understanding of the condition and its creative potential. The appreciation of and "feel" for ambivalence we have developed, together with the acknowledgement that, in a globalized world, cultural tensions are increasingly prevalent on local as well as more overarching levels, suggests the concept and, notably, its cultural variant as a promising analytical device for enhancing the understanding of a wide range of contexts. Moreover, its creative potential encourages the quest for benefits inherent to allegedly inconsistent or tension-filled scenarios. In short, cultural ambivalence commends itself as a research lens. Yet, what exactly is a research lens, and what are its benefits and flaws?

Research Lenses and Search Lights

To my understanding, the concept of the research lens does not fundamentally differ from an analytical angle or focus, but the lens appears particularly apt for describing the approach I pursue in my case study. Moreover, it offers extra grip for pondering the boon and bane of its application. The research lens is a metaphor borrowed from physics for analysis more generally. Analytical research lenses exist in both quantitative and qualitative research, but as conceptual configurations, they are themselves qualitative in nature. On levels of growing analytical scope, research lenses take the shape of themes, concepts or categories, methodologies, theories, and paradigms. Karl Popper adds hypotheses to this canon in his theory of the "searchlight" (Paavola 2012, 5), a term that I take to be largely synonymous with that of the research lens.[25] What all these analytical devices share is that they represent choices made by the researcher, which – by setting the backdrop, focus and/or toolkit of the analysis – influence every stage of the research, from the

[25] Where the term "research lens" relies on magnification as a metaphor for enhanced perception, the "searchlight" counts on illumination. Both devices have to be pointed at the object or subject of study.

questions, over the objectives and interpretations, to the findings and conclusions. This is why disclosing one's lens(es) is crucial for making arguments and conclusions assessable by the reader. Sami Paavola (2012) also observes the central role of the searchlight (or the research lens) for abductive methodology, where it functions as a hypothesis that we arrive at by taking previous observations into account. This is exactly how I arrived at the hypothesis that Newfoundland is a place pervaded by ambivalence, which has then guided my research as a lens (or light). The present study thus exemplifies that "[t]heories are...'observation-laden' as much as observations are theory-laden" (5), and the research lens is both a core means of and a metaphor for my approach.

Regarding the application of a research lens, it has to be emphasized that, even with full disclosure, caution is indicated. From physics, we know that lenses generally and necessarily refract and distort our view of the world. However, physical lenses are still transmitting and not creating the objects and phenomena they reproduce (Sayers 1985). In fact, lenses in microscopes or telescopes enable us to see what is invisible to the bare eye. In this light, it can be argued that a qualitative lens, analogously to its physical prototype, reveals as yet unseen elements and aspects of our social and cultural world as well as correlations between them.[26] However, there is a basic difference between a physical and a qualitative research lens, and this is precisely the qualitative nature of the latter. As John Berger (1986) observes, our concepts or methodologies create their own space, "the space of experience, not that of existence" (3). Notably for qualitative lenses on the conceptual or thematic level, increased caution is required to ensure that the theme or quality under consideration is, in fact, not created by the lens itself. In our case, this means that a focus on the concept of cultural ambivalence may entice us to see it where it is of only minor relevance or absent altogether. Already Bleuler (1979) warned that one has to be cautious not to construct contradictory pairs and cases of ambivalence where there are none. This is why a clear and concise definition of the concept I am setting out to trace and study is so important. It enables me to check with relative ease whether the few necessary conditions (the presence of two opposing values and their simultaneous relevance) for its presence are satisfied or if one or more are violated. Together with the inherent creative potential, this makes cultural ambivalence a promising candidate for a potent analytical device that sheds new light on a broad range of tension-filled and allegedly isolated issues and anomalies.

[26] In the image of the searchlight, pointing it at an object of study will only illuminate a certain side and produce shadows as artefacts. Yet, it still brings parts of the actual object to light that were not discernible without it.

The lens of cultural ambivalence will be applied to Newfoundland society and culture in the chapters that follow. In each context addressed, I will first provide evidence for the presence of opposing values or concepts and argue for their simultaneous relevance. With cultural ambivalence established as a sensible focus with which to view and study the setting at hand, I will then provide expressions and effects of that condition at work in shaping local societal and cultural affairs. This enables me to trace new connections and draw alternative conclusions within and across the contexts studied. As a result, cultural ambivalence will emerge as an integral and integrating, as well as a potentially enabling facet of the place.

Chapter Three:
Advocating and Opposing Settlement in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

With cultural ambivalence established as a distinct research lens in the previous chapter, I now apply it to Newfoundland as a case study.[27] I study six different contexts. Five address specific scenarios from across Newfoundland's history, with two arguably being of particular significance today. The sixth context is less era-specific (or more time-spanning) and relates to Newfoundland's particular geographic location between North America and Europe. Within each context and chapter, the reinterpretation of specific tensions as cultural ambivalence and the analysis of its manifestations and effects shed new light on various aspects of Newfoundland society and culture. This is achieved by drawing on the comprehensive understanding of ambivalence developed in Chapter Two for an alternative assessment of historical and contemporary realities. Across contexts, this study traces causal, conceptual, and psychological correlations between different cases of cultural ambivalence. The resulting web of ambivalence unmasks purported isolated anomalies as integrated parts of the cultural landscape in Newfoundland. Ultimately, this allows for a better understanding of a wide range of local affairs and adds a new facet to the image of the place.

***

In this chapter, I trace and analyze the ambivalence towards European settlement in Newfoundland by two British stakeholders – the Crown and the West Country merchants – in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As a prologue or backdrop, I present an outline of the commonly accepted narrative of European colonization in Newfoundland. Exposing a number of particularities in the colonizing process facilitates the subsequent analysis of why the two stakeholder groups opposed settlement on the one hand and advocated it on the other. By arguing for the simultaneous relevance of both poles for both groups, a case of two-fold cultural ambivalence is exposed, which is then presented as a shaping force of the contemporary British legislation for Newfoundland. The legislative tangle that emerged and

[27] Please remember that my focus is on the island part of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador where the large majority of the settler population resides.

the negative freedom it entailed allow me to argue for enhanced spaces of agency on the Newfoundland side of the colonial relations besides reproducing earlier findings of uncertainty and the protraction of settlement. Following a more speculative line of thought, tropes like endurance and conservatism, which often employed without a proper rationale in the local discourse, acquire actual substance when reading the local history and culture through the lens of ambivalence.

3.1 On the European Colonization of Newfoundland

When the Venetian seafarer Zuan Caboto, also known as John Cabot in anglophone spheres, set out from Bristol for his first voyage west across the Atlantic in May 1497, his declared objective was the discovery of a western route to the wealth of the "Orient." This aspiration appealed to a wide range of English mercantile interests and secured Cabot a charter from Henry VII. However, his voyage was likely sponsored predominantly by Bristol merchants in search of new fishing grounds, as the cod stocks in Ireland and Iceland already showed signs of depletion at the time (Cadigan 2009a). Cabot did not find a northwest passage, nor do we know where exactly in northeastern North America he first went ashore, but it was likely on Newfoundland's east coast (Pope 1997). What we do know is that he noticed signs of Indigenous presence and that the sea in the region he explored was "swarming with fish" (Soncino quoted in Pope 1997, 27). The news about abundant fishing grounds spread quickly among Europe's fishing nations, and, by 1550, Spain, Portugal, France, and England were sending annual fishing fleets to northeastern North American waters to exploit their riches. At the time, Spain had the lead in the Newfoundland fishery, followed by Portugal and France (Matthews 1973). The English only began to push into the region in significant numbers after their fleet was ousted from Icelandic waters in 1575 (Handcock 1989).[28] Hence, when Sir Humphrey Gilbert – also sponsored by British merchants – set sail in the name of Queen Elizabeth I to officially claim Newfoundland for England in 1583, his proclamation in the harbour of St. John's differed from other colonial acts of annexation overseas because it was witnessed by significant numbers of fishing people from at least three other European nations (Cadigan 2009a). England's claim to Newfoundland only became more meaningful when England rose as the strongest sea power after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 (Matthews 1973).

[28] This was a result of Iceland entering the orbit of the Hanseatic League (Cadigan 2009b).

The Newfoundland fishery was originally migratory in nature. From the late fifteenth century, a combination of economic, meteorological, and ecological circumstances dictated a cycle in which the fishing ships would leave western European shores in the spring to head for Newfoundland, where they would fish over the summer before returning to Europe in the fall (e.g. Matthews 1973; Pope 2004). In the seventeenth century, Newfoundland became a node in the Atlantic Triangle*,* one of the first international trading networks, through which Newfoundland dried cod was directly traded in southern Europe for wine and other goods bound for the English market (Pope 2004).[29] While crews from regions with an abundance of salt, such as around the Bay of Biscay, preserved their catch heavily salted aboard ship and only went ashore to restock their supplies, English fishermen built temporary facilities on shore for curing a lightly salted cod instead (Pope 2004). What united the European migratory fishermen was that they "commuted" to Newfoundland for work (Matthews 1973, 125) and that they did not come for the land but for the sea and its riches. Most other European overseas projects – the establishment of settlements and penal colonies, the exploitation of landward resources, even trade and proselytization – implied the utilization of foreign lands over extended periods of time. If it is in this sense that we understand the term "colonization," the Newfoundland migratory fishery and the transient settlement it eventually spawned on the island in the seventeenth century were not typical colonizing projects. Nor was the settling of Newfoundland originally a typical project of settler colonialism. The original interest in the place as a seasonal fishing station, paired with poor soils and unfavourable climate, implied that territoriality, settler colonialism's "specific, irreducible element" (Wolfe 2006, 388), as well as the "insatiable dynamic" (395) of constant territorial expansion, were not central to early settlement on the island. Rather, settlement from Europe was confined to a narrow ribbon along the coast, and Newfoundland residents remained more transient when sedentary societies developed in other Atlantic colonies, like Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Maine, during the eighteenth century (Reid and Peace 2017).

While the migratory fishery was key for the peculiar process of settling Newfoundland, it was not the only factor that sparked European settlement on the island. When the more typical European colonization projects took off across the globe in the early seventeenth century,[30] there

[29] Note that this trading triangle eventually spawned offshoots on the North American mainland and in the Caribbean (Pope 2004). This is when the island also became part of the Black Atlantic, because the trade of Newfoundland dried cod then also supported the trade with enslaved people (Gilroy 1993).

[30] For example, the Dutch East India Company was founded in 1602, Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec in 1604, and the Jamestown colony of the Virginia Company, backed by investors in London, was launched in 1607.

were also efforts to colonize Newfoundland by means of proprietary colonies. These were directed colonizing enterprises with which British investors, as private individuals or organized in companies, hoped to make a profit overseas (Pope 2004). The first colonization project in Newfoundland was initiated by the London and Bristol Company at Cupers Cove in 1610. However, the Cupers Cove colony, as well as a small number of similar colonizing projects initiated on the Avalon Peninsula in that period, failed the expectations of their proprietors, and by 1631, all of them had been abandoned (Cadigan 2009a). The failure of proprietary colonies was not unique to Newfoundland. For example, the Jamestown colony of the Virginia Company, founded in 1607, also failed after only seventeen years. The difference was that Virginia was immediately granted a royal charter while the Newfoundland colonizing projects were left to their fate (Cadigan 2009a). While most colonists who had come to Newfoundland in the context of the proprietary colonies returned to Europe after the support from England had ceased, a small number remained despite the challenging local circumstances. Those who stayed, it has been argued, formed another sort of nucleus besides the overwinterers of the migratory crews for the settling of Newfoundland (Cadigan 2009a; Matthews 1973; Pope 2004).

The early Newfoundland residents fished or provided local services and supplies for the migratory as well as for the emerging residential fishery. As noted above, the early resident fishers, or "planters" as they were called, borrowing a term from more land-oriented colonies, were not typical settlers who had left their home to make a new one across the ocean, like the Jamestown settlers in Virginia or the Pilgrims and Puritans in Massachusetts (Crow 2017). The colonization of Newfoundland was "desultory in the extreme" (Handcock 1989, 91) in the sense that hardly any of the early residents had planned to stay for more than just the winter between fishing seasons, let alone for the rest of their lives. Rather, they had jumped at the opportunity to escape press gangs and poverty back in England or Ireland. Many fishing servants eventually headed on to New England, and local planters and merchants, or their employees, often retired back home in England after a career in Newfoundland (Handcock 1989; Pope 2004). Two hundred years after Gilbert had claimed the island for England, most Newfoundland residents continued to consider the mother country as "the 'true' home" (Matthews 1973, 125). At the heart of this durable bond was the migratory fishery, which was efficiently operated from Britain. As a consequence, the establishment of a local government and administration was deemed unnecessary in the eyes of both British authorities and mercantile stakeholders. The lack of self-

sufficiency moreover made colonial services in Newfoundland unfeasible from a financial point of view (Cadigan 2009a). It was not until the Napoleonic wars that the umbilical cord with the mother country was finally cut. The disruptions of the war virtually ended a migratory fishery that was already in decline due to earlier international conflicts, leaving the Newfoundland cod fishery to resident fishers and the trade to a growing number of local merchant firms (Cadigan 2009a). With mercantile interests bundled locally, Newfoundland ceased to be a mere hinterland of Britain, and local reform movements soon took up momentum. Still reluctantly, Whitehall granted colonial status to the island in 1824 and representative government in 1832 (Cadigan 2009a). Around the same time, natural growth, that is, more births than deaths on the island, became the main aspect of settler population increase (Mannion 1977).

3.2 Two-fold Ambivalence From Britain

With the particularities of Newfoundland's colonizing history outlined above in mind, we are now well-positioned to identify the reasons for the conflicting positions of opposing and advocating settlement on the island held within two different stakeholder groups based in Britain during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Exposing the relevance of the two poles for both collectives then establishes a case of two-fold cultural ambivalence.

The Ambivalence of West Country Merchants

One of the British stakeholder groups with an interest in Newfoundland was the collective of West Country merchants. They had built the migratory fishery without protection or subsidy from the state and considered the island and surrounding waters as part of their own affairs. Moreover, they possessed the finances and political connections to interfere in the government's policies regarding the island (Cadigan 2009a). Since Judge John Reeves published his *History of the Government of the Island of Newfoundland* in 1793, the myth that the merchants vigorously and constantly opposed settlement has long prevailed in the local discourse (e.g. Innis 1954; McLintock 1941; Prowse 1895).[31] It was only revoked in the 1970s by historian Keith Matthews (2001 [1978]) and replaced by the view that the West Country

[31] Please note that, regarding the emergence of that myth, Peter Pope (2004) observes: “Reeves confined [his] analysis to the issue of local administration, and his factional analysis of opposition to what was called in the seventeenth century 'settled government' makes a good deal of sense. Later historians unfortunately extended the factional analysis uncritically to the question of settlement itself” (204).

merchants' position regarding settlement was far from homogeneous and certainly not exclusively oppositional. This view has since been further substantiated (e.g. Bannister 2003b; Pope 2004). I take one more step and argue that the merchants' disposition towards settlement in Newfoundland was not one of heterogeneity or inconsistency but one of collective ambivalence. This difference in perspective opens new pathways for understanding contemporary power relations and patterns of agency and facilitates a reassessment of external relations today.

The first attempts at permanent settlement in Newfoundland were the proprietary colonies in the early seventeenth century, and the reactions of some leading West Country merchants to these enterprises were, indeed, of an opposing nature (Pope 2004). The Newfoundland fishery was highly lucrative as a purely migratory enterprise, and hence, it is no surprise that any changes were regarded with deep reservations, to say the least. Settlement on the island clearly intervened with the merchants' idea of undisputed control. However, it involved practical issues as well. Shore space, that is, accessible stretches along the littoral where so-called “fishing rooms” (shore facilities for curing fish) could be erected, was rare along the rugged English Shore where the migratory fishery was operated. As a result, competition for suitable sites was fierce among English fishing crews already before settlement was attempted on the island.[32]

When proprietary colonies sprung up on the Avalon peninsula (the southern part of the English Shore) in the first half of the seventeenth century, conflicts between migratory crews and colonists about who got to use the best shore space – or merely about the *possibility* that colonists might occupy what was routinely claimed by the migratory crews – soon arose (Pope 2004). However, they were largely resolved by the general failure of the colonization projects after only short periods. An exception was David Kirke's Newfoundland Plantation at Ferryland, founded in 1637 as a successor enterprise of George Calvert's abandoned Colony of Avalon. While it was formally a proprietary colony, too, the Newfoundland Plantation flourished because it was conceived and organized differently. Rather than being an isolated sponsored colony, it was one node in a larger private trading network.[33] Moreover, Kirke

[32] The English Shore reached from Trepassey in the south of Newfoundland's east coast to Bonavista and later Fogo Island in the north. Curing lightly salted codfish involved filleting, salting, drying, and storing. Hence, besides wharves, fishing rooms included splitting rooms, platforms for drying fish (so-called “flakes”), and storage sheds.

[33] The Kirkes were wine merchants with relations to the West Country, France, and Spain. Besides the Newfoundland fishery, Kirke, Barkley & Co. was an active participant in two other major commercial arenas of seventeenth-century Canada: the St. Lawrence and the Hudson Bay fur trade (Pope 2004).

counted on flexible, vernacular diversification of the local economy instead of following approaches conceived from afar, which lacked adaptability to local conditions. When Kirke began to tax fishing ships in 1638, West Country merchants saw their worst fears regarding residents' interference with their businesses come true. Nonetheless, they temporarily tolerated the taxation, expecting that it would diminish, if not expel, Dutch competitors engaged in the transport business for fish and supplies. Ultimately, however, West Country merchants pressed Whitehall to put an end to Kirke's practices, and taxation of the fishery was prohibited by a decree in 1661 (Pope 2004).

By that time, most West Country merchants had already recognized that year-round residence on the island also bore clear benefits. Not only could overwinterers maintain the fishing rooms until they would be needed again in the spring. They could also protect them from being demolished by competing migratory crews or dismantled by Indigenous groups during the winter. Moreover, overwinterers and, eventually, residents could accommodate migratory crews upon their arrival when it was often still bitterly cold and assist in repair and subsistence during the fishing season. As early as 1678, a group of merchants openly argued with the authorities in favour of settlement for the protection of their facilities after the end of the fishing season (Cadigan 2009a). Moreover, in the eighteenth century, a growing number of residents became a lucrative clientele for British merchants who augmented their fishing operations with the trading of supplies. However, considering settlement as beneficial remained contested, and economic drawbacks were often blamed on residents, although they were generally rooted in fluctuations of external factors such as markets, fish stocks, or climate, or a combination thereof. West Country merchants also continued to struggle with sharing their originally undisputed control over Newfoundland and feared losing it altogether should a settled society emerge and colonial status be granted (Matthews 2001).

During times of war, the reasoning shifted but was still caught between the poles of advocating and opposing settlement. When the migratory fishery across the Atlantic became too great a risk and fishing crews were decimated by press gangs, British stakeholders relied on a fully-fledged resident fishery to fill the gap in order to prevent the trade with dried cod from collapsing. In these situations, extended settlement appeared clearly desirable. However, relying on the resident fishery during war times would easily strengthen it to a point where it could not be controlled anymore once peace was restored. This was exactly what happened after the extended

Napoleonic wars: the resident fishery took over, and an already declining migratory fishery came to an end in due time after 1815. British firms then entirely concentrated on transatlantic trade, supplying the resident fishers with imported goods and selling their salted cod on European markets (Matthews 1973; Cadigan 2009a). Throughout much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, while the migratory fishery was thriving, English merchants were engaged in the fishery and had strong arguments pro and contra year-round residence in Newfoundland.

In order to show that the situation is best interpreted as a case of collective ambivalence, we need to scrutinize the simultaneous relevance of these two opposing positions within the group. Looking at historical records shows a succession of one or the other stance being voiced and, hence, appears to reflect wavering rather than ambivalence. Wavering, however, is an expression of uncertainty or a lack of dedication, as described in Chapter Two, and West Country merchants – experienced and fierce entrepreneurs that they were – would arguably not have been unsure or indifferent regarding what was best for their businesses. This does not mean that, within the extended period under consideration, individual merchants or even groups would not have changed their minds regarding whether they deemed settlement in Newfoundland desirable or not. I argue, however, that at any given point in time, a large majority of them clearly prioritized either the arguments pro or contra settlement and that we can, thus, conceive of them as forming two camps within the collective. Alternating expressions in the historical records can then be explained by one or the other camp voicing their case. At the same time, the records reflect an ongoing debate between opponents and proponents of settlement, thereby exposing that the group was not simply divided but subject to internal tensions. Given that wavering lacks tension and taking the existing understanding of the historical context and its implications into account (notably the role of West Country merchants as fierce and experienced adventurers and their strong reasons pro and contra settlement), it thus turns out that collective ambivalence is not only compatible with the records but represents the best candidate to explain the situation.

The Ambivalence of the Crown

The second British stakeholder in Newfoundland was the Crown. A pillar of the country's economy, the Newfoundland fishery and its thriving ranked high on the agenda of the authorities. As a consequence, Whitehall was, in principle, exposed to the same arguments pro and contra settlement on the island as the West Country merchants were: some representatives held that

settlement would spoil the fishery, while others were convinced it would benefit it. What further enhanced the complexity of the Newfoundland case for the Crown and fuelled the opposing positions regarding settlement on the island were considerations related to the safeguarding of state political interests.

After defeating the Spanish Armada and taking the lead in Newfoundland, conflicts in Europe continued, and "between 1588 and 1815...England was involved in no less than sixteen major wars" (Matthews 1973, 35). With most of these conflicts being decided at sea, authorities were constantly anxious to secure sufficient numbers of able seamen for the Navy. The fact that the Newfoundland migratory fishery was considered a nursery of seamen, which constantly trained thousands of Englishmen for the naval service, thus added military relevance to the enterprise's value as a thriving branch of the British economy (Matthews 1973). As a result, the Crown was eager for Newfoundland to remain a seasonal fishing station where crews would commute on an annual basis to generate profit and practice their skills at sea (Bannister 2003b; Matthews 1973).

Another aspect that made British authorities refrain from envisioning Newfoundland as a settled colony has already been mentioned. By exposing the lack of agricultural potential, the failed attempts of proprietary colonization had demonstrated that settler self-sufficiency on the island was highly precarious, if not illusory, and the development of a local gentry unlikely. Hence, if a settled European society developed and colonial status was granted, both subsistence and services would have to be provided and funded largely by Britain, a scenario that the Colonial Office was determined to avoid by all means (Bannister 2003b). As a consequence, regarding Newfoundland as a resource periphery and naval training ground without a permanent population – and keeping it as such – had an inner logic for British authorities.

However, there were also strong state political arguments in favour of settlement on the island. British rule over Newfoundland was not uncontested. France continued to compete with Britain in the Newfoundland fishery, and, in the seventeenth century, French attempts to colonize the island were, in fact, more determined than those by England, as the foundation of the fortified French settlement Plaisance in Placentia Bay in 1662 attests (Cadigan 2009a). Plaisance was only abandoned after the Treaty of Utrecht gave full sovereign possession of the island to Britain and made French settlement illegal in 1713. The English-French frictions in

Newfoundland continued, however. The Treaty, while prohibiting French permanent settlement on the island, continued to grant the French fishing rights along what became known as the "French Shore." It comprised long stretches of the Newfoundland coast, first from Cape Bonavista to Point Riche and then (from 1783 until 1903, when France surrendered all of its rights in Newfoundland) from Cape St. John to Cape Ray (Cadigan 2009a). The French rights conceded shore access only for the restocking of supplies, and, in order to level the playing field, it was agreed that local residents of British or Irish descent would not settle along the French Shore either. This constraint, however, was not adhered to. Anglophone residents moved in, which prompted France to demand the *de facto* recognition of exclusive fishing rights along the French Shore. The granting of those rights after 1787, which implied the expulsion of Anglo-Irish fishers not only from the related shorelines but from the adjacent waters as well, was a severe blow and reflects that British sovereignty on the island was, indeed, still vulnerable (Matthews 1973). Clearly, the expulsion of British residents from parts of the island and its waters to suit French interests was feasible and, in fact, conceivable only in light of a still extremely low population density in Newfoundland. Hence, this incident fed the argument that the continued French competition for territory and resources in and around Newfoundland could ultimately only be terminated by reinforcing British claims to the island through more substantial permanent settlement (Matthews 1973).

We thus find that, during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Whitehall faced circumstances that bore convincing arguments pro and contra settlement in Newfoundland. The fact that – with commerce and territoriality, and ultimately power and hegemony – the arguments involved domains of major nationalistic significance clearly assigned relevance to both opposing positions. This is why I argue that, although historical records again confront us with a *sequence* of contradictory legislation, speaking of another case of cultural ambivalence – namely of the collective type and in the form of two debating camps with clashing convictions – is more reasonable than assuming vacillation or wavering. This argument is substantiated by the records of the fierce debate regarding settlement in Newfoundland between two opposing factions who coexisted within government circles in the period under consideration (Bannister 2003b; Handcock 1989; Pope 2004). The vacillating legislation then reflects the alternating success of one or the other camp of the ambivalent collective having their arguments implemented into the contemporary legal body.

As the two stances are at times conflated, I would like to point out that Whitehall's ambivalence towards settlement and their ambivalence towards the establishment of a colony on the island eventually overlapped, but they were not the same. Long before the Crown started to think about the colonial status of Newfoundland, settlement on the island was repeatedly actively discouraged. The opposition to settlement was originally not about avoiding the costs of colonial services and administration. It was about exerting control over fishing people to secure them for the Navy in times of war and about keeping the island as an alleged *terra nullius* for British adventurers to exploit at their discretion. Similarly, when settlement on the island was advocated by Whitehall, it was not with a genuine interest in founding a colony but with preventing French hegemony in mind. The ambivalence towards settlement thus developed before the ambivalence towards colonial status, and it included central elements that were not, or not primarily, financial in nature. Naturally, however, as the eighteenth century unrolled and the number of more or less permanent settlers on the island increased, the controversy shifted away from settlement *per se* and towards the question of whether and which colonial services the Newfoundland resident population should be granted. Yet, the resulting ambivalence towards a settled society arguably never reached the momentum of the earlier ambivalence towards settlement, as it was concerned with administrative and monetary details rather than with questions of power and hegemony in the context of imperial expansion and exploitation.

Regarding the position of British merchants, it has been argued that they actually favoured *restricted* settlement with just enough residents to service the migratory crews but without the power of making claims to fishing grounds or shoreland and too small in numbers to establish their own society (Matthews 2001). In fact, restricted settlement – large enough to fend French aspirations, small enough to have sufficient numbers of mariners for naval service residing in Britain and to justify withholding colonial status – would also have suited the Crown. However, continued limitation of settlement was an unrealistic endeavour, as were repeated proposals to reduce it (Alexander 1976). By the eighteenth century, it was evident that, as long as settlement was not radically inhibited, it would continue to grow despite the harsh conditions on the island and the precariousness of the Atlantic fishery. The reasons were widespread poverty and overpopulation, as well as frequent and increasingly violent activities of press gangs in the British Isles (Cadigan 2009a). Systematic opposition to settlement, however, would have easily eradicated a vulnerable resident population on the island altogether. Assuming that leading representatives of

both stakeholder collectives were well cognizant of this delicate scenario, they were, thus, left to deal with the question of whether to embrace or reject settlement in Newfoundland altogether, as reflected in the opposed camps in extended debate within both groups.

3.3 The Ambivalence towards Settlement at Work: Manifestations and Effects

The ambivalence of British stakeholders towards settlement was at work as a shaping element in the emerging Newfoundland culture and resonates in the local society to the present day. To expose this, I first present direct manifestations of the ambivalence. They also serve as illustrations because they reflect the pattern of the simultaneous relevance of the opposing conceptions. I then turn to more mediate effects that do not exhibit that pattern. Together, these expressions and effects of cultural ambivalence allow for the reassessment and reinterpretation of power hierarchies and questions of agency and creativity in early settler Newfoundland. Moreover, they shed new light on phenomena such as the local propensity for conservatism and the distinct ambivalence towards Britain, which can still be observed today.

Legislative Confusion

The British ambivalence regarding Newfoundland vividly manifested itself in the contemporary legislation. At times, Whitehall's ambivalence revealed itself in inaction, notably in the first half of the eighteenth century (Bannister 2003b). When Newfoundland was addressed, the combined ambivalence of both British stakeholders provoked a collection of acts, orders, and charters that were either ill-conceived individually or inconsistent collectively, or both. In the following, I will give an overview of key legislation in the period under consideration. The immediate picture that emerges is one of anomaly and confusion. Where other authors have left it at this (Greene 1999; Mercer 2021), reading the legislative tangle through the lens of ambivalence will enable us to perceive processes that engendered productive outcomes and trace distinct effects besides uncertainty and diffuse conceptions of backwardness.

The Western Charter of 1634, the first official decree issued for Newfoundland, contented itself with formalizing the existing vernacular rule of the so-called “fishing admirals,” rather than

arranging official jurisdiction on site.[34] Moreover, by protecting the migratory fishers' use of land, timber, and shore facilities against that of the residents, the Charter clearly favoured the British fishing crews. However, at the same time, it recognized the existence of local residents, which is why it has been acknowledged as an expression of "the ambivalence of English state policy towards the growing interdependence of residents and migratory fishing interests" (Cadigan 2009a, 48). I contend, moreover, that the Charter was a specific facet of the Crown's ambivalence towards settlement and equally spawned by non-commercial, state-political considerations, as described in the previous section.

Only three years later, a charter prohibited the building of dwellings within six miles of the coast, thereby effectively ruling out settlement because landward resources alone did not sustain a living for settlers in Newfoundland. This so-called "six-mile rule" was abandoned in 1653, and, in 1661, a new issue of the Western Charter encouraged settlement as a side effect of a clause originally designed to target the by-boat keepers as competitors of the migratory crews (Pope 2004). By-boat keepers travelled to and from Newfoundland onboard the fishing ships on an annual basis but kept their own boats in Newfoundland and fished independently of the migratory crews. To impede this practice, the 1661 Charter forbade the carrying of passengers on ships destined for Newfoundland, except "such as are to plant and do intend to settle there" (Pope 2004, 194). It thus explicitly allowed the transportation of prospective settlers and arguably enticed more than a few migrating by-boat keepers to consider permanent residence on the island.

The resuscitation of the six-mile rule in 1671 to restore the migratory crews' control of the shore was followed in 1675 by what was conceived as the ultimate measure against residence on island. At the pressure of the West Country merchants who blamed a crisis in the fishery on residential competition, the Committee for Trade and Plantations declared settlement in Newfoundland illegal and ordered the removal of all permanent residents from the island. However, the order was revoked as unpractical and impracticable only two years later (Pope 2004).

In 1699, King William's Act introduced the naval commodore of the squadron responsible for protecting the migratory fishing fleet against pirate raiding on its return trip across the Atlantic as the appeal justice for cases brought before the fishing admirals. In doing so, the decree both laid the foundation for placing Newfoundland under seasonal rule of the Royal Navy

[34] Custom had it that the captain of the first migratory fishing ship arriving in a Newfoundland bay or cove in spring would be appointed "fishing admiral" and in charge of dealing with all disputes arising during the ensuing season.

and codified the vernacular tradition of the fishing admirals. Moreover, and of prime interest in the context of settlement, the Act reserved all shore space that had been occupied by resident fishers after 1685 for the migratory fishery. What was intended to benefit the migratory crews factually recognized landed property of residential fishing people that was acquired before 1685. In sum, King William's Act promoted permanent settlement without civilian government, a scenario that has been recognized as incoherent and ultimately untenable (Bannister 2003b; Matthews 1973). What may otherwise appear as merely illogical makes sense when viewed in light of the British ambivalence of opposing and supporting settlement. In Chapter Two, we have described how embracing is a precondition for sensible and ultimately productive dealings with ambivalence. King William's Act, in its incoherence and untenability, can then be understood as a token of the Crown's ignorance or avoidance of the simultaneous relevance of settlement and its prevention. In other words, although the opposing Whitehall camps were in constant debate, neither appears to have truly embraced the relevance of the position of the respective other.

Palliser's Act of 1775 (conceived by and named after a former naval governor to Newfoundland) was then again clearly intended to discourage settlement. By granting fishing servants the first lien on their master's catch and by requiring the master to deduct the amount for the return voyage to Europe from a servant's wage and to buy the ticket, the Act aimed to prevent servants from staying in Newfoundland because they were unable or unwilling to afford the passage home. The Act moreover included the directive that not more than half of the wages could be advanced in supplies during the season, whereas the other half was payable in Britain or Ireland upon the servant's return (Bannister 2003b). Despite these strong incentives for leaving Newfoundland after the fishing season, Palliser's Act completely failed its purpose. By protecting fishing servants against the quite realistic threat of their master's insolvency through the lien system, it strengthened their rights in Newfoundland as compared to England or Ireland and made the transatlantic island an attractive place for a prolonged stay or actual residence (Cadigan 2009a). It is important to note that the Act could have succeeded, or at least not fully failed its purpose, had it been interpreted and implemented with the original intention in mind. However, the naval officers who chaired the surrogate courts throughout rural Newfoundland naturally focused on those sections of the Act that applied to the cases that were brought before them, which were largely about a master's incapacity or unwillingness to pay his servant (Bannister 2003b). In these cases, however, Palliser's Act was clearly pro-fishing servant. The part that

codified that half of the wage would only be disbursed upon return to the British Isles appears to have been a lesser source of dispute or grief, arguably because – against the directive of the Act – wages were increasingly already consumed by supplies on credit during the fishing season (Crowley 1989). At any rate, the potential financial losses did obviously not outweigh the advantages offered by Newfoundland labour legislation, as codified in Palliser's Act, and the resident population grew substantially in its wake (Handcock 1989).

Palliser's Act, as a measure to prevent the settlement of fishing servants in Newfoundland, was ultimately transformed into the contrary in 1802 when the Supreme Court in St. John's ruled that servants could now regularly receive their entire wages on site (Cadigan 1995). The Act and its local implementation, which resulted in the opposite of its original intentions, immediately reflect the ambivalence of British authorities, with one camp opposing settlement (Palliser and like-minded people in Britain who wanted to make sure fishing servants returned after the season) and another recognizing and acknowledging it (representatives of the Royal Navy in Newfoundland who enticed fishing servants to stay by enforcing their rights on site).

***

The legislative tangle described above vividly illustrates how British stakeholders were caught between the opposing stances of supporting and impeding settlement in Newfoundland. Drawing on the ways of imagining ambivalence at work as a balancing act or dynamic equilibrium, as developed in Chapter Two, that tangle offers ground for tracing further implications and effects.

Negative Freedom and the Baffling of Administrative Order

The collection of contradictory acts and decrees can be interpreted as an expression of the field of tension between opposing interests with regard to settlement in Newfoundland that British authorities found themselves in. Moreover, I suggest that it reflects the fact that the Crown did not truly acknowledge and reflect the ambivalence it found itself in, as I have already contended specifically for King William's Act above. Otherwise, the ambivalence would likely have prompted more creative legislative approaches and more productive outcomes. Put differently, we can assume that the Newfoundland case and the ambivalence it prompted represented an energy drain for Whitehall rather than a stimulant of creativity. Indeed, historical records tell us that the tedious process of conceiving policies for Newfoundland often went at the

expense of the willingness, ability, and determination to enforce them, or to address the Newfoundland case altogether (Bannister 2003b). At the same time, and in conjunction with the distance from the metropolis, the Crown's indetermination gave early island residents greater freedom to ignore unfavourable legislation, as, for instance, the six-mile rule. Rather than moving further inland, which would have prohibited the pursuit of the Atlantic fishery, residents stayed by the coast and avoided conflicts with migratory crews by moving to less-frequented coves or shifting into the maintenance and repair or, eventually, the hospitality industries (Pope 2004). While this represented largely what Isiah Berlin (1969) conceived as "negative freedom," that is, merely the absence of interference (as opposed to "positive freedom" in the sense of possessing the means to realize one's goals), it was still more than the lower classes could afford in the mother country and most other colonial locales (Linebaugh and Rediker 2013). Indeed, British inactivity regarding the Newfoundland case in the first half of the eighteenth century has been acknowledged as "salutory neglect" (Matthews 1973, 180). As a result of resident fishing people tapping this negative freedom, Whitehall was confronted with an increasingly entrenched settler population that was evermore difficult to control, let alone uproot altogether. The related undermining of the power hierarchies between British administration and Newfoundland resident population has been nicely illustrated by George Story (1969), who observed that, in the later seventeenth century, "Newfoundland...continued to baffle orderly administrative minds. The best that they could do was to hope that the resident fishermen and their families would somehow go away, and meanwhile to pretend that they did not exist" (15). We thus find that Whitehall's unacknowledged ambivalence compromised their capacity to control the situation, which, in turn, opened spaces for agency for Newfoundland residents.

The Rebuttal of the Myth of Constant Neglect

Following a similar line of argument, the ambivalence expressed by the inconsistent legal body presented above suggests that the repeated neglect of Newfoundland by British authorities (Bannister 2003b) was not merely a lack of interest, let alone a sign of disregard. Rather, the time and energy-consuming ambivalence inherent to the Newfoundland case at times left policymakers no choice but to drop it in favour of other topics that needed their immediate attention. At other times, they may have been simply incapable of coming up with a meaningful approach or merely overwhelmed. In this light, the lack of attention Newfoundlanders were

repeatedly experiencing in the period under consideration was not so much the result of indifference or actual contempt as it was an expression of the complexity their case represented. This viewing angle is worthwhile because it challenges the dismissive element inherent to the myth of constant neglect, that is, the recurring local narrative that conceives the lack of attention by various outside parties (such as the British and later the Canadian Federal Government, or international finance and industry) as an offence (e.g. Blackmore 2003; Jackson 1984; O'Flaherty 1979; Prowse 1895; Peckford 1983). Recognizing instead that, in many respects, Newfoundland represented and still represents a complex case that can, at times, stretch the capacities of external parties, I suggest, has the potential to increase patience and self-confidence on the Newfoundland side and to create a more fruitful climate for exchange and discussion between local and outside stakeholders.

Protraction of Settlement Reproduced and Reimagined

As outlined earlier in this chapter, the settlement of Newfoundland from Europe differed from the colonization of most other locales in early modern times in a number of ways. One particularity was the extremely long time it took for a settled society to develop. Until the late eighteenth century, Newfoundland still featured what Matthews (1973) called "a pattern of semi-settlement" (232). Population numbers were below one thousand and fluctuated heavily in the seventeenth century, and stagnated at a few thousand throughout much of the eighteenth century. The number of reported overwinterers – not to speak of permanent residents – did not reliably exceed 10,000 until the 1780s (Bannister 2003b; Handcock 1989; Pope 2004). Between Sir Humphrey Gilbert's claim of Newfoundland for the English Crown in 1583 and the granting of colonial status in 1824 lay 241 years. Nova Scotia – which was comparable to Newfoundland in many ways in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – had already become a Crown colony in 1758. I argue that there were two key reasons for the protraction of the settling process in Newfoundland: the scarcity of arable land and the British stakeholders' ambivalence towards settlement.

The minor agricultural potential of Newfoundland limited residents' capacity for self-sufficiency and the accumulation of wealth. In fact, in combination with operating a precarious industry such as the Atlantic fishery, it created extreme uncertainty because subsistence was never secured beyond the next season, and, in times of crisis, it failed to be granted at all. Moreover, as we have seen, the British ambivalence regarding settlement throughout the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries manifested itself in the lack of a coherent legislative approach to Newfoundland. As a consequence, at least until the mid-1700s, residential status remained contested, and civil, criminal, as well as property-related jurisdiction was not exactly absent but less predictable or simply available for the lower classes than in places with colonial legislature and administration (Bannister 2003b; McEwen 1978). Indeed, it was not until 1819 that Newfoundlanders' right to own their homes and the land they had built on was put on a solid legal foundation (Story 1969). These deficits in legislation and administration inhibited the capacity to plan ahead and augmented the precariousness inherent to pursuing small fishing enterprises in a place that regularly defied self-sustenance. The resulting multilayered climate of uncertainty inhibited concepts of settling down and starting and raising a family. Until well into the eighteenth century, most wealthier residents eventually returned to England while many less propertied went on to New England (Mannion 1977; Pope 2004). As a consequence, the development of a settled society was protracted compared with other places, and so was the grant of colonial status. This protraction is also illustrated by Gordon Handcock's (1989) observation that, with the few remaining colonists from the proprietary colonies and the transient residents from the ranks of the migratory fishery, "all the major components...*which at later stages had the effective impact of converting Newfoundland into a settled society*, were initiated or well established" (68, emphasis added). By sidestepping a description of how and in which time span these early residents contributed to the creation of a settled society, the quote perfectly reflects both the indeterminateness and the complexity, and ultimately the protraction, of the settling process in Newfoundland. As wrapped up by David Alexander (1976), in Newfoundland, "the growth of a resident population was painfully slow" (58). Hence, rather than restricting settlement on the island below the critical numbers that would entail an emerging society, the collective ambivalence of British stakeholders further protracted a process that was equally slowed down by natural conditions but ultimately unstoppable.

The observation that the ambivalent mindset of British authorities and West Country merchants towards settlement in Newfoundland aggravated the climate of uncertainty for resident fishing folk and ultimately effected a protraction of the development of a settled society reproduces earlier findings (Matthews 1973; Handcock 1989). The augmented space for local agency that the ambivalence induced by creating negative freedom, as described above, however, encourages us to enter new analytical ground and wonder whether early residents, rather than simply being subjected

to the situation, did not have their share in that protraction. Substantiating this hypothesis, we will also further impel the dismantling of the long-perpetuated myth that the relations between early residents and West Country merchants or their representatives were governed exclusively by "struggles and vicissitudes of two contending interests" (Reeves 1793: 1).[35]

Conceiving of early residents in terms of people who had more freedom for agency than is usually acknowledged, we find that there were, indeed, good reasons why they would not have merely suffered from the protraction of the development of a settled society. Servants who enjoyed enhanced rights in Newfoundland, which were ultimately also codified in Palliser's Act, had little reason to object to the informal nature of the administrative and legal systems on the island. While the legal situation was more problematic for their masters (the resident planters), as it provided hardly any space to buffer the losses of bad fishing years, they, too, benefited from the volatile nature of the early Newfoundland society. The population increase implied by a fully settled society would have (and eventually has) aggravated an already fierce competition for shore space and other resources like timber or cultivatable land, not to mention fish. Hence, there is reason to assume that the early, "unsettled" Newfoundland society, with its low population density and peculiar vernacular legal body, has been more satisfactory for local planters than is still often supposed. In fact, Newfoundland fishing people actively contributed to perpetuating the local "truck" system – a cashless trading system symptomatic for (unsettled) frontier societies – into the twentieth century, as will be described in more detail in Chapter Four. Ultimately, the idea of a common satisfaction with the frontier society in Newfoundland also suggests that "struggles and vicissitudes" better describe the dynamics between opposing camps within the ambivalent British stakeholder groups than reflecting the relations between residents, merchants, and migratory crews (who benefited from the residents' services) on the island.[36]

Another element by which early residents contributed – if unconsciously – to protracting settlement, I suggest, was their mobility. Records show a high rate of transient residents in the period considered here. Servants and planters made use of the ample opportunities to go home or move on to New England and beyond along the regular trading routes within the Atlantic Triangle (Handcock 1989; Pope 2004). Within Newfoundland as

[35] As noted earlier, this myth was not so much enacted by Reeves himself as by later authors' misinterpretation of his observations (Pope 2004).

[36] Occasional reports of migratory crews demolishing fishing rooms of residents, as described by Gordon Handcock (1989), I contend, reflect exceptions, not the rule.

well, there are indicators for a certain mobility of seventeenth-century residents (Handcock 1989).[37] The mobility of early residents clearly fed into the protraction of the development of a fully sedentary society. This is not meant to obscure that their mobility was also a product of the prolonged, ambivalence-induced uncertainty regarding status and property rights on the island. If I cannot properly own the place I live in, I am less inclined to stay – or quicker to leave – once opportunities on site decline or more promising prospects arise elsewhere.[38] Or, more drastically, if I am prohibited to make a living (as by the six-mile rule) or threatened to be deported from the island altogether (as a consequence of the order to remove settlers), I am clearly enticed to move on to new bays and coves that are not or less frequented by British parties. Early residents thus found themselves in a position that implied both the need to adapt to externally shaped circumstances and a certain freedom of choice with respect to their place of residence. This can be understood as a precursor of the ambivalence of autonomy and dependence, of which I will study the fully developed variant in Chapter Four. In any case, the combination of the need for adaption and freedom of choice Newfoundland residents experienced in the context of mobility in the early days of settlement bore more space for agency than other colonial subjects or indentured labourers in the British Isles enjoyed.[39]

The above shows how the lens of ambivalence has the capacity to change our view of histories, thus enabling us to explore latent potentialities and trace alternative realities. In our case, once we had identified the enhanced freedom early Newfoundland residents enjoyed as a result of the British ambivalence towards settlement in the context of local governance, we were also enticed to look for hitherto unrecognized spaces of agency in other realms of the local society in the making. As a consequence, we were able to challenge the view that early residents were mere pawns in the hands of the powerful with respect to the protraction of a settled society in Newfoundland.

---

[37] Thanks to the British controversy regarding settlement, there is a series of nominal censuses in the second half of the seventeenth century, but they were discontinued in many Newfoundland settlements after 1708, which impedes mobility studies beyond that date (Handcock 1989).

[38] In German, the term for real property is *Immobilie*, which signifies something that cannot be moved. (Note that moving homes is uncommon in Europe, where houses are traditionally built from bricks or other stones.) This nicely illustrates the argument that solid real property rights also tend to immobilize the owner. In the reverse picture, the absence of those rights will leave people with enhanced mobility.

[39] Note that, while my analysis here might appear to conflate changing local realities over an extended period of time, it takes as its basis the British ambivalence towards settlement, which largely spanned the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, when a Newfoundland resident population had become a factual reality, this ambivalence then becomes, in fact, less useful as an interpretive tool.

An Enlightened and Efficient System of Governance

The inconsistent legal body for Newfoundland, which was propelled by the ambivalence of the British stakeholders, figures in yet another effect. While, in its entirety, it was inconsistent and augmented the climate of uncertainty in Newfoundland, parts of that legislation have, in fact, been integrated into a complex yet effective system of governance that suited most Newfoundlanders well until the 1820s.

In 1729, driven by the ambivalence towards settlement, Whitehall assigned the position of governor of Newfoundland to the acting commodore of the naval squadron for Newfoundland. Whereas the island now had a governor like other colonies, the appointment was not endowed with the ruling powers governors commonly held (Bannister 2003b). Indeed, what looked like a step towards colonial status factually put Newfoundland under military rule. In practice, the situation was even more complex. The introduction of a naval governor while fishing admirals continued to operate in the outports according to King William's Act transformed the incoherent circumstances into a fully-fledged legal pluralism with vernacular and naval authorities administering a blend of statutory, customary, and locally adapted common law (Bannister 2003b). This scenario naturally implied a strong potential for conflict and disorder. As it turned out, however, the situation fostered creative interpretation and overall efficient operation instead. Both the vernacular rule of the fishing admirals and the naval regime have long been considered not only precarious but highly repressive of the resident population (Harris 1968; Prowse 1896; Reeves 1793). More recent research has shown, however, that the two systems, which overlapped in a hybrid regime for several decades, produced an effective and resilient administrative system in Newfoundland by 1750 that lasted until colonial status was granted in 1824 (Bannister 2003b). A key figure was Commodore George B. Rodney, who served as Newfoundland governor from 1749 to 1751. Rodney, on his own initiative and without official backing, introduced several new elements into the administration of law on the island, which made the fragmented system strikingly coherent and efficient. The Colonial Secretary's Letterbook, the first repository for local records, institutionalized law and government in a manner never before attempted and provided it with an air of transparency and reproducibility. The new system of surrogate courts built on earlier practices of naval officers settling local disputes, but it was Rodney who ensured that it reached into nearly every outport along the shores under English control. Moreover, the naval officers who chaired the courts operated according to commissions that set local customary law on an equal

footing with statutory law (Bannister 2003b). This acknowledgement of local customs was key to the great acceptance of the surrogate courts among the rural population and the absorption of the fishing admirals into the system. Hence, the complex and potentially conflict-laden scenario rooted in the ambivalence towards settlement was mined to create a functional and site-specific system of governance, which has been considered more enlightened and efficient than the British original (Matthews 1973). The efficacy of the system was further enhanced by the fact that, in contrast to other colonial magistrates, Newfoundland's justices could count on the regular presence of the Royal Navy to reinforce their authority (Matthews 1973).

The emergence of a productive system of governance from an inconsistent collection of acts and decrees reflects that the British ambivalence did not only open spaces for agency by the resident fishing people. It also gave those involved in the Newfoundland jurisdiction – the naval governors and commodores, magistrates, and fishing admirals – the freedom and, indeed, the tacit mandate to go beyond administering the law as codified by Britain by creatively shaping it. As a result, notably the naval officers actively transgressed their responsibilities to provide for a coherent and efficient system of governance (Bannister 2003b).

As far as governance and jurisdiction were concerned, Newfoundland in the age of British ambivalence towards settlement was, thus, a dynamic and malleable space. The fact that the processual and experimental approach worked decently well reflects a measure of engagement and responsibility of those involved that is commonly unacknowledged and further challenges the narrative of dismissive neglect by the mother country.

Newfoundland Ambivalence Towards Britain

The emergence of the ambivalence of Newfoundlanders towards Britain exposed in the following was a direct effect of the British ambivalence towards Newfoundland rather than a result of the legislative tangle it induced, such as the processes discussed above. Like those processes, however, it further challenges the view of Newfoundlanders as mere recipients of outside assessment and regulation (or actual oppression) and strengthens their position as agents, if as a responding rather than a proactive party.

The British ambivalence towards settlement in Newfoundland engendered two contrary conceptions of the place. The contra-settlement camp's idea was summed up by the metaphor of "a great ship moored near the Banks during the fishing season, for the convenience of English

fishermen," as British imperial official William Knox described the island in 1793 (quoted in Prowse 1895, xix). Residents did not fit into this picture of a ship or temporary fishing station and were considered "squatters" (Pope 2004, 2). The pro-settlement camp envisioned the island as a society fashioned along the blueprints of other British overseas colonies (and ultimately Britain).

The opposing British views of Newfoundland, I suggest, prompted an ambivalence of Newfoundlanders regarding their conception of Britain that survives to the present day. It is reflected in the nurturing of a European heritage while simultaneously engaging in a distinct regionalism. This observation caught my attention early on and ultimately made me hypothesize that ambivalence might be a shaping force of the local culture, and I propose that it is also at the core of what George Story has referred to as "the familiar Newfoundland ambivalence towards the mother country" (Story 1997, 89). While ambivalence towards the metropolis is typical for settler societies more generally (e.g. Memmi 2003; Veracini 2010), I argue below that, in Newfoundland, this ambivalence was moreover a response to the British ambivalence towards settlement and colonial status in early modern times. This double-layered basis then also explains its entrenchment and longevity here.

The first mechanism of how the British ambivalence towards Newfoundland may have resulted in a Newfoundland ambivalence towards Britain that comes to mind is arguably the following. British conceptions of Newfoundland as a settled colony after the blueprint of Britain induced feelings of identification with Britain in Newfoundland residents. The denial of settled status, on the other hand, forced Newfoundlanders to develop their own economic, societal, and cultural means to deal with a precarious industry and a harsh environment, thus prompting their dissociation from the mother country. I suggest, however, that, perhaps ironically, it was the other way around. Rather than the British conception of Newfoundland as a settled society, it was the image of the island as the fishing station that was moored "hardly out of the smoke of [Britain's] chimney[s]" (Goodridge quoted in Crocker 2017, 436) that created a profound and lasting identification of Newfoundland residents with Britain. The image also illustrates the anti-settlement and later anti-colonial status faction's argument that the island was simply part of Britain's backyard and, thus, did not require its own government and administration. The originally migratory nature of the Newfoundland fishery was both at the roots and an expression of this stance. Because of the relatively small distance from the British Isles to Newfoundland, annual commuting to the fishing grounds with finance and organization centred in Britain was

economically viable, at least as long as major conflicts did not turn the Atlantic into a battleground. The successful industry then created powerful ties between the British Isles and the Atlantic outpost. It was only when wars (notably the American Revolutionary War and the Napoleonic Wars) had ultimately ended the migratory fishery, and colonial status was finally granted to Newfoundland in 1824 that those ties were lastingly damaged, and Newfoundlanders distanced themselves from the mother country. After leading a "twilight" existence (Story 1997, 104) as a hinterland for so long, they were eager to promote their own distinct identity and culture once they had stepped into the light of official colonial recognition.[40] In contrast to first intuition, the close ties with the mother country that still exist today – as perhaps most obviously reflected in the borrowing from the British flag design for the provincial one – can, thus, be traced to the migratory fishery and the image of the Newfoundland fishing station moored in Britain's backyard. The realization of the island as a settled colony, on the other hand, induced tendencies to promote a genuinely Newfoundland culture and identity.

While the ties with the mother country and the related identification were inherited or received, their rejection in the form of insisting on a distinct identity was clearly an issue of agency. At any rate, Newfoundland's multilayered and lasting ambivalence towards Britain renders the conceptions of the history of British-Newfoundland relations more even or symmetrical: not only had British stakeholders conflicting ideas about the role of Newfoundland, Newfoundlanders developed equally conflicting sentiments regarding Britain. This mutual ambivalence then exposes the undermining of colonial power hierarchies described above as a reflection of Homi Bhabba's point that "ambivalence disrupts the clear-cut authority of colonial domination because it disturbs the simple relationship between colonizer and colonized" (Ashcroft et al. 2013, 13).

Newfoundlanders' ambivalent sentiments towards Britain seeded in the early days of settlement were further enhanced in the course of history. The most prominent context in this regard was arguably the battle of Beaumont Hamel, France in World War One, where the Newfoundland Regiment was sent to certain defeat on July 1st, 1916. As a unit of volunteers who fought alongside their former British compatriots, the Newfoundland Regiment itself was a clear

[40] It has to be noted that this process was rooted within the urban elite because, by the time colonial status was granted, rural Newfoundland (which comprised virtually the entire island except St. John's) had become increasingly isolated from the only city on the island and the outer world more generally (Cadigan 2009b; Mannion 1977).

expression of identification with Britain. The extremely high fatality of the forlorn battle, then, which could, in fact, have been anticipated by the British admiralty, may not have disrupted Newfoundlanders' solidarity with Britain in the face of the German aggressor. It did reinforce their sense of having a distinct national identity, however, even when the narrative that Beaumont Hamel "crippled" (Harding 2006, 24) Newfoundland's actual nationhood eventually developed. Furthermore, over the years, the awareness that Britain could and should have prevented the tragedy took hold locally and antagonized Newfoundlanders (Harding 2006). The net effect of these conflicting psychological mechanisms – identification with Britain on the one hand and differentiation and antagonizing on the other – I contend, enhanced the feelings of ambivalence towards the former mother country and, hence, the relational symmetry between the two.

Relating Beaumont Hamel and its legacy with a Newfoundland-Britain relationship at eye level is not new. The lens of ambivalence, however, allows us to do so against the full picture, that is, without neglecting either the colonial bonds that still existed between the two before confederation or Britain's active role in causing the tragedy. This makes the battle's role in shaping the Newfoundland identity more than a myth.

Speculations on Endurance and Conservatism

Another effect of the ambivalence of British stakeholders towards settlement in Newfoundland is harder to trace and, hence, more speculative, but I want to address it with all due caution nonetheless. I suggest that the ambivalence of British stakeholders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries fostered a distinct capacity for endurance among rural Newfoundlanders. Endurance is considered to be required when conditions are difficult, and withdrawal is not an option.[41] Environmental conditions in Newfoundland, including the barren land and the short growing season, were harsh compared with those in the mainland colonies, especially those further to the south. Moreover, and in contrast to the mainland, where people could, in principle, freely move on to less populated or more fertile grounds if required, leaving the island of Newfoundland implied costs for the fare as well as the abandonment of more bulky belongings. Finally, when the American revolutionary war broke out in 1775, the connections to New England, a popular destination for those who wanted to move on from Newfoundland, were drastically thinned

[41] Merriam-Webster defines endurance as "the ability to withstand hardship or adversity; especially, the ability to sustain a prolonged stressful effort or activity."

(Cadigan 2009a). Already at this point, it could be argued that the situation demanded a good amount of endurance from residents living on largely inarable lands and occupied in an industry as precarious as the Atlantic fishery. I argue, however, that Newfoundlanders' capacity for endurance was truly propelled by the ambivalence of the British stakeholders regarding residential status on the island and that the precarious lifestyle was merely a backdrop to this scene. My argument is based on the suggestion that, other than bitterness or despair, endurance implies hope for betterment and that, in Newfoundland, such hope was, indeed, justified. When residents were confronted with particularly adverse conditions regarding their rights and status, they had good reasons to assume these would eventually come to an end because the ambivalence of British stakeholders implied that periods of repression regularly alternated with more favourable approaches. The act of 1675, which prohibited settlement, for instance, only lasted two years and was, in fact, never enforced, and the six-mile rule was repeatedly instantiated and revoked. A distinct capacity for endurance also interlocks with my earlier observation that Newfoundlanders originally enjoyed an enhanced level of (negative) freedom to ride out adverse legislation until it was eventually overturned or simply outdated.

Newfoundlanders' capacity for endurance is a common trope within the local discourse (e.g. Blackmore 2003; Chafe 2008; Gwyn 1999; O'Flaherty 1979; Poole 1982). A particularly vivid example is Ray Guy's description of what Sandra Gwyn (1976) has called “the Newfoundland mystique” (40): “Endure, endure, endure... Sometimes the mute endurance of rocks, sometimes the roaring endurance of a stout bull… sometimes the fluid endurance of the waters around us that only look soft” (quoted in Gwyn 1976, 45). Bitterness, on the other hand, figures more rarely. Indeed, author John Steffler explicitly remarks on its absence in an interview: “Unlike the old prairie farmers who often became dour, god-smitten and bitter in their struggle with the land, Newfoundlanders have stayed high-spirited, compassionate and playful in the full recognition of the unfairness and awful vulnerability of life” (quoted in Hernáez Lerena 2015, 300). Viewed in light of the climate of British ambivalence, which gave reason for hope for better days, I suggest that the Newfoundland propensity for endurance rather than bitterness acquires enhanced comprehensibility and can, hence, not be dismissed as a mere trope or perpetuated myth.

A distinct capacity for endurance can, in turn, have different implications, which may be considered indirect or secondary effects of the underlying ambivalence. It can imply what I would call “prudent conservatism,” which helps to succeed in scenarios where betterment cannot

be actively achieved and where others, less prudently enduring, would have failed or given up. In this context, endurance is likely to induce a sense of self-confidence and pride and is, hence, potentially productive. In Newfoundland, that sense of pride has been observed by a number of authors (e.g. Blackmore 2003; Jackson 1984; Poole 1982). As a method of deferral born out of self-doubt and the fear of aggravating an undesirable yet bearable situation, however, endurance can entail inertia and passivity, where experimentation and action would be indicated. This could be labelled "entrenched conservatism." Entrenched conservatism was at play in the organization and operation of the Newfoundland fishery, which remained largely unchanged for centuries despite recurrent crises in the industry. The suspicion of strangers, a typical feature of Newfoundland outports until at least the mid-twentieth century (Faris 1973; Firestone 1967; Hallett 2004; Szwed 1966), can also be understood as a manifestation of conservatism, which arguably implied both prudent and entrenched elements.

The propensity for conservatism in Newfoundland is further elucidated in the following chapter, where I study the climate of autonomy and dependence in fishing communities, which peaked after outports had become increasingly isolated places in the early nineteenth century. The above suggests, however, that, with the enhanced capacity for endurance, the seeds for a distinct conservatism within the Newfoundland culture had already been planted by ambivalent stakeholders across the Atlantic in the early days of settlement.

3.4 Conclusion

The complex position of British stakeholders regarding settlement in Newfoundland has been subject to intense analysis before. Developing it as a case of cultural ambivalence and presenting that ambivalence as a shaping force of culture, I was able to add to the discourse by shedding new light on a number of aspects of the era of European colonization of Newfoundland besides substantiating existing findings.

Exposing the inconsistent contemporary legislation as a vivid expression of the ambivalence towards settlement, we could challenge interpretations of temporary British inactivity or neglect as offensive disregard and argue instead for a limited capability or legitimate unwillingness to keep up constant attention in the face of contradictory imperatives related to the complex Newfoundland case. Not only does this view offer a new assessment of British-Newfoundland relations in early modern times; I suggest that a raised local awareness

of the complexity Newfoundland involves with respect to numerous contexts (including civic services, mobility and infrastructure, employment, and food security) has the potential to enhance the province's external relations today by creating a more sympathetic climate for exchange and discussion between local and outside stakeholders.

By taking the fragmented British legislative body for Newfoundland as well as its incorporation into a surprisingly efficient and coherent system of governence into account, we were able to show that Whitehall's ambivalence opened up spaces for local agency, which have hitherto largely gone unnoticed. Both the emerging resident population and local authorities exploited the energy drain that the ambivalence represented for distant stakeholders to engage in the creative shaping of the life realities on site. In this context, the ability of resident fishing people to ignore or ride out British legislation was a case of undermining existing power hierarchies.

The observation of increased uncertainty for early settlers and the related protraction of the development of a settled society as a consequence of the British stance regarding settlement reproduced existing findings. A new angle that opened against the background of enhanced spaces for local agency created by the British ambivalence towards settlement was our re-imagination of early residents' position in that process. Besides arguing that residents were more satisfied with the early "unsettled" status than is arguably still commonly assumed, we could argue that they have, in fact, contributed to the protraction of a settled society by means of their mobility and the support of the frontier economy in the outports.

The thread of an enhanced agency on the (settler) Newfoundland side of the colonial relations was further delineated, and an idea of greater symmetry between colonial periphery and metropolis introduced, by acknowledging the "familiar" Newfoundland ambivalence towards Britain as being, in parts, a reaction to the ambivalent British stance towards the island in early-modern times.

On a more speculative note, I suggested that the common trope of Newfoundlanders' endurance is, in fact, a plausible effect of the British ambivalence studied here and, thus, more than a myth. Given the correlations between endurance and conservatism – be it prudent conservatism fostering successful perseverance or entrenched conservatism out of fear and deferral – that notion and capacity acquired enhanced comprehensibility in the local discourse, too.

Chapter Four:
Autonomy and Dependence in Modern Outports

In this chapter, I trace the simultaneous relevance of autonomy and dependence fishing families were experiencing in modern Newfoundland outports and analyze how it shaped the local society and culture. Outports are small and far-flung coastal fishing communities, and "modern" refers to their appearance roughly from the 1830s to the late 1930s as the last or most recent variant shaped by a focus on the production of saltfish and a largely cashless commercial system.[42] The era of the modern outport spans the time from the final demise of the migratory fishery after the Napoleonic wars until the beginning of World War Two. While that period was highly eventful on larger political and socioeconomic scales, the structure and organization of life in rural Newfoundland largely remained the same (Matthews 1973; Story 1969). This stagnation implied the failure of numerous governments and three different systems of governance (colony, Dominion, and Commission of Government) to reform the structure and organization of the rural economy. This is a telling illustration of conservatism, a mindset and climate, which – as I have argued in the previous chapter – had indirectly been fostered by the uncertainty induced by the British ambivalence towards settlement. This chapter exposes that the socioeconomic conditions in modern outports and the autonomy-dependence ambivalence they induced further enhanced local propensities for conservatism.

In what follows, I first give a brief review of the concepts of autonomy and dependence in order to clarify what I will be studying. In a second preparatory section, I provide an outline of the evolution of Newfoundland outports in order to derive the central characteristics of the modern variant as the locus of particularly distinct experiences of autonomy and dependence when compared with earlier configurations in Newfoundland or rural maritime contexts more generally. Together, this review and outline then facilitate the identification of specific moments and periods of autonomy and dependence in the economic and societal realms of modern outports. Exposing the simultaneous relevance of the two opposite concepts within these two sectors and combining

[42] Note that other authors have labelled outports of the same period "traditional" (Alexander 1976; Faris 1973; Neary 1980; Porter 1985; Sider 1986). This can be misleading because it suggests the absence of change where external and internal dynamics triggered a development from planter to family fishery and from cosmopolitanism to isolation. An exception is John Mannion (1977), who also used the term "modern outports" to refer to a socioeconomic framework that largely overlaps with the one studied here.

the results, I identify a double-layered experience of autonomy-dependence ambivalence. Studying the manifestations and effects of this experience reveals capacities for agency and creativity in modern outports that exceed what is usually acknowledged. Correlations between the autonomy-dependence ambivalence established here and the ambivalence towards settlement studied in the previous chapter include a causal link and their shared capacity to foster conservatism in the local society and culture. I conclude with a synopsis of the findings and a comparison of the relations between ambivalence, agency, and creativity in modern outports and in the early days of settlement.

4.1 The Concepts of Autonomy and Dependence

Before taking a closer look at the modern variant of the Newfoundland outport and addressing the autonomy and dependence fishing families were experiencing there, I want to briefly clarify how I understand and use the two concepts. Like ambivalence, autonomy is a notion that is widely used across contexts and disciplines. This necessarily involves different understandings. Etymologically, the roots of autonomy are *auto*, Greek for self, and *nomos*, Greek for law, rule, government (Sneddon 2013). Accordingly, different authors and theories agree on identifying autonomy with self-rule or self-governance (Buss 2018; Christman 2020; Sneddon 2013 and sources therein). Yet, what is considered as being required for self-governance is context-specific and subject to debate even within a given context. Arguably the most significant distinction context-wise is between political and personal autonomy. The former involves the collaborative efforts of legislators and explicit codification that defines legal institutions. The latter is a property of individuals, which involves other people in various ways and to various degrees (Sneddon 2013). In what follows, I will refer to personal autonomy and extend it to groups of individuals like fishing families or outporters. This focus on the individual rather than the organizational perspective is reflected in speaking of autonomy *in* outports rather than the autonomy *of* outports. When I apply the concept of autonomy in political contexts, it is still understood as a capacity and experience of (a group of) individuals. The understanding I adopt follows the commonly recognized view among scholars that personal autonomy is largely equivalent to positive freedom (Carter 2019; Christman 2020; Sneddon 2013), a concept introduced by Isiah Berlin (1969) to designate the ability to take control of one's life and realize one's conscious purposes. Negative freedom, in contrast, is the ability to act without interference

or obstruction. I agree with the observation that negative freedom alone is clearly distinct from autonomy (Sneddon 2013). Based on the observation that positive and negative freedom are not mutually exclusive, however, I argue that, besides positive freedom, the absence of certain fundamental constraints, such as physical want and subjugation, is equally required for the ability to control one's life and realize one's purposes and, hence, to be autonomous.

The understanding of dependence that I employ is “the state of relying on or being controlled by someone or something else” (Stevenson 2015, no page number). I appreciate this framing as concise yet widely applicable. Moreover, it implies an active mode besides a passive one. The active form “to rely” implies agency and resonates with trust resulting from positive experience or mutual benefit. Being controlled, on the other hand, is passive and amounts to uncertainty and lack of agency and can, hence, be considered the more severe or constraining form of dependence. Finally, this conception of dependence applies to both individuals and groups or collectives.

From the above, notably the contrasting loci of control within and outside the individual, it is clear that, while autonomy and dependence are not literal contraries (like dependence and independence or autonomy and heteronomy), they clearly qualify as opposed conditions.

4.2 The Modern Outport

This section is devoted to familiarizing ourselves with the modern outport. Recognizing its central particularities and understanding how and why it emerged from earlier variants will help us identify moments and realms of autonomy and dependence and enable us to trace correlations with the British ambivalence towards settlement. With different origins of autonomy and dependence in mind, I focus on two distinct yet interrelated aspects of the Newfoundland outport: its situation within a particular settlement pattern and its specific economic organization. While the former can be considered largely steady over time, the latter, apart from a few central elements like the significance of the inshore cod fishery or the minor role of agriculture, was changing with the nature of the Newfoundland fishery from migratory to residential.

With a settler population spawned by overwinterers from the migratory fishery and a small number of colonists who stayed after the proprietary colonization projects in Newfoundland had failed, outports began to dot the English Shore from Trepassey in the south to Bonavista in the north in the first half of the seventeenth century and further spread across the

entire coastline of the island from there (Handcock 1989; Pope 2004). Their multitude and their distribution within a narrow ribbon along the shoreline were the results of a conjuncture of circumstances. Arguably, the most significant was the priority of residing close to good fishing grounds.[43] Another factor was the limitedness of proper shore space for curing fish, notably along the rugged east and south coasts, which regularly forced overflow population to move on to the next cove or headland (Handcock 1989). The spread of coastal settlements was further propelled by the existence of a series of British-owned mercantile posts facilitating saltfish collection and provision of supplies and gear (Handcock 1989; Pope 2004). Originally, outports were surprisingly cosmopolitan places. As an integrated part of the Atlantic Triangle, their residents could receive news and supplies from, or sail to, Europe, the American mainland, or the Caribbean at daily or weekly intervals (Pope 2004).[44] Besides fishing people and merchants, British-hired craftspeople and migratory or half-sedentary servants populated the scene. With the demise of the migratory fishery from the late eighteenth century and the related disappearance of major mercantile posts besides St. John's, however, the small and far-flung fishing dwellings were increasingly isolated from the outside world (Handcock 1989; Mannion 1977).

In a parallel process, there was a decrease in the diversification of the economy in rural Newfoundland from the seventeenth century to the period under consideration here. This atypical development can equally be traced to the demise of the migratory fishery because its diversified organization from Britain was not compensated by a population growth substantial and steady enough to support diversification within the emerging residential society (Mannion 1977). One factor in the inhibition of both population growth and economic diversification was the limitedness of natural resources besides fish. As the land did not support self-sufficiency, let alone commercial agriculture, and residents relied on external provision for staples and gear, they had to focus on the production of saltfish as the only marketable product that suppliers would accept as payment (Cadigan 1992). Another inhibiting factor was the climate of uncertainty generated by the British ambivalence towards settlement, as described in the previous chapter.

[43] Note that reliable and affordable boat engines – so-called “make and break” motors – which facilitated longer trips to the fishing grounds, became available only in the early twentieth century.

[44] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Atlantic Triangle was a trading network between the British Isles, Newfoundland, and the Mediterranean established in the seventeenth century that eventually spawned nodes on the Atlantic Islands, in New England and the Caribbean (Pope 2004). This was when it became part of the Black Atlantic.

Whereas the focus on saltfish production was a lasting characteristic of Newfoundland outport economy, its internal structure and organization were subject to change. In the eighteenth century, outport economy on the island and adjacent regions was typically composed of three groups – merchants, planters, and hired fishing servants – which were enmeshed in a multilayered, credit-based, and largely cashless commercial scheme termed "truck system" or simply "truck" (e.g. Pope 2004).[45] For one thing, truck in the early residential fishery was based on the practice that merchants supplied planters with victuals and fishing gear on credit in the spring to be settled in the fall with saltfish produced over the summer. For another, it implied that the wages of fishing servants, which had been paid in cash or exchange bills in the migratory fishery, were largely settled through the provision of supplies on credit by either the planter or the local merchant on the planter's account (Crowley 1989). Hence, other than in the early colonial timber or fur trade, where truck was a two-party practice, there was a dyad of truck in the early colonial resident fishery: between merchant and planter and between planter and servant. In what became the other Atlantic Provinces and Maine, the three-party truck system disappeared with economic diversification and competition, which spurred the demise of truck altogether (Taylor 1990).[46] In Newfoundland, fishing servants eventually lost their central position in the outport economy, ultimately reducing truck to a two-party system, which then survived until the mid-twentieth century (Pope 2004).[47]

The economic transformation from dyadic to single or modern truck can ultimately be traced to the wage and lien system and was propelled by the ill-conceived legislation that sprang from British stakeholders' ambivalence towards settlement described in the previous chapter. The wage and lien system, which was also known as "the law of current supply" (e.g. Cadigan 2004), was a central element of the Newfoundland economy from at least the mid-eighteenth century (Bannister 2003b; Sider 1986).[48] A sign of the original significance of fishing servants for the Newfoundland fishery, it implied that fishing servants had the first lien on a season's catch for their wages. The current supplier – the merchant who had outfitted the planter on credit in the

45 Derived from the French *troquer*, "to truck" originally simply meant to barter. In sixteenth-century England, truck took on the meaning of the payment of wages in kind. In colonial North America, it was then adapted to the needs at the frontier and denoted the regular supply of consumers' and producers' goods on credit and the settlement of debt in marketable export commodities (Price 1990a).

46 An exemption was the Gaspé Peninsula, where isolation prolonged the truck system with consequences comparable to those in Newfoundland (Ommer 1990).

47 That was an entire century after truck had been banned by Parliament in Great Britain (Story 1969).

48 The wage and lien system had its origins in an ancient maritime custom designed to protect sailors and suppliers of provisions in an emergency. It gave the emergency supplier a lien on the vessel and, if necessary, on its cargo (Price 1990b).

spring – had the second lien. This generally amounted to the practice that, after receiving the saltfish from the planter, the merchant settled the servants' claims before his own. In 1775, this custom was officialized in Palliser's Act, which we have already encountered in Chapter Three. Its role in the context of the emergence of the modern outport will later enable us to trace a correlation between the British ambivalence towards settlement and the ambivalence established in the course of this chapter. By legally protecting fishing servants against insolvency of the hiring planter and by shielding the supplying merchant against previous years' creditors, Palliser's Act clearly favoured these two groups, leaving planters "stuck between a rock and a hard place" (Cadigan 1995, 93). Ultimately, the planters' only option for escaping the pincer movement between the claims of merchants and servants was to operate the fishery without the latter. This is why and how the family fishery developed from circa 1800. Fishing enterprises decreased in scale, and family members filled the positions formerly held by servants (Ryan 1980). Notably, women and children now formed the "shore crew," which was largely responsible for curing and storing the fish. Moreover, women now often acted as operations managers (Neis 2005; Porter 1985).[49]

Modern truck between merchant and fishing family was still governed by the law of current supply between merchant and fishing people, but their relationship had shifted. In the seventeenth century, the high demand for fish combined with a smaller resident production force and the operation of sack ships – cargo vessels from the Netherlands and New England, among others, which would import supplies and export fish – gave fishing people a choice of trading partners. As a result, merchants and planters had a patron-client relationship widely at eye level (Pope 2004). The ongoing conflicts among European nations and between Britain and the Thirteen Colonies in the eighteenth century, however, changed the scene. With the expulsion of sack ships from the trade, the demise of the migratory fishery, and the increasing centralization of merchant capital in St. John's, outports became widely isolated from the outside world by the early nineteenth century (Matthews 1973; Mannion 1977). In the isolated modern outport, there was typically only a single merchant operating a relatively small-scale local business. This scenario, together with the law of current supply, created exclusive debtor-creditor relations. Fishing families had no choice but to

[49] It has to be noted that servants did not disappear completely from the outport's societal landscape, but they now commonly came from the larger family and were paid on shares rather than wages (Bannister 2003b). Moreover, servants continued to play a more central role in the Labrador and Banks fishery, but even here, they were increasingly hired on shares (Macdonald 1990; Cadigan 1995).

rely on the local merchant for victuals and gear in the spring, which, in turn, entitled the merchant to their entire production of saltfish in the fall. In brief, merchants were in a position of both a monopoly for supplies and a monopsony on the cured fish (Macdonald 1990). There is a rich and controversial discourse on the question of the extent to which outport merchants have exploited their privileged position.[50] Certain observations, however, are arguably undisputed. Merchants certainly used their monopoly and monopsony to influence in their favour both the prices asked for supplies and the price paid for fish. Moreover, keeping fishing families in debt at the season's end was a means to bind them for the following year. However, merchants also had an interest in not ruining fishing families and traditionally extended open credit for winter supplies in bad fishing years, although they knew it could not be settled before another economic cycle was complete and only if the upcoming fishing year was fair (Crowley 1989).[51]

In brief, the modern Newfoundland outport developed with the institutionalizing of the law of current supply and the demise of the migratory fishery. It was characterized by a small population; isolation from the capital and the wider world; a largely exclusive economic focus on the production of saltfish; the family as labour unit; and a cashless commercial two-party credit system with exclusive debtor-creditor relations. As a result, the society of modern outport fishing people was highly homogeneous and egalitarian.

The era of the modern outport came to an end when major changes occurred in Newfoundland in general and in the fishery in particular in the 1940s. The building and operation of Canadian and U.S. American military bases during the Second World War and the transition from dried to frozen cod, and the industrialization it entailed, brought widespread cash-based wage labour to the island. Moreover, wartime economy created public revenue for advancing telecommunication, transportation, and other public infrastructure. As a consequence, credit practices and isolation diminished in rural Newfoundland, and related characteristics of modern outports faded (Cadigan 2009a; Hiller 1990; Neary 1988). With those characteristics waned the distinct experiences of autonomy and dependence that I will trace in the following.

---

[50] One faction holds that merchants radically oppressed the planters and threw them into poverty (e.g. Budgel 1992; Sider 1986), whereas another puts merchant-planter and later merchant-fishing family relations more into a perspective of mutual benefits and obligation (e.g. Hiller 1990; Matthews 1973; Ommer 1989; Pope 2004).

[51] Note that, from the 1830s, merchants increasingly reduced the risk of being left with unsettled debts by shuffling off the responsibility of providing for fishing families after a bad season to the authorities (MacDonald 1990).

4.3 Autonomy and Dependence in Modern Outports

Equipped with clear conceptions of autonomy and dependence and a solid understanding of the conditions governing modern outports, we can now identify moments and periods of autonomy and dependence that fishing families were experiencing under these circumstances. Although intertwined, economic and societal realms will be studied separately, as they engendered different experiences of autonomy and dependence.

Modern Outport Economy

Moments of dependence in the economic realm of modern outport fishery have already been alluded to. The fishing families depended on the local merchant as the exclusive provider of gear and supplies on credit in the spring and as the equally exclusive buyer of their product – saltfish – in the fall in order to settle their debt and acquire winter supplies. In good fishing years, these moments of dependence were active ones: outport families could rely on the granting of credit and on the purchase of saltfish as well as the provision of winter supplies by the merchant. In bad years, however, when catches, weather, and/or markets were poor, the fish produced over the summer did not settle the credit raised in spring, let alone afford winter supplies, the situation in the fall was different. While outport families could still rely on the merchant for purchasing what fish they had produced, it was out of their control whether and to what extent winter provisions would be supplied on open credit. This was when dependence showed its harsher passive face.

When merchants began to restrict or deny winter credit more regularly, the dependence shifted to the government for relief. What was conceived as something to be relied on in principle was, in fact, difficult to receive in the remoter outports and, moreover, often barely enough to make ends meet (Elliot 1980; Sider 1986; Overton 1995). Spring dependence became more severe and passive when the previous year had been bad because giving additional credit to operate the fishery over the summer before the previous year's debt could be settled transcended the merchant's regular obligation. Dependence was still less severe than in the fall of a bad year, however, because the merchant had an interest in providing credit for the upcoming fishing season, or fishing families would be unable to settle any debts at the season's end.

Fall and spring were, thus, moments of distinct if qualitatively differing instances of dependence in the economic realm of modern outports. In contrast, in the summer, fishing families' immediate experience was characterized by distinct economic autonomy. Regularly supplied by the merchant with gear and victuals, outporters were their own bosses and able to set their own schedule and agenda in the catching, curing, and storing of fish.[52] Thus positively free to pursue their business and without concerns about subsistence, modern outporters governed their own affairs and enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. This distinct autonomy has been vividly reported by Reverend Julian Moreton (1863), who spent thirteen years on Newfoundland's northeast coast in the mid-nineteenth century. He observed that "[h]aving complete command of their time, these people...are hardly to be excited to action unless impelled by their own perception of need. 'When I see my own time,' is a phrase continually in their mouths" (26). The satisfaction fishing people found in this arrangement is well expressed in statements like "Dere's no one to bawl at you, you see" (quoted in Story 1969, 17), and it also resonates in late "Uncle" Walter Bowen's reply when asked about his fishing career in Bonavista Bay in a 1964 *Land and Sea* episode: "The happiest time, I was fishing by meself, yes. I had no one to hire me and no one to displace me" (CBC 2010).

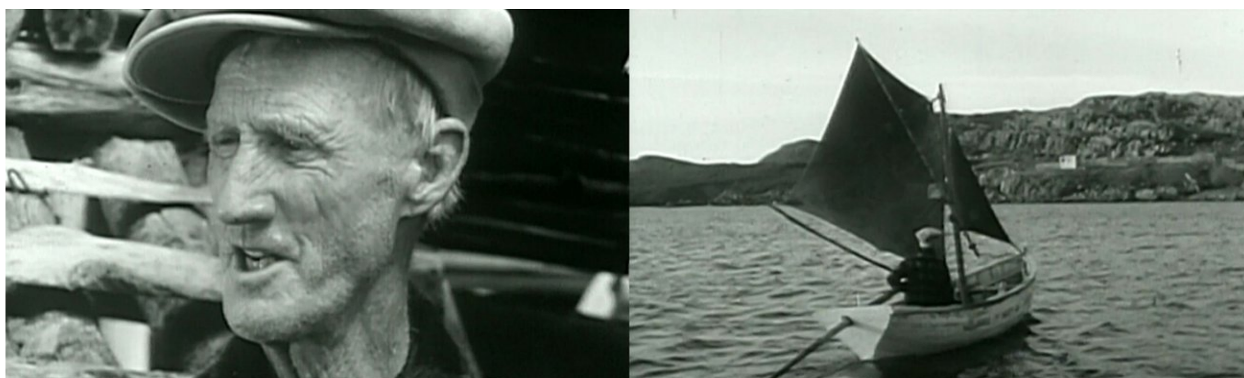


Figure 4.1: Inshore fisherman Walter Bowen from Red Cliff, Bonavista Bay; screenshots from a 1964 *Land and Sea* episode (CBC 2010)

Winter was an off-season for the cod fishery except on the south coast, where waters remained largely ice-free. Yet, winter was not idle anywhere. Activities included lumbering and the building and repair of boats and gear, which is why winter was also part of the economic cycle. Depending on the preceding fishing season, winter could be another period of autonomy

[52] While there was a strictly gendered labour division, everybody enjoyed economic autonomy during the fishing season, with "[m]en control[ling] the fishery at sea; women the fishery on shore" (Porter 1985, 120).

or not. Had the season been good enough – the fish plenty enough, the weather fair enough, and the markets strong enough – to afford the fishing families sufficient winter supplies after settling their debts from the spring, they could enjoy another period of autonomy during the winter. If the season's catch did not cover winter supplies, but the merchant would provide them on credit nonetheless, the winter could still largely be pretended to be another phase of autonomy, as the means for self-governance were all in place. This view was treacherous, however, because supplies had been provided on open credit, that is, without the prospect of being settled before completing a new economic cycle. Moreover, winter credit would be augmented by spring credit and the cumulative debt more difficult to clear. This is why I argue that winter autonomy, if based on open credit, was less pronounced than summer autonomy.

In case the merchant refused to provide sufficient winter supplies or denied them altogether, winters were not characterized by autonomy at all, be it factual or pretended, because the struggle for subsistence would corrupt positive freedom. When stretches of bad fishing years occurred, or global markets failed, actual famine was not uncommon in rural Newfoundland in winter and early spring (Cadigan 1995; Sider 1986).[53] Autonomy was then essentially absent and passive dependence on charity prevailed. In fact, referring to outports during the Great Depression, Joseph Smallwood commented in his memoirs: "You could smell the poverty" (quoted in O'Flaherty 1979, 131).

Modern Outport Society

Autonomy and dependence also figured in the societal realm of modern outports, that is, in the social and political affairs of fishing families. Here, the two opposing experiences can be related to two different perspectives induced by the distinct geographic pattern by which outports dotted (and to a somewhat lesser extent still dot) Newfoundland's coastline: the view from the community to the outer world and the view within the community.

The number, spread, and seasonal inaccessibility of outports did not only inhibit mercantile competition but social, political, and cultural exchange as well.[54] In the period considered here, the capital city clearly dominated the social and economic life of the country

[53] Stretches of bad years within the period considered here occurred, for instance, 1832-1855 (Cadigan 2009a) and again in the late 1850s (Hiller 1990).

[54] Before roads started to connect outports with the capital city and with each other, they were isolated from the rest of the world as long as ice prohibited boat access in the winter and early spring.

(O'Flaherty 1979), and channels of communication between outports and St. John's were scarce and sporadic and those reaching beyond virtually non-existent (Amulree 1933; Hiller 1980; Mannion 1978). As a result, modern outports were largely isolated from the centres of political and societal power. Political and societal participation on larger scales was also inhibited through their isolation from each other. Without regular exchange between outports to identify and discuss common issues and goals, the potential for the development of counter-hegemonic strategies and actual agency was limited (Sider 1986).

The Banks, Labrador, and seal fisheries had the potential in principle to disrupt this pattern of collective powerlessness because they were operated from larger vessels, on which crews from different outports and sometimes regions went on extended trips. Indeed, in the 1830s and 1840s, enhanced communication among sealers induced political agency in the form of strikes to protest harsh and dangerous working conditions as well as poor rewards (Rennie 1998). However, these protests did not develop the momentum to spread out and change the political and societal landscape of rural Newfoundland more generally or lastingly. The reason can, in parts, be found in the observation that the inshore fishery, conducted in small boats from individual outports, not only outlived the other fisheries but had always remained the mainstay of the rural economy (Alexander 1976; Ryan 1980).[55]

The rise of the Fishermen's Protective Union (FPU) under William Coaker after 1908 was another instance of political grassroots agency that challenged rural Newfoundlanders' collective societal dependence. However, the union's impact, too, proved to be of only temporary nature. While members of the FPU successfully ran for parliament in 1913 and 1919 and the union installed its own trading network to break the grip of the merchants, the zeal of the organization faded rapidly with that of its leader in the years following the First World War (Elliot 1980; Neary 1988). Hence, despite these exceptions, modern outporters were effectively excluded from processes of transregional and national, let alone international decision-making. The political and societal elite continued to be centred in St. John's, and outport Newfoundland received attention only prior to elections when candidates competed for votes. Not even during campaigning, however, did travelling politicians address policies and legislation governing the fishery, the marketing of saltfish, or government assistance. Fishing people were considered ignorant of

[55] Labrador, seal, and bank fisheries were all dead or in serious decline by the end of the nineteenth century (Higgins 2007).

larger contexts, and vote-catching was largely confined to promises of local building projects like wharves or roads (Elliot 1980; Felt 2009; Hiller 1980). Regarding the more far-reaching political decisions that immediately affected them, outporters remained under external control and were, thus, conditioned "to expect authority to flow from above" (Neary 1980, 210). This was clearly a scenario of heavy dependence in the passive sense.

The isolation of modern outports muted what came from inside, but it also inhibited the penetration of the outport sphere from outside. Authorities did not reach far into outport life (Neary 1988), and exchange between outports that lay beyond easy reach from each other by boat was limited as well. Hence, outporters clearly enjoyed extended negative freedom from external interference in their local affairs. The critical question for the establishment of internal societal autonomy, however, is whether modern outporters were also positively free and able to govern and sustain their local society. I argue that the answer is a clear "yes." Modern outports possessed a meticulously adapted and fully functional societal structure and organization. Specific elements included the fishing family as a socioeconomic unit, enhanced egalitarianism and reciprocity, and a sophisticated system for regulating inheritance matters (Faris 1973; Mannion 1977; McEwen 1978; Szwed 1966). Moreover, outports possessed a distinct and active culture. Prominent cultural practices included "mummering," "scoffing," and "cuffers," group activities that were not merely occasions for distraction and entertainment but served to sustain the social fabric as well (Halpert and Story 1969; Sider 1986).[56] Finally, evolving needs and demands were accommodated with adept changes in private cultures, so the traditional public imagery and edifice were kept intact (Szwed 1966). Indeed, as we shall see further below, this cultural sophistication was, in part, induced by the ambivalence of autonomy and dependence. To generate autonomy, I suggest, this positive internal freedom needed to be met with the absence of physical want. People struggling for subsistence have less time and energy to spare for administrative and social matters, which will, in turn, compromise their capacity for self-governance. Hence, societal autonomy in modern outports was also conditional on the economic situation. The fishing season was typically not a period of want as the merchant regularly

[56] Technically and in a nutshell, outport "mummering" describes the practice of groups of people in disguise paying house visits throughout the community during the twelve days of Christmas. At each place, mummers engaged in dancing and playing music until their identity was guessed, at which point they exposed their faces and enjoyed drinks with the hosts. "Scoffing" means feasting upon supplies that were pilfered from a neighbour's premises, while a "cuffer" is a tale or yarn situated within the immediate outport context and told to an intimate audience (Halpert and Story 1969; Sider 1986; Story et al. 1982).

provided supplies on credit in spring. Moreover, during the summer, victuals could be augmented through gardening and foraging. It was in the winter and early spring that members of modern outport communities risked going hungry if the previous season had been unfavourable and merchants cut or refused winter credit. This was increasingly the case in stretches of poor years and would then deprive them of their societal autonomy besides their capacity for economic self-governance.

We thus find that modern outports were facing a pronounced passive political and societal dependence regarding virtually everything that was decided or developed outside their own community. In contrast, within outport society and as long as subsistence was secured, they enjoyed a distinct autonomy. These findings reproduce what – drawing on Derrida's reading of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* – Stephen Crocker (2017) has identified as the conflicting implications of peripheral colonial circumstances more generally. On the one hand, they can take the form of isolation and desolation. On the other, they involve solitude and sovereignty.[57]

4.4 Double-Layered Ambivalence

In the previous sections, we have identified two sets of autonomy and dependence in modern Newfoundland outports, one in the economic and one in the societal realm. While these conditions and related experiences were clearly not unique to Newfoundland, their actualization, as well as their pronunciation, were owed to the particular local circumstances, notably the exclusive, two-party debtor-creditor truck system that never fully developed in places like Nova Scotia or Maine. Moreover, fishing villages in the more southerly mainland colonies, provinces, or states were at no point either as isolated or as vulnerable with regard to sustainability as their Newfoundland counterparts in the period studied here. This is why the modern outport and its social and economic implications can, indeed, be considered Newfoundland-specific.

[57] Please note that, perhaps contrary to first impressions, the above discussion is consistent with observations that, with increasing distance from the centre of power – notably on the south and west coasts and on the northern peninsula – rural Newfoundlanders organized beyond individual outport spheres and, at times, in resistance to applicable law (Korneski 2016). What might be understood as contradicting rural Newfoundlanders' powerlessness with respect to external forces did not imply demanding or receiving an increased share in larger-scale politics and decision-making. Rather, it was an expression of the autonomy and lack of interference they enjoyed in their rural "bubble," even if it stretched beyond individual outport spheres.

This section is devoted to arguing for the simultaneous relevance of autonomy and dependence in economic and societal realms of modern outports, thereby exposing them as loci of a double-layered instance of cultural ambivalence. Doing so involves making informed assumptions based on our understanding of the organization and functioning of modern outports developed in the previous sections. Moreover, besides taking immediate experiences into account, I will consider knowledge and understanding acquired over time.

Ambivalence Within the Economic Realm

Moments of autonomy and dependence in outport economics, as well as their juxtaposition, have been described before (Hiller 1990; Neary 1988; Sider 1986). Indeed, as early as the 1770s, Governor Molyneux Shuldham reported on the coexistence of these opposing conditions and commented on it with the observation that the local resident fisher, "for the sake of being called a master, [became] a slave" (quoted in Crowley 1989, 327). However, those observations have not been used to develop a specific angle or lens for further analysis. To interpret them as an instance of cultural ambivalence, which can then serve as a device for studying modern outport culture and its resonances, we need to scrutinize the simultaneous relevance of the two poles. In view of our observations in section 4.3, where we have traced the annual economic cycle in modern outports by means of phases and moments for which either autonomy or dependence prevailed, this may, in fact, appear problematic. Rather than simultaneity, we have described a sequence, with autonomy distinctive during the summer and potentially during the winter and dependence pronounced in moments of exchange with the local merchant in the spring and fall. This does not rule out the collective experience of ambivalence, however, because the temporary attenuation or even absence of either autonomy or dependence does not foreclose its continued relevance for a group's more comprehensive life reality, as the following argument shows.

The relevance of autonomy and dependence for outporters can be understood as related to their awareness of those qualities, and awareness, as the "knowledge and understanding that something is happening or exists,"[58] is not constituted of immediate experience alone but comprises knowledge and understanding acquired over time as well. In conjunction with the organizational predictability of modern outport life, this suggests that, besides their alternating

[58] Definition by Merriam-Webster

immediate experiences, fishing people shared the acquired knowledge of the perpetual if seasonally varying distinctness of both autonomy and dependence within the local economic domain. For instance, during the summer, when fishing families enjoyed great autonomy as independent producers of dried cod, they did not forget their dependence on the merchant because it was a systemic component of outport economy. Moreover, they may still have been working off last year's debts. The awareness of this dependence would have further grown as the moment of passive dependence in the fall (when the merchant priced the fish and decided about the provision of winter supplies) drew closer and cast its shadow on the period of autonomous production. The year-round physical presence of the merchant further added to the impossibility of ignoring the dependence on his services at any given point in time. From a high immediate experience of autonomy and a low immediate experience of dependence but a distinct recognition of both, we can argue that summers generally represented a period of a lower but non-vanishing experience of ambivalence, which eventually began to rise as fall and, with it, the immediate experience of an inescapable moment of profound dependence grew closer.

Following the same line of argument and taking seasonally varying immediate experiences of autonomy and dependence (as identified in the section on outport economy above) as well as acquired knowledge into account, the discussion in section A1.1 of Appendix 1 traces varying yet non-vanishing levels of the simultaneous relevance of both conditions throughout the fishing year. Collective ambivalence can, thus, be understood as a meaningful aspect of the economic realm of modern outport life and, hence, an appropriate lens for further analysis.

Ambivalence Within the Societal Realm

In the societal realm of modern outports, experiences of autonomy and dependence were not assigned to different phases but to different perspectives of outporters: the view within and the view towards the outside of the community, respectively. The simultaneity of the two poles is, thus, less contested as in the economic realm. What needs to be scrutinized instead in order to argue for collective autonomy-dependence ambivalence as a meaningful analytical tool is the actual relevance of both opposing concepts. To do so, I will again draw on the concept of awareness and the understanding of the structure and organization of the modern outport developed earlier. Moreover, I will rely on the modes of autonomy and dependence within modern outport society identified in section 4.3 above.

Outporters' awareness of autonomy regarding internal societal affairs, I suggest, can be assumed as uncontested because this autonomy was experienced and mined on a daily basis. The awareness of the community's cultural and political dependence on external forces, however, must be questioned. Why care about a deficiency that does not immediately spoil an otherwise fulfilling life? This stance, I contend, was further encouraged by the fact that political dependence affected fishing people on a collective level rather than individually. The fact that everyone in the community was exposed to the same powerlessness arguably made the experience less striking or bothersome and, hence, easier to neglect within the local setting. As a consequence, we can assume that outporters were inclined to focus on internal affairs. If this focus had allowed to effectively blind out the powerlessness regarding external affairs altogether, a collective ambivalence regarding autonomy and dependence in the societal sector would not have arisen. I argue, however, that, similar to the economic realm, there were times when the societal dependence on external forces could not be ignored and that these moments resonated year-round.

The moment of dependence that stood out was again the time when the saltfish was priced in the fall. The price for fish may have been manipulated by the local merchant, but it was also subject to external decisions and conditions. Not having a voice in the politics that affected the most relevant single asset of outport life would have created a profound experience of being at the mercy of external forces. Moreover, the moment of exchange in the fall was the time when outport families learned whether they had to depend on government assistance for the winter. In case they had to, their eligibility as well as the amount they would receive were equally determined by external parties and beyond their control. Finally, this multifaceted dependence on external forces in the fall translated into the uncertainty of whether sufficient winter supplies would be available. Therefore, the powerlessness was not confined to the community level but affected fishing families personally and at an existential level. This is why I argue that, in this critical moment at the fishing season's end, the dependence on external affairs was impossible to ignore and highly relevant, and the ambivalence of internal societal autonomy and external societal dependence fully developed. Moreover, I contend that the experience of powerlessness in the fall was so profound, and regularly so, that it prohibited outporters from completely blinding out their external dependence at any given point in time. In other words, the recurring experience of dependence and powerlessness created a knowledge

and understanding of the relevance of these conditions, independent of the immediate situation or moment. This general awareness and the frustration over it have been expressed by a fisherman in the early twentieth century in the following way: "you're bluffed off from the cradle to the grave, a fisherman is. He got no choice. He got to take what's offered 'n. ... Why can't a man make a price on his fish so well as the farmer can make a price on a barrel of potatoes?" (quoted in Hiller 1990, 92–93).

Outporters' general awareness of their powerlessness is also reflected in Gerald Sider's (1986) observation that they "felt some substantial helplessness or powerlessness in their sense of distance from what has become socially significant" (24).[59] The general impact and awareness of being dependent is further substantiated by the observation that the egalitarianism in modern outports was, in fact, a reaction to the lack of formal organizational control (Firestone 1967). As a consequence, like in the economic realm, we can argue that the experience of autonomy-dependence ambivalence in the societal sector varied with the immediate relevance of the opposing poles over the annual cycle but was non-vanishing year-round.[60]

***

The variable yet non-vanishing levels of autonomy-dependence ambivalence experienced in the economic and societal sectors of modern outports identified above can be understood as having combined to create a double-layered and dynamic experience of ambivalence.[61] Given the tension implied in ambivalence, its multilayered nature in modern outports suggests that life there was, in fact, less static or straightforward than it has often been presented (Faris 1973; Firestone 1967; Mannion 1977; Szwed 1966). Creating continuity and predictability not only in the face of an industry as precarious as the Atlantic fishery but moreover within a climate saturated with both autonomy and dependence in societal as well as economic realms, I suggest, was by no means self-understood but highly remarkable. Indeed,

[59] It has to be noted that, besides outporters' powerlessness and their awareness of it, Sider (1986) also identified ability and dignity in the societal sector of what he calls traditional outports, qualities that can be considered the central prerequisite and the result of societal autonomy, respectively. Moreover, he noticed the tension that these and other conditions created in traditional outport society. However, he does not use his observations for the development of a research lens for further analysis of the context and its integration into a larger pattern.

[60] For a discussion of the variations in the experience of the autonomy-dependence ambivalence in the societal realm over the annual cycle, see section A1.2 of Appendix 1.

[61] A diagrammatic breakdown of the variations in the combined experience of ambivalence over the annual cycle, based on the seasonal breakdown of the analysis for economic and societal realms presented in tables A1.1 and A1.2, is given in figure A1.3 in section A1.3 of Appendix 1.

the practices and phenomena presented in the following, which the lens of ambivalence helps us view in a new light, testify to the creativity and determination that was necessary to tackle a complex lifeworld and turn factual tension and precariousness into felt comfort and continuity.[62]

4.5 The Autonomy-Dependence Ambivalence at Work in the Local Culture

With the ambivalence regarding autonomy and dependence as a valid lens to study modern outports in hand, I will now apply it to study its impact on the local culture. As in the case of the British ambivalence towards settlement, I will first present more immediate expressions of the autonomy-dependence ambivalence and before tracing more mediate consequences.

Brothers and Rivals

In his anthropological study *Brothers and Rivals*, Melvin Firestone (1967) observes that Newfoundland outport society was characterized by the coexistence of egalitarianism and competition, as well as camaraderie and individualism. The latter has also been described by Gerald Sider (1986) as the "mixture of warm alliance and cold distance" (105) in what he termed traditional Newfoundland outports.[63] These characterizations reflect the simultaneous relevance of autonomy and dependence, I argue, because camaraderie, alliance, and egalitarianism are enhanced by collective dependence, by "being in the same boat" in the face of merchant monopoly and monopsony and political powerlessness beyond the village scope. Competition and individualism, on the other hand, indicate positive economic and societal freedom and, hence, autonomy.

The concurrence of egalitarianism and competition also resonates in John Szwed's (1966) finding that equality in Newfoundland outports was generated not so much by joint efforts to achieve a better life for all but by preventing individual families from rising above the others, as captured in the phrase "no one can get high and mighty here" (84).[64] The same tenor governs the

[62] Note that this implies that predictability and continuity do not necessarily imply stasis or linearity but can also result from a more complex, dynamic equilibrium of structures and affairs, as, for instance, induced by ambivalence.

[63] Note that Sider (1986) called this mixture "ambiguous," but as he described the simultaneous relevance of opposing concepts, I suggest he used the term with our understanding of "ambivalent" in mind.

[64] The references given here are studies of Newfoundland outports in the 1960s. However, as they were conducted in particularly remote regions, it is reasonable to assume that central elements of modern outport society were still valid at the time.

observation that "[h]aving too many things might lead local people to consider someone 'too grand' – a local term for snobbishness" (Pocius 1991, 290). More fundamentally, Marilyn Porter (1985) finds that, from the early 1800s, rural Newfoundland saw the more general development of a sociocultural climate in which "even minor success [was] penalized" (117). The same mechanism is described by what is called the "lobster pot theory" (or "crab mentality"), which has also been attested to contemporary Newfoundland, as a more recent media source exposes: "[T]he first night I was here [in St. John's], someone told me about the lobsters in the pot: 'They're gonna yank you down if you do alright.'" (Deming quoted in Brown 2018, no page number).

Not only do these observations illustrate the cultural ambivalence of autonomy and dependence at work. Identifying the potentially irritating practices they describe as expressions of the related climate of ambivalence provides them with an inner logic. Approaches and mindsets that might otherwise be deemed manifestations of envy or grudge or a propensity for mutual surveillance acquire a sense of adequacy and actual creativity in light of the need to tackle the tensions imposed by the presence or legacy of double-layered autonomy-dependence ambivalence.

An Idiom of Boldness and Humbleness

The ambivalence of autonomy and dependence also expressed itself in the idiom that developed in Newfoundland outports, notably in notions that exhibit both boldness in their unconventional utilization and humbleness in their signification. One example is "to go in collar," which, from the early 1800s till the 1980s, signified "to sign on or 'ship' as member of a fishing or sealing crew" (Story et al. 1982, 109). Another is "to fade," which means "to wither and die" when used with reference to natural objects and "to survive" when used with reference to people, as, for instance, in "we faded it out till Spring" (166). These expressions have also been singled out by Sider (1986), but he assigns them to outporters' awareness of their powerlessness alone. Other linguistic manifestations of the autonomy-dependence ambivalence, I suggest, can be found in the use of "trouble" as a euphemism for bereavement or "awful" in the sense of exceptional (Story et al. 1982). These phrases exhibit a shared pattern: by downplaying adversities or linguistically inverting them, the recognition of the immutability of harsh living conditions is met with an unflinching and, at times, next to satirical air, thereby blending ideas of powerlessness with taking control.

The above expressions of (or responses to) the climate of ambivalence attest to the existence of spaces for agency as well as their exploitation in modern outports. Moreover, they suggest that what has been termed "Newfoundland speech" and has long been either despised as backwards, as discussed by Jeff Webb (2015), or sold as quaint and quirky (English 1955), can, in fact, be understood as part of the creative tackling of an ambivalent and often challenging scenario. The *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (Story et al. 1982), which traces the locally developed or adapted lexicon across the written and oral history of the place, represents a comprehensive and scholarly recognized archive of this creative linguistic tackling.

The ambivalent commerce among outporters allows for similar conclusions. As allies and competitors, "brothers and rivals," outporters creatively exploited the internal societal autonomy to develop unorthodox approaches to dealing with isolation and external powerlessness. These strategies and the distinct idiom challenge the notion that the capacity for creativity was compromised in pre-confederation rural Newfoundland as a result of the constant struggle for subsistence (O'Dea 1994; O'Flaherty 1975; Poole 1982).

Defensive Conservatism

Turning to less direct yet more encompassing consequences of the climate of ambivalence in modern outports, I argue that it was another factor besides the enhanced capacity for endurance (which I identified as an effect of the ambivalence towards settlement in the previous chapter) in the generation of conservatism among the rural population in Newfoundland.

What has been identified as defensive conservatism because it defended the status quo (Banoub 2021; Hiller 1980, 1990) was originally a widely prudent strategy. Internal societal and seasonal economic autonomy distinguished Newfoundland outport life from the realities of unpropertied classes elsewhere who increasingly earned their living as wage labourers and lived in rented accommodations in urban centres. Besides owning their houses, the truck system implied that fishing families were not unpropertied with respect to production means either. While they had to turn to the merchant for credit to replace worn manufactured gear, they built and owned their boats and fishing rooms (Cadigan 1995). Nonetheless, as we have seen, modern outport economy was also shaped by dependence, and outporters were well aware of it. Viewed in light of the autonomy-dependence ambivalence, it stands to reason that outporters protected their realm of autonomy – and with it the existing economic system – by opposing any interference by merchants

or government in the organization of the fishery, a stance nicely illustrated by a fisherman's statement in a local paper in 1880: "Were a merchant to try and control my hiring of servants and making of fish, I would thank him to mind his own affairs" (quoted in Hiller 1990, 98).[65] The same defensive logic governed female outport spheres, where women "have used their vital roles...in the fish producing economy not to destroy the sexual division of labour but to establish its boundaries in such a way as to confirm their control over at least their own affairs" (Porter 1985, 122).

The suspicion many outporters felt about strangers (Faris 1973; Firestone 1967; Hallett 2014; Szwed 1966) illustrates a similar protective and conservative stance regarding the organization of outport society. In this context, it can be argued that the powerlessness regarding political and societal developments outside the outport sphere induced an enhanced appreciation of the internal status quo, which was shaped by autonomy and meticulously adapted to outporters' needs. Combined with the contempt for politicians who rarely frequented rural Newfoundland except for campaigning and the sparsity of other visitors, this gave outsiders an initial air of intruders rather than guests.

Last but not least, the fact that the dependence on a merchant who accepted nothing but cured fish for the settlement of systemic debts naturally prohibited economic diversification in modern outports by fixing commercial activities to fishing and curing of codfish. Within the fishery, innovation through investment was inhibited because of the cashless nature of the economic system. Moreover, fishing people could use the system to their advantage if they ensured that they were not held accountable for current debts out of previous surpluses (Hiller 1990). The related strategy that "every fishing year, like a tub, ought to stand on its own bottom" (90) implied that potential cash income from other labour sources such as logging would not have been invested in the fishery either to prevent the merchant from confiscating related assets for the settlement of his credit after a bad fishing year. Moreover, the approach reflected the exploitation of the limited space for economic decision-making within a system that outporters were not only reluctant yet also powerless to change. At the same time, it further perpetuated that system.[66]

---

[65] Please note that, to all likeliness, the servants mentioned here were kin of the fisherman who were hired on shares.

[66] Note that the metaphor of each year standing on its own bottom moreover reflects that modern outports – in contrast to the progressive worldview typical for Western societies (Sloterdijk 2013) – were largely governed by a cyclic episteme, an observation that I will return to in Chapter Seven in the context of settler Newfoundlanders' position as (post)colonial subjects.

Only when change and diversification became feasible in principle after the cashless truck system had come to an end in the mid-twentieth century did the inshore fishers families' continued conservatism acquire a more unproductive, entrenched air. The result was a “capricious fishery” (Neary 1980), as we will see in Chapter Five.

***

The conditions and phenomena identified above attest to the impact of the ambivalence regarding autonomy and dependence on the local society and culture. Moreover, recognizing them as effects of ambivalence at work allows for the reinterpretation of modern outport life with regard to agency and control. As the above analysis reveals, the limitation of economic diversification and the accumulation of wealth were not just consequences of decisions and practices imposed on outporters by external forces (like merchant interests or global politics), with fishing people in the role of passive observers or recipients. Rather, outporters acknowledged the benefits of the status quo (the spaces of autonomy they enjoyed) and used what space for agency they had to creatively exploit the economic system (as shaped by truck and gendered labour division) to their advantage. Hence, the durability of modern truck in Newfoundland, which is usually assigned to the conservatism of merchant interests alone, can also be traced to the conservatism of fishing people.

The longevity of the truck system is also a central aspect of what has often been identified as backwardness in rural Newfoundland because it gave the local society an air of frontier spirit and inhibited modernization along Western standards. Viewed in this pejorative light, the assumption may be close that the local population was merely subjected to these conditions. However, the analysis here and in the previous chapter, where we found that early residents contributed to the protraction of the development of a fully settled society by means of mobility and a lack of incentive to strive for change, throws a different light on Newfoundland settler culture from its early times to the mid-twentieth century. Given Newfoundlanders' proactive participation in shaping these processes, I propose that what has been called protraction and backwardness can – at least in parts – be understood as the result of their commitment to a distinctive way of life that stood in contrast to the mainstream. In this light, the originally satirical observation that Newfoundlanders have always been “hippies” (Guy quoted in Overton 1988, 8) acquires new meaning and suggests that, by sticking to non-capitalist values longer than other societies, Newfoundlanders have avoided the widespread weariness of capitalist urban life that spread in the metropolises in the 1960s and 1970s.

4.6 Correlations with the British Ambivalence towards Settlement

The autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports can be correlated with the British ambivalence towards settlement in two ways. One is via Palliser's Act. As described in the previous chapter, the Act and its implementation are a paragon of the ambivalence of British authorities towards settlement in Newfoundland. Originally conceived and issued to impede settlement on the island, naval commodores, in their recognition and acknowledgement of settlement, construed it in a way that strengthened the rights of fishing servants, which, in turn, enticed them to settle on the island. Outlining the history and development of the modern outport earlier in this chapter, we found that another unanticipated effect of Palliser's Act was the effective elimination of the fishing servant from the outport economy and the emergence of the family fishery. The interpretation of the Act in favour of fishing servants ultimately strengthened their position to a point where they became untenable as wage labourers for local planters. Downsizing and taking on within the family roles and responsibilities formerly filled by hired servants, planters had to focus on catching and curing the fish rather than on the marketing of the product. As a consequence, fishing families became increasingly dependent on local merchants until that dependence reached a dimension comparable to their autonomy. This is why the past ambivalence of the Crown towards settlement – by spawning Palliser's Act and its unorthodox application – contributed to the generation of the climate of autonomy and dependence in modern outports, thus creating a causal link between the two.

The other link that can be traced between the two cases of cultural ambivalence is that both fostered conservatism. While that finding was rather speculative in the context of the ambivalence towards settlement (as a potential product of an enhanced capacity for endurance, which was, in turn, identified as a direct if speculative effect), the British stance can still be considered as having seeded the propensity for conservatism in Newfoundland, or at least as having prepared the ground. This means that the more substantial propulsion of the same inclination by the concurrent relevance of autonomy and dependence in modern outports found fertile conditions and flourished. As a consequence, both culturally ambivalent contexts have to be considered in order to fully comprehend and address issues related to conservatism in Newfoundland.

4.7 Conclusion

Based on the extensive discourse on life in modern outports, I was able to argue for the simultaneous relevance of experiences of autonomy and dependence in both economic and societal realms and to establish a case of double-layered cultural ambivalence. That ambivalence was then shown to trigger outporters' creativity, a capacity that has often been underestimated in pre-confederation rural Newfoundland and sometimes forthrightly denied. Creative outcomes include elements of the local idiom and an unorthodox societal organization, which combined camaraderie with rivalry, cohesion with competition. Clearly, creativity requires space for agency, another quality that is commonly considered underdeveloped in the period of study. An enhanced agency of outporters is moreover attested by the active role they played in maintaining the truck system, an economic system that is routinely regarded as having been imposed on and suffered by fishing people. These findings further challenge notions of Newfoundland's societal backwardness before and at the time of confederation and encourage ideas of a consciously chosen way of life instead.

The observation that the truck system facilitated a propensity for conservatism among Newfoundlanders and impeded economic diversification reproduces earlier findings (e.g. Hiller 1990; Sider 1986). Drawing on the propulsion of conservatism by the truck system to trace a link between the modern outport and the British ambivalence towards settlement, however, is new. Another connection between the two contexts and the different cases of cultural ambivalence they involved goes back to Palliser's Act. A central expression of the British ambivalence towards settlement, the unorthodox implementation of Palliser's Act was at the core of the emergence of the modern outport with its concurrent relevance of autonomy and dependence. In other words, the ambivalence towards settlement has fed or fostered the autonomy-dependence ambivalence.

Both the British ambivalence towards settlement and the ambivalence of autonomy and dependence in modern outports have been shown to facilitate agency and creativity besides less productive effects (like uncertainty or entrenched conservatism), thus undermining commonly accepted power hierarchies. The workings of that facilitation, however, are different for the two contexts. The ambivalence towards settlement gave rise to the undermining of power hierarchies and acts of creative governance because the energy drain it represented for British stakeholders opened up spaces of agency across the Atlantic. In contrast, in modern outports, ambivalence, agency, and creativity all arose in the same locale. This conjuncture, together with the creative

outcomes, suggests that outporters embraced the ambivalence, which is a premise for tapping the creative potential of an ambivalent scenario, as argued in Chapter Two. The fact that it can be assumed that outporters were well aware of both opposing conditions in their lives, as described in section 4.4, further sustains this point, because full awareness enables embracement.

The idea that outporters embraced the ambivalent scenario also resonates with the speculations on the positive effects of endurance presented in the previous chapter and the observation that “Newfoundlanders have stayed high-spirited...in the full recognition of the unfairness and awful vulnerability of life” (Steffler quoted in Hernáez Lerena 2015, 300). Hence, the cross-context reading of Newfoundland culture through the lens of ambivalence suggests that endurance, if it was paired with signs of contentment and productivity, can be understood as active embracement of a difficult, yet not hopeless, situation rather than passive perseverance. Moreover, with conservatism understood as related to endurance, its differentiation proposed in Chapter Three acquires further meaning. Conservatism as a result of the recognition and embracement of a tension-filled setting that cannot be changed is prudent and empowering rather than inhibiting. This was exemplified by outporters' utilization of the truck system to their advantage. If conservatism becomes entrenched, however, it bears the danger of missing out on actual chances for improvement. The result can be a combination of putting up with the status quo and frustration about missed chances, a mindset that is arguably hindering the development of meaningful approaches to pressing issues. Myopic visions and hasty, subpar planning and management by Newfoundland authorities in the context of attempts to boost the local economy come to mind, a theme on which I will further expand in Chapters Five and Six.

Chapter Five:
Modernization and Cultural Preservation
in Post-Confederation Newfoundland

Viewing concurrent trends of modernization and cultural preservation in the decades after confederation through the lens of ambivalence, I will shed new light on a number of sociocultural phenomena at the time and on their ramifications today. As a prerequisite and backdrop against which I will develop my arguments, I first outline selected political and economic contexts between 1869, when Newfoundlanders were first asked whether they wanted union with Canada, and 1949, when confederation was finally sealed. I then clarify how I understand and use the concepts of modernization and tradition before I identify cases of the ambivalence of modernization and cultural preservation within three different realms. They include the ambivalent political approach of the first provincial government under Premier Joseph R. Smallwood, two different types of ambivalence at Memorial University, and the collective ambivalence of Newfoundlanders. Within each realm, the ambivalence is shown at work by means of specific manifestations or expressions. At the same time, those expressions, which have hitherto been considered inconsistent or merely peculiar, acquire enhanced comprehensibility and coherence. Analyzing the more sweeping effects of the multilayered modernization-preservation ambivalence and taking correlations with other instances of cultural ambivalence into account, we are able to develop a more differentiated understanding of the era and its legacy, including acknowledging the period's substantial creative potential in principle and the reasons for its limited actualization.

5.1 The Winding Road to Confederation

To develop a better understanding of the political and socioeconomic situation in Newfoundland at and after confederation, I want to briefly recall selected contexts that ultimately led to union with Canada. In 1867, Canada as a federal state was founded with four provinces: Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Newfoundland had been invited to join the union already at the 1854 Quebec conference, but after extended local debate, Newfoundlanders

voted against confederation in a general election in the fall of 1869.[67] Within a few years, even the fiercest proponents accepted the pervasive opposition to union with Canada at the time, but they naturally maintained their affinity to the mainland. As a consequence, mainland approaches to economic diversification to escape the over-dependence on the highly vulnerable fishery were popular among local politicians (Hiller 1980). The most prominent and also the most costly measure along these lines was the building of a trans-island railway to open up the interior for land-based industries. While the railway did facilitate mining and lumbering enterprises, as well as a few pulp and paper mills, it was economic development at a high price. The railway was a central factor in the country's accumulation of debt, which led to insolvency and a local bank crash in 1894 (Hiller 1980). At this point, desperate to find a backer, Newfoundland would, in principle, have been ripe for confederation. However, given the disastrous financial situation, local stakeholders were unable to negotiate satisfactory terms of union, and confederation failed another time in 1895. The intervention of several Canadian banks in order to avert Newfoundland's bankruptcy, however, created lasting economic ties between the two countries because the local currency became interchangeable with Canada's (Neary 1988). Not long thereafter, Newfoundland's independent participation in the First World War created immense costs while it lasted and left many unemployed and in need of government relief after it had ended (Elliot 1980). Hence, Newfoundland's economic situation remained precarious, not least because the fishery and the export of dried cod remained the largest single economic sector despite the diversification into forestry, mining, and pulp and paper (Alexander 1976).

Against this backdrop, the 1920s became the scene of a series of peculiar and far-reaching developments within local politics although – or perhaps because – the second half of the decade was characterized by relative prosperity induced by an investment boom, rising values for exports, and the opening of new markets for dried cod (Neary 1988). At any rate, government expenditures in the 1920s were "marked by waste and extravagance on a reckless

[67] The vote against union with Canada had various reasons. One was that the other Canadian provinces did not represent a promising new market for Newfoundland. Another was that the local elite was not ready to give up responsible government so soon after it had finally been granted in 1855. Yet another reason was that, for Newfoundlanders of Irish descent, union with Canada resonated with the accursed Act of Union in the mother country (Hiller 1980). What tipped the balance against confederation, however, was that 1869 turned out to be the best fishing year since 1854. As a result, outporters regained confidence in their self-sufficiency and that of their country. Had the election been held in the spring before the fishing season as originally intended, a population suffering from accumulated debt after a stretch of bad fishing years would likely have voted in favour of joining Canada (Hiller 1980).

scale" (Amulree 1933, par. 131), and, in 1924, the report of the Hollis Walker Commission of Enquiry revealed a pervasive regime of corruption.[68] In the sequel, a rather grotesque political scenario developed in which politicians defected and swapped parties or created new ones, and entire parties chose apparently random allies. As a result, local politicians were lastingly discredited as a class by the end of the decade (Elliot 1980). Therefore, when the bubble of prosperity burst, and depression hit in 1930, Newfoundland's economic downturn was aggravated by profound self-doubts regarding the capacity for local self-governance (Neary 1988; Elliot 1980). It is against this background that the reaction of local politics to the findings of a Royal Commission under Lord Amulree in 1933 and its far-reaching consequences have to be viewed.

The commission was instituted by Britain as a prerequisite for financial assistance, and its report, besides containing many valuable insights into local economic and societal issues, reiterated many of the moral condemnations of the Hollis Walker Enquiry regarding local politics. In fact, it extended the argument of moral deficiencies of local politics to the entire populace of Newfoundland (Amulree 1933; Elliot 1980). As a bottom line, the Amulree Report recommended that responsible government be dissolved and a commission appointed by Whitehall, which would govern the country until it was fit again for self-government. A drastic finding in itself, the suggestion that a country give up its sovereignty appears less remarkable than the fact that the Newfoundland government at the time – the newly founded United Newfoundland Party that united members of the Liberal-Conservative Progressive Party founded in 1924 with dissatisfied Liberals under prime minister Frederick Alderdice – readily accepted it in a mood and act of self-deprecation (Elliot 1980). In fact, Alderdice had already campaigned for office with the promise to investigate the idea of Commission of Government (Long 1999). This fatigue with the existing democratic system can only be understood in the context of the political tangle initiated by the disclosures of the Hollis Walker Enquiry.[69]

The Commission of Government, with six commissioners, three appointed from Britain and Newfoundland each who would serve for one to seven-year terms, took up operations in

[68] The government at the time was a coalition of Liberals and the Fishermen's Protective Union under Prime Minister Sir Richard Squires.

[69] Note that the general disenchantment with politics can also be assumed to have furthered the societal autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports. By further entrenching rural Newfoundlanders' inclination to keep out of politics and focus on immediately local affairs, both their external dependence and their internal autonomy would have been reinforced.

February 1934 for an indefinite time. Over the years, the Commission accomplished certain improvements in health care and education, and implemented a rudimentary welfare system, but it failed to resolve the structural problems at the basis of the local economy (Neary 1988). Rather than a result of the Commission's work, it was a consequence of World War Two that prosperity returned to Newfoundland in the 1940s. The island's location as both an outpost of the North American mainland and a base virtually halfway to Europe made it strategically invaluable for Canada and the United States. Following the military crisis of 1940, London approved the deployment of Canadian forces to Newfoundland, and after the Leased Bases Agreement was signed between the United Kingdom and the United States in 1941, an actual base-building boom set in. As a result, by 1942, Newfoundland's financial situation and morale would have been ripe to address the return to self-government (Neary 1988). However, there was no pervasive demand for such a move among a population that appeared to be still weary of politics. Instead, it took the initiative of Whitehall and Ottawa to address the question of Newfoundland's future.

Concerned about the growing influence of the United States in Newfoundland, the interests of Britain and Canada had converged, and when the National Convention as a local platform to discuss and recommend on Newfoundland's future was first scheduled in 1945, both governments already aimed at confederation. They knew, however, that direct intervention was not an option; Newfoundlanders had to decide for themselves in a referendum. What led to the desired result can be traced to three major factors. First, through the Commission of Government, Whitehall held the privilege of guiding the process of political change in Newfoundland. They cleverly exploited this position by putting confederation on the ballot besides self-government and Commission of Government in 1948 despite a vote to the contrary by the National Convention. Second, British and Canadian stakeholders benefited from the emergence of Joseph “Joey” R. Smallwood as a charismatic leader in the making who lined up with their interests (Neary 1988). And third, due to the presence of thousands of Britons, Canadians, and Americans on the island during the war, rural Newfoundlanders had developed a greater acceptance, if not appreciation, of the idea of social citizenship within a welfare state (Blake and Baker 2019). In the end, it still took two referendums and a relatively narrow margin of 4.6 percent to seal the union, but Newfoundland became Canada's tenth province on March

31st, 1949.[70] It is against this backdrop that I will study concurrent efforts of modernization and cultural preservation in the new province in this chapter. Before embarking on that analysis, however, let me clarify some key terminology.

5.2 On Modernization and Tradition

Modernization has been a contested concept at least since the 1970s, a circumstance that authors sometimes account for by using the term in inverted commas or quotation marks.[71] Rather than doing so, I want to outline the origins and different understandings of the notion over time and be clear about which understanding will apply to the subsequent analysis. A brief account of my use of the equally contested notion of tradition complements the conceptual backdrop.

The notion of modernity became common in the anglophone world in the seventeenth century and can be traced to the Protestant work ethic (Williams 2015; Gavrov and Klyukanov 2015). Originally carrying an unfavourable connotation – especially when used comparatively – modern acquired a widely positive meaning after the French and American Revolutions and became "virtually equivalent to improved or satisfactory or efficient" by the early twentieth century (Williams 2015, 156). At the end of these developments, modernization had become synonymous with the ever-advancing evolution leading towards highly industrialized, rational, and bureaucratic societal organization as the ultimate goal (Nolte 2015; Williams 2015).

From a global perspective, modernization can be defined as a macro process leading to the appearance of "modes of social life or organization which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onward and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence" (Giddens 1990, 1). Depending on context, modernization can have three different meanings. First, modernization describes the internal development of the Western world relating to the European New Era. In this sense, a modern society includes

[70] After none of the three options received an absolute majority in the first referendum on June 3rd, 1948, Commission of Government, which had received the lowest vote, was dropped in a second referendum on July 22nd. It returned 47.7 percent for Responsible Government and 52.3 percent for confederation (Government of Canada 1950).

[71] Modernization came under widespread attack during the 1970s as an all too simplistic construct with a bias on Westernization and the untenable claim that related actions and processes unmistakably effected economic and/or political progress (Nolte 2015). In Newfoundland intellectual circles, the critique of modernization emerged already in the 1960s, as described in the further course of this chapter (Overton 1996). This accelerated development, I contend, was related to the Smallwood government's particularly aggressive approach to modernizing the new province.

secularization, democracy, an industrialized market economy and welfare state, and mass communication. Second, modernization is a process by which underdeveloped countries aim to catch up with developed countries through replication and repetition. An important sub-type of this understanding is colonial modernization after the blueprint of metropolitan modernity. Third, modernization denotes a permanent process that effects the transition to a post-industrial society in the most modernized countries, with globalization representing the latest stage (Gavrov and Klyukanov 2015).

The heyday of what has been termed modernization theory from the 1950s to the 1970s coincides with the period of interest to us here.[72] Modernization theory was never a coherent theory but a package of assumptions about the meaning and implications of modernization. This package included considering modernization as a global and irreversible process that concerned societies around the globe after World War Two and implied a sharp antithesis between traditional static and modern progressive societies (Knöbl 2003). Moreover, political and economic underdevelopment was assumed to be rooted in local attitudes, values, and role structures. Finally, societal differences notwithstanding, modernization was expected to take place in a uniform and linear way around the globe, which is why the Western economic and political model was expected to reappear in virtually all modernizing societies (Knöbl 2003). It is in this sense, combined with the urge of an underdeveloped, postcolonial region to catch up, that I will use the term in the further course of this chapter.

Before embarking on the actual analysis of modernization and preservation in post-confederation Newfoundland, I would also like to address another contested term that will figure prominently: tradition. Tradition and its derivative traditional are also often found in inverted commas as their use and understanding are heterogeneous and frequently vague across discourses. Again relying on the philological and sociopolitical considerations of Raymond Williams (2015) regarding the origins and use of keywords in the anglophone world, I aim to circumvent contestation and ambiguity (and the need to use inverted commas) in what follows. Williams points out that, from the fourteenth century onward, the main development in the English use of the term tradition was in the sense of "handing down knowledge" and "passing on

[72] The origins of this approach can be traced to a 1951 conference that sought to pool knowledge about the social structure of what was considered underdeveloped regions worldwide so they could be effectively supported with American technology and know-how in order to counter the attractions of communist ideology at the advent of the Cold War (Knöbl 2003).

doctrine" (252). It is in this sense, which discloses that it does not take more than a generation to render something traditional, that the concept of tradition will be used in the present study. This understanding also defies the myth that traditional means age-old or ancient, which is arguably still common today.[73] This is not to say that traditions cannot be much older than a generation; they are just not necessarily or intrinsically so. This interpretation largely matches what was considered social scientists' understanding of traditional culture in post-confederation Newfoundland as "the socially transmitted environmental adaptions and ways of interacting with others within their community" (Webb 2015, 5). Moreover, the understanding of tradition as a doctrine that was passed on resonates with the post-war idea that tradition impedes change and innovation, which often comes into play when modernization proponents use the term. In brief, traditional is in the following understood as an attribute of cultural matters that were passed on for at least one generation and considered to be antithetical to being or becoming modern.

5.3 The Smallwood Government's Ambivalent Approach

We have now set the stage for studying the Smallwood government's political tenor with respect to modernization and the preservation of traditional culture in post-confederation Newfoundland. After presenting evidence for the presence of both opposing paradigms within the politics of the day, I expose their simultaneous relevance, thus establishing that the overall approach can be framed as a case of cultural ambivalence. Two exemplary manifestations or expressions of the ambivalent political approach characterized by pushing both modernization and cultural preservation will bring the ambivalence to life. At the same time, the related activities acquire enhanced meaning when viewed in the light of ambivalence.

Joseph Roberts "Joey" Smallwood, the leader of the local branch of the Liberal party, became the first premier of the new Canadian province in 1949 and occupied that position until 1972. At confederation, Newfoundland was still largely preindustrial, and both its economic and social settings failed to live up to Canadian or Western standards. In this light, the new province has been compared to a "third world" country (Neary 1980, 209) and the emerging standing and power of its charismatic premier to that of a "third world leader" (214). From the later 1960s, Smallwood, his politics, and his governing style came under increasing attack, also from within

[73] The myth has survived and continues to be exploited despite its unmasking by works such as the collected essays in *The Invention of Tradition* (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012).

his own party, but he continued to dominate the government apparatus (Neary 1980). Hence, throughout Smallwood's tenure, the provincial government could be widely identified with the figure of the premier, and his inclinations can be understood as having carried over to institutional and administrative levels.

Aggressive Modernization

From beginning to end, the Smallwood government stood for an aggressive, that is, a rushed and relentless approach to industrialization, resource development, and modernization in the post-war understanding (Neary 1980; Webb 2015; House 2018). After twenty years in the office, the premier still held that "the only way to hold [young Newfoundlanders] is to develop our Province on a scale, and with a speed, that we have never seen before" (Smallwood 1969, 147). The desire to catch up with Western standards typical for underdeveloped countries was strongly palpable, and modernization in the Smallwood era, instead of developing site-specific approaches, mimicked continental mainland strategies (Crocker 2000). Given that Newfoundland politicians had looked to Canada at least since the first aim at confederation in 1869 (Hiller 1980), and some argue ever since responsible government in 1855 (Alexander 1976), this was not overly surprising. Furthermore, as noted above, the idea that socioeconomic change towards modernity would take place in a largely uniform way across different societies was a worldwide trend (Knöbl 2003). The fact that modernization in post-confederation Newfoundland came largely as Canadianization followed that trend.[74]

More remarkable was the vision behind the establishment of a university immediately after confederation, as it stood in contrast to the approach of replicating mainland strategies. When Memorial University was founded as a full degree-granting institution through the 1949 University Act,[75] the idea was to facilitate academic expertise on Newfoundland, which would then inform custom-tailored approaches to modernization (Webb 2015). Reality took a different turn, however. The urge to catch up prohibited waiting for the data and expertise to build up, and modernization was pushed ahead while research was still in progress. Indeed, rather than

[74] A note on Canadianization: the term suggests homogeneity where it was and is necessarily limited in a vast and culturally diverse country like Canada. Canadianization is here understood as the process of increasing alignment with certain Canada-wide standards with regard to public services related to health, education, and infrastructure and mimicking the socioeconomic culture of southern Ontario. It is not to be confused with the Canadianization movement of the late 1960s and 1970s (Steele and Mathews 2006).

[75] Note that Memorial University replaced Memorial College, which had been founded in 1925 as a memorial to the Newfoundlanders who had served in the Great War.

informing and augmenting government expertise, the academy had to make up for the lack of such expertise altogether. Notably, the Extension Service, founded in 1959, and the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER), founded in 1961, helped to fill gaps in governmental competency regarding social scientific and economic affairs, as did the geography department in geoscientific matters. Moreover, Memorial University provided the research and archival infrastructure that would normally fall under government responsibility. In fact, in its early years, the university, in parts, resembled a service unit for the government and its agenda for modernization (Webb 2015). Of course, besides playing this pragmatic role, Memorial University was also an indispensable tile in the government's ideational mosaic of a modern society. Its new campus, opened in 1961, was a symbol of modernity, as were the roads, industrial and commercial spaces, schools, and hospitals that sprang up across the province. Finally, most first-generation scholars came from Canada or the United States and brought common contemporary approaches, ideologies, and doctrines with them (Webb 2015). As a consequence, Memorial fostered modernization as intended, but it did so based on mainland understanding rather than locally developed expertise.

Dedicated Cultural Preservation

It was generally understood among scholars and members of the government and administration that modernization, with a focus on industrialization and urbanization, would erode the traditional and vernacular way of life in rural Newfoundland (Chafe 2003a; Webb 2015). In fact, the picture of the gradual process of erosion barely captures the process that was anticipated. In the face of the aggressiveness of modernization, outport life – which was, and still widely is, considered the seat of local traditional culture (e.g. Conway 2021; Hall 2019; Jackson 1984; Overton 1988) – was expected to collapse rather quickly and disappear altogether with modernization successfully completed. Yet, Smallwood, a fervent patriot committed to the promotion of Newfoundland culture and its value, was not prepared to let this happen unchallenged.[76] Instead, and parallel to his efforts to modernize after mainland and, notably, Canadian patterns, he was dedicated to preserve traditional outport culture. Again, Memorial University was assigned a key role in this endeavour. From the early 1960s, social scientists were

[76] Note that Smallwood's passion for local traditional culture predated his political career and was expressed, for instance, through his editing of *The Book of Newfoundland* (1968) from 1937 until 1967 and a popular radio show aired across the province in which he appeared as “The Barrelman” from 1937 until 1943.

not only studying the impact of modernization on rural Newfoundland in order to facilitate further change. They were also encouraged to practice so-called "salvage anthropology" by studying and documenting a culture that was "dying out" (Chafe 2003a, 74) and threatened by "extinction" (Webb 2015, 199). The idea was that Newfoundland traditional culture would be preserved by valorizing and recording outport life. Central approaches included ethnographic studies realized under the aegis of ISER and media productions conceived and realized by the university's Extension Service. Resonance to the government's preservation agenda was strong among young scholars because, besides the appeal of generous funding, Newfoundland outports – as isolated, preindustrial societies that had been barely studied before – came "as close as you can come to fulfilling the social scientist's dream of an ideal community" (Chiaramonte quoted in Webb 2015, 209).

Ambivalence of Modernization and Cultural Preservation

It has been suggested that Smallwood did not see a contradiction in his politics of modernization and cultural preservation (Webb 2015). Yet, during the National Convention and with regard to the industrialization of the fishery as the traditional Newfoundland economy and backbone of the local culture, he expressed at least mixed feelings: "I will watch this trend to industrialism in the fisheries with a great deal of interest in the next ten, 20 or 30 years, if I live that long. I know it must come; it is inevitable and indeed it may be regrettable" (quoted in House 2018, 438). If he consciously held a similar stance with regard to modernization along the model of Canada more generally, I cannot say. Fact is that Smallwood pushed modernization by way of Canadianization while equally aiming to preserve and value local outport culture, a move that implied counteracting Canadianization, at least with respect to rural Newfoundland. Together with the circumstance that he passionately pursued both at once, I argue that Smallwood's approach was not merely a "curious blend of 'progressive' and 'reactionary' elements" (Neary 1980, 215) but one of ambivalence. This means that what has been considered a "curious blend" of haphazard initiatives can be traced to a tension-filled but clearly comprehensible and contextualized scenario and mindset. With a focus on the industrialization of the fishery, this has already been observed by Douglas House (2018). As a consequence of the premier's widely undisputed governmental leadership, then, his individual ambivalence was directly transferred into an institutional one.

The concurrence of modernization and preservation in Newfoundland at the time is contextualized, and the argument for ambivalence substantiated, by the observation that the desire to study and preserve traditional or folk culture was an intrinsic characteristic of the modernizing era (McKay 2014; Webb 2015). This implies that this type of ambivalence was not unique to Newfoundland. I suggest, however, that both the efforts to modernize and the desire to preserve were particularly distinct in Newfoundland, especially in the 1960s, as indicated by the recurrence of terms like "rush," "spurt," "urgency," "salvage," and "extinction" to describe related processes (e.g. Crocker 2016; Gulliver 2014; House 2018; Neary 1980; Overton 1988; Webb 2015; Whitaker 1967). Moreover, occurring in the mid-twentieth century, the era of modernization-preservation ambivalence in Newfoundland was late for a place situated within the Western hemisphere.[77]

A Dualistic, Capricious Fishery

One way the Smallwood government's ambivalence towards Canadianization expressed itself in the local society was through the emergence of what has been called a "capricious fishery" (Neary 1980, 215). It has been estimated that, by 1961, the more direct forms of support to the Newfoundland fishing industry amounted to 93 percent of the value of fish landed or approximately 65 percent of the total income generated in the industry and the processing sector together (Copes 1970). The emergence of this irrational, if not grotesque, scenario is owed to the fact that, on the one hand, the fishery – other than often depicted – was an integrated part of Smallwood's modernizing scheme through subsidizing the upscaling and industrialization of vessels, fishing gear, and processing operations (House 2018; Wadel 1969). On the other hand, the government was reluctant to initiate a structural reform of the industry (Neary 1980). This reluctance was, for one thing, motivated by the wish to preserve the nature of a traditional industry that was so central for local concepts of belonging and identity. For another, it accounted for the defensive and, by then, entrenched conservatism of outporters (as discussed in the previous chapter), who represented Smallwood's electoral basis (Neary 1980). With certain government policies promoting change and others defending the status quo, fishing people received

[77] The concurrence of modernization and the urge to preserve traditional culture dates back to Romanticism in the first half of the nineteenth century in large parts of Europe and to the latter nineteenth century in eastern North America, including Nova Scotia (McKay 1994). In the mid-twentieth century, it could mostly be observed in postcolonial locales of the Global South.

contradicting signals from the authorities, as has also been observed by Peter Sinclair (1985).[78] As a result, the Newfoundland fishery at the time was characterized by a "dualistic development," that resulted in the coexistence of a highly technologized, large-scale commercial trawler fishery and an "almost medieval" family inshore fishery (Brox 1972, 6). This ambivalent scenario did not serve anyone but ultimately rendered the whole industry unsustainable.

The Revaluation of the Newfoundland Museum

Perhaps a metaphor rather than an expression of the modernization-preservation ambivalence was the reopening and revaluation of the Newfoundland Museum. After the museum had been closed down by the Commission of Government in 1934 to make space for a department of health, the reopening of the institution was on Smallwood's agenda from his early days in office and finally implemented in 1957 after years of careful planning and building (*The Nfld. Quarterly* 1957). With ethnology, local history, and art departments, the museum was an element in the premier's strategy to preserve and promote local culture both at home and in travelling exhibitions. The museum departments dedicated to industry and natural history, on the other hand, reflected and served his government's modernizing goals. With the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, world fairs had become occasions to advertise a country's or region's resources and manufacturing potential. For Newfoundland, too, exhibiting specimens of its natural riches internationally became part of the strategy for advancing a more diversified economy, and the Newfoundland Museum served as a repository to outfit those exhibitions (Maunder 1991). This is why the Newfoundland Museum resonated with both culturalist and modernist agendas, and the efforts made for its reopening are best understood against the background of the ambivalence of the day. Similar observations hold for Smallwood's two most voluminous publishing endeavours, *The Book of Newfoundland* (1968) and its quasi successor, the *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador* (1981–1994), which assembled wide-ranging place-related knowledge of both cultural and economic interest.[79]

[78] Please note that Sinclair (1985) argued that "fishermen have received ambiguous signals" (114), but I suggest he used the term "ambiguous" in the sense of "ambivalent" as it is understood here. Moreover, he analyzes policies of both the federal and the provincial governments. However, he finds contradictory elements not only between the two levels of government but also within each of them. Finally, Sinclair's study focuses on northwest Newfoundland in the 1970s and early 1980s, but central findings regarding the reception and impact of state policies were arguably already in effect in the period studied here.

[79] Smallwood acted as editor-in-chief for all six volumes of *The Book of Newfoundland* and as chief editor of the first two, and honorary chief editor for the third of the five volumes of the *Encyclopedia* (Nichol 2017).

5.4 Two Types of Ambivalence at Memorial University

As pointed out above, Memorial's mandate mirrored the government's ambivalence of modernization after Canadian patterns and the preservation of local culture. Thus actively propelling and opposing Canadianization, the university was ambivalent as an institution from the outset. This institutional ambivalence, I argue, was eventually augmented by a collective counterpart on the level of its faculty. While the first generation of scholars was united in assuming that change through modernization would improve the lives of rural Newfoundlanders, a number of them – mostly social scientists who studied the impact of modernization in the communities – grew increasingly critical of state policies in the 1960s (Webb 2015). This trend was then further substantiated by a second generation of scholars. By the late 1960s, a culturalist critique of modernization had developed, and a populist school of social science promoted a "small is beautiful" approach to development (Overton 1988). Eventually, the coexistence of staunch support and profound critique of the government's approach to modernization became a defining element of Memorial (Webb 2015; Withers 2016). This was possible despite the proximity of government and academia in Newfoundland at the time because scholars were still granted a high degree of academic freedom at Memorial University (Webb 2015). With two antagonistic academic positions that were fiercely defended by influential academic figures and their followers in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Memorial University's faculty represented a collective of scholars defined by two camps with opposing values and ideas.

The existence of differing or even contrasting intellectual camps or schools is arguably a characteristic of research institutions more generally. What distinguished the situation at Memorial University in the Smallwood era from other universities and created a fully-fledged case of collective ambivalence, I argue, was the focus on Newfoundland as a shared object of study across faculties. This commonality fostered debate and created tensions between diverging views and groups, which would not have developed within a more demarcated or more abstract research landscape. As a result, the dispute pro and contra modernization spread across the whole university, rather than being confined to individual faculties or departments, as intellectual controversies more commonly are.

Language Archive and Speech Courses

The two-fold (institutional and collective or faculty-based) ambivalence at Memorial most vividly manifested itself in concurrent efforts to modernize and preserve local oral culture. Driven by the assumption that modern media and economic changes would erode local dialects and idioms and spurred by the rising appreciation of traditional storytelling and song, linguists and folklorists at the university documented and studied the Newfoundland language.[80] The interdisciplinary work of recording and analyzing Newfoundlanders' intonation, dialects, and lexicon across the island culminated in major projects such as the Memorial University of Newfoundland Folklore and Language Archive (MUNFLA), founded in 1968, and the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English* (DNE; Story et al. 1982). Both were highly acclaimed in academic circles, and the DNE moreover found its way into many Newfoundlanders' homes. Originally presented as a “regional parallel” (Story et al. 1982, xviii) to the *Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles* (Mathews 1951) and the *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (Cassidy and Le Page 1967), the DNE ultimately positioned Newfoundland English at eye level with British, American, and Canadian English (Webb 2015). The expressions of appreciation, preservation, and promotion of the local idiom, however, were paralleled by “speech courses” aimed to purge from rural students exactly those Newfoundland dialects and vocabulary that MUNFLA and the DNE celebrated. The view that non-standard grammar, pronunciation, and lexicon were a sign of backwardness and lack of education and sophistication had a long tradition,[81] and it had been brisked up during World War Two (Webb 2015).

In sum, at Memorial University in the 1960s and 1970s, traditional Newfoundland dialects and lexicon were considered both worth preserving and inadequate for members of a modern society; they were simultaneously cherished and despised, preserved and stamped out. The lens of cultural ambivalence allows us to trace this “tandem” approach (Webb 2015, 37), which would otherwise appear merely inconsistent, to the ambivalence of concurrent tendencies of modernization and preservation at Memorial University, thereby firmly embedding it within the sociopolitical climate of the day.

[80] The most formative figures were George Story, Herbert Halpert, and Edgar Raymond Seary (Webb 2015).

[81] More rudimentary speech courses had already existed at Memorial College in the 1930s (Layman 1997).

5.5 The Ambivalence of Newfoundlanders

The ambivalence regarding Canadianization in post-confederation Newfoundland on the (institutional) government level had a collective parallel within the population. After confederation, "a people who had always lived close to the economic abyss" (Neary 1980, 209) clearly appreciated the new Canadian welfare programs. The same holds for public services, such as health care, secondary education, or communication infrastructures, which had still been absent in large parts of rural Newfoundland at the time of confederation. Moreover, many Newfoundlanders were eager to modernize in the sense of adopting a Canadian lifestyle and acquiring the commodities it implied, many of which could now regularly be seen on television and purchased locally (Omohundro 1994; Pocius 1991; Webb 2015). Hence, the quip that Smallwood "hauled Newfoundlanders kicking and screaming into modernity" is misleading because the majority of Newfoundlanders did not oppose modernization in general. Indeed, already during World War Two, when Canadian and American troops flocked to the island, Newfoundlanders "found much to resist and also much to envy and copy" in the culture they imported (MacLeod 1986, 1). What created tensions within communities and caused lasting alienation for many (and can therefore be associated with the image of hauling someone somewhere against their will) were measures of social engineering, notably resettlement and specifically in its conception after 1965, which will be studied in more detail in section 5.6 below. Otherwise, the material and cultural elements of modernization along Canadian standards were largely welcomed and eagerly appropriated.

On the other hand, as pointed out above, tendencies to revalue traditional ways are an intrinsic part of processes of modernization, also on individual and collective levels. Indeed, when modernization gathered speed in the 1960s and outports received unprecedented academic attention, rural Newfoundlanders increasingly sought comfort, identity, and pride in their cultural heritage. By focusing on local traditions, outporters countered the uncertainty and alienation invoked by industrialization and Canadianization (Webb 2015).

Combining the above, we find that Newfoundlanders can be assumed to have been culturally ambivalent in two ways. As there were strong reasons to both embrace and resist Canadianization, many would have been torn between the two, that is, individually ambivalent. However, there were also aspects of Canadianization over which Newfoundlanders were split

into debating camps of proponents and opponents. In the following, I will trace and illustrate the workings of both types of collective ambivalence within Newfoundland post-confederation society.

A Love-Hate Relationship with Outport Life

Merely a matter of perspective, ambivalence regarding Canadianization was also an ambivalence regarding the opposite, that is, the continuation of the traditional Newfoundland lifestyle. In his study on social change in rural Newfoundland in the early 1970s, Ralph Matthews (1976) conducted a number of interviews in which the participants, despite their vocal appraisal of the traditional lifestyle (as reflected in the study's title: *There's No Better Place Than Here*), revealed their ambivalence towards that way of life when the next generation's future was concerned. Several parents held that the fishery, widely considered the backbone of outport culture, was not a desirable profession for their children. As one respondent put it: “My boys aren't going to do what their father did in the fishing boat all his life” (71). Similarly, St. John's publisher Clyde Rose told the authors of *This Marvellous Terrible Place*: “Father didn't want me in a dory; he didn't want me to be a fisherman. ... He recognized that his lifetime of toil and skill had paid little reward in proportion to his efforts ... Yes, he questioned it. They all questioned it” (quoted in Momatiuk and Eastcott 1998, 56–57). The same mindset is at the heart of historian George Withers' (2016) recollection that, in the 1960s, his parents had him participate in the family fishery while being clear that his “main job was to go to the one-room school to qualify for a white collar job” (4). Ideas of valuing the local identity and heritage rooted in the fishery obviously collided with ideas of hardship and precariousness governing that industry. The latter induced an appreciation of Canadianization with the prospects of occupational dependability and prosperity it implied. If we assume that these cases reflect a larger trend at the time, as Rose's quote above suggests, they reflect a case of collective ambivalence based on Newfoundlanders' widespread individual ambivalence regarding traditional outport life.

The ambivalent relationship of many Newfoundlanders with their home has also found creative expression. R.M. Kennedy (2010) finds it reflected in the lyrics of singer-songwriter Ron Hynes: “love for Hyne's Newfoundland is complex, ambivalent, difficult, psychically demanding” (112). Moreover, Paul Chafe (2014) observes ambivalent feelings for Newfoundland in Micheal Winter's *Into the Blizzard* (2014), where the author holds that “[t]he 'Ode to

Newfoundland' [with its sunny yet deep frozen hills] is meant to be both sincere and sarcastic. It should be sung with hammy effects, as if the singer is embracing the punishment" of living on the island (148). "Embracing the punishment," of course, resonates with Newfoundlanders' capacity for endurance, which we have already studied in Chapter Three. Finally, the "marvellous terrible" character of rural Newfoundland is perfectly visualized by Jean Claude Roy's painting of Francois, an outport on Newfoundland's south coast (see figure 5.1).[82] Although not a Newfoundlander himself, Roy captures the ambivalent climate around him by picturing the quaint, colourful settlement as nestled between daunting cliffs and sombre waters and subject to a sun reminiscent of a volcanic eruption or other cataclysmic detonation.

Figure 5.1: Jean Claude Roy: *Francois* (2009), courtesy of the artist

We thus find that the ambivalence towards iconic Newfoundland outport life has produced little creative output on the communal level where it has propagated the fate of outports as largely fossilized communities. In the creative sector, on the other hand, it has

[82] The painting is also displayed on the cover of Jeff Webb's *Observing the Outports* (2015), which is where I first saw it.

inspired impressive artworks within different genres. The reason for this discrepancy, I contend, is that artists – availing of their capacity to find inspiration by looking at the world from a certain distance – are freer and more inclined to reflect and embrace the ambivalence at hand, which is a precondition for the related creative potential to be tapped (compare Chapter Two).

With Margaret Duley and Megan Gail Coles, two writers representing two different generations of Newfoundland fiction authors have made their ambivalence towards the place, and with it their recognition of its inspirational potency, very explicit. Duley's *Highway to Valour* (1977) begins with the dedication "to Newfoundland, a country which the author loves and hates" (no page number), and Coles opens her debut novel *Small Game Hunting at the Local Coward Gun Club* (2019) with the words "I wrote this for myself. And the beautiful and vicious island that makes and unmakes us" (no page number). The special capacity of Newfoundland artists to embrace conflicting feelings about their home and turn them into creative output is beautifully captured by the title of Paul Chafe's (2008) study of Newfoundland literature: *Only an Artist Can Measure Up to Such a Place*.[83] The same capacity will be referenced again in the context of Newfoundlanders' ambivalent relationship with the land studied in Chapter Six.

Inferiority Complex and Pride

Another manifestation of the widespread individual ambivalence among the population in the Smallwood era, I suggest, is a mindset that combines a sense of inferiority with pride. As a statement about the mindset or disposition of a group, this point is necessarily generalizing and highly speculative, especially if made by an outsider like myself. I raise it because I came across related observations in the works of several Newfoundland authors, and it resonates with my own experiences.

It has been found that the "anxious urge to emulate the mainland" (Pittman quoted in Conway 2022, 243) was an expression of a widespread sense of inferiority in post-confederation Newfoundland and that it was eventually replaced by pride in the local identity when radical modernization induced the revaluing of the traditional culture (Webb 2015; Conway 2022). I suggest a modification of this line of thought. Because the cultural emulation of North America did, in fact, continue after the local culture had emerged as something to be cherished, I argue

[83] Note that the title of Chafe's (2008) study refers to a statement of character Smallwood in Wayne Johnston's (1999) *The Colony of Unrequited Dreams*.

that the sense of inferiority or backwardness did not disappear. As a result, pride in the local identity and culture eventually coexisted with conceptions of inferiority. As both mindsets touch on one's self-image, they can be assumed to be relevant for the individual. The resulting ambivalence can be viewed as the projection of the modernization-preservation ambivalence onto the psyche of the population, with feelings of inferiority implied in the aspiration to copy someone else's modernity and pride reflected in the defence of the local culture.

Like the modernization-preservation ambivalence, concurrent feelings of inferiority and pride are not unique to Newfoundland, but they may again be argued to be particularly pronounced and long-lived here, which is why they have found their way into the representation of Newfoundlanders by local and outside authors alike. F. L. Jackson (1984) attests to Newfoundlanders an "oversensitive pride" in their culture (93), and I argue that this over-sensitivity, by testifying to the fragility of the pride, is an indicator of a lurking sense of inferiority. Paul Chafe (2008) identifies "head-down, eyes-averted timidity" and "hangdog humility" (55) besides pride in the characters of Johnston's novel *The Colony of Unrequited Dreams*, and witnesses "pride, tenacity, and kindness, but also perversion, ignorance and inadequacy" (171) in those peopling Proulx's *Shipping News*. While these Newfoundlanders are fictive, it can be assumed that the authors attempted to capture and convey some central features of the actual place and its people through their characterization.[84] The "persistence of Smallwoodism" (Bannister 2021, no page number), with its determination to break with the past and its belief in industrial modernity, suggests that a sense of inferiority with respect to more "advanced" and prosperous societies is still part of the local culture today, as is, no doubt, the pride in the local heritage and culture. The commercial exploitation of the latter for tourism, however, has, in part, bereaved it of its vitality and turned it into a commodity that is sold to visitors and Newfoundlanders alike, as will be described in Chapter Seven.

Smart and Proper

The above paragraphs have presented the modernization-preservation ambivalence at work as a widespread condition on the individual level. Another way in which it manifested itself was in the coexistence of two camps that engaged in a debate regarding the manner in which a specific aspect of Canadianization should be approached. That aspect was the new

[84] Note that the caricaturing of Newfoundlanders and their culture for which Proulx's novel has been criticized is largely rooted in its marketing as well as in the movie adaption. The work itself is less prone to stereotyping and recognizes and reflects various tensions in the local society (Cooke 2013).

variety of welfare payments that accompanied confederation. Besides extended poor relief, Newfoundlanders now enjoyed family allowances, old age pension, and unemployment insurance (UI). In 1956, UI also became available for fishing people who were regularly unemployed during the off-season in the winter. For many, notably rural, Newfoundlanders, welfare of any kind was welcome as merely another element in the traditionally plural subsistence economy, virtually a "start-up capital" for the season (Loo 2019, 73; Omohundro 1994; Wadel 1969). For others, however, relying on welfare was a stigma that marked the lack of diligence and a break with equally traditional efforts to make ends meet without assistance (Matthews 1976; Omohundro 1994). In other words, one faction considered benefiting from modern welfare payments to be improper as it eroded the tradition of attempting self-sufficiency, while the other found it only logical – or smart – to mine the newly available resources. The result was two antagonistic and disputing camps that heralded "proper" and "smart" behaviour, respectively, a phenomenon and tension, which, with site-specific variations, has been described in societies undergoing rapid change more generally (Freilich 1977; Geertz 1959). In Newfoundland, the scenario can be understood as a reflection and subtype of the collective modernization-preservation ambivalence in the Smallwood era.[85]

The existence of these two conflicting stances (acting proper versus being smart) within the local society attests to Newfoundlanders' resourcefulness in principle. Moreover, as mentioned above, the large majority of those who accepted welfare have done so without giving up traditional subsistence strategies, thus following the traditional economic pluralism (Loo 2019; Omohundro 1994; Wadel 1969). This is similar to what Pocius (1991) finds with a focus on material culture when he observes that the people in his community of study "can live in both worlds [traditional and modern]" (294) because "what is meaningful is appropriated" (298). Returning to subsistence strategies, optimizing self-sufficiency without rejecting welfare payments for topping up the spectrum can be considered a productive or creatively pragmatic approach to maximizing the chances for prosperity within a chronically vulnerable economy. Here again, we find that recognizing and embracing the value of both opposing concepts pays off and, at times, literally so.

[85] Note that, this collective ambivalence based on two opposing camps in debate was augmented by cases of individual ambivalence, as observed by Gerald Pocius (1991), who found that "Newfoundlanders sometimes see themselves torn between holding on to what is important [or proper] and incorporating the benefits of the late-twentieth-century industrialized world" (19). While both Omohundro's and Pocius' studies were conducted after the period studied here, the contexts and phenomena described can be traced to the post-confederation era.

I want to close my analysis of three different levels of modernization-preservation ambivalence in Newfoundland (within the government, the university, and the population) by placing my findings within the existing discourse. The Smallwood government's politics of modernization and preservation have been observed and described as contradictory or inconsistent before (Neary 1980; Webb 2015), and, with a focus on the fishery, an actual ambivalence has been acknowledged (House 2018). The same holds for the role of Memorial University in that era (Webb 2015). However, to my knowledge, ambivalence has never been assigned to post-confederation politics more comprehensively, nor has it been expanded to include the collective ambivalence of Newfoundlanders in that period.

While Pocius (1991) acknowledges the polarities of modern and traditional material culture and the tensions they have at times created, his focus is on the absence of these tensions in the community of his study, without much reference to the relation between the tension-filled and the tension-free scenarios. It is the lens of cultural ambivalence that offers an explanation for the coexistence of the two: in what Pocius refers to as the tension-free case, the simultaneous relevance of modernity and tradition was obviously embraced and mined. This is in accordance with our observation in Chapter Two that tapping ambivalence's creative potential provokes the reduction or dissipation of the tension implied. In contrast, in the tension-filled scenario, which is only briefly addressed at the outset of Pocius' study, people did arguably not recognize, let alone embrace, the ambivalence and remained stuck between the opposing poles.

5.6 Effects of the Ambivalence of Modernization and Cultural Preservation

Besides the more immediate expressions and manifestations presented in the previous sections, the multilayered modernization-preservation ambivalence in post-confederation Newfoundland can be considered to have given rise to various phenomena and processes with an impact on the local society and culture at large. Understanding these as induced or informed by ambivalence provides a new angle for assessing the Smallwood years and their impact on later developments.

The Newfoundland Studies Movement

The ambivalent role assigned to Memorial University as an institution by the Smallwood government, together with the collective ambivalence that developed among its faculty,

engendered an enhanced academic activity characterized by a focus on the place, high trans- and interdisciplinarity, prolific collaboration, and exceptional creative output. This "Newfoundland Studies Movement" (Webb 2015, 14) emerged in the 1950s and flourished in the 1960s and 1970s before it waned and eventually dissolved in the early 1980s. Hence, if we take the natural delay between cause and effect into account, the course of the movement alone suggests it as a child of the ambivalent period under consideration.

As pointed out above, provincial authorities in post-confederation Newfoundland relied on Memorial's academic expertise to guide them in economic, geographical, and social scientific affairs in order to advance modernization on the one hand and to study and preserve the local traditional culture that was expected to disappear on the other. This agenda implied that scholars from a variety of disciplines all focused on the new province as a common object of study. Sharing an object of study naturally enhanced cross-disciplinary exchange and propelled collaboration besides debate and competition. What further spurred an actual studies movement that was "qualitatively different from anything that preceded or followed" (Webb 2015, 14), I argue, was the collective ambivalence towards modernization along Canadian models (or Canadianization), which developed at Memorial University in the wake of the related institutional ambivalence.

Much of the research done was of immediate relevance for the local realities of the population, including studies of the economic viability of outports, the social impact of resettlement, the sustainability of the fishery, or the valorization of traditional language and culture, among others. Field workers experienced the strains and alienation caused by industrialization and social engineering in rural communities across the island firsthand. As a consequence, younger faculty eventually opposed modernization *à la* Smallwood in an overtly activist manner (Webb 2015). Considering that living standards in rural Newfoundland were still low when compared with mainland Canada, however, there was no doubt that change was necessary, which is why the scholars who considered modernization to be the appropriate tool for accomplishing that change were equally committed to their goals. As a consequence, the creative productivity at Memorial was stimulated by an intense concurrence of passionate collaboration among like-minded scholars and fierce competition between antagonistic groups.

Creative achievements prompted or advanced by the collective ambivalence at Memorial University include the establishment of new disciplinary departments, such as

linguistics, anthropology, and folklore; the creation of pioneering work in participatory media; the development of a humanities approach to geography that was focusing on the Atlantic perspective before American historians adopted that approach; and the implementation of a paradigm shift for early Newfoundland history (Webb 2015).[86] Outstanding initiatives comprised the creation of the Centre for Newfoundland Studies library collection, the Maritime History Archive, the MUN Folklore and Language Archive, and MUN Extension Services. Exceptional individual products within a wealth of creative output include ISER's series of Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies, the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, major contributions to the *Historical Atlas of Canada*, and the film collection of the Fogo Process.[87]

The Newfoundland Cultural Revival

The Newfoundland Studies Movement eventually informed and became part of a broader cultural reaction to modernization and the ultimate loss of nationhood, which took up momentum in the 1970s. Appealing to intellectuals more generally and reaching into all fields of art, the Newfoundland cultural revival, or “Newfoundland Renaissance” as it was termed by *Saturday Night* magazine author Sandra Gwyn (1976), operated in the field of tension between nostalgia, regionalism, and traditionalism on the one hand, and rebellion, globalism, and experimentation on the other. The nostalgic and radical regionalist tendencies were partly the critical reaction to a federal government which was perceived as increasingly centralist and neocolonialist (Overton 1988). However, they were also manifestations of the postcolonial revalorization of local identity sparked by a rushed modernization process that mimicked mainland strategies (Gulliver 2014). At the same time, international protests against Cold War politics and the Vietnam War created a global communality, and a whole generation was shaking off their parents' values and way of life to experiment with new lifestyles and art forms. This “visionary nostalgia” governing the cultural revival reflected the modernization-preservation ambivalence of the period.

[86] This shift consisted in moving from a paradigm of prohibition of settlement, chaos, and anarchy to a more differentiated picture, which characterized the Newfoundland case as particular yet less anomalous (Webb 2015).

[87] Contributors from Memorial University to the *Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume 1: From the Beginnings to 1800* (Harris 1987) include Gordon Handcock, Grant Head, John Mannion, Alan McPherson, Rosemary Ommer, and Ralph Pastore. What became known as the Fogo Process was a pioneering participatory communication project by the National Film Board and MUN Extension Services in the late 1960s that employed film and video to engage the people of Fogo Island in exchange with each other and political as well as financial decision makers in order to foster social change (Crocker 2008).

The creative products of the Newfoundland Renaissance have been called a "hybrid" (Gulliver 2014, 26) of the traditional culture artists hoped to preserve and the innovative elements they introduced through their experimental approaches, which were, in turn, informed by global trends. While this may well hold for certain of works, I argue that the most compelling artworks of the period, being inspired and fed by multilayered (institutional and collective) ambivalence, expressed that ambivalence and, hence, an inner tension themselves, rather than showcasing tension-less hybridity. A paragon is the work of painter and printmaker Christopher Pratt. The unique style he developed in the period under consideration, I argue, exhibits the ambivalent tension between tradition and modernity in a distinct way.

Figure 5.2: Christopher Pratt: *Boys Dipping Capelin* (1965), National Gallery of Canada website (n.d.) and *House in August* (1969), in *Christopher Pratt, a Retrospective* (Pratt and Zemans 1985)

Some of Pratt's strongest earlier works combine everyday scenes from rural Newfoundland with a decluttered tidiness that stands in stark contrast to the harshness of the place and the struggle it created. *Boys Dipping Capelin* from 1965 (figure 5.2, left), for example, shows a traditional scene of child labour in outport Newfoundland, but the painting provides the setting with the innocent air of a vacation scene. *House in August* from 1969 (figure 5.2, right) shows a traditional Newfoundland family dwelling, but the absence of signs of weathering and human presence and the lack of surrounding features put it into a temporal as well as contextual vacuum. Both works capture traditional Newfoundland themes but are also reminiscent of the modernist propaganda imagery of the Smallwood government that promoted Newfoundland as a tourist destination (Overton 1996) and highlighted the tidy structures of new schools, hospitals and industrial

buildings, which sprang up in post-confederation Newfoundland (see figure 5.3). In later works from the period, Pratt "pays homage to [those] witnesses of progress" (Eagan 2015, 33), and here, curiously, his meticulous style evokes an air of idyll and nostalgia within a modernized world (see figure 5.4).[88] At any rate, the development of Pratt's unique style appears to be closely intertwined with, and reflective of, the ambivalent climate in post-confederation Newfoundland.

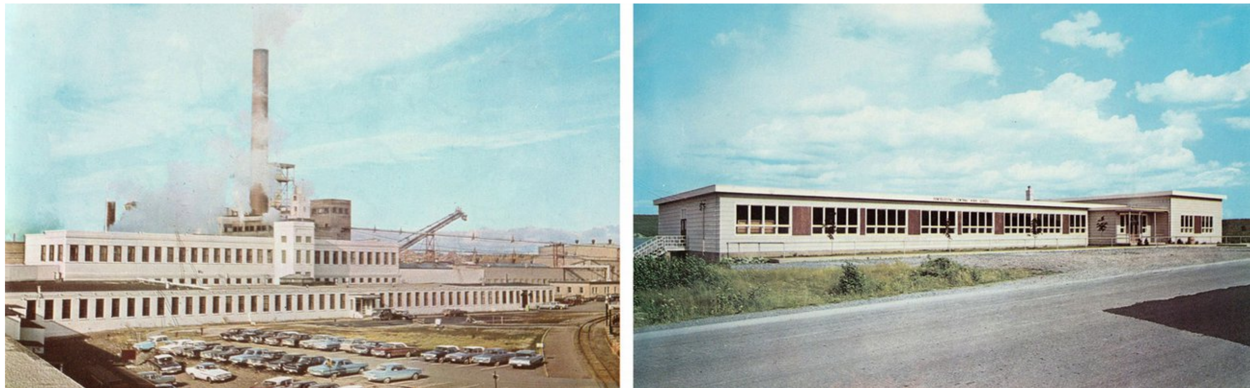


Figure 5.3: Images from *Newfoundland: Canada's Happy Province* (Government NL 1966)

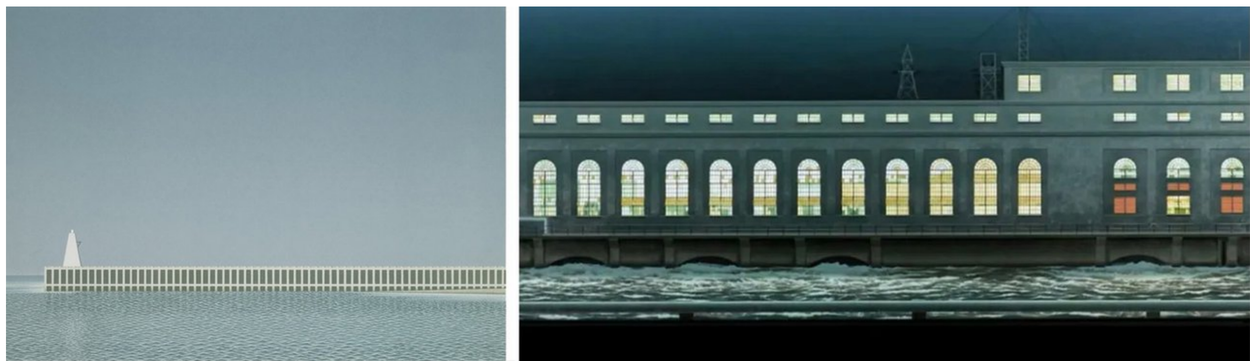


Figure 5.4: Christoper Pratt – left: *Breakwater*, (1976), National Gallery of Canada website (n.d.); right: excerpt from *Deer Lake: Junction Brook Memorial* (1999) in *Christopher Pratt: All My Own Work* (Pratt et al. 2005)

A People's University

Another effect of the ambivalence of modernization and preservation in post-confederation Newfoundland was Memorial's special character as a people's university, that is, as an institution that worked with and was widely accepted and relied on by the local population for an extensive range of matters of concern. At the root of this phenomenon was the university's role as an immediate advisor to an ambivalent local government. As pointed out above, the ambivalence

88 In later years, Pratt would increasingly depict the morbid charm of abandoned industrial sites. While they document the failure of the related economic aspirations, to me, they also reflect a deep affection for the place by finding beauty in the physical remains of local socioeconomic setbacks.

implied that scholars were addressing issues and questions that were relevant not only for the population's future but for their present realities as well. Social scientists went to live in rural communities for extended periods of time to study the impact of modernization and record endangered cultural elements, and they also assisted in communicational and societal issues. Linguists and folklorists travelled the province to collect data and audio recordings of speech, stories, and music. While these activities were not always met solely with appreciation – outporters were at times suspicious of strangers intruding into their communities or simply annoyed by being tracked in their everyday activities (Overton 1996) – it did make the rural population aware of the university as an institution that was concerned with and about them. Moreover, they saw their traditional culture valued for the first time, and the sociocultural knowledge that was created informed their sense of themselves. In the words of Robert Paine (1997) quoting George Story: "Newfoundland, once seen as but a 'twilight world, halfway, metaphorically between Europe and the New World' was now – in all its singularities of time, space and place, language and people – to be mapped, and still more important – to be honoured" (60).

The work of Memorial University's Extension Service – generously staffed and equipped to advance both modernization and cultural preservation – explicitly relied on experimentation, a bottom-up methodology, and services tailored to local conditions. This approach stood in contrast to the top-down mainland mimicry of the government and added an interactive element to the relation between university and people (Webb and Bishop-Stirling 2012). The rural population learned about government policies and was given a voice through the Extension Service's magazine and television units, as well as through participatory media projects like the Fogo Process. Public education courses and workshops on home economics, labour relations, and business management, as well as academic subjects and the arts enhanced self-confidence and encouraged local initiatives, which were then further supported by development specialists on site (Webb and Bishop-Stirling 2012). This intense relationship between university and population was propagated by the multilayered (institutional and collective) ambivalence towards Canadianization, which linked virtually all aspects of life in rural Newfoundland with respective academic research interests.

***

With the Newfoundland Studies Movement, the Newfoundland Renaissance, and the emergence of a people's university, the institutional and collective ambivalence of modernization

and preservation in post-confederation Newfoundland induced or informed three clearly creative and productive phenomena. This does not mean, however, that it did not engender problematic developments, too. The consequences of resettlement are a case in point.

Overpopulated Outports

In what follows, I will distinguish between the first of the resettlement schemes, the provincial Centralization Program, which was in effect 1954–1965, and its successors, the joint federal-provincial Fisheries Household Resettlement Program (1965–1970) and the Resettlement Scheme (1970–1977). This differentiation has been made before (Brox 1972; Courtney 1974; Matthews 1978; Skolnik 1968; Wadel 1969). In addition to highlighting the first program's focus on service provision rather than development, however, I argue that the Centralization Program also stands out because it was the only approach to resettlement that can be viewed as informed by the government's ambivalence.

The Centralization Program supported the inhabitants of remote communities who unanimously agreed to resettle in moving to another community of their choice, which was often another outport on the mainland nearby that was in principle (although not always in practice) more accessible and interconnected (Brox 1972; Matthews 1978). Given that it was a response to requests from the population, it reflected the modernization-preservation ambivalence of Newfoundlanders: they wanted modern services, such as electricity and health care, or better education for their children without giving up their traditional way of life. In brief, they wanted the best of both worlds.

From the government's perspective, reducing the number of small, far-flung coastal fishing villages was imperative to modernize the local society through the provision of modern standards for everyone. Assisting fishing families in moving from one inshore fishing community to another, however, can be viewed as an act of valuing or respecting their traditional culture and way of life. Hence, the program also expressed the government's ambivalence of modernization and cultural preservation.

The later joint federal-provincial Fisheries Household Resettlement Program and the Resettlement Scheme differed quantitatively and qualitatively in ways that dispersed any simultaneous reflection of modernization and cultural preservation. Most notably, as the focus shifted from service provision to the provision of employment and the creation of labour pools

for existing and prospective industries, relocatees were now directed to designated target communities or "growth centres" (Courtney 1974; Skolnik 1968). The reliance on the growth centre strategy of development and the description of the schemes as one component of "an orderly transition of the traditional semi-subsistence way of life to a modern monetary economy" (Pushie 1967, 34) demonstrate that they were clearly dominated by the spirit of modernization. The fact that their actual implementation deviated from those modernist strategies (for instance, through offering a plethora of different types of reception points besides growth centres and widespread assistance with individual moves rather than resettling whole communities) was not so much owed to the wish to preserve outport culture as it was to an overwhelmed administration and concessions made to the electoral basis (Brox 1972; Loo 2019).

From the perspective of outporters as well, resettlement under the schemes after 1965 lost its ambivalent elements and became a strategy for modernizing alone. This does not mean that everybody who moved wished to do so. Under the new schemes, unanimity to relocate was first changed to 90 percent and then 80 percent. Moreover, some who signed the petition for resettlement were or felt pressed to vote in favour of moving, so the required percentage to qualify for substantial sums of government assistance was reached (Côté and Pottie-Sherman 2020). Irrespective of individual inclinations regarding relocation, however, it was arguably clear that it was a vehicle for becoming modern at the expense of sacrificing traditional outport culture.

The creative potential of ambivalence suggests that the Centralization Program, with its ambivalent approach, could, in principle, have prompted productive results. Yet, this was not the case. Already at the time, the program was found to "[threaten] to create as many problems as resettlement [was] intended to solve" (Iverson and Matthews 1968, 138). A major point of friction that arose in the receiving communities after the arrival of the newcomers was the increased competition for housing, open access resources (like fish, game, and timber), and the limited number of wage labour jobs in road or telegraph construction, or the logging industry (Iverson and Matthews 1968). In brief, the receiving settlements often showed symptoms of overpopulation.[89]

[89] Note that, while Iverson and Matthews' study was commissioned in 1966 to assess the effects of the new Fisheries Household Resettlement Program, they decided to also interview people who had moved under the earlier Centralization Program. I have focused on these parts of the study. Note moreover that overpopulation in rural Newfoundland at the time has been observed before (Copes 1972; Courtney 1974). However, it has been related to the limited potential of the fishery, and implied the suggestion that more resource-rich regions nearby could and should be exploited instead. As such, these discussions were reminiscent of the "continuing debate as to how many, if any, people should live in Newfoundland," which can be traced "[f]rom the Western Adventurers of the seventeenth century to Canadian economists in the twentieth" (Alexander 1976, 56).

The inefficacy of the Centralization Program can largely be traced to a lack of proper planning by the provincial Department of Welfare, which was the governmental body in charge. Planning was compromised by missing information about the skills and working experience of outporters, motives for moving, and long-term population trends of both the relocating and the receiving communities (Iverson and Matthews 1968). Another factor that inhibited proper conception and planning, I argue, was the unawareness of the ambivalence at play. Indeed, the government's “'laissez-faire'” attitude (Courtney 1974, 49) in the context of the program reflects a general lack of alertness and focus. Similarly, outporters willing to resettle under the early program were arguably widely unaware that their wish to combine the best of both worlds might prove difficult. Had the authorities and the people acknowledged the relevance of the two opposing values inherent to this approach to resettlement, institutional planning and individual preparation would arguably have proceeded in a decelerated, more reflected, and ultimately more meaningful way. A similar argument can be made with respect to the government's policy generating a “capricious fishery,” which I have referenced as an expression of the government's modernization-preservation ambivalence. Here too, I suggest that the outcome was unproductive because the simultaneous relevance the approach gave to modernization and preservation was not a deliberate move but the result of an underlying ambivalence that remained widely unacknowledged.

Inverting this argument and noting that the positive effects given in the previous sections (the Newfoundland Studies Movement, a people's university, and the Newfoundland Renaissance) were all related to Memorial University, I suggest that the acknowledgement of the modernization-preservation ambivalence was more developed in academic circles than in administrative and rural spheres. This is exemplified by the Extension Service's general approach of “both spread[ing] and challeng[ing] the state's project of modernization and its power” (Loo 2019, 81), which produced highly creative outcomes, as described in the context of Memorial's role as a people's university above.

***

The capricious fishery and overpopulated outports were not the only failures of the period. I argue, however, that most other failures – the numerous failed small to mid-scale businesses in the 1950s (those “[q]uarries, mines, mills, plants, smelters, airports, shipyards, refineries and factories, to all of which paved roads still lead, though no one travels on them any

more" [Johnston 1999, 555]) and a series of large-scale projects in the 1960s[90] – can be traced to rushed and unimaginative, postcolonial modernization alone rather than (unacknowledged) modernization-preservation ambivalence. The same holds for the resettlement schemes after 1965, which were designed to evidence the province's willingness and capability to modernize along mainland strategies. Outport culture was now considered an obstacle in the preconceived process of becoming modern along Canadian schemes (e.g. Brox 1972; Iverson and Matthews 1968; Matthews 1978).

Two-fold Entrenchment of the Urban/Rural Divide

The urban/rural divide in Newfoundland originally developed long before the period studied here. It can be traced to the early nineteenth century when St. John's had become the unchallenged centre of commercial, political, and social affairs on the island (e.g. Handcock 1989; Ryan 1980). The urban/rural split also found expression in the 1948 referendums, with the metro area supporting responsible government and the majority of rural Newfoundland voting for confederation (Blake and Baker 2019).

It has been argued that the resettlement schemes in the 1960s and 1970s further entrenched that split because urban development was prioritized over rural advancement (Matthews 1978; Wadel 1969). Clearly, the few urban centres in the province were the focus of modernization and industrialization, while outport Newfoundland was largely neglected in that respect. Acknowledging the ambivalence of the time, we can now identify another mechanism of the period that advanced the urban/rural divide: the cultural focus on rural Newfoundland and the neglect of urban heritage.

As noted earlier, the rushed modernization created a revaluation of the outport way of life in its wake. The outport became regarded as the centre of Newfoundland-grown culture, a perspective that has outlived the post-confederation years (e.g. Conway 2021; Hall 2017; Jackson 1984; Overton 1988). I suggest that this implied the neglect of conserving urban heritage because the city largely became the centre of modernization alone. Besides taking down sub-

[90] Among the failed small to mid-scale enterprises were cement, gypsum, and hardwood plants, a machine factory, two textile plants, a rubber and a leather goods manufacturing plant, as well as a battery plant (Letto 1998). Large-scale projects that failed the socioeconomic aspirations of the Smallwood government include the linerboard mill in Stephenville, the oil refinery in Come By Chance, and the phosphorus manufacturing plant in Long Harbour (Higgins 2017). The hydroelectric project at the Upper Churchill River, which is indeed successfully delivering clean power to the present day, turned out to benefit Quebec rather than Newfoundland (Feehan 2011).

standard housing structures, major built heritage was sacrificed, including the stone lighthouse at Fort Amherst, St. Mary the Virgin on the Southside, and the Gazette Building on Water Street, to name but a few (Living Heritage 2016). As Susan Rendell (2010) of the Heritage Trust put it: “It was post-Confederation Newfoundland, and progress was king. A blind king” (8). The construction of modern utilities and infrastructure as well as office, retail, and residential spaces at the expense of historic structures in downtown St. John's may have taken its beginnings under the Smallwood government. However, although the loss of important structures and the prospective destruction of others have eventually raised increased appreciation of built heritage in the city, the prioritizing of new development over conservation is another trend that has outlasted the post-confederation era (Mellin 2000).[91] This facet of the “persistence of Smallwoodism” (Bannister 2021, no page number) is evidenced by observations from the early 2000s, which find that “[t]he value of older architecture in St John's is [...] low relative to the value of progress as identified with development” (Trahey 2000, 206) and “developers usually have their way with City Council” (Mellin 2003, 55; O'Dea 2000). Moreover, it is illustrated by the decision to build The Rooms – a large modern structure housing the provincial archives, museum, and gallery opened in 2005 – on the footprint of Fort Townshend, an eighteenth century star fort (Pope 2000), a point that will figure again in Chapter Seven. The lasting underdevelopment of the sense of architectural heritage in St. John's, can also be observed in the residential sector, where outstanding historic city homes continue to be demolished and replaced by larger stereotyped residences.[92] Clearly, the temporary prioritization of modern over traditional can be observed in underdeveloped societies more generally. What distinguishes Newfoundland from other locales, where radical modernization spawned a solid appreciation of cultural heritage more generally, I suggest, is the continued focus on rural culture at the expense of built urban heritage.

[91] The increased appreciation of built urban heritage was reflected in the foundation of the Newfoundland Historic Trust in 1966 and the St. John's Heritage Foundation in 1976, which spawned the province-wide Crown agency Heritage NL in 1984.

[92] Prominent, more recent examples include the demolition of Quinnipiac, a historic home at 25 Winter Avenue (Thorne 2015), and of Richmond Hill Cottage, which was designated as one of Canada's Historic Places (CBC 2017). Regarding the Queen Anne-style country house Bryn Mawr, the owner's strategy of letting the protected heritage structure sit empty for years so safety concerns would ultimately justify its demolition was miraculously accelerated by a fire in December 2022 (CBC 2022a). The gradual change in character of the Battery, as more and more modest structures are replaced by oversized executive homes, exemplifies the erosion of a whole heritage district under the eyes of City Council.

The shift of the cultural focus from city to outport in the Smallwood years can also be understood as a distinct shift in the conception of the notion of culture. Before and at confederation, “culture” was arguably mostly conceived as a privilege of the urban elite and largely imported from Europe or emulated along European (notably British) standards and trends. In post-confederation Newfoundland, when the culture in outports was revalued (or in fact, valued for the first time), the notion's application widened to include a traditional way of life. At the same time, the Newfoundland Renaissance can be understood as representing the birth rather than the rebirth of a truly local urban culture in the realms of visual art, theatre, and film. Of course, the visual artists, playwrights, writers, and performers of the day, whereas they experimented with and across contemporary mediums and conceptual approaches, also relied on outport culture for their inspiration, a trend that is still strong in Newfoundland today.[93] As a strictly urban movement and phenomenon, however, the Newfoundland Renaissance further entrenched the urban/rural divide.

Finally, I suggest that the asymmetric treatment of urban and rural spaces, or, simply put, the modernization of the former and the cultural preservation of the latter, can be understood as a symptom of the lacking embracement of the relevance of both dynamics for the place as a whole. The undesirable entrenchment of the urban/rural divide can then once again be associated with the avoidance or ignoring of the ambivalence of the day.

5.7 Correlations with Instances of Cultural Ambivalence Studied in Previous Chapters

The multifaceted nature of the modernization-preservation ambivalence, together with its various manifestations and effects, allows us to trace several correlations with the other two instances of cultural ambivalence studied so far.

Looking at the autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports established in the previous chapter, we can trace a psychological link with the ambivalence studied here. Outporters' isolation and powerlessness and the economic constraints they entailed undoubtedly nurtured the wish to copy more politically transparent and more prosperous societies like the Canadian one. The result was a predisposition to embrace modernization

[93] Compare, for instance, works by visual artists Will Gill, Emily Pittman, Mike Gough, or Pam Hall, who all draw on outport culture for inspiration. Other artists, like Craig Francis Power or Jane Walker, apply traditional (outport) techniques to convey unorthodox contemporary content.

along mainland models. At the same time, fishing people's distinct local societal autonomy put the value of their culture, and with it the drive to preserve it, to the fore. The autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports thus provided fertile ground for the post-confederation development of a modernization-preservation ambivalence among the rural population.

The link between the ambivalence studied here and British stakeholders' ambivalence towards settlement in Newfoundland is also of a psychological nature but more indirect. In Chapter Three, we argued that the British ambivalence towards settlement facilitated an enhanced capacity for endurance among early residents, which could, in turn, induce pride and confidence once particular hardship was overcome. On the other hand, if insecurity and precariousness persisted, early residents would eventually be inclined to doubt their own creative capacities for evoking betterment. This self-doubt can also be viewed as having favoured a sense of inferiority. The potential for both confidence and self-doubt among island residents identified in the context of the British ambivalence towards settlement can, thus, be understood as a precursor of the pride-inferiority ambivalence observed here as a manifestation of Newfoundlanders' modernization-preservation ambivalence. In other words, the British ambivalence can be considered as having informed the psychological landscape in Newfoundland to the effect of encouraging the concurrent tendencies of doubting local capacities for developing creative approaches to modernization on the one hand and the confidence in and insistence on the local identity and culture on the other.

The propensity for conservatism seeded in the days of early settlement moreover informed the modernization-preservation ambivalence of the Smallwood government in so far as it was a central factor in the ambivalent approach to the industrialization of the fishery. The conservatism of inshore fishing people and the government's awareness of it prompted modernizing policies that preserved the traditional structures of the fishery. Hence, the industrialization of the fishery would have been not, or less, ambivalent without that conservatism. The same argument can be used to establish another indirect correlation between modernization and preservation on the one hand and autonomy and dependence in modern outports on the other because the latter has been argued to have further propelled the conservatism in rural Newfoundland.

5.8 Conclusion

The modernization-preservation ambivalence in post-confederation Newfoundland, with its institutional and collective actualizations at the level of the government, the university, and the population, has been shown to be at work in a series of practices, mindsets, and phenomena within the local society and culture. Consequently, the lens of ambivalence allowed us to develop a richer and more differentiated view of that period. For instance, earlier assessments that distinguished the first resettlement scheme (the Centralization Program) from its successors, could be consolidated by means of the observation that it was the only scheme which, at least in in parts, reflected the ambivalence of the day. Another domain that acquired new contours in light of the modernization-preservation ambivalence is the understanding and role of culture in Newfoundland. Not only was the period's ambivalence based on an unprecedented interest in local folk culture, it engendered the first genuinely Newfoundland contemporary culture as well. Perhaps paradoxically, in this process of cultural “discovery” and “(re)birth,” the urban/rural divide got further entrenched, and the development of an appreciation for built urban heritage was undermined.

In conjunction, the phenomena studied here enable us to develop a more differentiated understanding of the Smallwood era's legacy. Creative dynamics and phenomena of (or rooted in) that period – like the Newfoundland Studies Movement, the Newfoundland Renaissance, and the emergence of a people's university – have been found to be the results of (or clearly informed by) the embracement of the ambivalence of modernization and cultural preservation. Socioeconomic failures of the time, on the other hand, can be divided into two types. One type was rooted in that same ambivalence but informed by ignorance, unawareness, or deference of the condition (like the mismanagement of the fishery, the generation of overpopulated outports, or the entrenchment of the urban/rural divide). The other type of projects that failed or did not live up to expectations were simply the products of postcolonial “catch-up” modernization alone, without the contrasting element of cultural preservation at play (like the later resettlement schemes and a series of failed efforts to boost various economic sectors from small-scale enterprises to megaprojects). These observations present the modernization-preservation ambivalence as particularly pregnant with creativity and post-confederation Newfoundland as a period of tapped potential as much as of missed chances, rather than an era of failed opportunities alone.

Chapter Six:
Newfoundlanders and the Land: Affection and Abuse

This chapter establishes and analyzes the collective ambivalence towards the land in (settler) Newfoundland and augments the close-knit spectrum of cultural ambivalence at work in the local society by a facet that features a particularly steep moral hierarchy between the two opposing values involved.[94] Affection here represents emotional constitutions like fondness, attachment, love, or the longing for union. Abuse is understood as covering destructive acts and practices, including under- or unregulated exploitation as well as their acquiescence, let alone approval. I also take contempt for the land to be a form of abuse because, if held collectively, it easily translates into destructive effects.[95] The notion of land figures in different conceptions of the physical place as resource, environment, wilderness, home, and – in an impersonated understanding – as counterpart or creature.

To put the situation in Newfoundland into context, I first briefly address how conceptions of and relations with the land are influenced by the proximity to the frontier, and how this applies to Newfoundland. I then turn to establishing the presence of abusive practices and tendencies with regard to the physical environment in Newfoundland. Here, I include institutional abuse based on the policies of the provincial government and selected agencies besides collective acts and dispositions. The rationale behind including institutional practices in order to substantiate a collective stance is that the institutions I consider are directly or indirectly elected by the people. As a consequence, they can be regarded as representative of the local population, and their actions can be understood as reflecting leading trends within that collective. Tracing Newfoundlanders' affection for the land, as a clearly desirable condition, is a more enjoyable task. The evidence presented spans scholarly and creative expressions as well as specific social trends. While my focus is on contemporary Newfoundland, both today's affection for and abuse of the land are put into historical context.

My argument for collective affection-abuse ambivalence in Newfoundland is based on exposing the simultaneous relevance of affection for and abuse of the land for a large number of

[94] Please remember that this study is entirely about *settler* Newfoundland culture and society and that I only make this explicit in certain contexts (and sometimes in brackets) as a reminder.

[95] Note that Aldo Leopold, in *A Sand County Almanac* (1970), presents an equally broad understanding of land abuse when he defines it as being rooted in the conception of land as "a commodity belonging to us" (xviii).

individuals within the local population rather than identifying a fierce debate between two encompassing antagonistic camps. Nonetheless, taking a closer look at industry proponents and environmentalists in Newfoundland (as potential candidates for antagonistic camps) reveals interesting dynamics between them and suggests that the persistent myth of Newfoundlanders as victims of external oppression, exploitation, and scorn has detrimental effects for the local environment.

The affection-abuse ambivalence is then shown to be reflected in various land-related practices and trends in Newfoundland. They include the prevalence of a symbiotic ideology regarding nature, the emergence of a “schizoid” petroculture, and the popularity of building country homes on vast cleared lots, among others. Tracing correlations with the instances of ambivalence studied in previous chapters, the collective affection-abuse ambivalence towards the land is found to be well integrated into the web of cultural ambivalence I am weaving. In the concluding remarks, I discuss how the steep moral hierarchy of the concepts of affection and abuse inhibits the direct creative potential of the related ambivalence without diminishing its analytical potency for opening new perspectives on existing issues.

6.1 The Role of the Frontier

Concurrent tendencies of deeply appreciating a place and exploiting its natural riches with only limited regulation are obviously not unique to Newfoundland, nor is the island a rare example for the scenario. While these conflicting propensities can arguably be observed at any place with human occupancy, I suggest that they are generally enhanced in places close to the frontier as “a region that forms the margin of settled or developed territory.”[96]

At the frontier, the natural environment is conceived as found property to be appropriated (Sloterdijk 2013), and environmental respect (let alone protection) ranks behind securing one's own survival and livelihood, or merely profit. This idea, together with the belief that natural resources are endless, is at the heart of frontier ethics (Chiras 2010). In the early days of the European colonization of Newfoundland, as in other settler-colonial settings, nature dominated a vulnerable settler population. Unlike in most of these locales, however, this domination and the related pioneering perspective and frontier ethics are still distinctly palpable in Newfoundland today (Collins 2008; Fusco 2007b). Their durability can be related

[96] Definition of the frontier according to Merriam-Webster

to the specific environmental and economic conditions on the island. Mostly barren land that widely defies agriculture prolonged the focus on the sea and its riches. The sea, however, could not be fenced or cultivated. As a consequence, “all generations [of Newfoundland fishing people] were really pioneers, in the sense that they had to confront the same wildness” (O'Flaherty 1979, 100).[97] In other places, notably the United States, the conception of wilderness as “a place to which one came only against one's will, and always in fear and trembling” (Cronon 1996, 9) waned during the eighteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century, it had changed entirely, as reflected in Henry David Thoreau's (1937) view from 1862 that “[i]n Wildness is the preservation of the World” (672) or John Muir's (1991) declaration in view of the Sierra Nevada from 1869 that “[n]o description of Heaven that I have ever heard or read of seems half so fine” (211). In Newfoundland, where large parts of the population continued to wrestle a living from the untamed and untamable ocean until the late twentieth century (Cadigan 2009a), this inverted view could not be afforded.[98]

At the same time as antagonizing the land, however, the need for wrestling with the natural environment implies the development of intimate local knowledge and the emergence of a distinct bond between the people and the land. Hence, with the Atlantic fishery a mainstay of the Newfoundland economy for so long, the intimacy with the land (and sea) was, and, in parts, still is, particularly pronounced on the island (e.g. Faris 1969; Cadigan 1999; Fusco 2007b).

Of course, intimacy does not necessarily imply affection and the exploitation for the satisfaction of basic needs or comfort is not abuse. Yet, the deep entrenchment of these more modest concepts may be viewed as having paved the way for the development of more extreme tendencies and practices. Moreover, I suggest that exploiting an intimately known land and successfully enduring in a harsh, un(der)developed physical environment has the potential to create a sense of entitlement to that environment. In other words, if one manages to survive and make a living *despite and because of the environment* – as, for instance, exemplified by Al Pittman's (1974) observation that, traditionally, the sea was “at once [Newfoundlanders'] sustenance and deprivation, their life and their death” (50) – one may become inclined to think that this success

[97] Note that compartmentalizing and “fencing” the sea by means of fishing berths and using cod traps were not permanent interventions. Moreover, the enclosed parts of the sea may have been occupied by a single party for a certain stretch of time, but they were not exclusively owned by anybody (Pocius 1991). Finally, enclosing a part of the sea in this way did not imply cultivating it.

[98] With roughly 40,000 jobs, the Atlantic fishery was still Newfoundland's largest single economic branch when the cod moratorium put the industry to an abrupt end in 1992 (Cadigan 2009a).

implies the right and, in fact, the mandate to deal with the land at one's discretion. This discretionary practice or its conception then potentially encourages irrational actualizations, like ravaging the environment without need or being fond of it beyond necessity-induced intimacy.

Finally, as a telic concept, the frontier is a central part of capitalism and colonialism. In fsct, it links the two. The aspiration to satisfy ever-growing markets makes finding and opening new frontiers for continued expansion of resource acquisition and, hence, colonialism a central aspect of capitalism and creates a global chain of command with people in declared frontier regions situated at the lower end (Latour et al. 2018; Moore 2015; Wolfe 2006). On the one hand, this predestines places at the colonial frontier for radical resource exploitation. On the other, heteronomy and exploitation by the metropolis encourage the local populations to focus on their immediate surroundings as the only sphere they can govern at least in parts.[99] This focus, I contend, fosters feelings of belonging and attachment.

The above suggests that Newfoundland, as a (post)colonial locale and settler state with an extended frontier experience through the prolonged significance of the Atlantic fishery, represented fertile ground for intense and potentially antagonistic relationships with the land to develop. In the following, I will investigate into the presence and coexistence of both ends of the relational spectrum between people and environment.

6.2 Contempt for and Abuse of the Land

In order to assess whether we do indeed face another case of cultural ambivalence, I will first provide evidence for the presence of environmental abuse in Newfoundland in various contexts across time. This evidence will then be juxtaposed with expressions of affection and longing for intimacy with the land before I argue for the simultaneous relevance of both opposing values within the collective of the local settler population.

A Legacy of Abuse

The unregulated and unsustainable exploitation of natural resources in the colonial periphery is a central aspect of colonialism. In Newfoundland and immediately adjacent regions, these practices date back as far as the fifteenth century when migratory European

[99] Note that a similar mechanism was at work in modern outports, where otherwise largely powerless fishing people focused on their immediate affairs, as described in Chapter Four.

fishing crews began crossing the Atlantic on an annual basis in search of whales and codfish. At least from the seventeenth century onward, however, the abuse of the land (and sea) extended beyond radical resource extraction. Migratory fishing crews from the British Isles were reported to burn down the forests around the bays, and fishing ships littered coves with their ballast upon arrival (Whitbourne 1620). These and other abusive practices had an extra chance to become entrenched, I argue, because of the protracted settling process of Newfoundland from Europe, as described in Chapter Three. After residence had ceased to be merely seasonal, it still remained temporary or transient for large parts of the population until the late 1700s (Cadigan 2009a; Matthews 1973; Handcock 1989). As a result, there was a prolonged sense of impermanence, and the relation to the land remained underdeveloped as the continued “quite wanton” treatment of the landscape attested (O'Day 1994, 74). When settlement did take hold on the island, operating a precarious industry like the Atlantic fishery close to the frontier continued to make conservation and protection “unwise, because restraint today may have no consequence for abundance in the future” (Omohundro 1994, 276), notably with regard to a resource that was not exclusively owned. This view was further encouraged by the particular socioeconomic conditions in Newfoundland outports, where the ambivalence of autonomy and dependence encouraged fishing people to focus on each annual cycle individually rather than planning ahead, as exposed in Chapter Four. The observation of a “tradition of pushing natural resources to the 'breaking point'” (Collins 2008, 55) and the finding that, in the alleged idyll of pre-confederation rural Newfoundland, “the land itself was not admired but ravaged” (O'Flaherty 1975, 5) further illustrate the presence of environmental abuse in pre-industrial Newfoundland. When industrial logging took up momentum in the early twentieth century, “[i]t was inevitable that the land would be mistreated. You were paid for piecework and there were no rules” (Bowater worker quoted in Omohundro 1994, 269). In 1933, the so-called Amulree Report elaborated that an external observer could not fail to be impressed by the “reckless manner in which the resources of the country have been dissipated” (quoted in Lodge 1939, 143).[100]

This is not to say that there were no signs of a moral economy. With the emergence of a settler society, a sense of responsibility and stewardship for common property resources like fish

[100] The report was the result of an inquiry into Newfoundland's financial and socioeconomic situation by a Royal Commission chaired by William Mackenzie, 1st Baron Amulree.

and timber eventually complemented more "wanton" practices in Newfoundland outports, (Cadigan 1999; Omohundro 1994). However, these moral elements were eroded again when the rights of individuals to these resources became increasingly regulated after confederation because the loss of control over defining who can use the commons affected the sense of communal ownership as well as the related stewardship. The result was an increase in the abuse of common property resources on the community level that augmented the increasing ravaging by industrial exploitation (Omohundro 1994). This "tragedy of incursion," (McCay and Acheson 1987, 29) has to be distinguished from the "tragedy of the commons" (Hardin 1968), which assumes that these destructive processes are necessary consequences of the open access, common property nature of the resource(s) under consideration alone and independent of the shift in control from local and collective to external and institutional. The erosion of cooperation and reciprocity in rural Newfoundland in the wake of modernization and social engineering in the 1960s and 1970s further accelerated the disintegration of community management of common property open access resources offered by the land and sea (Omohundro 1994).

Today, individual abuse of the land often occurs within the context of recreational activities rather than resource extraction. For instance, all-terrain vehicles and snowmobiles vandalize fragile ecosystems within the Newfoundland wilderness, such as bogs and barrens (Collins 2008; Hanrahan in Hernáez-Lerena 2015). The continued closeness of the frontier and a sense of entitlement that clashes with regulation still foster short-term thinking today, which values immediate revenue or pleasure over stewardship and sustainability (Fusco 2007b).

The Underdevelopment of Environmentalism

The collective disregard of the land as nature or environment is also reflected in the underdevelopment of environmentalism in Newfoundland, an observation that has prompted geographer and sociologist Leah Fusco to title her related study *The Invisible Movement* (2007a).[101] In fact, one of Fusco's participants states that "[t]here is active hatred of environmental groups" in Newfoundland (98). Among the reasons for this radical stance, the psychological harm caused by Greenpeace's anti-sealing campaign in the 1970s undoubtedly

[101] Note that environmentalism is here understood as based on the claim that "nature has an intrinsic moral worth that does not depend on its usefulness to human beings, and it is this intrinsic worth that gives rise directly to obligations to the environment" (Elliott 2023, no page number). This understanding, also known as biocentrism, stands in contrast to anthropocentric approaches to environmentalism, which focus mainly on the negative effects that environmental degradation has on human beings and their interests (Elliott 2023).

figures prominently. Broadcasted globally, the reports and documentaries of this campaign presented Newfoundlanders as primitive brutes and exposed them to international scorn (Fusco 2007b; Stoddart and Graham 2018). As a consequence, Fusco argues, environmental groups and environmentalism more generally acquired a bad repute as betraying the local way of life, a narrative that still inhibits environmentalist engagement in Newfoundland today.

Another reason for the underdevelopment of environmentalism, notably in rural Newfoundland, is the continuing proximity and palpability of the frontier as the margin of settled or developed territory. Given the need to protect oneself against nature – or the vivid collective memory thereof – the conception of a natural environment, which is itself in need of protection, continues to be stunted. This trend appeared to be disrupted when oil and gas development was envisaged in western Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the 2010s. The proposed oil project Old Harry, eighty kilometres off the southwestern tip of Newfoundland, provoked massive protest activities, spearheaded by the St. Lawrence Coalition (a network of national and regional environmental, First Nations, recreation, tourism, and community organizations) and was ultimately curbed (Gale 2020). Similarly, plans for fracking on Newfoundland's west coast were met with unprecedented local protest, which mobilized support on provincial, national, and international levels and was ultimately successful in blocking the industry from the area (Carter and Fusco 2017). I argue, however, that those protest movements were guided by anthropocentric, utilitarian approaches to nature rather than biocentric environmentalism and the wish to protect the environment for its own sake (Elliot 2023). What weighed heavily in creating a broad local opposition to Old Harry was its threat to jobs in the Newfoundland tourism industry. With (eco)tourism a significant branch of the otherwise weak economy in the area, locals feared that oil development just off their shores would divert visitors in search of pristine nature (Stoddart and Graham 2018). The same holds for the protest against fracking, as it would have directly compromised the experience of visitors to Gros Morne National Park. What further boosted the Newfoundland anti-fracking campaign was the careful and culturally informed selection of arguments employed by leading local organizers. They directed the focus on the danger fracking could pose to securing adequate water supply, a threat that resonated strongly with local experiences of the related precariousness in the not-so-distant past. More sweeping subjects, such as climate change and the detrimental impact of the oil and gas industry more generally, on the other hand, were intentionally avoided by the local organizers (Carter and Fusco 2017).

The underdevelopment of biocentric environmentalism and the battle against climate change in Newfoundland also becomes obvious when we address the prospect of a new generation of deep-sea oil and gas development, which will likely be kicked off with Equinor's Bay du Nord project in the Flemish Pass 500 kilometres east of St. John's (CBC 2018b; Equinor Ltd. n.d.).[102] While opposition to the unprecedented risks the project poses to the environment comes from multiple directions – including regional, and national chapters of environmental, Indigenous, and social justice groups – it is not centred in Newfoundland, the region closest to the project site, but mostly based in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec.[103] I suggest that the main reason is the long history of economic underdevelopment in Newfoundland. As a result, the local offshore oil industry is widely perceived as a saviour, and critique, let alone opposition, is ostracized. This aligns with the observation that the limited environmental activism, which does exist in Newfoundland, is surprisingly non-confrontational (Porter 2021). It also resonates with the position of Corner Brook-born Sierra Club Canada's head of communications Conor Curtis, who holds that he “understands” that, because of the exacerbation of the local economic situation through the cod moratorium, opposition to Bay du Nord “isn't commonly shared in his home province” (Bourgon 2023, par. 21).

Of course, other than the Old Harry project or west coast fracking, the offshore oil projects are not visible from the shore, and the universal motto “out of sight, out of mind” clearly further limits opposition to Bay du Nord. However, in Newfoundland, even industry supporters lament the lack of public pressure for more rigour and transparency regarding environmental protection at the Canadian-Newfoundland and Labrador Offshore Petroleum Board (C-NLOPB), the joint federal-provincial agency that regulates the oil industry in the province, as revealed in a personal communication with Bevin LeDrew, a long-time environmental consultant with the province and proponent of the local oil and gas sector.[104]

---

[102] Note that, while the Bay du Nord project has recently been paused by Equinor, local stakeholders are extremely keen to proceed. Moreover, head of Equinor Canada Tore Løseth confirmed the company “will utilize this postponement to continue to actively mature Bay du Nord towards a successful development” (quoted in CBC 2023a, no page number).

[103] Of the 116 environmental and citizens groups signing a Letter to Cabinet with the call to reject Bay du Nord in March 2022 (Sierra Club Canada 2022), only six are based in Newfoundland and Labrador, and none of them has a particular focus on opposition to offshore oil projects. By contrast, Nova Scotia features the *Campaign to Protect Offshore Nova Scotia*, the headquarters of the Atlantic Chapter of the Sierra Club Canada, and the Clean Ocean Action Committee. The lawsuit against the federal government's approval of Bay du Nord in April 2022 has been filed by Ecojustice on behalf of climate advocacy groups from Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick: Sierra Club Canada Foundation, Équiterre, and Mi'gmawe'l Tplu'tagnn Inc. (CBC 2022; Singh 2022).

[104] The personal communication with Mr. LeDrew took place on November 17th, 2022.

Finally, with “the modern environmental movement...a grandchild of romanticism and post-frontier ideology” (Cronon 1996, 10), its underdevelopment in Newfoundland makes sense because romanticizing the land could long not be afforded on the island. In fact, as a result of the extended closeness to the frontier and the legacy of economic precariousness, Newfoundlanders, at times, appear to be as little concerned about their own well-being as about the integrity of the environment. This was exemplified by the reaction to plans of building and operating the smelter for the Voisey's Bay nickel-copper-cobalt mine in Placentia in 1996 where “people [were] going nuts with joy about putting this big poisonous industrial thing next door” (Collins quoted in Brown 2018, section iii).[105] On a similar note, oil-related disasters that took many local lives – like the 1982 sinking of the Ocean Ranger offshore drilling unit and the 2009 Cougar helicopter crash – have been reframed in the public discourse as “learning moments” in the process of improving workplace safety (Stoddart et al. 2020, 39), rather than enhancing the awareness of the perils inherent to work in oil production and raising doubts about its desirability as an occupation.

Contempt and Abuse by Institutions and Agencies

The chronically precarious economic situation of the place leads us to the observation that the disregard and abuse of the land by the collective of Newfoundlanders is paralleled by contemptuous conceptions and abusive policies regarding the land as environment and resource on the institutional level, by the government, its administration and agencies. I am including these institutions in my development of collective abuse because they are directly or indirectly elected entities, thus reflecting tendencies of approval for those policies within the local population. Clearly, this does not imply that a majority of Newfoundlanders agrees with each and every activity or decision of the government. After all, Newfoundland and Canada are not direct democracies. Moreover, as Jerry Bannister (2021) points out, Newfoundland is characterized by “announcement politics” (no page number), where the population is often confronted with decisions without a chance to follow the process of reaching them. Nonetheless, set within a democracy where those in power are legitimized by the electorate, the politics of the Newfoundland government and the agencies it supplies can be considered to mirror larger societal trends.

[105] Note that the processing of the nickel-copper-cobalt ore from the Voisey's Bay mine, which took place in Quebec and Ontario until 2005, ultimately went to Long Harbour, not Placentia, and it is based on hydrometallurgy processes rather than traditional smelting (Higgins 2011).

Since the late nineteenth century, the local spectre of unemployment and the promise of its mitigation as a central socioeconomic goal have created a climate in which Newfoundland "[p]oliticians, bureaucrats, and elites accepted a basic axiom: any jobs were better than none regardless of the long-term consequences to the health and safety of people and the environment" (McBride et al. 2002, 266). The obsession with jobs created a close correlation between local government and private industry that has been described as the "wedding between Newfoundland and the international corporation" (Alexander 1976, 70). This liaison is exemplified in the nineteenth-century contracts governing the building of the railway and the St. John's drydock, as well as the development of the Bell Island mines. In 1938, the Bowater Newfoundland Act authorized the unrestricted exploitation of vast stretches of timber lands by the company, and in 1972, a study from economic geography found that, among the Maritime provinces, only Newfoundland's forests continued to be depleted within "a social, institutional, and political climate that eschewed any form of restraint" (Black and Maxwell quoted in Omohundro 1994, 268). Today, the "wedding" between government and industry is vividly illustrated by the staffing of the C-NLOPB with a mix of former industry stakeholders and politicians or civil servants (Carter 2020; C-NLOPB n.d. a).

Another variant of the institutional abuse of the land is the local government's faith in megaprojects, as these are routinely based on the devaluation of the affected environment. Newfoundland is clearly not the only locale prone to relying on megaprojects. Notably since confederation, however, this strategy has been highly popular and persistent in the province. In a place with a chronically weak economy, each of those projects has been conceived and advertised as a game changer that would turn Newfoundland's fate from "have-not" to "have" province, thereby remedying not only its weak economic status but also its poor sociocultural standing within Canada.[106] During the Smallwood era, the political landscape in Newfoundland, which has been compared to that of a postcolonial "third-world" country (Neary 1980), was definitely favourable for megaprojects.[107] The construction of an oil refinery at Come By Chance, a

[106] "Have-not" status is jargon for the scenario where a province receives federal equalization payments intended to reduce fiscal disparities between provinces so that the province can provide public services comparable to those in other provinces at similar levels of taxation (Department of Finance 2011).

[107] Note that Peter Neary (1980) based his characterization of the local political landscape on observations regarding Newfoundlanders' susceptibility to following authoritarian leadership and the place's exploitation by multi-national businesses. His observations regarding authoritarian leadership in Newfoundland will be referenced again in Chapter Seven.

phosphorus manufacturing plant in Long Harbour, and the hydroelectric project at the upper Churchill River (the Churchill Falls hydroelectric dam) are three prominent examples. The conception and realization of the latest megaproject – the Muskrat Falls hydroelectric dam at the Lower Churchill River, for which construction started in 2013 – is an indicator for parallels in contemporary politics. In fact, the Lower Churchill project is a particularly notorious manifestation of how megaprojects, through their dimensions and the related abstract perspective, disregard site-specific aspects, including the environment. Moreover, at Muskrat Falls, as arguably in megaprojects more generally, the environment beyond the natural asset to be exploited is fundamentally disregarded. Not only was a large forested area flooded for the reservoir. The provincial government decided against clearing that area prior to flooding, thereby ignoring recommendations by three independent review committees who had all deemed deforestation an effective measure to mitigate the contamination of downstream waters, including a major fishing ground, by methylmercury.[108] The contempt for the environment with all its human and non-human inhabitants implied in this decision is further aggravated if we acknowledge that deforesting the reservoir would have caused only minor costs and delays when compared to the overall project budget and schedule (Crocker 2021a; Calder et al. 2021). Finally, it should not go unnoticed that none of the earlier megaprojects in Newfoundland has lived up to its economic expectations (Byron 2003), and again, the Lower Churchill project represents an illustrious contemporary example. As a result of its "financialized" design as well as immense overruns in construction costs and time, the project will substantially raise local electricity bills rather than lower them and fail to generate the envisioned revenues from the export of surplus capacities (Crocker 2021b).[109] Without claiming local uniqueness, megaprojects in Newfoundland and Labrador appear to be synonymous with myopic visions and hasty, inept planning by local authorities. Yet, each has been sold as *the* decisive turn for the chronically troubled local economy.

Most recently, in the context of the signing of an agreement on a Canadian-German "hydrogen alliance" in Stephenville that envisages the production of the carbon-neutral fuel with wind energy from Newfoundland, senior financial advisor Larry Short stated: "If there's any

[108] Those committees included the Joint Federal-Provincial Review Panel, a group of scientists from Harvard and Memorial University, and the Independent Expert Advisory Committee. The latter comprised three Indigenous knowledge experts and six scientific experts (Calder et al. 2021).

[109] Financialization is here understood as a capitalist mode by which wealth is accumulated primarily from interest on financial speculation and private or public debt rather than through the manufacturing of commodities or the provision of services (Crocker 2021b).

jurisdiction anywhere in the world that has seen megaprojects come and be launched with great fanfare, excitement, and fantastic photo ops, it's got to be the province of Newfoundland and Labrador" (quoted in Gilles 2022, no page number). On the same occasion, Cabot Martin (2022), former government advisor and declared Muskrat Falls opponent, wrote in his blog that "reading about the Stephenville event was like having an unnerving flashback [of the Lower Churchill project announcement]" (no page number).

Though not always termed megaprojects, offshore oil and gas projects check all the boxes of that type of enterprise. Their development and operation put a heavy strain on adjacent ecosystems and climate, not to speak of their destructive potential in the case of uncontrolled spills and the disastrous impact of downstream emissions from their products. This is why the aggressive enticement and poor regulation of the industry by Newfoundland authorities, as, for instance, described by Angela Carter (2020), implies the acquiescence, if not approval, of ecological devastation and, hence, represents another instance of local institutional and collectively tolerated abuse of the environment. Despite the requirement that an application from a prospective developer be approved by the C-NLOPB, the industry has remained largely unregulated, as conditions imposed by the Board are not legally binding (Fusco 2007a). Moreover, the Environmental Assessments (EAs) required for the development of a new offshore oil and gas field have proven to be "essentially a sham" (Fusco 2020, 2). Indeed, rather than focusing on the protection of the environment, EAs, as parts of the Newfoundland and Labrador oil apparatus, have been shown to contribute to the "cultural fix" that helps to "code the offshore as a space for appropriation and capital accumulation" by legitimating largely unrestricted oil development (281). *Strategic* Environmental Assessments (SEAs) ignore individual project characteristics and are, thus, still less devoted to conserving and protecting the environment but manufactured as tools for establishing an inviting and predictable offshore context for potential developers (Fusco 2020). The ineffective regulation of offshore oil production in Newfoundland manifests itself, for instance, in the lack of requiring independent monitoring on the oil-producing facilities, leaving the decision when to stop and restart operations in adverse conditions, as well as the report of and immediate reaction to uncontrolled spills to the producing enterprises (CBC 2021c; Smellie 2019; C-NLOPB n. d.). Equally unsettling is the absence of a so-called capping stack system (CSS) in the region. The capping stack technology was developed by the industry as a reaction to the

cessation of subsea drilling mandated by the U.S. government after the mega oil spill at BP's Deep Water Horizon in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010. It is a powerful tool for temporarily containing a blowout until relief wells can be drilled. Capping stack systems are provided by Oil Spill Response Limited (OSRL), an international industry-funded spill response organization whose members include all major fossil fuel producers. They are available near major offshore fossil fuel production sites in Northern Europe, Southeast Asia, Southern Africa, and South America – but no CSS is available along the Northeastern American seaboard (OSRL n.d.). The costs for the commissioning and maintenance of an additional capping stack system for Atlantic Canada are undoubtedly significant, and operators cannot be expected to make such an investment voluntarily. It is up to local legislators and regulators to require a CSS as a prerequisite for operation in the region. The institutional failure to make the approval of new offshore oil projects (or the continuation of existing ones) conditional on the provision of the latest technology to mitigate major environmental damage is certainly questionable on the federal level. It appears downright disturbing on the provincial level, however, where the integrity of the immediate natural surroundings and the local population's well-being are at stake.

Most recently, the Norwegian national oil company Equinor has dubbed the Flemish Pass a "new frontier" in deepwater oil production (quoted in Bourgon 2023, par. 3).[110] "In lockstep with Equinor's language of frontiers," a related media post continues, "is a language of danger: of unpredictable conditions at sea, chemical waste, spills, leaks and blowouts" (par. 6). In their 2020 Environmental Impact Statement (EIS), Equinor Canada indicates an estimated duration for bringing a capping stack system to the Flemish Pass and capping a blowout to be eighteen to thirty-six days and models a worst-case scenario with 115 days of unmitigated release of fossil fuels into the ocean. If multiplied by daily amounts of up to 10,500 cubic meters of released oil, as equally indicated in Equinor Canada's EIS (2020), Newfoundland could be faced with overall spills of up to 1,207,500 cubic meters of oil. In comparison, the spill at BP's Deep Water Horizon in 2010 released an estimated 780,000 cubic metres of crude oil (U.S. Coast Guard 2011). If we moreover take into account that Equinor estimates the lifetime probability for an extremely large spill at Bay du Nord to be 16 percent or, roughly, one in six (DFO 2022; Equinor Canada Ltd.

[110] Note that, despite Equinor's announcement in June 2023 to pause the Bay du Nord project, the company has since further expanded its exploration activities in the Flemish Pass Basin (CBC 2023b).

2020), the government's and the C-NLOPB's continued commitment to the project means consciously putting the integrity of the adjacent environment and all life forms inhabiting it at risk.[111]

Straining the environment for economic benefits – which offshore oil projects do in multiple ways, even when everything goes according to plan – is a general aspect of the commercial exploitation of natural resources and certainly disputable. The failure to monitor highly complex and potentially destructive operations independently and require the latest technology to mitigate cataclysmal accidents, however – notably when the probability of uncontrolled events rises with literally entering new frontier terrain at ever deeper drilling sites, such as the Flemish Pass – are signs of legislators' and regulators' deep contempt for our marine ecosystems and, indeed, for all life in the region. In a democratic system, then, this implies that this contemptuous stance – justified with prospects of job creation and enhanced prosperity – is, in principle, sanctioned by large parts of the Newfoundland electorate.[112]

6.3 Affection for the Land

This section is devoted to the more cheerful task of exposing Newfoundlanders' affection for their home island. In order to do so, I will first present a series of informative statements from the local intellectual discourse, fiction, and the arts. Claims for and depictions of intimacy and union with the land figure prominently here. Their affectionate character becomes clear if we

[111] An extremely large spill is greater than 23,848 cubic metres (Equinor 2020, 16-32). This implies that, of course, not every extremely large spill has the dimensions of the Deep Water Horizon disaster. However, an extremely large spill is almost 100 times larger than the spill at Husky Energy's SeaRose in November 2018, which the media termed "massive" (CBC 2018c, no page number). Note, moreover, that, although Equinor plans to use a similar drilling technology at Bay du Nord, the SeaRose accident does not inform their risk modelling for the project (DFO 2022). In fact, this omission is only one of the flaws in Equinor's EIS that led DFO to the conclusion that the document "is not considered a reliable source of information for decision-making processes" (4).

[112] The reader may miss the mention of the mismanagement of the Atlantic cod fishery, which led to the collapse of cod stocks in the 1980s, as an example of collective environmental abuse. The reason why I do not draw on this context here is that the related abuse was not the result of actions and decision-making centred in the province. Federal, as well as foreign players, policies, and practices, had the major share in the depletion of the resource. One may argue that this also applies to issues within offshore oil and gas production, but the scenario is quite different. The Atlantic fishery was and is managed by federal agencies alone, whereas the C-NLOPB is a joint federal-provincial body. Moreover, in the fishery, foreign enterprises demonstrated the will and determination to violate Canadian regulations. In contrast, in the offshore oil and gas sector, international operators have little intention to violate regulations, as they benefit from massive under-regulation on the bill of the C-NLOPB. If we further acknowledge the closeness of provincial C-NLOPB nominees to local politics and administration and take the legendary sympathy for oil development of provincial governments of all *couleurs* into account, the local share in mismanagement is significantly higher in the oil and gas sector than it has ever been in the fishery, at least since confederation.

acknowledge the desire and longing they imply. Newfoundlanders' distinct appreciation of wilderness then further attests to their yearning for intimacy and union with nature. Finally, their reluctance to move away further substantiates the psychological and emotional bonds between people and island that I argue for.

Non-fiction Expressions of Affection and the Desire for Union

As pointed out by various authors (Manning 2018; O'Flaherty 1979; Pocius 1991), generations of local intellectuals have attested to Newfoundlanders' legendary affection for their home (is)land. Indeed, that affection often manifests itself in statements of physical union with the land, which, in their illusory nature, reflect a profound desire. As early as in D.J. Prowse's (1896) late nineteenth-century *History of Newfoundland* – depicted by novelist Wayne Johnston as "the secular Bible of the island's people" (quoted in Bannister 2002, 85) – Newfoundlanders are found to be "in tune with their island," in a state of "psychological and physical union" (Chafe 2008, 110). The same tenor figures almost a century later when Cyril Poole (1982) depicts Newfoundlanders as "molded and magnified by [their] life on this island" and – quoting Farley Mowat – as "'part of the wind and water'" (92). Gerard Blackmore (2003) echoes this in his research paper for the *Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening our Place* when he observes that Newfoundlanders are "one with the land and waters" and that "[t]his place bred people" (350). The deep-felt belief in the physical connection between Newfoundlanders and their homeland also resonates in local writer and performer Des Walsh's statement in a 2004 television show that "[e]very piece of granite, every spruce tree, I feel it, it's all part of me" (quoted in Chafe 2008, 116), and in educationalist Susan Tilley's (2010) assertion that her "identity...evolves out of hard-felt connections to the concrete, material land and sea, to the island" (128). Clearly, the sense of belonging and attachment is often distinct in rural and remote communities more generally (Vodden et al. 2015). Yet, as "stunning natural landscapes fuel strong local identities" (7), as does maintaining a close intimacy with the land – both conditions that clearly resonate with Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders (Hallett 2004; Manning 2018; Vodden et al. 2015) – the connections to the physical place on the island can, indeed, be understood as particularly deep-felt and widespread.

Creative Fabrication of Union

Spiritual and physical union of Newfoundlanders and the land is also a recurring theme in Newfoundland fiction and visual art.[113] The creative output of a society, although prone to expansion and distortion, still reflects existing trends. Moreover, speaking about sentiments, as is the case with affection and longing, creative works may, in fact, be uniquely positioned to capture and unpack the essence of collective tendencies and lift them into the public discourse. Once published, creative works will then also inform the views, propensities, and inclinations of their audiences. The multifaceted correlations between creative fiction and life realities is a central element of postcolonial literary studies, and it also resonates in Wayne Johnston's (2009) observation that "[f]amily, memory, myth, and fiction still persist together, inextricably" (44).

From the wealth of local fiction works that draw on the intimate bond between Newfoundlanders and their island I have singled out three novels representing three fundamentally different approaches to creating a (settler) portrait of the place: Harold Horwood's *Tomorrow Will Be Sunday* (1966), Wayne Johnston's *Colony of Unrequited Dreams* (1999), and Kenneth J. Harvey's *Blackstrap Hawco* (2008).[114] The picture that emerges from these rather voluminous novels is complemented by a concise yet powerful quote from poet Phebe Florence Miller's personal correspondence.

Depictions of the people existing among and in union with the surrounding animate and inanimate elements of land and sea permeate Horwood's (1966) novel like a golden thread. In one scene, the two main characters, Eli and Christopher, "stopped and watched the majestic birds soaring, and felt the mystery of the evening reaching out to them, to touch their minds and their hearts with the ultimate secret of life that united eagles and men" (206). In another, Eli "walked

[113] Note that there are undoubtedly other creative fields not mentioned here. In fact, I use an example of deep-felt connections between people and island from the realm of music to illustrate Newfoundlanders' reluctance to leave the island described below (see figure 6.3).

[114] Please note that I was reluctant to include Horwood's novel here. The reason is that, besides denouncing religious dogma and sexual taboos, the work contains approval of the sexual abuse of the teenage main character by the local pastor. Whereas the first act of abuse is depicted as a violation, it is soon made clear that the boy was tortured not because of the pedophile violence he experienced but because of the transgression of the general taboo regarding sex. The abuse is then idealized as the teaching of "the meaning of sensualism" (181) and described as gradually leading to a homosexual relationship. Later, the victim describes the abusive acts as "something that did me no harm – none at all" (338) and assures the offender that he will not hold them against him, "not now or ever" (343). In the end, I decided to include quotes from the novel because of their vivid illustration of my argument as well as of the work's popularity, as reflected in reprints in 1975 and 1991 as well as three adaptions for the stage (by Tom Cahill in 1972 and by Des Walsh in 1992 and 2017). Nonetheless, I cannot help but find it disturbing that the pedophile elements of the work have apparently never been discussed, let alone denounced.

among the balsam firs and let them talk to him" (220). This spiritual union reaches its ultimate physical fulfillment when Eli "slipped lithely out of his clothes, then stepped down between the rocks into the sea, that rose, chilling, past his groin, and received him, as he slid underneath its limpid surface, with a sort of final cold caress" (373–74).

Johnston (1999) presents Newfoundland "fishermen [as being] of chthonic origin, sprung from the earth or whatever little island or cove they had grown up in" (454). Moreover, as Paul Chafe (2008) finds, the two central characters – Smallwood and Fielding – "are personifications of Newfoundland, so contradictory yet so undeniably *of the island* that they threaten to debunk forever any notion of a singular Newfoundland character" (43, emphasis added). Of course, Chafe's observation equally stresses the non-singularity of the place, which also follows from characterizing it as shaped by cultural ambivalence.

In *Blackstrap Hawco*, Harvey (2008) captures the union of Newfoundlanders and their island in different and divergent ways. In an otherworldly setting, a woman's agony caused by her prolonged pregnancy resonates with the entire animate environment, beckoning enormous numbers of wildlife to her village and inciting goats, cows, and chickens "toward rampant copulation" (311). In a very worldly context, in reaction to a television news program, main character Blackstrap Hawco feels that "someone is trying to kill the whole island, strangle it to death" (476). Although a connection between man and island is not spelled out, the reader gets the impression that Blackstrap, as part of the island, is physically affected and gasping for breath himself.

A vivid example of a creative non-fiction expression of love for and union with the physical place that represents another genre and time is from a 1942 letter by Topsail poet Phebe Florence Miller to a friend in which she confesses: "I am so of the earth…that I doubt if Heaven can ever satisfy me for what I shall leave behind!" (quoted in Hallett 2014, 47).[115]

***

In Newfoundland visual art, Gerald Squires' œuvre stands out with respect to merging human figures and the land (and sea), thus representing the ultimate intimacy between the two. As fellow artist Christopher Pratt describes, Squires' work is a "meeting of land and soul" (quoted in Walsh and Jamieson 1995, 24) because he "cannot separate man from earth, but rather sees the earth as an almost anatomical reality. If Christ was God made man, then Squires'

[115] Note that literary fabrications of a fictive union with the land will figure again in Chapter Seven. As acts of "reterritorialization" (Dreese 2002), they are considered as reactions to cultural alienation in postcolonial societies.

landscape is men made earth" (40). Another observer finds that, in Squires' paintings, "the curve of a hill is the curve of a body, rock is bone, and grass turns into hair" (Stone quoted in Seifert 2008, 11). Vivid illustrations of these "anatomic landscapes" are shown in figure 6.1 below. In Squires' surrealistic works, of which three examples are given in figure 6.2, actual human figures spring from, mingle with, and sink into the rock and land and sea. This fusion of earth and wo/man is given material actuality in Squires' clay figure sculptures (without image).

Figure 6.1: Gerald Squires: Anatomic landscapes – f.l.t.r. *Silent Witness* (1991), *Uprooted* (1989), *White Rocks at Cape Broyle* (1989), in *Gerald Squires, Newfoundland Artist* (Walsh and Jamieson 1995)

Figure 6.2: Gerald Squires: Merging figures and land – works from the *Boatman Series* (1976, left) and the *Cassandra Series* (1981, centre and right), in *Gerald Squires, Newfoundland Artist* (Walsh and Jamieson 1995)

Appreciation of Wilderness

Newfoundlanders' intimacy with the land is also reflected in their enjoyment of the wilderness. This local trend is palpable in their "delight in entering the wilderness to rest in places of 'quiet seclusion away from everything'" (O'Brien quoted in Collins 2008, 43) and reflected in "the growing demand for 'the natural wilderness environment'" on the island in the 1970s (Overton 1996, 207). Even the media have proclaimed that "[o]ne of the pleasures of living in Newfoundland is our proximity to wilderness" (*The Evening Telegram* quoted in Pocius 1991, 134). Appreciation of wilderness has not been uncommon among city dwellers in North America ever since

industrialization alienated them from nature in the late nineteenth century (O'Flaherty 1979; Overton 1996). Not surprisingly, in Newfoundland, where urbanization *de facto* did not start until the mid-twentieth century, appreciation of wilderness as a collective stance arose later. However, when it did, the island was still largely a wild place where the frontier was never far away. Efforts at modernization and industrialization may have been massive after confederation, but most Newfoundlanders' lifestyle in the 1960s and 1970s was arguably not comparable to that of the urban population of the metropolises on the mainland even decades earlier. In fact, urban life in Newfoundland arguably still lacks the dimensions and pace today that cause weariness and alienation from nature. Moreover, even the metro area still offers "wild" spaces where urban life can be escaped from.[116] In rural Newfoundland, on the other hand, the frontier and, with it, wilderness have always remained within reach. It thus appears that Newfoundlanders' active appreciation of wilderness did not grow out of alienation but formed while life with and struggle against it were either still part of their life reality or, at least, a vivid memory. This sort of appreciation, can be understood as the result of profound familiarity with the natural environment turning into actual fondness, a process that – as suggested in section 6.1 above – can be assumed to be propelled by the place's extended closeness to the frontier.

The Reluctance to Leave

The affection of Newfoundlanders for their home is also manifest in their reluctance to move away or the desire to return in case they could not stay in the first place. For most, it is only for reasons of economic hardship or in order to reunite with family members who had to leave before them that they will consider moving to the mainland (Delisle 2013; Manning 2017; Sinclair 1993). The reluctance to leave – as reflected in Newfoundlanders' desperation to find work on the island – is also mirrored in the local authorities' obsession with job creation (McBride et al. 2002). The involuntary character of Newfoundland outmigration, together with its dimensions, is captured in its characterization as an actual *diaspora*, including "painful displacement and a condition of loss" as well as "a continued connection to homeland" (Delisle 2013, 10).

The widespread willingness to work extended shifts or "turnarounds" (Manning 2017, 1471) on the mainland is another testimony to Newfoundlanders' attachment to their home

[116] The Metro Area is Newfoundland's most densely populated region, which comprises the municipalities of St. John's, Mount Pearl, and Conception Bay South, as well as a series of smaller adjacent towns.

island. Accepting extensive travelling and extended periods away from their homes and families, shift workers can maintain their main residence on the island. Moreover, they enable their families to stay. This pattern can be traced to the nineteenth-century Labrador fishery, where crews lived and worked away from home for the fishing season when inshore fishing grounds began showing signs of depletion (Higgins 2007). In the early to mid-twentieth century, cohorts of Newfoundlanders were engaged in the “high steel” construction of high rises in U.S. metropolises (Gartner 1986), and, today, they work the tar sands in northern Alberta (Keough 2013), to name just a few prominent mainland “turnaround” destinations.

Of course, not all Newfoundlanders who work away keep their main residence on the island. Many eventually move with their families. However, expatriates are known for keeping close ties with their home island, as reflected in the popularity of “Come Home Years” in Newfoundland, where expatriates return to their home communities during the summer holidays to reunite with each other and locally based family and friends. Moreover, maintaining former family homes as summer and eventually retirement homes is popular among expatriates.

The love for Newfoundland seen through the lens of an expatriate is powerfully expressed in Ron Hynes's song *Back Home on the Island*, as performed in a television performance in 1978 (Hynes 2013). The bitterness and sarcasm expressed throughout the verses that describe mainland life and the reasons for migration regularly give way to tenderness and love in both voice and countenance when the lyrics return to the chorus “Back home on the island...” (see figure 6.1).

Figure 6.3: Ron Hynes radiating love for Newfoundland while singing the chorus of *Back Home on the Island* during a 1978 television performance (still images from Hynes 2013).

6.4 Collective Ambivalence Towards the Land

The previous sections provided evidence for conflicting propensities of Newfoundlanders regarding the treatment and conception of the physical place, figuring as affectionate attachment or desire for union on the one hand and deep contempt or blunt abuse on the other. Whereas collective abusive tendencies could be traced all the way to the days of early settlement, affection for the place took time to build up over generations of residence on the island (Collins 2008). Today, however, both stances are clearly palpable in the local settler society. To interpret the scenario as a related instance of cultural ambivalence in contemporary Newfoundland, it remains to be scrutinized whether these conflicting stances are both relevant within the local society.

Attachment, affection, and love, as profound emotional or psychological conditions that are treasured as rightful and rewarding are arguably *per se* relevant for those who are subjected to them. The relevance of land abuse or its sanctioning for the collective of Newfoundlanders is harder to conceive, let alone evidence. Indeed, large parts of the contemporary abuse – like the striking lack of environmental protection and industry regulation in megaprojects like Muskrat Falls or Bay du Nord – were assigned to the institutional realm, not the collective one. Yet, as argued before, the institutions involved were and are directly or indirectly empowered by the Newfoundland electorate. This is obvious for the provincial government, but it also holds for N.L. Hydro (overseeing the Lower Churchill project at Muskrat Falls) and the C-NLOPB (the offshore regulator in Newfoundland and Labrador), because the former is a Crown corporation and the latter a joint federal-provincial agency.[117] The fact that the environmental abuse through lack of regulation by these agencies arises entirely in the name and context of economic development and job creation further evidences its support by large parts of the population. The *relevance* of land abuse in the form of radical resource development and industrialization, irrespective of environmental damage, for both the local government and its electorate is then reflected in the actual *obsession* with job creation at all costs (Fusco 2007b. McBride et al. 2002). Moreover, against the legacy of underdevelopment and hardship, as well as related feelings of humiliation and inferiority, the urge to catch up with the rest of Canada in post-confederation Newfoundland described in Chapter Five is still ongoing today. Together with an "[u]nbroken belief and faith in industrial modernity"

[117] Note that, until 2021, the Muskrat Falls project fell under the aegis of the Crown Corporation Nalcor, which was then dismantled and folded into N.L. Hydro (CBC 2021a).

(Bannister 2021, no page number), this urgency further attests to the centrality (or relevance) of the abusive scheme of radical resource development and industrialization within the local society.

Ironically, Newfoundlanders' abuse of the environment in order to escape the perceived trap of economic and psychological dependency can be understood as being fuelled by the affectionate attachment to their home island. The argument is that if enough wealth and employment for a life on the island can only be created by sacrificing the island's ecological integrity, it is something to be approved of if not aspired to. Moreover, Newfoundlanders' love of and identification with the island fuel the desire to shed the stigma of the "Old Lost Land" (Johnston 2009) and "have-not" province in order to secure the place's and their own well-being. Again, in order to reach these goals, environmental protection loses out to virtually any type of development. In both cases, abuse is justified by values with clearly positive connotations (the love of one's home or the socioeconomic well-being of the place and the pride it evokes).

Of course, sanctioning environmental abuse is easier if it takes place out of sight, as is the case for the island population (which is also the large majority of the provincial population) with respect to offshore oil and gas production or mining and hydroelectric projects in Labrador. The phenomenon of environmental abuse for the sake of being able to live in Newfoundland and shedding stigma is well summarized in a recent media post related to the Bay du Nord offshore oil project: "For most Newfoundlanders, ...the environmental risks and threats to life and limb pale in comparison to other risks: of poverty, crumbling infrastructure, outmigration" (Bourgon 2023, par. 7).[118]

The above indicates that we can, indeed, assume that both loving and abusing the land are simultaneously relevant for significant parts of the Newfoundland (settler) population today and that we are, hence, facing another case of collective ambivalence based on widespread individual ambivalence. In view of the different implications for the creative potential, let us also check for signs of the other type of collective ambivalence, which is based on two opposing camps in extended debate. In the context at hand, the natural candidates for those camps are industry proponents and environmentalists. The proponents of radical industrial development are undeniably numerous and vocal in Newfoundland. As we have seen, however, that stance does not foreclose affection for the

[118] Note that the above quote also speaks to the tendency that, in the attempt to escape the named spectres, Newfoundlanders tend to neglect their own physical integrity besides that of the environment.

land. Environmentalists as opponents to the abuse of the land, on the other hand, are present but less vocal and smaller in numbers. Moreover, they do not rule out further industrialization entirely because, against the lasting spectre of economic incapacity, doing so is not a culturally tenable position in Newfoundland. For the oil and gas sector, Kerri Neil, co-chair of the Social Justice Co-operative NL puts it like this: "There's a patriotism wrapped up in oil and gas. There's a perspective that if you don't support it, then you don't support Newfoundland" (quoted in Bourgon 2023, par. 52). This reflects the continued topicality of what provincial affairs reporter for CBC David Cochrane has termed "'Patriotic Correctness'" in a speech to the board of trade in 2007 (quoted in Bannister 2012, 217). In this speech, Cochrane pointed out that the local sense of political correctness prohibits dissent with government policies because it is "seen as nothing short of treason" (218). With land-loving industry proponents and patriotic environmentalists, neither of the groups is fully confrontational and, hence, Newfoundlanders' ambivalence towards the land can be understood as rooted predominantly within the individual. This observation indirectly anticipates the finding of reduced creative potential developed further below because – as argued in Chapter Two – collective ambivalence based on widespread individual ambivalence is less likely embraced than collective ambivalence based on opposing camps.

***

The mechanism by which a form of patriotic correctness affects environmentalism in Newfoundland deserves further analysis. Neil's statement above, which I also heard her frame as "If you don't support oil, you're not a Newfoundlander,"[119] together with environmental activist Conor Curtis' surprisingly accommodating stance regarding the lack of opposition to oil and gas in his home province quoted earlier, hint at another land- or environment-related tension in Newfoundland besides the affection-abuse ambivalence. Here, environmentalists' deep attachment to the place prompts their failure to exhaust all possible efforts to combat environmental abuse. At the root of this paradox is the observation that place attachment implies a strong feeling of belonging, including a deep affection for fellow islanders and the reluctance to antagonize them. This means that, as large sections of the population favour any kind of industry, environmentalists are hampered in pursuing their goals, as they cannot fully oppose radical industrialization. This reluctance of local environmentalists to deny their fellow islanders the securing of "their share," even if it is through abusive environmental practices, is

[119] She stated this at an event of the Social Justice Co-op NL in St. John's in September 2022.

further fuelled by the narrative that Newfoundlanders are haunted by a past of adversities and injustices, which has dominated much of the local discourse since the 1970s (Bannister 2003a).[120] Curtis, for instance, refers to the "trauma" of the cod moratorium and the "feeling that things could fall out from under your feet at any moment" as the legitimate rationale behind uncritical reliance on oil and gas in Newfoundland (quoted in Bourgon 2023, par 21). In other words, even convinced environmentalists like Neil and Curtis cannot entirely escape the dominating discourse and culture of radical resource exploitation. Their attachment to the place and deep sense of belonging, combined with the persistent bias of conceiving Newfoundlanders as victims, create a strong empathy for proponents of abusive practices and the reluctance to risk overt confrontation. As a result, their activism is compromised. In fact, I suggest that the field of tension between two competing loyalties or responsibilities – towards the environment and their industry-devoted fellow islanders – in which Newfoundland environmentalists find themselves can be interpreted as another case of collective ambivalence within that subgroup.

The narrative of Newfoundlanders as victims of multilayered exploitation and continued deprivation clearly also informs the justification for environmental abuse of an otherwise loving population. This reveals that this myth propels both the collective abusive mindset and the underdevelopment of environmentalism in Newfoundland, making it unlikely to address either issue as long as it persists.

6.5 The Affection-Abuse Ambivalence at Work in the Local Culture

Various expressions and effects show Newfoundlanders' ambivalent relationship with the land at work in the local culture. While neither the ambivalence itself nor the nature of its manifestations and ramifications are unique to the island, their actualizations, as well as their conjunction, are site-specific.

The Land as Friend and Foe

The personification of the land and its conception as both friend and foe is an expression of the affection-abuse ambivalence because, on the one hand, friendship clearly implies affection. On the other hand, conceiving the environment not only as a source of potential danger but as an

[120] It has to be noted that the roots of the narrative date back to the early-nineteenth-century reform movement (Hiller 2007). Its contemporary impact, however, can be traced to its resurfacing in the 1970s.

antagonistic or even violent character can be understood as a strategy to legitimize abusive acts against it. The personification of the land as an adversary is reflected in its description as "unyielding" (Omohundro 1994, xiv), "prohibit[ing] prosperity" (Chafe 2008, 236), and "sadistic" (Murphy 1990, x). The environment is developed as an actual aggressor who "claws at those who dare try to tame it" (Chafe 2008, 87) in Michael Crummey's (2003) *River Thieves*. Rather than explicitly impersonating the land, Crummey uses meticulous descriptions of his characters' arduous moves through an extremely rough environment to establish it as a "bastard country" (321). Moreover, he applies the narrative device of the "old hag" who is torturing the main character in anticipation of his upcoming inland expedition. Traditionally, the "old hag," as the personification of a nightmare, can occur for multiple reasons (Story et al. 1990). Crummey's application in the context of the prospect of entering the island's interior, however, suggests that – besides evincing profound sentiments of shame and guilt out of past misdeeds, as argued by Chafe (2008) – it personifies a hostile environment. Positioning the land as an aggressor who attacks and haunts people, its abuse becomes an act of self-defence.

Conceptions of the land as friend, mentor, or lover are plentiful in the local discourse, too. Examples from creative writing include the fabrication of physical intimacy by Horwood, Johnston, and Miller presented above. Respective stances from non-fiction are reflected in statements like "if we reverenced the land, it respected us with its fruits" (Blackmore 2003, 347) or the observation that, with forestry a major source of employment from the early twentieth century, "the interior of Newfoundland had become a benign friend" (Collins 2008, 46). In combination, the positioning of the land as friend and partner on the one hand and foe and aggressor on the other illustrates the simultaneous relevance of affection for and abuse of the environment in the local society.

Findings and declarations that merge both conflicting conceptions make that ambivalent relationship between people and place particularly palpable. A vivid example is writer Megan Coles' reference to the physical place as "the beautiful and vicious island that makes and unmakes us" (2019, no page number), which I also quoted in the previous chapter. The observation that "Newfoundland, to Newfoundlanders, is...a feature character" with whom "[they] have been in dialogue, confrontation, celebration, and exasperation...since they have been Newfoundlanders" (Murphy 1990, x) is a different framing of that ambivalent commerce. Moreover, it reflects that the ambivalence towards the personified island is, in fact, a collective phenomenon.

Gaff Topsails

A literary work that stands out as an immediate illustration of the affection-abuse ambivalence is *Gaff Topsails*. Notably in the chapter *The Kingdom of God*, author Patrick Kavanagh (1996) goes beyond depicting Newfoundland "as simultaneously succouring and severe" (Chafe 2016, 45) by celebrating both the intimacy and union with and the ravaging of the land.

Intimacy and union are fabricated on a spiritual level when character Tomas Croft finds that the waves continuously rolling ashore reflect "nothing less than his own being, his own life and soul and spirit" (108). The intimacy becomes physical when he finds that "the crest [of a rounded land formation] is topped by some sort of outcropping...[that] resembles nothing so much as the pap of his own breast" (109), and the surrounding landscape stimulates him sexually to the point where "his whole body convulses and makes spasms and milky ribbons of his seed...are vaporized by the wind and scattered in a pearly steaming mist westwards" (111) across the island. Croft's relationship with the land acquires an intimate social nature when he finds that "every tree and wave has a personality of its own" and "[h]e speaks to all of these, and they reply to him, so that in his mind the island is as alive as he himself is alive" (118). This intimacy is crowned by the statement that "the land and he are lovers, one together" (118). The chapter ends with the depiction of a systemic union between people and island, invoked by the image of the "womb-cove" whose waters, "[j]ust as the breath of the sleeping mother comforts the infant, ...soothes the people" of the cove, who are Croft's descendants (139–140).

At the same time, the chapter describes how Tomas Croft exploits the natural riches in a clearly abusive manner. For instance, "[h]e strolls among the beasts [birds] and calmly he gathers the fattest of them in his hands and wrings their necks. Aimlessly he swings his muckle in the air and kills whole flocks" (115). In another scene, he "lure[s] fat creatures within range of his deadly blackthorn" and "catches birds whose skulls he crushes with his teeth" (117). As Paul Chafe (2016) puts it, Croft "moves through his environment on bloody killing sprees" (49). Hence, on the one hand, the novel reflects a multilayered union between person or people and land. On the other, it relies on a deep and violent rift between the two. As a result of these opposing approaches, Kavanagh creates the island as "both romantic and repulsive, sacred and profane" (Chafe 2008, 110), an entity to worship and to repel, to love and to abuse.[121]

[121] Note that, besides direct expressions of affection and abuse, Kavanagh's novel also fabricates the land as friend and foe. The island as womb or mother protects and nurtures the people, but its "violent" coastline (110) represents "a barbican of hostility, of death" (114).

Dream Homes on Gravel Pits

I here refer to a personal experience, which I believe has a wider significance. When driving or hiking through rural Newfoundland, I have time and again been staggered by the sight of spotless and often impressive new homes on large cleared, levelled, and gravelled lots that looked like moonscapes within an otherwise intact natural surrounding (see figure 6.4 for examples). Others, whose construction obviously dated back several years, still sat within settings which, with their flatness, extensive paving, and golf course lawn, appeared highly unnatural at best, while others again had never entirely overcome the gravel stage. I am not denouncing landscaping, and a certain intervention for creating proper access and building space may, at times, be indispensable. However, the extent to which vegetation and topography are often disregarded in the context of residential construction in rural Newfoundland appears distinct and certainly exceeds necessary measures and dimensions. Why build in the middle of the woods if you do not want trees anywhere near your home? Why choose a ditch if you want a manor on a hill? Why build on a heavily treed inland lot where you need to cut wide swaths to get your ocean views? The removal of trees from the immediate building lot may also be owed to insurance policies. However, insurances cannot be held accountable for the trend of adjusting the land to one's building layout rather than adjusting the layout to the land.

The trend of building new homes on heavily remodelled lots, I suggest, is an expression of the ambivalence towards the land based on the following rationale. Arguably, many Newfoundlanders do not only want to live on their home island, they want immerse themselves within its “wild” undeveloped terrain. Yet, once they have found their piece of paradise, they play havoc with it before they erect their homes. The discrepancy of this practice is also captured by the culture of maintaining cabins that are truly immersed in nature. Cabin life compensates for the distance to the land created by the annihilation of the natural environment in the immediate surroundings of the family homes.

Clearly, the culture of building “dream homes on gravel pits” is not unique to Newfoundland. Based on the assumption that living close to the frontier spatially and/or temporally encourages feelings of entitlement to the land, we can expect to find it in frontier societies more generally. Nonetheless, the phenomenon further illustrates Newfoundlanders' ambivalent relation to the land. At the same time, it throws new light and enhanced comprehensibility on what otherwise appears as a rather absurd trend.

Figure 6.4: *Dream Homes on Gravel Pits*; Newfoundland country homes on large cleared and filled lots

Newfoundland's Ambivalent Image

Newfoundlanders' collective affection-abuse ambivalence towards the land, I argue, is also reflected in a deeply ambivalent public image of the place. As I have reasoned above, artistic productions concerned with the land do not only feed on collective trends of how the place is conceived; by means of their public visibility, their promotion, as well as their commercial instrumentalization, they also inform these trends. The same holds for public campaigns for government programs and news reports on these programs' impact.

I argue that, in Newfoundland, the public discourse conveys two conflicting images of the place. On the one hand, in fiction, visual art, and music, as well as their economic cannibalization by tourism and entertainment industries, Newfoundland is regularly presented as pristine and "wild," yet welcoming and inviting for immersion. A similar tenor governs notions of "roaming freely," and "nature nurturing one's body and soul," as promoted by Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism (n.d.). On the other hand, at least since confederation, pamphlets and brochures published by Newfoundland energy and industry departments have been celebrating existing projects of industrial resource exploitation and commending the place for prospective ones. The glossy image painted in these brochures is juxtaposed with news reports of ecological threat and damage.[122] Both perspectives – the campaigning for industrial advancement and the exposure of environmental harm caused by industry – share the episteme of a rift between humans and their environment. As an overall result, the image promoted of the place is characterized by the coexistence of contradicting relations between people and physical place: harmony and immersion vs. otherness and rift.

[122] Examples for brochures promoting industrial resource exploitation include *Canada's Happy Province* (Government N.L. 1966;), *The Way Forward* (Government N.L. 2016), and *Advance 2030* (Government N.L. 2018). Reports on ecological damage or environmental neglect due to industrial resource exploitation that address a large public include online, print, and broadcasting media coverage of offshore oil spills (Mullin 2018), water pollution by mining companies (CBC 2016), rotting refinery tanks (Antle 2021), methylmercury generation and concerns on structural stability related to hydro dams (Breen 2016), and fish kills related to aquaculture (Bundale 2019), among others.

One slogan, to my mind, vividly captures the ambivalent relationship between land and people: “Get lost in the right direction.” If I am not mistaken, the phrase has its origin in the tourism sector and signifies and promotes downtime and adventure within nature (compare e.g. Alt Hotel 2018; Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism n.d.). However, this understanding misses the tension inherent to the slogan's oxymoronic style. In the context of nature, and viewed positively, getting lost indeed suggests freewheeling immersion in and merging with the environment. The categorical imperative “get lost” as well as the claim of knowing the right direction, however, are reminiscent of industry pamphlets like *The Way Forward* (Government N.L. 2016) or *Advance 2030* (Government N.L. 2018), which imply the exploitation of and the detachment from the surrounding environment. Therefore, “Get lost in the right direction” merges the opposing conceptions of the union of people and place and the rift between the two.[123]

Another way the oxymoronic tourism slogan resonates with the coexistence of love of and immersion in the land on the one hand, and the rift between land and people on the other comes to the fore if it is opened with “you better.” The advice “You better get lost in the right direction” implies that immersion in and harmony with nature are not the only experiences the place has to offer. If the direction is not carefully chosen, one's path may lead to settings that reflect the local rift between humans and environment by evidencing disregard and abuse. Figure 6.5 visualizes this reading of the slogan with according Newfoundland imagery.

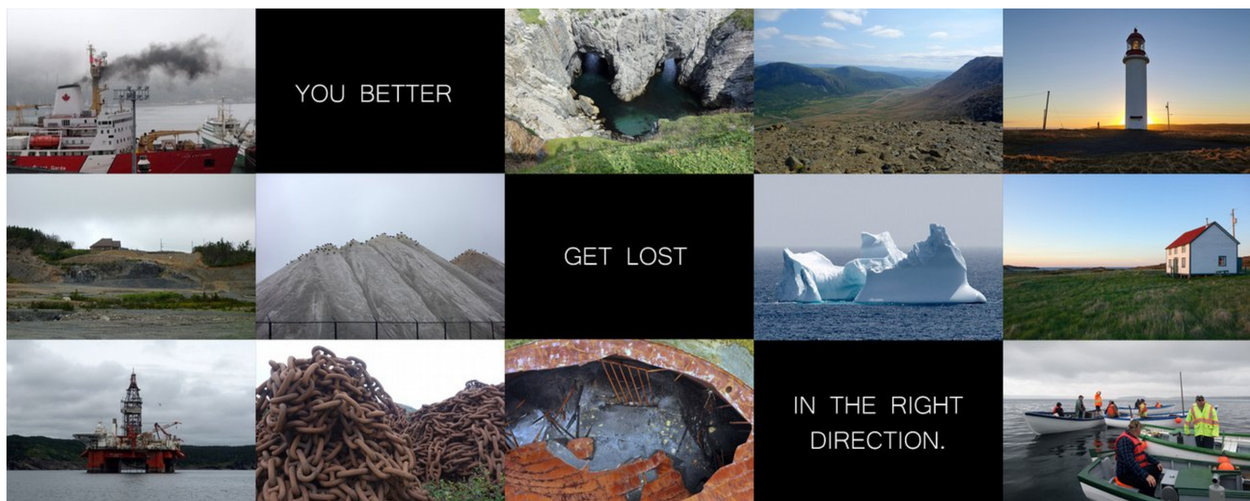


Figure 6.5: *You Better Get Lost In The Right Direction* (2024); visual interpretation by the author of conflicting land-related Newfoundland experiences

[123] At this point, I would like to propose that the oxymoron can, in fact, be understood as the linguistic version or expression of ambivalence.

A Schizoid Petroculture

Another manifestation of the concurrent tendencies to cherish and abuse the land is what Fiona Polack (2017) has coined Newfoundland and Labrador's “'schizoid' petroculture” (20). According to Polack, Newfoundlanders' “conflicted...relationship to the consumerism and mobility petroculture” springs from the collision of “an appreciation for the established symbols of the North American, oil-enabled 'good life'” and “a strong attachment to pre-petrocultural principles” (20), as reflected, among other things, in the ability to live off the land. Living off the land requires maintaining an intimate and respectful relationship with the physical environment. The “strong attachment” to that lifestyle, I suggest, moreover reflects an actual appreciation of the land. Leading the North American “good life,“ on the other hand, implies an insatiable hunger for oil, which, in Newfoundland, represents both the raw material for related consumer goods and a source of revenue to afford those goods.[124] The schizoid Newfoundland petroculture thus combines radical environmental exploitation by means of offshore oil and gas megaprojects with valuing and appreciating the land.

It is worth noting that, while the term “schizoid” carries a clearly pejorative connotation as deriving from a personality disorder, Polack acknowledges the “head start” (23) that the specific local petroculture offers Newfoundland in making necessary transitions in the face of climate change. As a society that has not entirely and exclusively subscribed to a lifestyle shaped by oil-based consumption, Newfoundland is, in principle, better equipped to face the challenges of energy transition than fully-fledged, non-schizoid petrocultures. This means that the schizoid nature of the local petroculture can be considered a potentially creative asset, a quality it shares with ambivalence. Given, moreover, that there is a clear tension between the consumerist lifestyle and living off the land and taking into account that ambivalence was used to describe schizophrenia (the pathological form of a schizoid disorder) by Eugen Bleuler, who coined both terms, I suggest that we might also speak of an ambivalent petroculture in Newfoundland.

Symbiotic Ideology

The prevalent environmental ethic in Newfoundland can be understood as a derivative of the ambivalence studied here. Like the ambivalence towards the physical environment, this ethic

[124] Note that Newfoundland's role as both producer and consumer of oil is another “schizoid” element of the local petroculture identified by Polack (2017).

is not suggested as being unique to the island. However, seen in conjunction with the manifestations and effects of this and other instances of cultural ambivalence, it adds to the distinct ambivalence-informed climate of the place.

The ethic in question is one of “symbiotic ideology,” a term introduced by Colter Ellis in the context of cattle ranching in 2013 (Stoddart and Graham 2018, 280). Generalized to a broader range of contexts, it describes the simultaneous affectionate and responsibility-laden attachment to, and economic (and, therefore, exploitative) interest in nature. In Newfoundland, this ethical stance has been identified as prevailing in the nature-based tourism sector, where environmental integrity is a precondition for economic success (Stoddart and Graham 2018).

Symbiotic ideology is a derivative of the affection-abuse ambivalence rather than an actual manifestation because the two opposing poles are replaced by the more pragmatic and less incompatible concepts of appreciation and responsible utilization. In fact, I suggest that symbiotic ideology has a large overlap with a utilitarian approach to nature, as it has been observed in Newfoundland by various authors (e.g. Cadigan 1999; Faris 1969; Fusco 2007b). In both cases, the attachment is rooted in a specific benefit, and the exploitation is sustainable. Within the fishery, these types of exploitation and attachment, respectively, are illustrated by nineteenth century “Newfoundland fishing people's ability to define access to marine resources [for exploitation] as a right laden with moral responsibilities” (Cadigan 1999, 11) and the observation that outporters' “precise ecological adjustment [and the resulting intimacy] should not presuppose a link of a deep-seated affectionate sort” (Faris 1973, 28).

Acting based on symbiotic ideology bears the potential of productively balancing the conflicting needs of humans and their environment. However, it can also erode the significance of nature's integrity in its own right, irrespective of economic benefits. A case in point was the privatization of provincial parks in the 1990s. These parks were originally established to conserve areas of wilderness and wildlife. Their transfer to commercial operation, however – which I suggest was an expression of symbiotic ideology – implied the capitalist exploitation of these assets, thereby undermining their appreciation *per se* and ultimately compromising the efforts to protect them (Overton 1996; Collins 2008). This shows that the utterly positive tenor of the term “symbiotic” can be deceiving in this context, much like “schizoid” threatens to obscure the creative potential of the Newfoundland type of petroculture. Indeed, other than reframing the local petroculture as ambivalent, as suggested above, one might also consider speaking of a “symbiotic”

petroculture to underline its productive potential. While this undoubtedly sounds odd to critics of the local oil and gas sector, myself included, I suggest that it can help dismantle conceptual barriers and open alternative discursive trajectories. Similarly, the prevailing environmental ethic could be termed "schizoid" rather than "symbiotic" to expose its flaws.

Enhanced Endurance

The affection-abuse ambivalence towards the land, I argue, further enhanced Newfoundlanders' capacity for endurance, which was equally spurred by the British ambivalence towards settlement and the autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports. As in previous chapters, I acknowledge that talking about collective mindsets is necessarily speculative, but I believe the point is worth making.

In the context of the role of the frontier, I pointed out that physical endurance was facilitated by the utilitarian approach of exploiting and being familiar with the land. This capacity to endure, I argue, was further enhanced on a psychological level by the more radical practices of loving and abusing the land. Environmental abuse, I suggest, could function as a safety valve, wreaking overflow frustration or despair over hardship on the natural surroundings when it became unbearable. Affection for the land, on the other hand, offered comfort and consolation that equally eased the strains of enduring adverse conditions. Indeed, I suggest that – reminiscent of the Stockholm syndrome that describes how hostages sometimes develop a psychological bond with their captors – the love of the land may, in part, have developed following a self-preservation instinct. The affection for the harsh and sometimes hostile environment that could not be escaped facilitated survival and endurance through – in Michael Winter's (2014) words – "embracing the punishment" (148) that living in Newfoundland could, at times, represent.

***

The large variety of contexts within which I could identify manifestations and effects of Newfoundlanders' ambivalence towards the land – from land conceptions and creative writing over home building trends and the public image of the place to the realms of environmental ideology, petroculture, and psychological capacities – attests to the pervasiveness of the condition. Its integration as another node into the web of cultural ambivalence, to which I will turn now, further underlines that pervasiveness and opens up interesting new angles.

6.6 Correlations with Instances of Cultural Ambivalence Studied in Previous Chapters

Newfoundlanders' ambivalence of loving and abusing the land can be correlated with the three previously discussed cases of cultural ambivalence in multiple ways. The wealth of correlations, I suggest, is at least in parts owed to the contemporaneity of the affection-abuse ambivalence because it allows tracing causal relations with the historical contexts studied before.[125] Of course, the number of possible correlations also increases naturally with the number of instances of cultural ambivalence studied.

British Ambivalence Towards Settlement

The ambivalence of British stakeholders regarding settlement in early modern times can be understood as having fostered both Newfoundlanders' affection for and exploitative abuse of their physical surroundings and, hence, the related case of cultural ambivalence. As a direct consequence of the uncertainties regarding early Newfoundlanders' residential status and property affairs induced by the British ambivalence, life on the island was governed by a prolonged sense of impermanence. The idea of only temporary residence (not to be confused with nomadic practices, where places are left to regenerate and eventually revisited) naturally compromised the development of bonds of responsibility and belonging between people and place and nurtured practices of unsustainable natural resource exploitation instead. In the longer run, the delayed formation of a settled society and the prolonged role of Newfoundland as a colonial resource periphery were at the roots of its underdevelopment and continued economic struggle. The constant economic precariousness then fuelled (and continues to fuel) tendencies of un(der)regulated resource exploitation in the urge to catch up.

However, the ambivalence of stakeholders from Britain towards settlement can also be regarded as having nurtured Newfoundlanders' place attachment. Earlier in this chapter, I argued that heteronomy favoured a focus on the immediate surroundings, which then encouraged the development of a bond of attachment between settler Newfoundlanders and the land. As we have seen in Chapter Three, the British ambivalence regarding settlement on the island provoked an inconsistent legal body at the time. Being exposed to erratic and often existence-threatening

[125] Please note that this does not imply that I merely follow chronology and causal impact when tracing correlations. I also consider conceptual and psychological links, as, for instance, when I linked dependence with the will to modernize and autonomy with propensities for cultural preservation in the previous chapter.

legislation – like the repeated instantiating and revoking of the six-mile rule and the directive to remove all settlers (if unenforced) – obviously enhanced early resident fishers' experience of heteronomy and arguably strained their ties with the mother country. This fostered the perceptual shift from Britain to the island as the locus of reliability, which, in turn, favoured place attachment.

The correlation between the British ambivalence of advocating and opposing settlement and Newfoundlanders' affection-abuse ambivalence towards the land is further substantiated by their commonality of fostering the local capacity for endurance. In Chapter Three, I argued that this capacity was enhanced by the wavering legislation that sprang from the British ambivalence and justified hope for timely betterment in adverse times. Here, the argument was that both abuse of and affection for the land can be vehicles to avoid or postpone despair and continue to endure when it would otherwise become unbearable. The affection-abuse ambivalence is, thus, another mosaic piece in the picture of Newfoundlanders' distinct capacity to endure and further links it with the local climate of cultural ambivalence.

Autonomy–Dependence Ambivalence

The ambivalence towards the land and the ambivalence of autonomy and dependence in modern outports can be correlated in the following way. Outporters' autonomy in operating the Atlantic fishery implied their self-reliance with respect to the entirety of the fishery's environmental factors, including assessing sea and climate conditions, navigating the shoreline, and locating good fishing grounds. This naturally created an intimacy with the natural environment. In a second step, fishing people's societal autonomy within the outport sphere, together with their powerlessness outside of it (that is, the heteronomy they experienced), then placed the focus on the community and its immediate surroundings, which can be argued to have propelled the emergence of an appreciation and affection for the land beyond intimacy.

Besides the autonomy outporters enjoyed in the fishery, however, the frontier economy of modern outports, with its cashless trade of cured saltfish for victuals and gear, also implied their heavy dependence on the local merchant and global markets. As we have seen in Chapter Four, this dependence was aggravated by the merchant's monopoly and monopsony, as well as the impossibility to diversify, which regularly left fishing people on the verge of physical want. This precariousness further augmented the challenges of living close to the northern frontier. As a result, the scope for developing respect or responsibility for the environment was further

curtailed, and the unconditional exploitation of resources was propelled. The autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports can, thus, be understood as having spurred the development of the affection-abuse ambivalence towards the land.

Modernization–Cultural Preservation Ambivalence

The ambivalence of modernization and cultural preservation in the Smallwood era is correlated with concurrent propensities for affection and abuse regarding the land today because it implied both radical industrialization and the consciousness and appreciation of the local culture. Modernization along mainland models fuelled by the urge to catch up spawned the local popularity of megaprojects, which are icons of environmental abuse. The revaluing of local rural heritage, on the other hand, fostered affection for the physical place because outport culture is closely intertwined with the land and sea. The modernization-preservation ambivalence can, thus, be understood as having propelled the contemporary affection-abuse ambivalence towards the land.

From a different angle, if we presume that the ambivalence towards the physical environment already existed in pre-confederation Newfoundland, the affection for the land would have fostered the desire to preserve the local culture. Existing tendencies of environmental abuse, on the other hand, would have favoured the unconditional industrialization in post-confederation Newfoundland. From this angle, the ambivalence towards the land can be understood as having facilitated the ambivalence of modernization and cultural preservation in the Smallwood era.

Viewed in conjunction, the two ways in which one type of ambivalence has propelled the other form a kind of feedback loop. This explains both the already cited "[p]eristence of Smallwoodism" as the unbroken belief in industrial modernity (Bannister 2021, no page number) and the pervasiveness of the coexistence of love for and abuse of the land in contemporary Newfoundland. Moreover, the dual linkage suggests that there is a conceptual link between the two cases of cultural ambivalence independent of a specific era. Indeed, tendencies of environmental abuse are inherent to processes of rushed modernization more generally, much as affection for the land is an intrinsic part of the preservation of a culture that is deeply informed by the natural environment. This conceptual connection between the two cases of cultural ambivalence is reflected in rural Newfoundlanders' ambivalence towards traditional outport life. What we have identified as a manifestation of their collective modernization-preservation ambivalence in Chapter

Five directly ties in with concurrent affection and abuse if we acknowledge its representation as a love-hate relationship with the place more generally: love of the place is obviously related to the love of the land, and abuse can be viewed as a physical implementation of hate.

6.7 Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter has shown that, as in the context of the ambivalence of modernization and cultural preservation, where the former process fuelled the latter, the two poles in the affection-abuse ambivalence towards the land are related, namely through a mechanism of explaining or justifying the abuse with the affection. Newfoundlanders, I have argued, are inclined to practise or approve of environmental abuse if it enables them to live and work on their beloved home island. Unlike modernization and cultural preservation, however, which became largely disconnected once the awareness for the local cultural heritage had fully developed, the justification of radical resource exploitation with emotional attachment to the physical environment is an ongoing process and correlation. This difference, I suggest, can be traced to the fact that the ambivalence studied here is based on two conflicting conceptions and practices that carry antithetical ethical implications. Arguably irrespective of the ethical approach or codex applied, affection, emotional attachment, and love are considered clearly positive and desirable concepts. Under the same assumption, the negative connotation and undesirability of abuse and contempt is equally distinct. In comparison, the moral hierarchy assigned to modernization and cultural preservation is less unequivocal. Whereas modernization carries the pejorative repute of threatening or eliminating traditional culture and alienating people, it also resonates with beneficial elements, like better services and higher living standards. Similarly, cultural preservation is, above all, an act of salvation and a source of pride, but it may potentially inhibit necessary change. The situation seems more entrenched value-wise in the case of autonomy and dependence, where the former is clearly more desirable than the latter. Yet, autonomy and dependence do not share the steep moral hierarchy of affection and abuse either, as dependence implies vulnerability rather than the capacity for causing harm or damage inherent to abuse.

Hence, whereas it appears to be the rule that one of the two conflicting values at play in ambivalence is commonly considered more desirable than the other, the moral hierarchy of affection and abuse is an extreme case. I argue that the extreme moral hierarchy, in conjunction

with the situation of the affection-abuse ambivalence in the individual, rather than in opposing camps, has compromised the creative potential of the condition. The need to justify the clearly negatively connoted pole (by the love of the land that creates the desire to stay and by the conception of the land as a foe) inhibits full acknowledgement of that pole and, ultimately, the embracement of the related ambivalence. Embracing the ambivalence, however, is a necessary condition for creativity to emerge, as argued in Chapter Two. In the image of ambivalence as an electric field between two poles of opposite charge, the act of justification, and notably justifying one pole with the other (here: affection as excuse for abuse) can be understood as short-circuiting the creativity-laden voltage between the two.

How does this tie in with my earlier observation that both the local schizoid petroculture and the symbiotic ideology (as a manifestation and a derivative of the affection-abuse ambivalence, respectively) carry creative potential? A closer look reveals that this potential is not rooted in the tension between opposing values or concepts, as it was, for instance, in the case of the emergence of a resilient and creative body of governance in early modern times or the development of the Newfoundland Studies Movement. The schizoid petroculture's creative potential resides in the continued practice of living off the land and the attachment it implies, and, hence, in the more desirable of the two poles alone. The negative pole of a petroculture's insatiable hunger for oil merely figures as a backdrop against which Newfoundland's particularity is positively contrasted. The productive aspect of the symbiotic environmental ideology, on the other hand, is only possible because both poles are highly relativized, and notably, because abuse is replaced by the morally much more tenable concept of responsible exploitation.

The only realm where the extreme moral hierarchy of the concepts of affection for and abuse of the land does indeed foster creative output is in the arts. My prime example here was Kavanagh's novel *Gaff Topsails*, and we could add Jean Claude Roy's painting of Francois (see figure 5.1) with which I illustrated rural Newfoundlanders' love-hate relationship with a widely nature-based traditional way of life in Chapter Five. This reproduces my earlier observation that artists appear uniquely equipped to embrace the extreme tensions created by the simultaneous relevance of ethically antithetical concepts or values in Newfoundland – whether it is love and hate or affection and abuse – and realize their creative potential.

I would like to point out that the reduced potential for direct creative outcomes does not diminish the potency of the lens of the affection-abuse ambivalence for enhancing our

understanding of the place. For instance, it increases our understanding of issues like the local propensity for abusive resource exploitation, the underdevelopment of environmentalism, or ruthless building practices, thereby enhancing their approachability in principle. Acknowledging that place attachment plays a role in facilitating environmental abuse, for example, could prompt rethinking the reasons and motives for that attachment. Moreover, raising industry proponents' awareness of local environmetalists' loyalty might encourage them to relieve the cultural pressure environmentalists are exposed to. At any rate, I hope that the analysis presented here will encourage the ultimate dismissal of the narrative that victimizes Newfoundlanders by showing that it is not only wrong (which has long been ascertained) but has detrimental contemporary effects, too.

Chapter Seven:
Settler Newfoundlanders as Colonizers and (Post)Colonial Subjects

The ambivalent position and identity of settler populations as bearing elements of both colonizer and colonized is an essential element of the concept of settler colonialism (Veracini 2010). This conceptualization has been derived based on theoretical considerations, however, and left largely in the abstract. Case studies that flesh out the colonized position of settler-colonizers focus on the height of colonialism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they do not include Newfoundland (Ashcroft et al. 2013; Boehmer 2011; Mizutani 2011; Stoler 2010). In the local discourse, two different approaches to the colonized position of the settler population can be observed, but neither provides us with a comprehensive analysis of the same. One consists of largely unfounded assertions by local (settler) authors that settler Newfoundlanders were or are colonized (e.g. Blackmore 2003; Doyle quoted in Hernáez Lerena 2015; Jackson 1984. Peckford 1983; Poole 1982). The other approach is based on thorough research and analysis and represented by a series of studies that establish the postcolonial character of settler Newfoundland as a place with respect to various contexts (e.g. Chafe 2008; Crocker 2000; Crocker 2016; Kennedy 2010; Lodge 1939; Manning 2018; Neary 1980). As these studies focus on the locale rather than the people and on specific contexts and phenomena, however, they provide only an indirect argument for settler Newfoundlanders' position as (post)colonial subjects. In this chapter, I set out to make that argument more direct and more comprehensive. This will be done by rendering settler Newfoundlanders' (post)colonial position explicit and tangible through tracing related conditions and experiences across various contexts spanning the local settler history. Together with their indisputable role as colonizers, I will then introduce another case of of cultural – in this case, colonial – ambivalence, which sheds new light on a number of apparently peculiar practices and mindsets.

Speaking of settler Newfoundlanders as (post)colonial subjects and the related (admittedly unwieldy) colonizer-(post)colonial subject ambivalence rather than the colonizer-colonized ambivalence, I mean to acknowledge the fundamental difference between the colonized experience of settler Newfoundlanders and that of colonized Indigenous peoples on the island and beyond. Moreover, using the term "(post)colonial subject" to describe settler Newfoundlanders rather than "colonized" serves to distance my approach terminologically from

the colonized assertions referred to above, which are made without a proper rationale. When I do use the term "colonized," it is in the context of providing evidence for specific experiences or responses. The brackets in (post)colonial allow for the application of the term across colonial histories to the present day. In addition, following Ann Stoler's (2016) terminology and notation, they acknowledge the enduring effects of colonialism today.

In what follows, I first give a brief review of the concept and phenomenon of settler colonialism, its origins and effects, and how it implies a conceptual ambivalence. Based on these insights and benefiting from the outline of the settling of Newfoundland given in Chapter Three, I then briefly redevelop settler Newfoundlanders' position as colonizers. What some readers may consider redundant is important because tendencies of denial and fabrications of settler Newfoundlanders' indigeneity – spurred, among other things, by the particularities of the settling process and the perceived exoticism of the place – have kept resurfacing (Goldie 1989; Hallett 2017).

The more contested position of settler Newfoundlanders as (post)colonial subjects is then scrutinized from different angles and in different contexts. Substantiating settler Newfoundlanders' (post)colonial position by exposing a variety of colonized experiences does not aim to equate their position to that of Indigenous peoples here or elsewhere. Rather, I show how settler Newfoundlanders have been subjected to central, though not physically violent, elements of metropolitan colonialism. Moreover, I collect and expose a number of local practices and mindsets that are considered typical for (post)colonial societies more generally. Once I have derived the simultaneous relevance of the colonizer and (post)colonial positions for settler Newfoundlanders' life reality and, hence, colonial ambivalence, I identify related manifestations and effects in the local culture and society that testify to its shaping impact. Viewing these phenomena through the lens of cultural ambivalence throws new light on contexts as diverse as the self-dissolution of the Newfoundland parliament in 1933, contemporary tourism strategies, and the local culture of pessimism and blame, among others. Tracing multiple correlations with other instances of cultural ambivalence, I demonstrate the deep embedding of settler Newfoundlanders' colonial ambivalence in the history and culture of the place. After exposing the inhibiting impact of the colonial ambivalence for productive interaction between Newfoundland stakeholders and outside parties, such as the federal government or international corporations, I close with a reflection on the unfulfilled visions regarding enhanced solidarities in Susan Manning's 2018 essay on "Contrasting Colonisations" in Newfoundland.

7.1 The Concept of Settler Colonialism Revisited

This section is dedicated to briefly reviewing some central aspects of the concept of settler colonialism and providing a basic rationale for its inherently ambivalent nature. Settler colonialism is at least as old as the Roman Empire (Graham 2018; Horning 2015), but it only entered the wider scholarly discourse as a distinct notion of colonialism in the wake of the emergence of postcolonial studies in the later twentieth century. One of the pioneers in the field from the social sciences was Patrick Wolfe, who distinguishes "franchise or dependent" colonies (later also termed "occupational," compare Ashcroft et al. 2013) from "settler or Creole" colonies in his seminal work *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (1999, 1). Settler colonies grow out of "a policy of expansion based on the notion of 'unoccupied' or 'virgin' territories" and are "founded on a commitment to annihilate native or indigenous peoples" (Bateman and Pilkington 2011, 1). As such, settler colonialism differs from the practice of systematically exploiting Indigenous peoples as a cheap local workforce typical for "franchise colonies" (without precluding the instrumentalization of "independent" Indigenous labour for the accumulation of wealth, as, for instance, in the fur trade in Upper Canada). Moreover, settlers are distinguished from other colonists by an "*animus manendi,*" a mindset of permanency and "sovereign entitlement" (Veracini 2010, 53). This is why – in contrast to franchise colonies, which are at least formally or theoretically undone when the colonizers leave, and the colonized peoples regain their sovereignty – "the settler colonial situation cannot ultimately supersede itself" (52). Settler colonists differ from migrants because they are "made by conquest, not just by immigration" (Mamdani 1998, no page number) and determined to install and reproduce their values and structures in the colony. Again, this implies the displacement or annihilation of Indigenous peoples and their cultures.

There is a fundamental ambivalence inherent to the position of the settler colonizer that many critics and writers have commented on (e.g. Ashcroft et al. 2013; Bell 2014; Memmi 2003; Veracini 2010). It is based on the observation that "'[c]olony' as a term can have two main different connotations. A colony is both a political body that is dominated by an exogenous agency [the imperial metropolis], and an exogenous entity [the settler community] that reproduces itself in a given environment" (Veracini 2010, 2–3). As a consequence, for the settler, "two negatively defined alterities are brought into existence" (17), the metropolitan and the

Indigenous Other. Hence, conceptually (or in the abstract), settlers occupy the ambivalent position of colonizing the latter while being colonized by the former. This abstract ambivalent position has been found to translate into actual experiences of othering and discrimination by the metropolis for members of the settler population in a number of colonial locales, including India, Indonesia, and South Africa (Boehmer 2011; Mizutani 2011; Stoler 2010). It has not been rigorously studied in Newfoundland, however. In order to do so now, I will first turn to the less contested of the opposing colonial roles of settler Newfoundlanders.

7.2 Settler Newfoundlanders as Colonizers

Settler Newfoundlanders are the non-Indigenous part of the local population. As we have seen in the outline of the colonization of the island in Chapter Three, the early Newfoundland settler population was virtually exclusively of European and notably English or Irish ancestry. As a result of colonization, displacement, violent confrontations, and the introduction of foreign diseases (notably tuberculosis) to the island, these European settlers far outnumbered the Indigenous groups on the island by the mid-nineteenth century (Bartels and Janzen 1990; Brantlinger 2018; Mannion 1977). Although Indigenous groups have experienced a growth in numbers and influence again over the past decades (Hanrahan 2012; Harris 2019), and Newfoundland is home to settlers from many different regions of the world today, those of British or Irish descent remain in the majority and, hence, the shaping force of the local society and culture.

As described in Chapter Three, the process of settling Newfoundland from Europe was originally less intentional and ultimately more protracted than other colonizing projects. Indeed, until the nineteenth century, it lacked typical features of colonization altogether, like, for instance, the "unsatiable dynamic whereby settler colonialism always needs more land" (Wolfe 2006, 395). At the roots of this deviation from other settling projects were several factors: the volatile nature of the main industry, the ambivalence of British stakeholders, and the harsh climate and barren land, which prohibited self-sufficiency. The open access and common resource nature of the Atlantic fishery, in combination with the infertility of the land, created a local sense of territoriality that was underdeveloped when compared to other settler colonies (O'Dea 1994; Pocius 1991). This is also reflected in the fact that property rights were long unclear on the island (McEwen 1978).

The untypical process of colonization, including the originally seasonal occupation of the island and the extended time it took for an actual settler society to develop, may have disguised the colonizer role of the early settlers and their descendants. Moreover, the hardship many early European residents have suffered in order to carve a living from the land and sea has induced strong feelings of belonging, as has recurrently been articulated in the local settler discourse (e.g. Blackmore 2003; Kavanagh 1996; Pocius 1991; Poole 1982). This creation of a sense of belonging out of hardship suffered, however, is a typical phenomenon at the frontier, even if it was particularly distinct in Newfoundland (as argued in the previous chapter on Newfoundlanders' ambivalent relation to the land), and does nothing to “indigenize” the local settler population. Settler Newfoundlanders irrevocably were and continue to be the colonizers of the place, a fact that I want to reiterate briefly for clarity.

While the European migratory fishers did not come either for the land or for permanent settlement, they came to appropriate and exploit resources relied on by the Indigenous peoples of the region. Moreover, even migratory crews occupied stretches of the island's shoreline during the fishing season, and when permanent settlement took hold, increasing areas were occupied year-round. This progressively constrained Indigenous Newfoundlanders' access to the coast, which was a crucial element in their annual migratory cycle. With time, the encroachment on the land solidified and expanded inward. Moreover, European ideas of property and entitlement, together with the technologies and mindsets to enforce them by means of violence, ultimately caused the annihilation of the Beothuk and severe damage to Mi'kmaw lives and culture in Newfoundland (Barthels and Barthels 2005; Brantlinger 2018; Budgel 1992).[126] Finally, although there is an increasingly thriving Mi'kmaw community on the island again today, administrative and governmental structures continue to be shaped by settler customs and values, thus ignoring or disregarding Indigenous concepts and approaches. While my impression is that there are certain promising developments towards reconciliation and increasing Indigenous entitlement ongoing in Newfoundland, we still face a clear power imbalance today. Even if this imbalance could one day be overcome in an ideal scenario, however, the colonizer role of settler Newfoundlanders cannot be erased, as their presence alone evidences the colonial nature of the local society. Hence, settler Newfoundlanders' position as colonizers is both irrefutable and perpetual.

[126] Please remember that my focus is on the island part of the province, which is why I do not refer to the Innu and Inuit of Labrador.

7.3 Settler Newfoundlanders as (Post)Colonial Subjects

Settler Newfoundlanders' claims of being colonized – or reports of those claims – are profuse in the local discourse (e.g. Blackmore 2003; Doyle in Hernáez Lerena 2015; Jackson 1984; Peckford 1983; Poole 1982). As these claims are regularly just that and radiate sentiment rather than providing any critical rationale, they are widely ignored in postcolonial studies circles or rejected as untenable if addressed at all (Delisle 2006). Framed as the postcolonial character of settler Newfoundland as a place, on the other hand, the ambivalent position of the local settler population has implicitly been acknowledged with respect to various contexts, including pre-confederation politics (Crocker 2016; Lodge 1939), post-confederation and contemporary approaches to industrialization and modernization (Crocker 2000; Manning 2018; Neary 1980), and contemporary literary, theatre, and music culture (Chafe 2008; Kennedy 2010). These studies focus on selected ramifications, however, rather than studying the iterated exposure of settler Newfoundlanders to metropolitan colonialism across contexts and time and systematically tracing the effects.

In the following, I present a collection of (post)colonial elements of settler Newfoundland history, culture, and society and assemble them to form a bigger picture of the related experiences of the local settler population. These elements include structures and practices that position the local settler population as (post)colonial subjects – like the exploitation of local resources and labour, the exposure to distant and detached authorities, or othering and racialization – and phenomena that qualify as responses of (post)colonial subjects – like postcolonial modernization, "third-world" nationalism, environmental reterritorialization, or the propensity for nostalgia and radical regionalism. I have not included the subjection to military rule here, although the rule of the Royal Navy in the period from 1729–1824 does represent a formal parallel to "European-Native legal relationships" in other colonial contexts (Bannister 2003b, 90). The reason is that, as we have seen in Chapter Three, the Newfoundland system of governance at the time, rather than being merely oppressive, represented a custom-made legal pluralism that was ultimately quite efficient and enlightened.

It has to be emphasized that the (post)colonial position of settler Newfoundlanders developed here does not imply the physical aggression and oppression typical for European colonization of peoples around the globe. After all, for early Newfoundland settlers, the

colonial Other was no stranger. For those of English descent, it was, in fact, the mother country. For Newfoundland residents of Irish descent, who outnumbered English residents by the middle of the eighteenth century (Bannister 2003b), the story was different because they had experienced Britain as a colonizing power at home. However, the British colonization of Ireland, together with the observation that both peoples were Christian north-west European island cultures, implied that Irish-descended residents of Newfoundland equally had a greater cultural familiarity (if certainly not affiliation) with the imperial power than colonial subjects commonly had.

While there were occasions in the early days of settlement when Newfoundland settlers saw their houses and fishing rooms destroyed by British parties (by migratory crews on the English Shore or by British authorities enforcing the Treaties of Utrecht and Paris on the west coast), these remained the exception, and there was generally no direct physical violence against them personally. However, losing home and fishing facilities was critical in an environment as harsh as Newfoundland and within an industry as precarious as the North Atlantic inshore fishery. This precariousness also meant that the exploitation and underdevelopment implied in the positioning of the local settler population as (post)colonial subjects, as developed in this chapter – while it was not directly violent – could and often did cause physical harm besides mental strain. Today, however, settler Newfoundlanders' (post)colonial experience does obviously not imply physical harm. In contrast, colonized Indigenous peoples in Canada and around the globe are still affected very tangibly by past atrocities related to residential schools and/or continue to experience actual physical deprivation, for instance, through the restriction of access to and use of the land (Day 2000; Miller 2000; Pasternak 2017; Simpson 2016; Simpson 2017; Smith 1999).

Continued Exploitation and Underdevelopment

Arguably, the most evident source of (post)colonial experiences in settler Newfoundland is the island's continued radical exploitation as a resource periphery and the socioeconomic underdevelopment it entailed. From the late sixteenth into the early nineteenth century, the exploitation of the Newfoundland fisheries, notably the cod fishery, created wealth in the metropolis while leaving local residents on the verge of poverty. In this context, it has been argued that the economic relation between the evolving Newfoundland resident population of

European descent and British merchants was one of local staple production and Atlantic trade similar to that between Indigenous peoples and Europeans in the context of the fur trade in mainland Canada (Miller 2000). While this is true with respect to the autonomy planters and later fishing families enjoyed in catching and curing of codfish, the two contexts differ because of the dissimilar nature of the related staples. Furs had a value independent of European demand and could also be traded within a diversified local economy. Dried cod, in contrast, had only very limited value among fishing families. Its use as a source of sustenance did not exceed the nourishment of the family because, in good or decent years, every family had enough for their own needs. If years were bad, on the other hand, fishers had nothing left to trade for codfish, and the palette of goods for trade was extremely limited in a poorly diversified economy to begin with. The position of settler Newfoundlanders – especially once outports became isolated from the markets and fishing enterprises essentially downsized to family businesses – was, thus, more precarious and more dependent on external parties than the situation mainland hunter-gatherers found themselves in. Given that the latter were eventually deprived of their rights to roam freely (Miller 2000), however, settler Newfoundlanders' colonized experience within the outport economy was clearly less severe in the long run. Nonetheless, Newfoundland was and continues to be a radically exploited and underdeveloped resource periphery to the present day, as the following observations attest.

In the nineteenth century, repeated efforts were made to diversify an economy that was almost exclusively based on the Atlantic fishery. Timber and minerals were developed as local resources besides codfish, and the early twentieth century saw the building of paper mills in Grand Falls and Corner Brook (Alexander 1976). Local processing remained marginal, however, and both the extraction and processing of the newly developed resources – and, thus, the created profits – were left to foreign businesses. As already cited in the previous chapter, David Alexander (1976) spoke of the "wedding between Newfoundland and the international corporation" (70). Moreover, he observed that, by 1930, "Newfoundland had progressed from a domestically owned one-product export economy to a substantially foreign owned three-product export economy" (32). Already in 1939, a contemporary observer – Thomas Lodge, a former member of the Commission of Government – finds that "[t]here is hardly a parallel in the white world to [Newfoundland] in which the exploitation of natural resources is completely in the hand of alien finance" (143).

Confederation saw no fundamental change in the approach to boosting the local economy (Matthews 1978). Industries attracted through generous subsidies, land grants, and other enticements were "only of a certain kind: primary resource extraction, polluters, those in search of cheap labor, 'run away shops'" (Overton 1978, 111). By the 1960s, multi-national businesses exploited Newfoundland like a "third world" country "to supply the needs of more developed economies" (Neary 1980, 231). The result was the iteration of Newfoundland's underdevelopment, including the exploitation of the settler population as cheap labourers (Alexander 1976; Matthews 1976; McBride et al. 2002: McGrath et al. 1978), which implied safety gaps besides poor remuneration.

After the depletion of the cod stocks and the moratorium of 1992, offshore oil and gas became Newfoundland's primary export resource. While the industry feeds into the local economy, and the province collects production royalties, value creation through refining takes place elsewhere, and the major profits are made by the foreign corporations operating the wells (Fusco 2020). Ecological risks and damages, on the other hand, are offloaded to the local population and society. The exploitation of the local labour force became tragically obvious through the Ocean Ranger disaster. It was mainly due to the lack of proper crew training that all eighty-four lives onboard – most of them Newfoundlanders – were lost when the exploratory drilling rig sank in a storm in February 1982 (House and Newhook 1987).

Besides Newfoundland's iterated position as an underdeveloped resource periphery with an eager workforce, there is another colonial element to the oil industry as practised in the province. Given the concrete environmental risks of offshore drilling and the detrimental impact of fossil fuel production and consumption on the global climate, protests against the industry are on the rise globally. In Norway, they were in part successful when the state-owned oil company Equinor (formerly Statoil) ultimately abandoned exploration adjacent to the Lofoten, Vesterålen and Senja regions in response to local protest (Dale and Farquharson 2022). In light of Equinor's protection of Norwegian ecosystems and the related satisfaction of the public interest at home, the company's expanding activities off Newfoundland acquire a colonial taste because, obviously, ecological risks are outsourced to a distant place and foreign people while the profits are skimmed off for Norway.[127]

[127] Note that, despite Equinor's announcement in June 2023 to pause the Bay du Nord deep sea offshore project for up to three years, the project has not been abandoned (CBC 2023a). Furthermore, the company has since expanded its exploration activities in the Flemish Pass Basin (CBC 2023b).

Exposure to Distant and Detached Authorities

Another life reality settler Newfoundlanders have shared with colonized peoples, and which – for reasons that will become clear below – may, in fact, be described as particularly persistent here, was the political distance and cultural detachment of the authorities (Cadigan 2009a; Handcock 1989; Neary 1988). This was most obvious for the early proprietary colonies, whose failure can be traced to the British adventurers' lack of understanding of the local circumstances, and it was also reflected in the often impractical British legislation during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries described in Chapter Three. Before representative government was granted in 1832, most decisions regarding Newfoundland continued to be made across the Atlantic. Those issues that were dealt with locally were in the hands of British representatives with only temporary, if not seasonal, residence on the island. When a local legislature was introduced in 1855, foreign affairs and the fisheries remained the responsibility of Whitehall. Whitehall's distance and detachment expressed itself, for instance, in the awarding of extended fishing rights to the French until 1903 and a lack of support for the local fishing population after Scandinavian or American models. Indeed, Newfoundlanders' interests were often traded off in the larger game of international diplomacy (Cadigan 2009a; Matthews 1973). Newfoundland formally gained control over its primary resource, the fishery, for only a very short period, after the Dominion status of British dependencies was strengthened in 1931 and before Commission of Government directed from Britain was instated in 1934. Newfoundland's rural population was particularly affected by distant and detached outside control. In addition to the dependency on a distant mother country, outporters suffered from the urban/rural divide, which was distinct by the nineteenth century and alienated political representatives from the outports and vice versa.

Under Commission of Government, cultural detachment reached another peak. From 1934 until 1948, Newfoundlanders were administered "by a cadre of mid-level colonial bureaucrats who had spent their lives...circling the globe in two or three-year appointments at British Stations in the Caribbean, Africa, and India" and had no difficulties "fit[ting] the formerly sovereign state of Newfoundland into the common tropes and narratives of crown colonies to which they had become accustomed" (Crocker 2016, 60–61). When Newfoundland entered Canada in 1949, the fisheries became a federal responsibility, again leaving Newfoundlanders with their traditional economic mainstay being managed and regulated by a distant authority, which, they felt, knew little about their culture. While fisheries are still a

federal responsibility, as are, of course, foreign affairs, the situation is somewhat different today. Seventy-five years after confederation, federal-province relations have evolved, although they have clearly not continually improved. Rather, convergence and increasing mutual understanding seem to have alternated with alienation and conflict, depending on the personal and partisan tendencies of those in power on both provincial and federal levels. Yet, mutual cultural and political understanding has no doubt increased. This is, for instance, reflected in the 1985 Atlantic Accord, which recognizes provincial rights to offshore oil and gas and administers the regulation and management of the resource by means of the joint Canada-Newfoundland and Labrador Offshore Petroleum Board (Fusco 2007a). Nonetheless, the political system of confederation in certain ways continues to reproduce the rule from afar, as the province, with seven out of 335 seats in the Canadian House of Commons, has but little influence on the federal level.

Othering and Racialization

"Othering" refers to the social and/or psychological exclusion and marginalization of one group by another. Coined by Gayatri Spivak, the term describes the process by which "imperial discourse creates the excluded or 'mastered' subject" (Ashcroft et al. 2013, 188). In Newfoundland, the othering of the local settler population was the result of the cumulative distance and detachment of British authorities, and, as elsewhere, it fostered their racialization, that is, their segregation from "white" Europeans by culture and morality.[128] Given that the British idea of race under imperialism had a distinctly class-specific dimension (Mizutani 2011), the humble living standards in Newfoundland outports alone were viewed as compromising rural settler Newfoundlanders' European integrity. Consequently, Governor Terrence Nicholls O'Brien's late nineteenth-century reference to Newfoundland as "a Trans-Atlantic Ireland of a lower type" (quoted in O'Flaherty 1979, 113) did not only reflect scorn for local conditions and radical cultural detachment. It was clearly a form of racialization and, indeed, racism, as Anglo-Saxons on both sides of the Atlantic had come to consider the Irish a different, inferior race at the time (Jacobson 1999).[129] When the Great Depression found the local economy without reserves, an inquiry was

[128] "Whiteness" is a malleable colonial construct for racialization, which was developed and applied in the peripheries of Empire in the late Victorian era (Stoler 2010). As a referential colonial construct, I use it in quotation marks.

[129] In contemporary American jargon, the Irish were Celts. Other European "races" included the Slavs, the Ibercs, and the Hebrews (Jacobson 1999).

instigated by Whitehall as a prerequisite for financial support. In 1933, the Amulree Report found that Newfoundlanders were “a maritime race” (75) with outstanding faculties at sea. Less flattering, the report also observed a “gradual degeneration” of the Newfoundland population with respect to health and moral values (73). The report concluded by recommending that the local government and legislature be dissolved so Newfoundland affairs could be straightened and directed by Whitehall “until such time as the Island may become self-supporting again” (224).

The chair of the first Commission of Government 1934–1936, Lord John Hope Simpson, described the conditions in Newfoundland as “degraded” (Neary 1996, 154) and characterized Newfoundlanders as a “degenerate lazy crowd” (113) in his private correspondence with family and friends back home in Britain. British administrators in general and Hope Simpson, who had served in the Indian Civil Service prior to his appointment to Newfoundland (Neary 1988), in particular, must have been reminded of the “domiciled community” in British India (Mizutani 2011). This community of poor Europeans was considered to be mentally and physically degenerated by the extended exposure to the Indian culture and climate.[130] In any case, Hope Simpson relied on similar measures as those applied in India – such as agricultural resettlement programs, adult education, and charity projects – to remedy the “degeneration” of the local population (Handcock 1994; Overton 1995). The racialization Newfoundlanders were exposed to went beyond what was conceived as the compromised “whiteness” of the domiciled community in India, though. The latter was regularly situated somewhere on, or just beyond, the fringes of civilization (Mizutani 2011). Newfoundlanders, in contrast, were considered to fall outside civilization altogether, at least in the minds of selected key colonial representatives. The radical rather than merely gradual othering of settler Newfoundlanders found expression in Lady Hope Simpson's private letters, where she termed settler Newfoundlanders as “savage” and held they were “past hope from the human point of view” (Neary 1996, 159).[131] What further substantiated settler Newfoundlanders' position as the colonial Other in the eyes of British officials at the time was the fact that, by the twentieth century, all other European settler colonies had become self-

[130] This idea draws from environmental determinism, or anthropogeography, an approach developed by German geographer and anthropologist Friedrich Ratzel in the late nineteenth century. It assumes a direct relationship between the environment on the one hand and culture and “race” on the other (Közegi et al. 2015).

[131] Lady Hope Simpson's radical view is further illustrated by the following two quotes: “Conditions in this country are beyond belief out of date...[S]savages manage their social morality better. (Neary 1996, 53); and “It is a most degraded condition of society – far worse, I think, than many savage tribal states; they have sanctions, brutal but cleansing to society” (154).

governing societies. In contrast, Newfoundland's status under Commission of Government was comparable to colonies where Europeans still ruled autocratically over "non-white" peoples, as, for instance, in British Nigeria, French Algeria, and the Dutch East Indies (Crocker 2016).

The othering of settler Newfoundlanders continued after confederation, as vividly evidenced by Prime Minister Pierre-Elliott Trudeau's promise that the federal state would look after Newfoundlanders "as we do the Indians" (quoted in Jackson 1984, 109). Moreover, the ethnic label "Newfie" – introduced by members of American forces stationed on the island in World War Two – eventually became a vehicle of social marginalization and othering by mainland Canadians (King and Clarke 2002). In 2003, Justin Trudeau, who championed Johnston's *The Colony of Unrequited Dreams* in the context of *Canada Reads*, described settler Newfoundlanders as "a people...tragically beautiful and noble" (quoted in Chafe 2003a, 69), a depiction that clearly resonates with the othering colonial fantasy and fate of the "noble savage."[132]

Less blatant but ultimately perhaps more effective with regard to local experiences was the othering of Newfoundlanders in the name of anthropology, linguistics, and folklore. As described in Chapter Five, anthropologists from the mainland, often funded by Memorial University, flocked to rural Newfoundland in the 1960s to study and preserve traditional Newfoundland outport culture for posterity in response to the fear that it would fade and vanish in the wake of radical post-confederation urbanization and industrialization. Practices included touring the island for the collection and comparison of dialects, lexicon, and music, as well as in-depth studies of individual outport communities. Such salvage anthropology is known from other colonial locales, where "exotic" customs and folklore of the colonized were captured before they would be sacrificed to colonial "reform" and "progress." As a reaction, not few rural Newfoundlanders eventually felt annoyed and exploited by the intrusion and appropriation of their culture by outsiders (Webb 2015). The urge inherent to the study of traditional Newfoundland culture at the time can also be traced to the fact that the latter was largely shaped by oral traditions and the written discourse on life in Newfoundland was sparse prior to 1800. In fact, it has been argued that, because of the resulting ahistoricity by Western standards, settler Newfoundlanders resembled one of Eric Wolf's "'people[s] without history,'" as he termed the colonized around the globe (Smith 1987, 243).

[132] *Canada Reads* is an annual "battle of the books" competition organized and broadcast by Canada's public broadcaster, the CBC.

The ethnic othering of Newfoundlanders in the context of anthropological research is also illustrated by related modes of funding, as the support of research on Newfoundland by the New York-based Wenner-Gren Foundation attests (Smith 1987). Until at least the late 1980s, the foundation's mission to "advance anthropological knowledge" (Wenner-Gren n.d.) clearly focused on the cultures of what were considered colonial Others, as expressed by its logo with blatantly othering imagery (see figure 7.1).

Transhumant Europeans Overseas: The Newfoundland Case
Author(s): Philip E. L. Smith
Source: *Current Anthropology*, Apr., 1987, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Apr., 1987), pp. 241-250
Published by: The University of Chicago Press on behalf of Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research

Figure 7.1: Former logo of the Wenner-Gren Foundation with othering imagery and the heading of a Newfoundland-related publication funded by the foundation

Above, I have presented contexts and practices that have positioned settler Newfoundlanders as (post)colonial subjects. These included the radical exploitation of local resources and labour, their marginalization by distant and detached authorities, as well as their racialization and continued othering. In the following, the resulting multifaceted colonized experience is further substantiated by exposing practices and mindsets in settler Newfoundland that are generally understood as responses to the act and structure of being or having been colonized.

A Propensity for "Third-World" Nationalism

The first phenomenon I want to call upon is the particular pattern of nationalism in Newfoundland. Rather than being based on enthusiasm for British imperialism as in most of English Canada, it has been described as "in many ways similar to the nationalism that can be observed in postcolonial societies in Asia and Africa" (Bannister 2003b, 147). The central pitfalls of that type of nationalism, according to Edward Said (1996), include the emergence and

endurance of an authoritarian political elite, which replaces colonial leadership but reproduces the colonial system of power, as well as the tendency to blame outsiders for local problems. In Newfoundland, external parties and their interests – whether British stakeholders, Ottawa bureaucrats, or international corporations – have regularly been blamed for the province's problems (e.g. Bannister 2003a; Hiller 2007), and a propensity for populist, authoritarian leadership can be observed in Newfoundland as well, as will be exposed in the following.

Before confederation, most Newfoundlanders were largely unfamiliar with democratic values. As described in Chapter Four, due to the increasing isolation of outports and the centralization of power in St. John's, nineteenth-century rural Newfoundlanders were conditioned "to expect authority to flow from above" (Neary 1980, 210). During the 1920s and early 1930s, against the background of "waste and extravagance [of expenditures] on a reckless scale" (Amulree 1933, 48) and widespread corruption, as revealed by the Hollis Walker Inquiry (compare section 5.1 in Chapter Five), enormous political frustration turned into profound democratic fatigue. Indeed, William Coaker, leader of the Fishermen's Protective Union and member of parliament, had called for placing government in the hands of a commission for a restorative ten-year period since 1925 (Long 1999), and, at some point, he expressed that "[w]hat is required for Newfoundland...is a Mussolini" (Coaker 1932, 52). Stephen Crocker (2016) has argued that this was in accordance with the fascist movements in Europe. I argue that the call for a strongman also followed trends in "non-white," (post)colonial societies at the time, and, given Newfoundland's colonial history, I suggest that the (post)colonial parallel is equally striking.

Under Commission of Government (1934–1948), Newfoundland then factually became a "ward of the Crown" again (Jackson 1984, 7), and the reintroduction of democracy with confederation in 1949 can be considered as another emergence from British colonial rule. In the aftermath, the extended rule of Joey Smallwood as premier and his increasingly authoritarian governing style – which he described as "democratic dictatorship" himself (quoted in Hiller 2007, 129) – has been compared to that of "third-world" leaders in Africa and Asia at the time (Neary 1980).

More recent indicators of Newfoundlanders' propensity for authoritarian politics include the unmatched popularity of Premier Danny Williams, whose "tight political grip" (Bannister 2021, no page number) on the province was reflected by his dominant critical frame of the "one man show" running "Dannystan" (Marland 2014, 279). Scott Reid and Jeff Collins (2012)

argue that the concentration of power in Newfoundland under Danny Williams – which was also reflected in the growing influence of the provincial energy corporation, Nalcor, within the provincial government and the lack of its public regulation[133] – followed a scheme that is not uncommon in underdeveloped countries. According to the "paradox of plenty" (Karl 1997), governments of economically vulnerable jurisdictions are prone to using the sudden wealth from natural resource development (like that from the boom in the oil sector in Newfoundland in the 2000s) to eliminate political opposition and curb public accountability.[134]

Finally, I contend that Newfoundlanders' penchant for authoritarian top-down politics is also reflected in their continued impressionability with megaprojects, whose structures of power and accountability are easily obscured by their dimension and complexity (Flyvbjerg 2014). Megaprojects were a central part of Smallwood's "standard political repertoire" (Neary 1980, 211). Irrespective of the failure of the megaprojects realized under his premiership (Byron 2003), the scheme continued to enjoy high popularity, as exemplified by the originally prevalent enthusiasm for the Muskrat Falls Hydroelectric Project (Bannister 2012). This enthusiasm has since given way to widespread criticism, as the project's multiple technical and managerial flaws, as well as the detrimental fiscal and environmental effects, have been irrefutably exposed (Crocker 2021a; LeBlanc 2020). Whether this process has led to a greater reluctance towards megaprojects in Newfoundland more generally, however, is unclear. The "great fanfare" (Short quoted in Gilles 2022, no page number) with which the Canadian-German hydrogen alliance has been launched in summer 2022 in familiar megaproject style (Gilles 2022; Martin 2022) suggests that at least government and industry circles are still fond of the scheme, as does their continued reliance on ever bolder oil and gas development.

Postcolonial Modernization

Newfoundland's underdevelopment at the time of confederation was the product of extended exploitation as a resource periphery by external parties – first by Britain and later by foreign corporations, as described above – a fate that Newfoundland shared with (post)colonial locales in Africa and Asia (Alexander 1976; Lodge 1939; Neary 1980). As a result, Newfoundland featured the urge to modernize in order to catch up to Canadian standards in the

[133] Note that, in 2021, Nalcor was dismantled and folded into N.L. Hydro (CBC 2021a).

[134] Note that, besides political decay, Terry Lynn Karl (1997) also observes economic deterioration as part of the scheme, which explains the term "paradox of plenty."

post-confederation era, as observed in Chapter Five. This rushed modernization along mainland models was a typically (post)colonial process.

Colonialism is defined by the coexistence of two mutually exclusive worlds (Fanon 1968). Originally observed in Africa, the related experience was voiced for pre-confederation Newfoundland by Joey Smallwood in this way: “we have often felt in the past, when we learned something of the higher standards of the mainland, that such things belonged to another world, that they were not for us” (quoted in Crocker 2000, 84). Confederation, which ended the *de facto* colonial rule under Commission of Government, then bore the promise of closing the gap in control and living standards if the right processes were set into motion to create a future that provided “a movable, modular experience of the modern,” designed after the model of the metropolis (Crocker 2000, 86). Consequently, the coexistence of mutually exclusive worlds was replaced by the idea of a temporal succession from one to the other. As a result, in post-confederation Newfoundland, the present was devalued as backward, as “the past of a future” where Canadianization would be completed (89). Modernization by imitation was considered the single and infallible device to realize this predestined future, which rendered any adjustment to contingencies not only unnecessary but inconceivable. Failures along the way, which exposed differences between the periphery and the metropolis, were met by giving the same approach another shot. This processual fixedness created an experience of backwardness, repetition, and difference that Newfoundlanders shared with other (post)colonial peoples (Crocker 2000). I argue that a similar process and experience (with Canadian approaches as blueprints replaced by those of centres of the Global North more generally) is still at work today and that Newfoundland continues to be a (post)colonial locale. This is, for instance, reflected by the “stubborn persistence of 'high modernism'” (Bannister 2021, no page number) and the related continued propensity for megaprojects, as well as the widespread reliance on foreign expertise and capital, as described in the section on continued underdevelopment above and in Chapter Six.

Environmental Reterritorialization

Another response to colonial experiences that can be observed in Newfoundland is “environmental reterritorialization,” as described by Donelle Dreese (2002) in *Ecocriticism: Creating Self and Place in Environmental and American Indian Literatures*. Besides mythical

and psychic reterritorialization, Dreese introduces environmental reterritorialization as a literary response to the cultural and spatial alienation of the (post)colonial condition, a mechanism that she also refers to as “reinhabitory writing” (71). Paul Chafe (2008) has identified this practice of creating the “illusion of man mingling with homeland” (120) in Newfoundland fiction, notably in *Gaff Topsails* (Kavanagh 1996) and *The Colony of Unrequited Dreams* (Johnston 1999). The latter concludes with character Fielding's deliberations that Newfoundlanders “are a people on whose minds these images [of the land] have been imprinted. We are a people in whose bodies old sea-seeking rivers roar with blood” (Johnston 1999, 562). In *Gaff Topsails*, Chafe (2008) finds “the founding father of his village actually make love to the land in order to symbolically create a hybrid offspring that are as much island as they are human” (72). As described in the context of Newfoundlanders' intimacy with the land in Chapter Six, such “mingling” of human and environment can also be observed in Harold Horwood's *Tomorrow Will Be Sunday*, where the main character is “received” by the sea, and in Kenneth J. Harvey's *Blackstrap Hawco*, which contains a passage where the torturous pregnancy of an outport character infuses the natural surroundings.

Nostalgia and Radical Regionalism

Nostalgia and radical regionalism have been acknowledged as manifestations of the revalorization of local identity in postcolonial societies by various authors (Coulthard 2014; Dreese 2002; Gavrov and Klyukanov 2015; Stoler 2016; Tuck and McKenzie 2014). In Newfoundland, these tendencies have been observed by numerous scholars since the cultural revival in the 1970s (e.g. Gulliver 2014; Kelly and Yeoman 2010; Ormsby and King 2020; Overton 1996). It has been argued that the distinct nostalgic and regionalist sentiments were, at least in parts, a critical reaction to a federal government that was perceived as increasingly centralist and neocolonialist in the 1980s (Overton 1996). I argue that they were, moreover, the result of a rushed type of catch-up modernization that threatened traditional modes of life (as described above and developed in Chapter Five) and a long-term consequence of the loss of responsible government in 1934. The latter has also been observed by Paul Chafe (2008), who finds signs of what Baudrillard calls a “panicked nostalgia” in Newfoundland creative writing. According to Baudrillard, panicked nostalgia is indicative of the loss of power and “a society that cannot terminate its mourning” over that loss (quoted in Chafe 2008, 228).

Therefore, the development of enhanced propensities for nostalgia and radical regionalism in Newfoundland can, indeed, be understood as indicative of an array of (post)colonial experiences.[135]

A Cyclic Time Conception

By contradicting the "progressism" governing the colonizer mind (Sloterdijk 2013, 74), the prevalence of a cyclic time conception can be considered an indirect or secondary marker of (post)colonial subjects and locales. As developed in Chapter Four in the context of the effects of the ambivalence of autonomy and dependence in modern outports, the seasonal nature of the Atlantic fishery, in conjunction with its open access character and the socioeconomic implications of "truck" – a cashless credit system that served frontier economies – created a cyclic time conception in much of rural Newfoundland. At the beginning of the fishing year in spring, the local monopolist merchant gave credit in the form of supplies and gear to fishing families, which these would settle with readily cured saltfish in the fall before supplying themselves for the winter by trading what was left of the annual catch. In the following spring, the game started all over again.[136] While similar practices originally governed other North American locales whose European colonization was spurred by the Atlantic fishery, the truck system, and with it the cyclic episteme, survived in Newfoundland at least until confederation, that is, long after it had vanished elsewhere (Ernst 1990; Pope 2004). Newfoundland was different because these practices, which were commonly considered antiquated, were not simply imposed by necessity and external parties but also reinforced by the local population, as observed in Chapter Four. At the basis of this conservatism stood the profound dependence on the local merchant as well as external markets and politics, combined with a harsh climate, poor soils, and isolation, which prohibited outporters from breaking free from the annual cycle and changing the system. Instead, they learned how they could benefit from it. The motto that "every fishing year, like a tub, must stand on its own bottom"

---

[135] Clearly, Newfoundland nostalgia was also propelled by physical loss, notably in the First World War and in numerous natural and man-made disasters. Keeping the mourning of these tragedies alive is reflected in a wealth of monumental and nominal memorials. The most prominent example of the latter is, perhaps, Memorial University, which, like its predecessor Memorial College (as well as Memorial Stadium, which now houses a supermarket), commemorates the victims of the Great War. Moreover, the island is studded with physical monuments for the victims of both world wars and countless nautical disasters.

[136] Of course, this implied that the fish made over the summer amounted to settling the spring debt and providing for winter supplies. If the fishing year was bad, fishing families entered a spiral of increasing debt that they could only escape from through exceptional catches or favourable developments on international markets.

(Hiller 1990, 90), implied that they would not accumulate wealth and basically started from zero again each spring. However, it also meant they could not be held accountable for current or future debts out of past surpluses. Of course, by adhering to the cyclic system, outporters also protected their distinct autonomy as independent entrepreneurs during the fishing season.

Besides the incapacity for enacting change and the protection of spaces of autonomy, I suggest that contentment with a modest yet predictable lifestyle played into the longevity of the cyclic system in Newfoundland. Economic modesty, the incapacity or unwillingness to enact change, as well as the related cyclic episteme are clearly untypical for the colonizer mind, which is governed by a radically progressive, capitalist rationale (Coulthard 2014; Pasternak 2017; Sloterdijk 2013).

As the the production of saltfish has long ceased to be the mainstay of the Newfoundland economy and modernization and industrialization have established the progressive worldview within the local society and culture, one could argue that the cyclic episteme of outports is nothing but a memory. However, the extraction of fossil fuels, with their highly fluctuating prices, which has replaced the Atlantic fishery as the primary economy of the province, has introduced a new cycle to the local culture: that of economic boom and bust. The casualty with which most Newfoundlanders appear to put up with these cycles – or their failure to question the desirability of depending on the industry – suggests that, besides the local propensity for conservatism and the reluctance to change a running if fluctuating system, the familiarity with a cyclic lifestyle still resonates in the local culture. I will come back to this point in Chapter Nine.

***

This concludes my analysis of the substance of settler Newfoundlanders' position as (post)colonial subjects. It would also be worth studying how exactly the (post)colonial experiences relate to colonized claims. Notably, it would be interesting to learn why the verbalization of these claims appears to be a more recent phenomenon, although many of the (post)colonial experiences described above are situated in the more or less distant past. One reason for this delay might be that it takes living standards of a certain level to allow for increased reflection of the past and that this level was not lastingly and extensively secured until after confederation. Another could be that a cyclic lifestyle was not only fostered by but also generative of enhanced feelings of contentment, and hence, ideas of injustice only gained

strength after the cyclic episteme had waned. Leaving further investigation into this to potential future research, I will now return to my main thread. After evidencing how experiences of exploitation, alienation, and racialization have accumulated over time to create a specific (post)colonial reality in settler Newfoundland today, we are now set to probe whether that reality can be understood as informing another case of cultural ambivalence.

7.4 Colonial Ambivalence

In order to establish the colonial position of settler Newfoundlanders as another context where the lens of cultural ambivalence will further our understanding of the local culture, evidence for the simultaneous relevance of the settler population's contrasting roles as colonizers and (post)colonial subjects needs to be provided. Their role as (post)colonial subjects has been developed and fleshed out in the previous sections by providing evidence for various experiences related to (post)colonial marginalization and discrimination in settler Newfoundland, as well as by calling upon a number of related responses that parallel those in other (post)colonial societies. This suggests that assertions of being (or having been) colonized are not mere fantasies or fabrications but possess an empirical basis, even if this basis remains untapped as long as the claims are made without a proper rationale.

Settler Newfoundlanders' position as colonizers is much more straightforward. That does not diminish its potential for emotional or mental strain, however. Much like the (post)colonial position can be assumed to have informed the colonized claim, the colonizer role was and is at play in engendering a stance that is equally charged with sentiment. In parallel to propensities across Canada, that stance is created by the "constant reckoning of one's [settler colonial] complicity" (D'Arcangelis 2022, 156). Its embracement is arguably encountered mostly in intellectual circles, and, like the colonized claim, the related experience is, at times, emphatically voiced. A vivid example is Dorothy Vaandering's emotional statement during the Two-Eared Listening Gathering on restorative justice that she co-organized with *Saqamaw* (Chief) Mi'sel Joe at Signal Hill Campus in St. John's in November 2021: "What happened 500 years ago at first contact is still happening, and I'm responsible for that. We all are. ... We are not doing better, we are still colonizing."[137]

[137] A recording of the event is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6t1pz3joY0M. Vaandering's statement can be found 4:08:30 into the recording of day two.

Among the reasons for focusing on the colonizer position, grasping the profound and ongoing detrimental impact of European colonization on local Indigenous lives and the wish to assume responsibility can arguably be considered key. Settler feelings of shame or guilt augment the emotional strain. While these feelings are not unique to Newfoundland (Bateman and Pilkington 2011; Coulthard 2014; Weaver-Hightower 2017), they are deemed particularly distinct here due to the effacement of the Beothuk (Budgel 1992; Goldie 1989; Penashue and Yeoman 2018). The emotional charging that the colonizer position can imply for some settler Newfoundlanders is arguably further enhanced by the colonized claims of fellow islanders with a diametrically opposed perception. In turn, I suggest that the insistence on the colonizer role, which has become increasingly visible over the last years, is tailored to further fuel colonized claims. Being assigned the role of the invader and aggressor, as implied by the focus on the colonizer position, can be assumed to trouble many settler Newfoundlanders who feel they "have no alternative identity, no other homeland" (Bateman and Pilkington 2011, 3) and potentially prompt the retreat to the opposite pole in a mechanism of self-defence.[138]

Given the existence of two contrasting positions regarding the colonial role or self-conception within the Newfoundland settler society – which are also reflected in either accepting full responsibility for the disappearance of the Beothuk or "refus[ing] any collective responsibility for the actions of [one's] ancestors" (Budgel 1992, 16) – one could be inclined to think that this might represent another case of collective ambivalence where two camps within the collective oppose each other. Yet, I argue otherwise. Firstly, to establish that kind of collective ambivalence, the two opposing camps would need to make up for significant parts of the local population. I suggest, however, that, although the public discourse contains vocal expressions of both opposing conceptions, either position of focusing exclusively on one colonial role is held by minorities only. Secondly, I argue that the two camps are entrenched to a point where interaction and debate between them are virtually absent. This is, for instance, reflected in

[138] Note that, to my mind, there is an irony to the two poles and the related antagonistic camps identified here. Arguably, the intellectual elite that identifies predominantly with the colonizer position is largely situated in urban settings, close to cultural and academic institutions and activities. On the other hand, I suggest that the colonized claim is more widespread among Newfoundlanders, who grew up in rural settings and whose colonial experiences of exploitation, othering, and racialization have traditionally been particularly pronounced. The irony does not so much lie in the fact that the rural "colonized" population has, moreover, routinely been patronized by the urban elite. It lies in the exposure that the contemporary urban elite, whose focus on their colonizer role is closely related to efforts of opening ways to decolonize Indigenous peoples, appears to be little or less susceptible to recognizing and counteracting the continued marginalization of rural settler Newfoundlanders.

the lack of attention colonized claims have received within the academy. Without contact points between the two camps, however, there is no simultaneous relevance of the contrasting perspectives within the society, but merely two self-contained "bubbles" with the two opposing positions. Hence, rather than collective ambivalence, we face a divide running through a subgroup of the local settler society. Actual ambivalence within the realm of colonial self-conception in settler Newfoundland, I argue, is situated within the individual realm and becomes a collective condition because it is widespread across the local population. The colonizer/colonized divide comes into play as fuelling this collective ambivalence on the level of the individual, as I will describe in the following.

Issues and questions related to colonialism receive regular attention in the media and other cultural contexts today. This is why it is arguably difficult to evade the question of one's own position in the colonial context completely. Moreover, in Newfoundland, the determination with which the two camps described above defend their positions has not only fuelled the respective other position. It has also spread the awareness of the antagonistic conceptualizations of settler Newfoundlanders as colonizers and colonized across the wider population. While the colonized role is typically not provided with a deeper rationale, I argue that it resonates with many settlers because it is, indeed, part of their life reality, as the (post)colonial experiences and responses described earlier in this chapter testify. Together with the undeniable evidence for settler Newfoundlanders' colonizer position and the weight that ideas of self-conception undoubtedly hold, we can assume that the related debate is relevant even for those who are not directly involved. With large parts of the settler population exposed to two convincing but antagonistic models for their colonial identity, many of them do arguably not rule out one of them entirely. Even if one pole prevails, the other continues to weigh in because self-conception and identity are not fixed but dynamic principles that are constantly being renegotiated, notably in (post)colonial settings (Bell 2014; Coulthard 2014; Day 2000; Mocan 2022).[139] Consequently, we can assume that large parts of settler Newfoundlanders find themselves in the field of tension between two opposing roles regarding their colonial identity. In other words, they can be considered ambivalent.

[139] Note that this is, in principle, also true for members of the antagonistic colonizer and colonized camps if we take into account how one position is susceptible to being fuelled by the other.

Settler Newfoundlanders' Colonial Ambivalence in Context

The studies that offer a postcolonial reading of settler Newfoundland mentioned at the outset and in section 7.3 imply the recognition of the colonial position of its population as ambivalent in principle. However, with a focus on the postcolonial side, they acknowledge the colonizer side only implicitly and do not focus on the concurrence of both or the tension it creates. Perhaps the closest call to an explicit acknowledgement of a colonizer-(post)colonial subject ambivalence in settler Newfoundland that I am aware of is by Paul Chafe in the context of his study of Wayne Johnston's *Colony of Unrequited Dreams* (2003). Although Chafe alternates between speaking of the hybridity and the ambivalence of "'Newfoundlandness'" (333) that a postcolonial reading of the novel reveals, he appears to acknowledge the tension it implies when he concludes that either strand of the plural local identity "is neither right nor wrong but both" (333). Yet, Chafe waters down the colonized experience of settler Newfoundlanders by pointing out that "[p]overty and struggle are undeniably and inextricably part of Newfoundland history, but the source of this suffering is not a colonizing power bent on domination of Newfoundlanders" (332). In contrast, I hold that colonial policies and practices of the colonizing power have, in fact, enhanced the suffering. Despite the absence of physical violence, continued colonial exploitation and underdevelopment have often tipped the scales of a precarious industry and lifestyle towards failure and physical want.

Seen in conjunction with actualizations of colonial ambivalence identified in other settler-colonial settings, the case of settler Newfoundlanders adds a new facet to the spectrum. Those other settings include a group colonizing another country because they were colonized at home, like the Welsh who settled in Patagonia in the nineteenth century (Taylor 2018); or a population playing both colonizer and colonized roles in a triad of Others, like the Egyptians who, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, upheld a domestic empire on the backs of the Sudanese while being colonized by the British (Troutt Powell 2003). A contemporary variant of ambivalence in a racialized neocolonial space is the service of African American soldiers on the Japanese island of Okinawa, a U.S. territory until 1972 and still the site of massive U.S. military presence today. Racialized and marginalized at home, these soldiers are part of what Okinawans experience as a colonizing force (Caldwell 2017).

Finally, recognizing settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalence of being both colonizers and (post)colonial subjects as one more actualization of the impossibility of a clear divide between colonial positions also further supports the critique of the colonizer/colonized binary, which Edward

Said (1994) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) already expressed in the 1990s. Their observation that the affairs of colonizers and colonized are necessarily intertwined, overlapping, and interdependent inspired me to create the two tableaus shown in figure 7.2. Based on the observation that, in writing, the opposed positions of colonizer and colonized are distinguished merely by their end letters, “r” and “d,” I have merged these letters through digital collage in order to visually reference the inseparability of the two roles.[140] The globe and the quilt that served as projection grounds for these merged r/d characters are metaphors for the intertwining of colonizer and colonized affairs in abstract imperialistic as well as practical, site-specific contexts, in institutionalized and domestic spheres. The distortion and texturing of the projections effected by the curvature of the globe and the ripples in the quilt fabric visualize the dependence of the overlapping colonizer-colonized relations on spanning conceptualizations as well as local circumstances.

Figure 7.2: *colonizeR/D* (Rangsch 2022), diptych, photographs of projections;
visual interpretation of the intertwining of colonizer and colonized affairs in global and domestic spheres

7.5 Expressions and Effects: The Colonial Ambivalence at Work

This section is devoted to presenting the colonial ambivalence at work as a shaping force in the Newfoundland society and culture by presenting and studying its manifestations and effects. Again, manifestations are here understood as expressions that mirror the underlying ambivalence, whereas transcriptions of the ambivalence, which do not reproduce the pattern of the two opposites, are termed effects. Together, they shed new light on the immediate contexts at hand and nuance the image of the place as a whole.

[140] Note that a similar argument can be made for other opposing active/passive-tense pairs, like exploiter-exploited, offender-offended, and also the potentially more benign lover-loved.

Multifaceted Self-Othering

One way settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalence of being both colonizers and (post)colonial subjects manifests itself is through self-othering, and it has done so in at least three different contexts. Self-othering was a case in point when, following the recommendation of the Royal Commission under Lord Amulree, the Newfoundland legislature voted itself out of existence in 1933, an act and context that have been subject to intense studies (e.g. Long 2005; Crocker 2016; O'Flaherty 2005). Authors agree in their astonishment about the country's governmental devolution to a colonial level, which was otherwise reserved for "non-white" peoples at the time. What, to my mind, is at least as remarkable as a "white" population falling under colonial rule in the twentieth century, is the observation that it did so largely voluntarily. The abandonment of responsible government may have been a requirement for receiving indispensable financial support from Britain, but it also found backing for its own sake within the population. Frustrated with constant economic struggle and the ineptness of local politics, as revealed by the Hollis Walker report published in 1927 (compare Chapter Five), many interviewees of the Royal Commission expressed the opinion that the country needed a break from self-governance (Long 2005). Even leading political figures like union leader William Coaker or then-Prime Minister Frederic Alderdice came to this conclusion. By actively suspending their sovereignty, I argue, settler Newfoundlanders were acting as colonizers upon themselves, which is why this process can be viewed as an expression of the simultaneous relevance of the positions of the colonizer and the colonial subject. As such, the colonizer-(post)colonial subject ambivalence gives enhanced comprehensibility to this "auto-immune response" of the state (Derrida quoted in Crocker 2016, 56), which is widely considered exceptional if not anomalous. The same holds for Newfoundland's subsequent status under Commission of Government, which, for lack of comparison, has been described as a "Dominion-in-abeyance" (Crocker 2016, 55) and a "possession ruled directly by Commissioners of Government holed up in a hotel like travelling salesmen" (Holland 1998, 141). Moreover, the fact that Newfoundlanders failed to eventually demand the end of Commission of Government but had to be coaxed into choosing a proper mode of governance by Britain and Canada (Neary 1980) becomes comprehensible against the background that the voluntariness to give up self-governance in the first place can be understood as an expression of self-othering rooted in the local colonial ambivalence.

Self-othering was also at play, I contend, when the new provincial museum, gallery and archives The Rooms was built in the early 2000s. At the time, the building dimensions, in conjunction with the building site, have been contested because the new structure replaced the nearby (Roman-Catholic) Basilica as the city's dominant architectural element (Belbin 2003; Westcott 2003). The main controversy around the project, however, developed around its construction on the site of Fort Townshend, an eighteenth-century British star fort that was the seat of Newfoundland's first resident governor and a National Historic Site since 1951 (Devlin Trew 2005; Pope 2000). Given the availability of other building sites and the option to sidestep some extremely well preserved parts of the fort on the same site, its ultimate abandonment for the construction of a new institution intended to conserve, interpret, and promote the local culture and heritage is not only absurd. It resembles a colonial act, where the material heritage of one culture is erased by forcefully imposing manifestations of another – except that the two cultures were indeed the same, namely the local settler culture.[141] This is not to say that Newfoundland is unique in relinquishing or damaging historical structures for the sake of new constructions. Yet, the extent of the damage and the lack of sensitivity and understanding with which it was done are arguably exceptional, notably at a time that was neither the early nor the mid-twentieth century but the early 2000s. In this context, it is interesting to note that twenty-five years earlier, the provincial government of the day decided to move the construction of the new Constabulary Headquarters away from the Fort Townshend site, when a study found extensive eighteenth-century remains (Pope 2000). This can be understood as an indicator that the impact of the colonial ambivalence – and with it the propensity for self-othering – has gathered in strength in the province in the period between 1975 and 2000. This is also the time when Newfoundlanders became prone to an increased propensity for pessimism, and I will revisit this point in the related discussion below.

Self-othering in contemporary Newfoundland can also be observed in tourism ads conceived by government and industry stakeholders (see figure 7.3). Irrespective of continued economic struggle, industrialization, resettlement, resource depletion, and out-migration, the quaint fishing outport continues to be promoted as the scenic and unchanging stronghold of Newfoundland society and culture (Brown 2018; Chafe 2003a; Hall 2019; Moore 2011; Overton

[141] Note that central parts of the remains of the fort are, in fact, not permanently destroyed (yet), but have been awaiting – poorly protected – their archaeological preparation and interpretation on Level Zero of The Rooms for the past twenty years now.

1996). The outport also remains a source of inspiration for local writers and visual artists alongside less conventional trends. Given that popular creative output is both a reflection of existing trends and a trendsetting vehicle, as are advertising campaigns, many, notably urban middle-class Newfoundlanders, fall for the unchanging and eternally quaint version of their culture, too, as has also been observed by James Overton (1988).

Figure 7.3: Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism (n.d.) advertisements stereotyping rural Newfoundland; left and centre: stills from the video *Iceberg Alley*, right: ad promoting the Trinity region

Colonizers fixing colonized peoples and their cultures near the time of colonization is a common colonial phenomenon (Holly 2003; Memmi 2003; Smith 1999). Newfoundland outports were, of course, only created after colonization, but they can be viewed as among the first expressions of the local settler culture. This epitome of local culture has been frozen in time by contemporary settlers to set the place and its people apart and "sell" them as "exotic" and anachronistic and ultimately "other" than the Western spheres of which they are, in fact, a part. Clearly, reenacting historical cultural elements is a strategy of tourist promotion around the globe. Newfoundland outport life, however, is not presented as a reenactment but as the "essence" of present-day Newfoundland, and many Newfoundlanders equally embrace this practice of "keeping the past on life support" (Chafe 2003a, 75).

The above instances of self-othering bear arguably little creativity. In general, however, othering oneself is recognized as a highly stimulating process that is most effectively accomplished by artists and propelled by art. As Marcel Proust puts it: "by art alone we are able to get outside ourselves, to know what another sees of this universe which for him is not ours, the landscapes of which would remain as unknown to us as those of the moon" (quoted in Mocan 2022, 74–75). The reason why the instances of self-othering described above do not evoke such inspiration, I suggest, is two-fold. For one, they follow the prescribed pattern of colonialism rather than creating new angles. For another, the creative version of self-othering

is based on individual change of perspective and experience. In contrast, the cases described here feature *collective* self-othering, where one group of Newfoundlanders others another without shifting its angle. An exception was the legislature voting itself out of existence, but – with the self-contempt involved – this case of self-othering was not a source of stimulation either.

Disappearing Settlers

The other pillar of Newfoundland tourist promotion by industry and government besides the outport is the natural environment. In this context, we find another colonial dynamic at work among settler Newfoundlanders: the "disappearing" of people. This was, for instance, the case in the creation of Gros Morne National Park in 1973, when a cultural landscape was re-imagined and subsequently reconstructed as "pristine" nature, and human presence became restricted to a few enclaves whose inhabitants lost many of their traditional rights to local resources (Fife 2006; Overton 1996). Clearly, we do not find individual settler Newfoundlanders disappearing themselves, but distant or detached stakeholders rendering residents of tourist regions invisible. In fact, the phenomenon is unthinkable without the urban/rural and class divides within the population, and it also further entrenches them. Moreover, federal as well as foreign interests – like Parks Canada policies or the preferences of visitors from metropolitan regions in North America and Europe – play alongside provincial ones in this context (Fife 2006). Nonetheless, creating a *terra nullius* for visitors to discover and explore by both physically and conceptually removing settlers reproduces a colonial practice, as does their exoticizing and freezing in time (Coulthard 2014; Cronon 1996). As such, the disappearing of settlers by local stakeholders illustrates the ambivalent colonial position of the settler population as a whole because its representatives figure on both ends of the process, in the role of the colonizer and in the role of the colonial subject.

***

From immediate expressions of the colonial ambivalence in settler Newfoundland, we now turn to phenomena that can be viewed as the result of a mental processing of the underlying ambivalence. As such, they are psychological in nature and, hence, more speculative than the more tangible expressions presented above.

Profound Pessimism

Settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalent position as colonizers and (post)colonial subjects, I argue, is among the roots of a distinct pessimism in the local settler society. To demonstrate this, I will first trace that tendency in Newfoundland.

The idea that the Newfoundland settler population had been subject to oppression, exploitation, and failure through much of their history has been widespread at least since D.W. Prowse published his *History of Newfoundland* in 1895. However, as mentioned above in the context of self-othering, the dominant rationale was for long that this fate could and would be overcome (Bannister 2003a). It was only in the post-Smallwood era that this optimism gave way to the narrative that Newfoundland and Newfoundlanders were, indeed, "haunted" by their past, "trapped by it, forced to endure seemingly endless cycles of economic failure and social misery" (126). This view has since been perpetuated not only by politicians such as Brian Peckford but by authors as diverse as F.L. Jackson, Ray Guy, Wayne Johnston, and Patrick O'Flaherty (Bannister 2003a). Clearly, self-conceptions of being haunted and trapped in misery and failure provide the observation that "[p]essimism is a proud pastime in Newfoundland and Labrador" (Brown 2018; no page number) with a strong inner rationale. Performer and writer Andy Jones (2021) frames Newfoundlanders' "deep-rooted suspicion and fear of the future" or "'future-pessimism'" by creating a specific Newfoundland future tense: "'Future Possible, Possibly Horrible' (or 'FutPoss' for short)" (41).

Settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalence of being both colonizer and (post)colonial subjects helps explain the move from general optimism to distinct pessimism in the post-Smallwood era. On the one hand, the failed socioeconomic aspirations of the Smallwood government jeopardized Newfoundlanders' self-image as ultimately able "masters" of the land and its potentialities or, in brief, as colonizers. On the other hand, Smallwood's increasingly paternalistic style of governance, together with growing pressures from the federal government, as the "have-not" status of the province solidified, fed into an enhanced experience of heteronomy, disregard, and marginalization. The combination of conceiving of themselves as failed colonizers and experiences of being viewed and treated like (post)colonial subjects, I suggest, then lastingly affected the local population's confidence and optimism.

Viewed in the light of the shift in the local narrative from confidence to being haunted by a past of failure and misery in the post-Smallwood era, the move from keeping the ruins of

Fort Towshend intact in 1975 to basically sacrificing them for The Rooms in the early 2000s acquires new meaning as well. The shift in narrative implies a shift in the conception and valuing of the colonial past, of which the fort can be considered a materialization: a past that settler Newfoundlanders once embraced became something they felt trapped in. As a result, breaking free from that past, if symbolically, by means of an architectural statement, won over preserving it.

A Culture of Blaming

The amplified occurrence of the concept of blame in the Newfoundland culture has already been mentioned in the context of the local tendency for "third world" nationalism above. I argue that it can moreover be understood as another effect of the local colonizer-(post)colonial subject ambivalence. Blame, or the report of blame, is ubiquitous with respect to socioeconomic struggle and failure in Newfoundland,[142] and it is also widespread with respect to ecological issues (e.g. Fife 2010; Fusco 2007b; Sweeney 1996) and Indigenous affairs (e.g. Crocker 2020; Brantlinger 2018; Budgel 1992; Pittman and Cowling 1982).[143] It is worth noting that these sources do by no means exclusively observe (or call for) settler Newfoundlanders blaming themselves. Indeed, in at least as many cases, Newfoundlanders are found to blame other Newfoundlanders or external parties, like foreign capital or the British and, since confederation, the Canadian government. Even supernatural scapegoats are called upon as evidenced by the local tradition of ascribing perturbations and shortcomings within domestic spheres to fairies (Rieti 1991).[144]

How does this culture of blaming relate to the simultaneous relevance of the positions of colonizer and (post)colonial subject? I suggest that it is a second-stage reaction to the dual undermining of confidence described in the previous section. When the psycho-emotional load of deep pessimism becomes unbearable, actively blaming someone or something (the Newfoundland weather and geography figure in the spectrum of blame as well) is a first attempt to break free from the profound passivity it implies. Blaming can also be understood to

[142] See, for instance, Baker 2014, Blackmore 2003, Cadigan 2009b, Chafe 2008, Hiller 2007, House 1999, Jackson 1984, McBride 2002, O'Flaherty 1975, Pope 2004, Roberts 2016, Sider 1986, Smallwood 1974, Webb 2015, Withers 2016, and sources therein.

[143] Note that settler Newfoundlanders' self-blame for Indigenous harm is a clearly self-apologetic and highly problematic stance. Its reference here is not to be understood as a support of the stance but merely serves to illustrate the multifaceted settler culture of blaming.

[144] Barbara Rieti's book *Strange Terrain: The Fairy World in Newfoundland*, first published in 1991, has been re-edited in 2021, a testimony to the subject's continued relevance in Newfoundland.

function as a safety valve when the pressure becomes too high, much as pointlessly abusing or loving the land has been described as having the potential to enhance the capacity to endure physical adversities in the previous chapter. Other than love or abuse, however, blaming is not exactly taking action yet. Rather, it is a precondition that identifies one or more leverage points deemed promising for potential engagement. In Newfoundland, the process arguably often stops short here, as people content themselves with blaming. I imagine the reason lies again in the double encroachment on self-esteem and confidence induced by their colonial ambivalence, which Newfoundlanders cannot entirely evade. Reaching this impasse for taking action can be accelerated by uncertainty about who is to blame, oneself or others, as described by Gerard Blackmore (2003) for Newfoundland in the 1930s and 1940s. Or it can be fostered by being blamed from the outside, like, for instance, in the 1967 Pushie Report, which was reminiscent of the 1933 Amulree Report in ascribing socioeconomic failures to local pitfalls in administration and morale (Webb 2015).

Pessimism and a compromised capacity for agency are clearly undesirable consequences of the colonial ambivalence in settler Newfoundland, and the culture of blaming is not appealing in itself either. However, the complex spectrum of blame found in Newfoundland – blaming oneself, blaming a wide range of others, being blamed by insiders and outsiders, and blaming for the sake of blaming despite confusion about who is to blame – also appears to represent a mechanism to counter an overload of pessimism or lack of confidence. It can, thus, be considered a strategy to prevent damage beyond mere inaction, like mental breakdowns or depression. In fact, I suggest that the distinct capacity to endure we have found in Chapters Three and Four is further enhanced by the strategy of finding someone or something to blame for the misery and frustration encountered.

***

The manifestations and effects identified above suggest that settler Newfoundlanders' colonial ambivalence was and is neither creative nor productive. The disappearing of people, be they part of one's own collective or not, is always a disruptive act, and pessimism is arguably little stimulating, too. Whereas self-othering bears creative potential in principle, the expressions found on the island were or are debilitating, and the productive potential of the culture of blaming is limited in the sense that it does nothing to truly advance a situation or condition but merely helps to endure further.

The reason for the largely negative impact of the colonial ambivalence in Newfoundland, I contend, lies again in the refusal or inability to embrace it, which precludes developing its creative potential. I suggest that this refusal can, in turn, be traced to the observation that neither of the opposing positions has ever been conceived as clearly desirable and robustly so. Settler Newfoundlanders, like settler colonizers more generally, were and are exposed to the anxiety related to the urge of belonging to a place their ancestors have, in fact, invaded (Mackey 2016). Moreover, today, even their privileges have become uncomfortable, as the understanding that they are illegitimate has finally entered the broader discourse. This is why the colonizer role is clearly not convenient and rarely fully acknowledged. An exception is the group of largely intellectual background mentioned further above who embrace the colonizer role despite the discomfort it implies. The position of the (post)colonial subject, on the other hand, is obviously not a role to be easily adopted either. Again, the minority uttering nonreflective colonized claims is not representative of the settler population at large. For the majority of settler Newfoundlanders, the undesirability of both positions arguably inhibits the wish and will to fully subscribe to either one of them. Together with their relevance for settler Newfoundlanders' colonial identity, which makes it difficult to escape them, this fosters the colonial ambivalence, as described earlier in this chapter. Being situated in the field of tension between two problematic positions, however, that ambivalence can be considered a particularly uncomfortable condition that is avoided or deferred rather than acknowledged or embraced.

7.6 Correlations with Instances of Cultural Ambivalence Studied in Previous Chapters

If we now look at the links between the colonial ambivalence of settler Newfoundlanders and the four instances of cultural ambivalence studied earlier, we find a wide variety of correlations. The most direct and intense is arguably the correlation with the ambivalence towards the land, which includes conceptual, psychological, and causal elements.

Affection–Abuse Ambivalence Towards the Land

Environmental abuse of foreign lands in the form of radical resource extraction is a central part of the concept of the colonizer. At the same time, colonial subjects exist only in their role as belonging to and forming part of those foreign lands. The ambivalent colonial

position of Newfoundlanders can, thus, be viewed as reflected in concepts of abuse of and union with the land.

Psychologically, the colonizer can be understood to feel entitled to exploit or even abuse the land. Experiences of being colonized, on the other hand, tend to propel the desire for intimacy and union with the land, as reflected in the mechanism of environmental reterritorialization described above. Settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalent position as colonizers and (post)colonial subjects can, thus, be understood as having fostered propensities for both abuse of and longing for union with the land, thus adding a causal element to this link.

The observation that both types of ambivalence facilitate practices that can enhance the capacity for endurance (here, through blaming, and there, through abusing or loving the land at one's discretion, as argued in Chapter Six) adds a secondary link between the two.

British Ambivalence Towards Settlement

The ambivalence of British stakeholders towards settlement on the island can be argued to have fostered the colonial ambivalence along the following line of thought. Encouraging settlement in overseas locales meant facilitating "typical" settler colonies with "typical" settler colonizers. Discouraging or impeding settlement, on the other hand, created an antagonism between the metropolis and the settler population that was otherwise reserved for colonial subjects. Being exposed to the related ambivalence assigned settler Newfoundlanders both colonial positions at once. With the British ambivalence towards settlement furthering the colonizer-(post)colonial subject ambivalence, which, in turn, advanced the ambivalence towards the land, the causal link between opposition and support of settlement on the one hand and the ambivalent relationship with the land on the other, which I have traced in the previous chapter, is further substantiated.

The shared effect of enhancing the capacity for endurance adds a secondary link between the British ambivalence towards settlement and Newfoundlanders' colonial ambivalence. With endurance fostered by three different instances of cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland, that condition must clearly not be neglected when addressing related issues. For instance, when Newfoundlanders' capacity for endurance framed as "hardiness" is taken as an excuse for lacking services such as the proper snow clearing of sidewalks (Roseman and Yeoman 2024), it means that the local authorities exploit the effects of cultural ambivalence to refrain from their responsibilities.

More abstractly, the various ways in which we have found ambivalence to foster endurance suggest that this is a more general mechanism. The connection between the two conditions or phenomena is also reflected in the fact that they can have contrasting implications. Depending on context, both ambivalence and endurance can be either enabling or debilitating. Moreover, I suggest that the question which effect is evoked is related to the awareness of the underlying condition.

Autonomy–Dependence Ambivalence

There is also a correlation between the colonial ambivalence of the local settler population and the autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports. In fact, viewed from today, this autonomy-dependence ambivalence can be understood as a manifestation or immediate effect of the colonial ambivalence. While there was arguably little explicit awareness of colonial roles in rural Newfoundland in the era of the modern outport,[145] the concurrence of autonomy and dependence that shaped the local economy and society at the time reflects the combination of colonizer and colonial subject roles. The autonomous Newfoundland resident fishing families of European descent were prime examples of settler colonizers. Their profound dependence on distant and detached parties located in Britain and later in St. John's, on the other hand, reflected outporters' position on the lower end of the colonial power hierarchy. Hence, viewed in the light of Newfoundlanders' colonial ambivalence, the autonomy-dependence in modern outports comes as no surprise.

The correlation between concepts of autonomy and dependence on the one hand and colonizer and (post)colonial subject on the other also holds on a more abstract level beyond the context of the modern outport. This becomes clear if we acknowledge that autonomy is a general characteristic of those who colonize, whereas colonial subjects lose their autonomy and become dependent on external forces in the process of colonization. As a consequence, there is reason to assume that, in Newfoundland, the autonomy-dependence ambivalence transcended the realm of the modern outport, for which it was studied in Chapter Four. With the colonial ambivalence still at work today, I suggest that the ambivalence of autonomy and dependence is equally still part of the local culture, although the factual dependence of contemporary settlers as (post)colonial subjects is clearly diminished. For instance, Newfoundlanders' reputation as strong individualists on the level of their immediate affairs meets a propensity for strongman politics, as argued in the

[145] This was roughly the period from the 1830s to the late 1930s.

section on the presence of “third-world” nationalism earlier in this chapter. This means that autonomy within everyday spheres meets the willingness to sign over one's interests and rely or depend on someone else on larger scales.

An enhanced ambivalence of autonomy and dependence could also be observed during the Newfoundland Renaissance. The artworks created during this period were characterized by both artistic autonomy and reliance on the local heritage. Similar scenarios could be found in other postcolonial places at the time, as, for instance, in Jamaica (Nettleford 2007). Here as much as there, the field of tension between regionalism and nostalgia on the one hand and globalization and experimentation on the other inspired an increased creative activity across artistic fields, and the products share a pronounced artistic originality. With the Newfoundland Renaissance being spurred by the ambivalent politics of the Smallwood government, as described in Chapter Five, this establishes another correlation between the modernization-preservation ambivalence and the more sweeping concurrent relevance of autonomy and dependence in the Newfoundland culture, of which the autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports was but as a particularly vibrant expression.

Modernization–Cultural Preservation Ambivalence

There is a dual psychological correlation between the colonial ambivalence and that of concurrent efforts of modernization and cultural preservation. On the one hand, colonizers are prone to use Western blueprints for engendering “progress” in the colony through modernization, whereas colonial subjects can be assumed to defend their traditional culture against those efforts. On the other, colonizers are known to cherish and reproduce their culture in the colony, whereas underdeveloped postcolonial societies often feel the urge to catch up with metropolitan standards by modernizing along their models (compare the passage on “Postcolonial Modernization” in section 7.3 above).

With the colonial ambivalence fostering concurrent inclinations to modernize and preserve the local culture in two ways, the correlation between the two clearly also implies a causal element. Moreover, the observation that (post)colonial subjects can be understood as both prone to eroding their traditional culture through catch-up modernization and defending it through preservation means that (post)colonial subjects can be understood as featuring a related ambivalence, irrespective of the colonial ambivalence studied here. This means that the

modernization-preservation ambivalence studied in Chapter Five is, indeed, another indicator of the (post)colonial character of the Newfoundland society. The recognition in the previous section that the Newfoundland Cultural Revival, which we identified as an effect of concurrent efforts to modernize and preserve on multiple levels, can be considered as a typical postcolonial revalorization of local culture further substantiates this.

Finally, we observed that the colonial ambivalence further entrenches the urban/rural divide because it fosters the othering and disappearing of rural Newfoundlanders by largely urban stakeholders. This adds a secondary correlation with the modernization-preservation ambivalence, which was also found to spur that divide.

7.7 Conclusion

The ambivalence of settler Newfoundlanders' colonial position has been presented at work in the local society and culture in various ways. The non-creative variants of self-othering described above perpetuate colonial concepts and practices, as does the disappearing of fellow Newfoundlanders. Moreover, when industry stakeholders, authorities, or city dwellers other or disappear rural residents, as has been the case in the context of tourism in Newfoundland, this shows a rift running through the local population that follows the urban/rural divide already addressed in Chapter Five. Finally, that kind of self-othering can also be understood as a variation of the "brothers and rivals" pattern developed in the context of the autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports in Chapter Four.[146] Of course, these parallels in effects and manifestations across different instances of cultural ambivalence come as no surprise, given their conceptual, causal, and psychological correlations exposed in the previous section.

Settler Newfoundlanders' colonial ambivalence has also impacted their perception and representation from the outside, as, for instance, expressed by the thirty-four episodes and four seasons of Discovery Channel's *Coldwater Cowboys* aired between 2014 and 2017. As Vicki Hallett (2017) observes, the Newfoundland fishermen, who are the serial's protagonists, "are paradoxically positioned as familiar and strange, traditional and modern, white yet also indigenized" (19). Given the overlap of paradox and ambivalence developed in Chapter Two and the tensions involved, I suggest that what Hallett terms "paradoxical" has a lot in common with our understanding of ambivalent.

[146] Note that I am here calling on Melvin Firestone's (1967) outport study *Brothers and Rivals.*

Another way Newfoundlanders' colonial ambivalence radiates beyond the local society is its impact on the capacity for productive interaction. Collective self-othering – as in the abandonment of responsible government in 1933 or in adopting the tourism industry's image of the local culture as exotic and frozen in time – can be read as an indicator of a problematic self-conception, as can propensities for pessimism and blaming. These mindsets, together with the long-standing postcolonial urge to catch up with more prosperous societies and the sense of inferiority it implies, form a psychological canon that can be assumed to compromise the capacity for productive interaction and successful negotiation with external parties. This is reflected in recurring and often unproductive controversies with Ottawa over the fisheries, equalization payments, or transportation infrastructure, the constant obsession with attracting foreign investors at the cost of sustainable provincial benefits, or the flawed hydro deal with Quebec, which spawned what Cabot Martin (2014) called the "Muskrat Madness" and – with the Brinco-Hydro Quebec contract ending in 2041 – is about to enter the next round.

I want to close this chapter by revisiting the vision of a recent study, assessing its chances today, and giving a related outlook. In 2018, Susan Manning suggested that acknowledging the history and impact of settler colonialism besides the then-dominant narrative of settler Newfoundlanders as colonized (by Britain or Canada) in the framework of comparative colonialisms, "creates a starting place for building authentic and accountable solidarities between Indigenous and settler Newfoundlanders" (314). Today, only a few years later, we find that the shift in the colonial narrative Manning called for has missed its target because it has been over-accomplished in the following sense. Not only has a change in the public discourse's focus ascertained that arguably every Newfoundlander is now aware of the settler colonial history of the place. To my understanding, within the last few years, the public discourse regarding settler Newfoundlanders' colonial role has moved from the colonized narrative and the ignorance or denial of their colonizer position to the other extreme that focuses on their colonizer position alone and neglects their colonized experiences and role as (post)colonial subjects. This quick shift in public emphasis, I suggest, is another indicator of the relevance of both opposing perspectives and, hence, the ambivalence related to colonialism in settler Newfoundland because there appears to be no middle ground. Above all, however, it means that Manning's vision of enhanced Indigenous-settler solidarities cannot be met today either, as we are again far from the coexistence of both narratives.

Chapter Eight: The Island of Newfoundland as Centre and Periphery and the Web of Cultural Ambivalence

After studying three instances of cultural ambivalence situated in specific historical contexts and two that can be traced across settler Newfoundland history to the present day, this chapter addresses a largely ahistorical variant: the ambivalence of the island of Newfoundland as both centre and periphery. It is a condition that can be traced to the island's specific location in the North Atlantic. Situated in-between America and Europe – or, as Wayne Fife and Sharon Roseman (2015) put it, "vis-à-vis" both (159) – the large island lies off the edge of one continent, yet central en route from what was once the "Old World" to the "New," or vice versa. As described in the introduction, it was an experience related to the centre-periphery ambivalence that first startled me about the place and sent me on the journey of writing this thesis. Hence, this chapter brings my study full circle.

Peripheral is here understood as interchangeable with marginal – thus reproducing Rob Shields' terminology in *Places on the Margin* (1991) –, and I use the noun marginality, rather than peripherality, to refer to the related condition. Unlike Shields, I do not understand marginality (or peripherality, for that matter) in the sense of cultural deviation from the norms of the larger society. Rather, I conceive it in the arguably more conservative sense of the lack of influence, participation, and interference as prompted by the physical and/or socioeconomic distance from the centres of power. Of course, cultural deviation or particularity is frequently a consequence of such distance, too.

In what follows, I will first establish Newfoundland's centrality, as reflected in its central role in Western history.[147] This is accomplished by listing pioneering events and achievements between circa 1000 and 1919 that are inextricably linked with the place and its situation between the continents. Given these achievements and taking a very recent development into account, I suggest that the surfacing of Newfoundland's centrality can be related to times of large-scale upheaval. On the other hand, I will show how the island's specific situation off and between two continents and worlds caused continued marginality with regard to economic and societal affairs.

[147] Note that ideas of the "Western" world and history can ultimately be traced to a shift in the European focus from the "Orient" to the West, which emerged with the western voyages in the fifteenth century (Sloterdijk 2013). I am using the term "Western" to both indicate its European origin and relativize its reach.

The contemporary centre-periphery ambivalence of the place is then established based on the argument that, besides the continued socioeconomic marginality, the past centrality is still very palpable in Newfoundland today, thus creating two distinct and conflicting experiences.

The observation that the island occupied a position as both socioeconomic centre and periphery in the context of the early-modern Atlantic trading triangle between Britain, Newfoundland, and the Mediterranean shows how the specific location once induced an actual concurrence of the two contrasting characteristics. While today's experience of concurrent centrality and marginality is, in principle, independent of this observation, it provides a backdrop, which, to my mind, enriches our understanding and appreciation of the contemporary ambivalence. Moreover, the early-modern context showcases the creative exploitation of the centre-periphery ambivalence of the place.

The centre-periphery ambivalence of Newfoundland is then shown to be at work in the local culture by means of various manifestations and effects, including its strategic relevance, conflicting island and mainland conceptions of the place, creative visual representations, and the inconsistency of the local discourse on ferry services. Tracing correlations between the centre-periphery ambivalence and the instances studied in earlier chapters completes the web of cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland as based on the analysis in this case study. A visual representation of the web provides a synoptic view that allows for a number of observations regarding individual instances of cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland as well as the overarching ambivalent climate they create.

8.1 A Hotspot in Western History

This section presents Newfoundland as a central spot in the history of Europe and North America by listing a number of specific achievements with wide-ranging ramifications that are inextricably linked with the island. After contemplating the impact of these achievements and the developments they entailed, I conclude with speculations about a pattern behind Newfoundland's appearances on the world map.

The first historical milestone related to Newfoundland I want to refer to is the completion of the encircling of the globe by humankind. It was first given evidence when – inspired by the medieval Icelandic *Vinland Sagas*[148] – Norwegian adventurer Helge Ingstad and his wife,

[148] Vinland, the wine land, was the name given in the sagas to denote the western destination of the Norse voyages, where, purportedly, grapes grew wildly (Magnusson 1965).

archaeologist Anne-Stine Ingstad, together with their team, found remains of a Norse camp at today's L'Anse aux Meadows on the tip of the Great Northern Peninsula in the 1960s (Ingstad and Ingstad 1985; Wallace 2009). At the time, some of the artefacts found on site could unequivocally be related to a Norse colony in Greenland, and, in 2021, some wooden specimens from the Norse strata in L'Anse aux Meadows were precisely dated to the year 1021 (Kuitems et al. 2022). Together with our knowledge about the prehistoric human migration from Africa to Europe, Asia, and all parts of the Americas from there, the crossing of the Atlantic by the Norse around the year 1000 closed the last gap in the human journey around the globe, predating Columbus' voyages by roughly five centuries. In recognition of this event, the archaeological site in L'Anse aux Meadows was recognized as one of the first UNESCO World Heritage Sites in 1978.[149]

There can be no doubt that the specific geographic location of Newfoundland was central in making it the scene of this conceptually outstanding moment in human history, and the same holds for another pioneering achievement 850 years later. Seen from Europe, Newfoundland is the closest destination in North America. Its closest opposite in Europe is Ireland. It is, thus, no surprise that American entrepreneur Cyrus W. Field, when he first conceived of a submarine telegraph cable across the Atlantic in the mid-nineteenth century, thought of laying it between Ireland and Newfoundland. The endeavour of spanning a subsea distance of over three thousand kilometres with a telegraph cable was not only of an immense economic scale, it also pushed the boundaries of contemporary scientific knowledge, engineering skills, and technical competence. As a result, it took five attempts before the first reliably operational transatlantic telegraph cable was landed from aboard the *SS Great Eastern* into Heart's Content, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland, on July 27th, 1866 (Field 1866; Linge and Burns 2016). By bridging the Atlantic communication-wise, the cable heralded a new era where “Old” and “New World” would merge to form the “Western” world with its wide-ranging socioeconomic ramifications (Müller 2016). More dramatically put, the cable “shrank” the ocean, and “the sea between Europe and North America [was] no more” (King-Campbell and Worthman 2016). In 2017, Canada added the Heart's Content Cable Station to its tentative list for UNESCO World Heritage (Government of N.L. 2017).

[149] It has to be noted that the Norse transatlantic voyages have also been instrumentalized for expounding ideas about the superiority of “white” European and/or American racial, religious, and gender values from the early nineteenth century through to the mid-twentieth century (Arnold 2013; Kolodny 2012), and that Vinland has remained a symbol for white nationalists in North America to the present day (Crocker 2020). The completion of the encircling of the globe by humankind, however, can be acknowledged independent of those instrumentalizations.

Another milestone in global communication history was the transmission of the first transatlantic radio signal in 1901, and again one end was situated in Newfoundland. At the time, sending a radio signal over distances such as the Atlantic Ocean was widely considered to be impossible due to the curvature of the earth. Italian inventor and businessman Guglielmo Marconi, however, defied all doubts and set up a transmission station in Poldhu, Cornwall, from which he would send radio signals to be received at Cape Cod, Massachusetts. After a storm damaged the Cornwall transmission station, Marconi spontaneously changed his plans in favour of a place situated at a smaller distance from the transmitting end: Newfoundland (Raboy 2016). He arrived in St. John's with portable equipment in early December, chose Signal Hill as the most promising location, and began experimenting with balloons and kites carrying the receiving antenna.[150] After several setbacks due to adverse weather, the first radio signal was successfully sent across the Atlantic from Poldhu, England and received on Signal Hill, Newfoundland with a kite on December 12th, 1901 (Bussey 2000). It was the Morse signal "···" for the letter "s," and it would also be the last transmission at the time. Due to a monopoly dispute with the Anglo-American Telegraph Company, Marconi had to stop any further attempts immediately and left Newfoundland only days after his groundbreaking achievement. Nonetheless, the rather ephemeral event of sending three clicks across the Atlantic quickly revolutionized global communications, and, in 1909, Marconi was awarded the Nobel Prize in physics (NoblePrize.org n.d.).

Yet another enterprise of significance in Western history that is inextricably linked to Newfoundland and its geographic situation is the first nonstop transatlantic flight. Out of several crews of aviation pioneers who had gathered on the island of Newfoundland after the *London Daily Mail* had put out an award of 10,000 British pounds for the first non-stop crossing, Captain John Alcock and navigator Lieutenant Arthur Whitten Brown won the day. In mid-June 1919, they flew their Vickers Vimy "from an icy field in St. John's, Newfoundland to a wet bog in the west of Ireland" (Curtis 2019, 3) in some dramatic sixteen hours.[151] The two war veterans who

[150] Note that Signal Hill's equally promising name goes back to a lookout post on the hill from which signals of ship arrivals were sent to the downtown merchants and military garrison by means of flags since the early eighteenth century (Parks Canada n.d.).

[151] Shortly after take off, the radio cut out, leaving them on their own in the cloud-covered skies that defied proper navigation for most of the journey (Alcock and Brown 1969). The lack of sight and the broken wireless turned out to be only minor issues, however, when, after ten hours of flight, the engines stalled, and the Vickers Vimy spiralled down in free fall. It was only at about fifty feet above the water that Alcock managed to restart the engines and stabilize the aircraft. Later, at much greater heights, snow and sleet iced their devices, and Brown repeatedly climbed out of the cockpit in mid-air to wipe snow and ice from the glass face of the petrol overflow gauge to ensure Alcock could monitor the fuel flow at all times (Alcock and Brown 1969).

barely knew each other when they embarked on their seminal flight were knighted by King George V only a few days after their landing.

Newfoundland became a central spot on Western maps as a transatlantic aviation hub when U.S. and Canadian military air bases sprang up on the island in the Second World War because destinations in Europe could be directly reached from there (Neary 1988). When the war was over, the largest base in Gander in central Newfoundland was redeveloped for transatlantic passenger air service and became a fixed stop-over for virtually every airliner on route to or from Europe in the 1950s and 1960s (Town of Gander 2023).[152] When the jet age made refuelling in Newfoundland obsolete, traffic at Gander International Airport thinned, and, today, only the name, the dimensions of the runways, and its recently refurbished 1959 International Lounge (see figure 8.1) remind of its glorious times as a centre of transatlantic aviation.

Figure 8.1: Gander International Lounge – a reflection of the airport's past centrality as a transatlantic aviation hub. Today, the lounge is a museum and time capsule, which, to my mind, would be worth advertising more.

Closing the Gap

As already noted, the above instances of centrality are all related to Newfoundland's geographic location. Physical proximity to both Europe and mainland North America predestined Newfoundland as a centre for major events in Western history time and again. Yet, they are clearly also related to the wild Atlantic Ocean, which long defied crossing and remained the last obstacle in human migration around the globe. Ultimately, however, its currents favoured the first transatlantic voyages by the Norse as well as the traffic of European migratory fishing crews that developed in the sixteenth century. While crossing the North

[152] Note that Gander was originally conceived as a civil transatlantic airport already in the 1930s, but after its opening in 1938, due to its strategic location, military operations soon dominated (Town of Gander 2023).

Atlantic became routine and created conceptual and psychological links between Europe and settler North America through ever-improving maps, the import and export of material goods and culture, as well as personal experiences, transatlantic voyages continued to be risky and time-consuming. These constraints were challenged by the other historical achievements presented above. The first transatlantic telegraph cable, radio signal, and nonstop flight effected radical time-space convergence (Janelle 2014) by virtually shrinking the Atlantic logistically and communication-wise. Shrinking the gap between the two continents proceeded in both directions: the cable was first conceived to come both ways after being sliced in the middle of the ocean but was ultimately laid from east to west. The first telegraph signal across the Atlantic was then sent from west to east before high cable traffic in both directions developed. The first radio signal received by Marconi travelled from east to west, and Alcock and Brown flew from west to east. The two continents were virtually stitched together, and Newfoundland was the central leverage point in the process – until the island became redundant and vanished with the gap it helped to close. Connections were then established and maintained directly between Europe and the North American mainland, notably the U.S.

More recently, however, the gap has partly reopened when Europe and the United States were alienated through Donald Trump's presidency, a process which, even without a very possible second Trump presidency, will hardly be fully reversed. From the gap created by this alienation, together with the disruption of the relations with Russia to the east, Newfoundland – as part of Canada – has most recently re-emerged on the world stage as a preferred (since politically reliable as well as logistically and meteorologically favourable) partner for green energy production for European markets (Moore 2022). If this will indeed open a new chapter of Newfoundland centrality has yet to be seen, but the great attention the Energy NL annual conference in May 2023 received among green energy businesses worldwide and the Canada-EU summit in St. John's in November of the same year are certainly indicators (Cooke 2023; Passenheim 2023).

A Pattern for Centrality?

Looking at the circumstances within which Newfoundland appeared on the maps of what was the Old and the New and then the Western world and is now the Global North, I suggest there is a pattern. The dawn of colonialism and imperialism in early modern times, the nineteenth-century technological revolution, World War Two, and the recent radical

reorganization of international relations were or are all times of sweeping upheaval. Correlating Newfoundland's centrality with times of upheaval may appear to clash with my earlier argument in Chapter Three that Newfoundland easily fell out of focus when the Crown was caught up in warfare in early modern times. However, the observation that "between 1588 and 1815...England was involved in no less than sixteen major wars" (Matthews 1973: 35) suggests that war was, in fact, the rule in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries rather than a state of exception. Moreover, while Newfoundland's interests repeatedly fell out of focus at the time, it remained a prominent object for negotiations and, hence, a prominent spot on European maps, as the persistent French Shore problem attests (Cadigan 2009a; Matthews 1973). The hypothesis that Newfoundland's centrality is related to states of exception and turmoil in those parts of the world it is a part of will be further substantiated below when I study the implications and effects of the island's centre-periphery ambivalence that I am about to establish.

8.2 Socioeconomic Marginality

The list of pioneering enterprises and achievements tied to Newfoundland and the island's geopolitical value notwithstanding, the place has always been a resource periphery. Be it fish, timber, landward minerals, or offshore oil and gas, resource extraction was and is the major economic factor, with only very limited manufacturing and other value-creation taking place on-site. Moreover, resource extraction itself has typically not been locally operated. This pattern certainly characterized the migratory fishery operated from Britain. When the resident fishery took over, resources were admittedly both extracted and processed locally. However, the end product (saltfish) was a low-priced and generally little-valued commodity, and international markets dominated the trade (Hiller 1990). In the nineteenth century then, repeated efforts were made to diversify the economy. Timber and minerals were developed as local resources besides codfish, and the early twentieth century saw the building of paper mills in Grand Falls and Corner Brook (Alexander 1976). Local processing remained marginal, however, and both the extraction and processing of the newly developed resources – and, thus, the created profits – were left to foreign businesses. Again, the "wedding between Newfoundland and the international corporation" (Alexander 1976, 70) is a proper metaphor because, by 1930, Newfoundland had developed from a locally owned one-product export economy into a largely foreign owned three-product export economy (Alexander 1976). In the same tenor, Thomas

Lodge, a former member of the Commission of Government, observed in 1939 that "[t]here is hardly a parallel in the white world to [Newfoundland] in which the exploitation of natural resources is completely in the hand of alien finance" (143). Confederation brought no fundamental change in the approach to boosting the local economy. As mentioned earlier, the industries attracted by means of generous subsidies, land grants, and other enticements were "only of a certain kind: primary resource extraction, polluters, those in search of cheap labor, 'run away shops'" (Overton 1978, 111). By the 1960s, multi-national businesses exploited Newfoundland like a third world country "to supply the needs of more developed economies" (Neary 1980, 231).

Regarding oil development, Newfoundland originally sought a different approach that would give it more control over the industry. However, when the offshore oil industry in the Grand Banks took off in the mid-1980s, the federal Canadian government had just dismantled the National Energy Plan and returned to its pre-oil-crisis approach of supporting market-based strategies (Fusco 2007a). Moreover, despite the Atlantic Accord, which established the requirement that a development application be submitted and approved by the joint Canadian-Newfoundland and Labrador Offshore Petroleum Board (C-NLPOB) before development started, the envisaged shift in responsibilities and control in favour of the province failed, as conditions imposed on developing companies by the C-NLOPB were not legally binding (Fusco 2007a). Finally, attempts to refine oil in Newfoundland were plagued with troubles from the start, and amounts processed locally remained insignificant compared with the scale of oil production (Higgins and Martin 2018). In 2021, the only refinery in Newfoundland was sold, and the new U.S. American owner has repurposed it for biofuel production (CBC 2021b; Roberts 2024). The contemporary Newfoundland oil industry thus exhibits a similar structure as the fish, timber, and mineral industries did in earlier times: private and mostly foreign capital exploits a local resource largely unregulated for export, and value creation takes place outside the province.

The role most recently envisaged for Newfoundland in the context of wind energy and hydrogen production – as much as it may put Newfoundland on the world stage – is again that of the resource periphery. The local input is largely natural riches: wind and deep sea harbours. Clearly, the island's geographical situation, the physical remnants of the island's military base history, and the low population density are beneficial in that context as well. The wind turbines will be manufactured elsewhere, however, and the production, and with it, the value creation will

again be in the hands of out-of-province enterprises (Cooke 2023). The situation differs from earlier resource exploitation only in that wind is a renewable resource and arguably one that is hardly exhausted by over-exploitation or mismanagement. This means that – in case wind-generated hydrogen will indeed become Newfoundland's latest export staple – at least the limited benefits for the resource periphery will be more unlikely to wane with time and ultimately fail as those related to the cod fishery did and oil and gas-related cash influx eventually will.

In a neoliberal, capitalist world, economic marginality arguably implies sociopolitical marginality. At any rate, the sociopolitical marginality of Newfoundland finds expression in the already quoted "continuing debate as to how many, if any, people should live in Newfoundland" which can be traced "[f]rom the Western Adventurers of the seventeenth century to Canadian economists in the twentieth" (Alexander 1976, 56) and further to journalists and young intellectuals in the late twentieth and into the twenty-first century (Brown 2018; Fraser 1988; McLeod 2017). Newfoundland's sociopolitical marginality is, among other things, manifest in the precarious mobility and supply situation its population experiences. With no road or railway connection to the mainland, Newfoundlanders rely on air transport, ferry, and marine container shipping for essential goods and travel, services that are subject to heavy weather dependence as well as high operational and maintenance costs (Keske 2018; Food First NL n.d.). While this may, at first sight, appear to be a consequence of Newfoundland's insularity alone, it can also be related to its economic marginality. Were Newfoundland a major economic centre, public and private efforts to mitigate its isolation would naturally arise. Above all, I argue, the airport would be equipped with more comprehensive state-of-the-art design and technology to reduce the weather dependence of air transport to and from the island to a minimum. What can be observed instead is that air services and routes to the mainland and abroad have been curtailed over the past years, a trend that has prompted local writer and satirist Edward Riche (2022) to express the opinion that local tourism strategies should be reconsidered to "targeting the sort of travellers more interested in Antarctica or North Korea than, say, Nova Scotia" (no page number).[153] The introduction of hovercraft on the Gulf route – as discussed and recommended in principle by the Federal Commission of Inquiry into Newfoundland Transportation in 1979 (Government of Canada 1979) – was never advanced, let alone realized, either. Ultimately, it is the small

[153] Note that, while WestJet has just re-esatblished a direct route between St. John's and London Gatwick, the province had to subsidize the airline to secure that connection (Mullin 2024). At the same time, WestJet added three new connections between Halifax and Europe (CBC 2023c).

population that cements Newfoundland's politically and societally marginal position in Canada and the wider world. Not only does it limit the province's seats and say in the federal parliament; it also confines its capacity as a market and, thus, its sociocultural weight because, in a capitalist world, the setting of trends and standards is closely linked to mass consumption (McGrath et al. 1978). This does not imply that Newfoundland (and peripheral or remote places more generally) cannot be socioeconomically sustainable, but successful strategies need to embrace the place's marginality (Vodden et al. 2015).

Figure 8.2: Visualizations of transatlantic subsea cables in 1866 and 2016
left: First transatlantic telegraph cable, Community Youth Arts Program, Murphy Centre, St. John's;[154]
right: map detail in the exhibition *Whistleblowers & Vigilantes* at HMKV, Dortmund, 2016

Since the second half of the twentieth century, the economic and sociocultural marginality of Newfoundland is also mirrored in the by-passing of transatlantic air and marine traffic as well as subsea communication cables, all contexts that were once inaugurated here (see figure 8.2 for maps of transatlantic subsea cables in 1866 and today).[155] The reversal of the pioneering centre of maritime, communication, and aviation technologies into a periphery for these realms can be traced to the changing implications of its specific location. Newfoundland, rather than simply being an island off one continent, also lies virtually halfway towards another or in-between the

[154] Note that the painting to the left was presented at the Cable Station in Heart's Content, run by Provincial Historic Sites until at least 2016 but has since disappeared. According to an email by Provincial Historic Sites Manager Scott Andrews from November 11, 2022, the work has been “recycled.”

[155] According to the *Submarine Cable Map*, the only submarine cable running into Newfoundland today is between Nuuk in Greenland and Milton, NL (TeleGeography n.d.).

two. This in-betweenness was an asset when the ocean was the highway connecting Europe and America, and Newfoundland lay along the way, and it partly continued to be so as long as transatlantic aviation depended on the Atlantic outpost for refuelling. Today, however, maritime, communication, and aviation technologies have overcome their limitations by pure distance, and the island's location between the continents prompts bypassing and marginality.

8.3 Centre-Periphery Ambivalence

The above shows that the island of Newfoundland could always be characterized as some sort of periphery, whereas – as of today – its centrality is situated in the past. Hence, to evidence the applicability of the lens of cultural ambivalence in contemporary Newfoundland, we need to scrutinize the relevance of the past centrality today. For a place and our perception of it, the relevance of a certain aspect is here understood as its palpability in the local culture. The palpability of a past aspect, then, means that it is a living part of the local collective memory and heritage.

As an outsider, I was surprised when I learned about Newfoundland's central role in Western history. The large majority of Newfoundlanders, however, are undoubtedly well aware of it from an early age. Through the perpetuation of the events that made the island historically central by means of textbooks, commemorative sites, anniversary festivities, novels, and the media, they have become part of the collective memory and, hence – because "the cultural inheritance of Newfoundland has been increased by all that has entered the consciousness of our people" (Matthews et al. 1984, 339) – part of the local heritage and culture as well. This is also reflected in the naming of places, ships, businesses, institutions, events, and geographical features.

The process of how the pioneering events described earlier in this chapter, and with them the past centrality, have entered the local heritage is perhaps best illustrated by the Norse presence in Newfoundland, which implied the encircling of the globe by humankind. Despite its transience at the time, this episode has left a lasting impression on the local settler culture. Already before archaeological evidence was found, there was a strong local belief that Newfoundland was the destination of the western Norse voyages depicted in the Vinland sagas. From the nineteenth century, that belief was incorporated into local history writing, notably in Prowse's *A History of Newfoundland* (1895), which novelist Wayne Johnston calls "the secular Bible of the island's people" (Bannister 2002: 85). In the 1930s, two agricultural model communities (of which only

one was realized) were named Vinland and Markland (Handcock 1994), and in the 1940s and 1950s, the Markland Shipping Company operated the paper boats Markland and Vinland, which regularly called at Corner Brook.[156] By the 1950s, the Norse were considered part of settler Newfoundland history, as demonstrated by a model of a Norse longship in the collection of the Newfoundland Museum at its reopening in 1957 (*The Nfld. Quartlerly* 1957). Moreover, local identification with the Norse is reflected in the representations of a Viking figure and a longship in an allegorical representation of Newfoundland through time in a mural commissioned for the entrance lobby of Confederation Building inaugurated in 1960 (see figure 8.3). With its prominent display location, the mural has then clearly done its part in further perpetuating this conception.

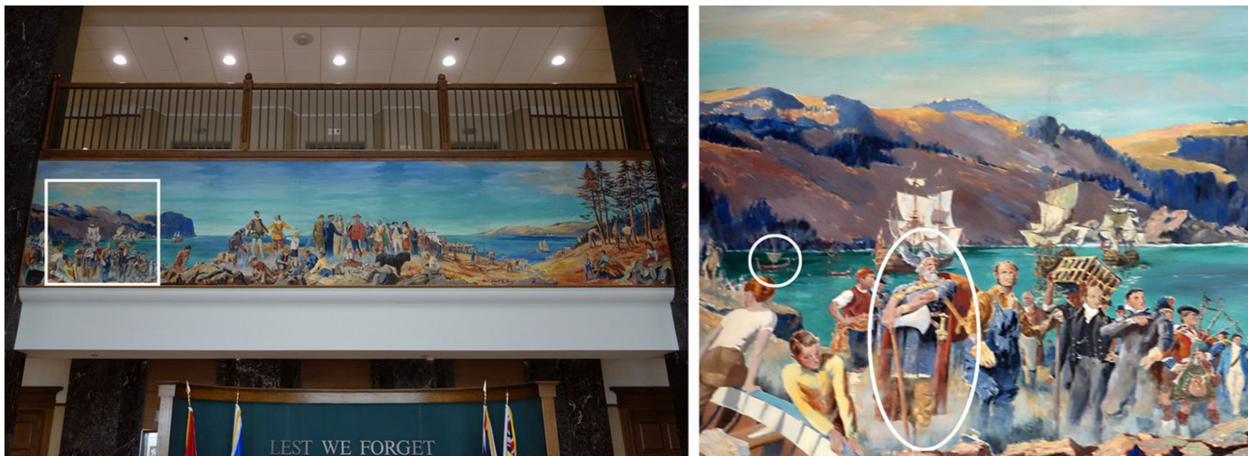


Figure 8.3: Allegorical representation of Newfoundland through time with a Viking figure and a Norse longship; mural by Harold B. Goodridge in the Confederation Building lobby, full view and detail

In the wake of the archaeological finds at L'Anse aux Meadows and the granting of UNESCO World Heritage status, physical monuments went up, including reconstructions of Norse sod buildings, bronze busts, and a visitor centre, and followed by a wealth of related tourist and other commercial feats, such as the "Welcome to Vinland" sign, which came up between fall 2015 and spring 2016 on Highway 430, the *Viking Trail* (see figure 8.4). Even a fracture zone in the Labrador Sea has been named after Snorri, the first child born in Vinland, according to one of the sagas (Sigurdsson 2008, x).

[156] Note that, according to the sagas, Markland is the name the Norse explorers gave to the "forest land" northwest of Vinland (Magnusson 1965).

Figure 8.4: Sign on Highway 430 North to L'Anse aux Meadows

Of course, all contexts that place Newfoundland at the centre of historical attention have also found their way into local textbooks (e.g. Dept. of Education 2010; Matthews et al. 1984). Moreover, they are commemorated in extensive celebrations on the occasion of significant anniversaries.[157] As historian Stuart Pierson (1997) put it with respect to the events involving pioneering technology: "Newfoundlanders were and are quite pleased to be in on these feats, if only because of geography. These feats were 'firsts,' and belonged to the heroic age of invention" (52).

The above exposes Newfoundland's past centrality as clearly palpable on site today, as is its continued socioeconomic marginality. The strong palpability of these opposing qualities, then, makes them relevant for the perception and understanding of the place. The distinct and concurrent palpability of centrality and marginality in Newfoundland can, thus, be interpreted as another case of cultural ambivalence and commends the centre-periphery lens as an analytical device for studying related contexts and phenomena.

[157] In celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the Norse presence, for instance, the Viking Millennium International Symposium, as well as the exhibition *FULL CIRCLE: First Contact*, were held in Newfoundland. For the 50th anniversary of Alcock and Brown's first nonstop transatlantic flight in 1969, a monument was unveiled on Blackmarsh Road, near the original departure site and three older plaques that commemorate the event (City of St. John's 2018). On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of "Marconi's Miracle," the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador launched a rich program titled *Receiving the World: Celebrating Communications* and the Wireless Vision Congress was held in St. John's (Tarrant 2001). The 150th anniversary of the landing of the first reliable transatlantic telegraph cable at Heart's Content was celebrated on site in 2016 by a festival featuring an open-air theatre play that re-enacted the laying and landing of the cable (King-Campbell and Worthman 2016) and the Heart's Content Cable Conference.

Newfoundland in the Atlantic Triangle

The centre-periphery ambivalence based on Newfoundland's continued socioeconomic marginality and the contemporary palpability of a series of pioneering events tied to the island is backed and augmented by a historical context in which the island was indeed concurrently a centre and a periphery. This context was the Atlantic Triangle, an international trading network that emerged in the late sixteenth century with nodes in Britain, Newfoundland, and the western Mediterranean, which we have already encountered in the context of the European colonization of Newfoundland in Chapter Three. Dried cod from Newfoundland was shipped to markets in Portugal and Spain, where it was directly traded for luxury goods like oils, dried fruits, wine, and liquor bound for the British market (Pope 2004). During the seventeenth century, the Canaries and the Azores became additional vortices for the exchange of fish into wine. Moreover, the network spawned a connection to New England and further south along the American littoral to the Caribbean, thus becoming part of the Black Atlantic because the trade with dried cod then also supported the trade with enslaved people from Africa (Gilroy 1993). In the same period, the migratory fishery in Newfoundland began to be complemented by a resident fishery. While Newfoundland and its fishing grounds were obviously the resource periphery in this greater saltfish trading network, the migratory fishery, in conjunction with an emerging residential population and the services residents were able to provide, also turned the island into one of the trading vortices of the system. From at least the mid-1600s, Newfoundland did not only function as a significant entrepôt between Europe and America; during the fishing season, from April until October, the large number of migratory fishermen on the island and the substantial local hospitality industry created a significant market for wine from southern Europe and tobacco and liquor from New England and the Caribbean (Head 1976; Pope 2004).

The basis for this centre-periphery ambivalence was again the island's situation en route to the “New World,” but this in-betweenness was not the only factor. Equally important was the circumstance that the Grand Banks, the nutrient-rich shallows where Labrador and Gulf Currents meet, were home to one of the world's largest cod stocks. Newfoundland's role as an economic centre – and with it, its ambivalent position with regard to the economics of the day – faded with the demise of the migratory fishery after the American Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. While the resident population grew, it was now mainly supplied by local merchant firms.

Moreover, compared to other regions in Europe and North America, its numbers remained small, and Newfoundland became less and less significant as a market.

While Newfoundland's concurrent centrality and marginality within the context of early transatlantic trade is not part of my argument for the island's centre-periphery ambivalence today, it is a colourful illustration of the impact of the in-betweenness of its geographical location. Moreover, it is interesting to observe that the past economic significance of the Grand Banks has carried over into the present, too. The Banks are still (or again) the locus of the island's most precious natural resource, although today, that resource is oil and gas, not fish. Finally, Newfoundland as centre and periphery in the Atlantic Triangle will come into focus again below as a case where the associated ambivalence was clearly embraced and engendered creative effects. As such, this excursion into early modern times provides a stimulating background for studying the implications of the place's contemporary centre-periphery ambivalence.

An Archetypical Borderland

The ambivalence of a place being both central and peripheral resonates strongly with the concept of the borderland. Borderlands are "often-unstable realms where boundaries are also crossroads, peripheries are also central places, homelands are also passing-through places" (Hämäläinen and Truett 2011, 338). Indeed, nineteenth-century Newfoundland, as a nodal point or hub that may equally fall between the cracks, has been identified as an "archetypical borderland" (Korneski 2016, 9). Based on the ongoing centre-periphery ambivalence of the place established above, I argue that this characterization can be assumed to be still valid today. This means that Newfoundland, as one of those "'spaces in between' – regions [with] overlapping national, imperial, and other territorial claims" continues to hold the potential to produce "distinct economic, cultural, political, and social relations and arrangements" (8) that are considered typical for borderlands. Of course, in order to tap this potential, the focus on "frozen" distinctiveness, as expressed, for instance, in the promotion of the quaint fishing outport as the unchanging stronghold of Newfoundland society and culture (compare section 7.5 of Chapter Seven) has to be relinquished in favour of conceiving and embracing the local culture as a dynamic, malleable quality. The following section provides evidence for this malleability in principle, but it also demonstrates that the driving ambivalence is not always embraced, leaving parts of its creative potential untapped.

8.4 The Centre-Periphery Ambivalence at Work in the Local Culture

This section is devoted to presenting Newfoundland's centre-periphery ambivalence as a condition that has shaped elements of the local culture and society, as well as the place's perception from the outside. To this end, I identify various processes and phenomena that can be understood as having been (or being) spurred more or less directly by the concurrent relevance of the island's centrality and marginality.

A Strategic Place

Newfoundland's ambivalence of being both central and peripheral manifests itself in making the island a prime strategic location, an asset that was drawn upon in at least two contexts of global relevance. The most prominent one is arguably the stipulation of the Atlantic Charter between Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt in August 1941 in Placentia Bay. In order to directly engage the United States in the War against Hitler Germany, leading political stakeholders of the day considered it crucial that the two chiefs of state meet personally to come to a common agenda (Morton 2016). Amidst the Second World War, however, such a meeting bore an enormous risk and needed to be concealed from the Germans and their North Atlantic submarine fleet at all costs. In fact, to prevent any leakage, both statesmen also left their own citizens and most of their military forces in the dark about their plans (Morton 2016). When it came to deciding on the site for the meeting, it was clear that it had to be a hide-out that was easily reachable from both countries. In other words, it had to be both peripheral and central. As combining both qualities, the choice fell on a sheltered bay in southern Newfoundland. Indeed, Argentia, adjacent to which Churchill and Roosevelt would meet, was already the construction site of a U.S. American naval base at the time for similar reasons. By offering deep, sheltered, and mostly ice-free waters and being located off and concealed from, yet close to, major transatlantic shipping routes, it had been acknowledged as a place of high strategic value (ACOA 1993; Fife and Roseman 2015; Neary 1988).

Another context in which the centre-periphery ambivalence rendered Newfoundland a highly strategic site was the terror attacks on September 11th, 2001. On this day, sixty-eight airliners on their way to the United States from Europe were redirected to the island (Nav Canada 2009).[158] Newfoundland was a prime destination for redirection because it was centrally located on

[158] Of those sixty-eight aircraft,, thirty-eight with almost seven thousand passengers were diverted to Gander

the transatlantic air route. Moreover, as a legacy of its role as an aviation hotspot during and after World War Two, the island featured several airports (Gander, St. John's, and Stephenville) with the capacity to receive the airliners. What ultimately made it the perfect destination for the planes that were denied access to American airspace in the eyes of Transport Canada, however, was the observation that it was not only central geographically and historically and, thus, well equipped but also peripheral. In view of four aircraft being utilized as mass murder weapons in the United States, the Canadian government attempted to direct the abandoned planes away from urban centres to less populated, more peripheral areas to minimize potential disaster (Nav Canada 2009).

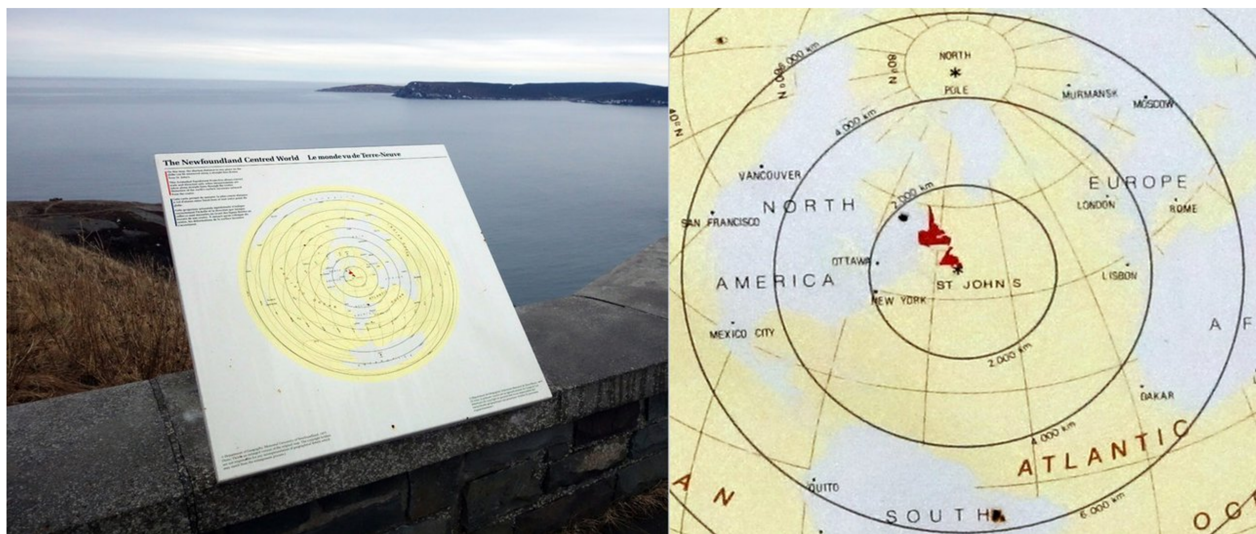


Figure 8.5: *The Newfoundland Centred World;* map on Signal Hill (Brown 1977)

The Newfoundland-Centred World Map

A pictorial expression of the place's centre-periphery ambivalence is the map of *The Newfoundland-Centred World* by geographer Clarence Brown (1977), a copy of which is displayed next to Cabot Tower on Signal Hill (see figure 8.4). First published by Newfoundland's Department of Economic Development in 1977, it conveys the island's central location between Europe and North America. However, at the same time, the concentric equidistant circles effectively demonstrate that it takes almost two thousand kilometres to reach any larger metropolis, thus illustrating "that Newfoundland is the one place in the Western world which is farthest from *all* major world markets" (Matthews 1978, 92, emphasis in original).

A similar observation has been made by *CINEMA Canada* journalist Ron MacDonald

International Airport alone. Seven more airliners landed in Goose Bay in Labrador that day (Nav Canada 2009).

(1989), who, in an article on the Newfoundland comedy troupe CODCO, writes: “Everywhere is far from Newfoundland. Montreal, Toronto, New York, London, Vancouver. Even Halifax seems as far away as any other place. The world is equidistant to Newfoundland” (10). Note that, despite the magazine's editorial office being located in Montreal, MacDonald viewed the world at a distance from Newfoundland, not vice versa. Thus – like the map displayed on Signal Hill – he situates the island as both distant and central, as also reflected in his (admittedly ironical) bottom line: “If Newfoundland is equidistant from everywhere, then we must all be in Newfoundland” (11).

Mainland and Island

The place's concurrent marginality and centrality, I argue, are also manifest in conflicting conceptions of Newfoundland as island and mainland. The island conception is arguably little contested and can frequently be related to ideas of marginality or isolation, notably in the context of travel and transport. Regarding the perception of Newfoundland as the mainland, there are several elements that contribute to the picture. The existence of a myriad of offshore islands – some of a good size themselves, such as Bell Island or Fogo Island – clearly adds to the conception of Newfoundland as centre and mainland. This aspect has also found its way into place naming. The community of Mainland on the Port au Port Peninsula, for instance, has arguably been named with reference to the once equally settled Red Island just off its shores (Matthews 1976). Furthermore, size clearly figures in the mainland conception of the place. With almost 109,000 square kilometres in size, Newfoundland is larger than Ireland or Iceland (Garcia and Huffman 2019). My own experience is that travelling in Newfoundland, be it along its extensive coastal routes or on the equally expansive inland highways, one may easily forget about being on an island. Of course, these experiences can be made on islands of a certain size more generally. However, I argue that the mainland perception of Newfoundland is more entrenched and internalized than in many other large islands. This view is supported by the observation that the mainland conception has also permeated into the institutional realm, as is perhaps most vividly illustrated by a study of the Newfoundland Ferry Services (1974). In this study, the ferry terminal on the main island is referred to as the “mainland” terminal throughout. While this is not overly remarkable for services to the offshore islands, the same scheme is applied with

respect to the service to Labrador. Here, St. Barbe in northwestern Newfoundland is referenced as the "mainland" terminal and Blanc Sablon on the Canadian mainland as the "Labrador" terminal (208).[159] Conceiving Newfoundland as mainland, even with respect to places in continental Canada, clearly corresponds with an understanding of Newfoundland as the indisputable centre of the context under consideration (here, the local ferry services).

Given the general link between mainland perception and ideas of centrality and the relation between insularity and isolation or marginality, I suggest that the opposing conceptions, rather than merely representing two conflicting views of the local geographical setting, can be understood as a subtype of the centre-periphery ambivalence of the place. Whereas the centre-periphery ambivalence is based on Newfoundland's situation in-between continents and can be conceived and understood from outside and in the abstract, the mainland-island ambivalence is rooted in the local perception of a place with an "in-between identity" as a large island off an even larger island (a continent) with smaller islands off its own shores.

Koop's Map of the World

Marylin Koop's *Map of the World*, a combined silkscreen and woodcut from 1988 (see figure 8.5), is a beautiful illustration of both the centre-periphery ambivalence of the place and its ambivalent collective conception as mainland and island. By extracting (the capital of) Newfoundland from its regional, national, and international embedding and presenting it as "the world," the work clearly posits it at the centre. At the same time, this representation appears too bold to be serious, thus acquiring an ironic turn and highlighting the peripheral and isolated nature of the place instead. In fact, the central pastry- or sausage-shaped object appears quite small and lost within the vast, dark void.

Interestingly, the work is also an ambivalent image, that is, a *per se* unequivocal and clear visual representation that allows for two conflicting interpretations by the viewer.[160] One of the classical examples of this image type is sometimes referred to as *Rubin's vase*. In that image, the viewer can discern a black vase against a white background or two white human profiles facing each other in a dark room, depending on whether black or white is perceived as

[159] Note that referencing Blanc Sablon as the Labrador terminal is also confusing, because the community is, in fact, situated in Quebec, if just across the provincial border.

[160] Please note that, as part of the widespread ambivalence-ambiguity confusion mentioned in Chapter Two, ambivalent images are often subsumed with another type of images, where conflicting interpretations are based on an unclear representation, under the term "ambiguous images."

the figure-ground. Similarly, the *Map of the World* initially confronts the viewer with two conflicting ways of interpretation, depending on whether black or white is perceived as land. If we take black to be solid ground, we see a lake embedded in a dark "mainland mass" that spreads beyond the edges of the canvas. If white is understood as figure-ground (which eventually emerges as the intended view), the work displays an atoll-shaped island amidst the dark vastness of the sea. Koop's work beautifully visualizes my own feelings when I first came to Newfoundland and felt both centred, grounded, "in place" and detached, floating, "away from it all."[161]

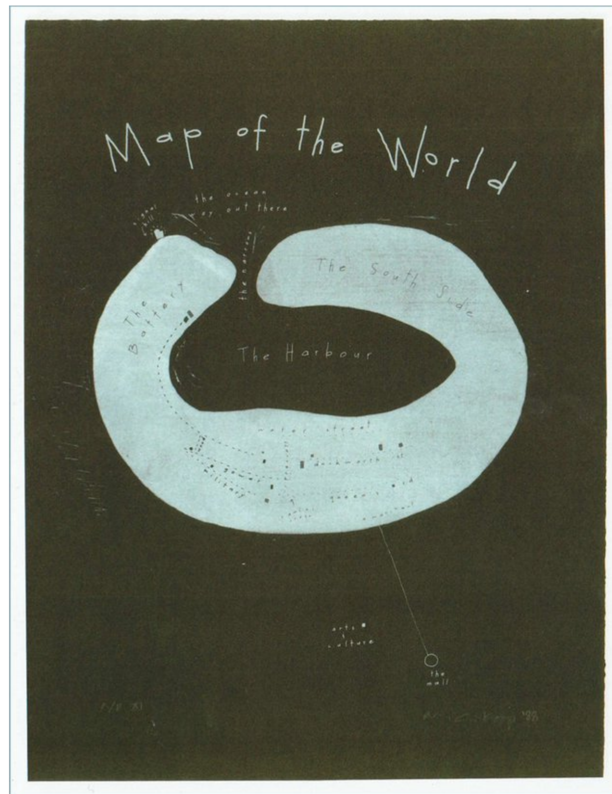


Figure 8.6: Marilyn Koop, *Map of the World*, silkscreen/woodcut, 1988

Clearly, the *Map of the World* also illustrates the urban/rural divide. In fact, the artist has "disappeared" rural Newfoundland altogether, as if it had sunk into the dark void of the waters surrounding the capital city. A similar point can actually also be made for the Newfoundland-centred

[161] Note that, in fact, the map of *The Newfoundland-Centred World* on Signal Hill has the air of an ambivalent image as well. Not only are the yellow and light blue very similar in tone, but counter-intuitively, the oceans are coloured in yellow and the continents in blue, which is why it takes some time to identify them. Only the red shapes of Newfoundland and Labrador immediately stand out in the centre of the image, and again – before continents and oceans have been discerned – they could represent landlocked waters or oceanic islands.

world map discussed earlier and displayed in figure 8.5, which is, in fact, St. John's-centred. As a result, both representations also expose the ambivalent nature of St. John's as both the undisputed centre of the island and a city on the margins, an observation that has also been made by Josh Lepawski, Chrystal Phan, and Rob Greenwood (2010) in their study "Metropolis on the Margins" (2010).

***

The above conceptions, phenomena, and images show how Newfoundland's ambivalence of being at once central and peripheral has been directly manifest as a shaping force in diverse contexts. I will now turn to present a number of less immediate expressions (or effects) of the centre-periphery ambivalence, thus further substantiating its impact on the local culture.

More Centrality

At first perhaps curiously, the ambivalence of centrality and marginality has enhanced Newfoundland's centrality in Western history. This follows from the observation above that the island's quality of being both central and remote made it a strategic place in two contexts of major historical relevance. Roosevelt and Churchill's meeting and their joint stipulation of the Atlantic Charter set the stage for the United States' formal entrance into the war against Hitler Germany after the Japanese attacks on Pearl Harbour later that year. As such, it was critical in precipitating the turning point of the war and propelling the allies' victory (Owen 2016). Moreover, the charter and its aims for the postwar world order were the first steps towards the formation of the United Nations in 1945 (Verheul 2021). Through Newfoundland's centre-periphery ambivalence, which prompted the two heads of state to meet in Placentia Bay, the island is lastingly associated with these historical events.

The other context where Newfoundland's centre-periphery ambivalence was at the roots of enhanced centrality is the 9/11 terror attacks. The island's role as a shelter for thousands of stranded air passengers received worldwide news coverage. The global attention was then also mirrored and further enhanced by the musical *Come From Away*, which is based on the events in the Gander region in the days after the attacks and made it all the way to Broadway (Antle 2018).[162] In the face of an unprecedented tragedy, the story of Newfoundlanders' spontaneous and unconditional hospitality represented a much-needed consolation, a "Canadian Embrace on a

[162] The musical was written by Irene Sankoff and David Hein in 2011 and first performed in Oakville in 2013.

Grim Day," as the *New York Times* titled its review of the musical's Broadway premiere (Brantley 2017). The fact that it had its origins in a remote place that many were ignorant of before certainly further flavoured the narrative and spurred its success.

As both the Second World War and the 9/11 terror attacks were clearly connected with upheaval on a global level, Newfoundland's centrality in these contexts substantiates my hypothesis that the two – upheaval and an enhanced centrality of Newfoundland – are related. The island appears to come into view with radical shifts in perspective and paradigm, be they driven by crisis or new potentialities. World War Two, 9/11, and today's *Zeitenwende* induced by climate change and the reappearance of territorial wars in Europe, prompted international political leaders to turn to Newfoundland. The same can be said of pioneering explorers and adventurers when revolutionary new inventions and technologies – such as oceanic navigation, telegraph and radio communication, or aviation – opened up new horizons.

Enhanced Early Modernity

In the context of the Atlantic Triangle, Newfoundland's ambivalent nature as both centre and periphery prompted enhanced modernity on the island in the sense that a self-determined and relatively comfortable existence, as well as access to New World novelties, were not a privilege of the elite alone. As a central trading vortex, all kinds of exotic little luxuries, including tobacco and rum, which had only just been introduced to international markets, were available on the island in the seventeenth century (Pope 2004). Moreover, living at a distance from the political and cultural centres, Newfoundlanders – whether they were temporary, transient, or resident – enjoyed particular freedom from Old World moral confinements and class divisions. This freedom, together with above-average wages paid to fishing servants as a central force of the Newfoundland fishery, resulted in an emerging society where the lower classes could afford and enjoy the goods that were commonly reserved for the upper classes and which would only become available to a wider Western public with the consolidation of industrialization (Pope 2004).

The emergence of this special proto-society can be understood as spurred by the embracement of the specific centre-periphery ambivalence at the time because exploiting both the freedom or lack of interference at the periphery and the conveniences of the trading hub were at work in its creation. In fact, revisiting the concept of the borderland introduced above and its

potential to produce "distinct economic, cultural, political, and social relations and arrangements" (8), I suggest that Newfoundland was at least as archetypical an example for this type of place in early-modern times, as it was in the nineteenth century according to Kurt Korneski (2016).

The Inconsistent Discourse on Ferry Services

As a final example of the shaping effect of the centre-periphery ambivalence, I want to discuss how it informs the inconsistent discourse on ferry services to and within Newfoundland. In fact, it is the mainland-island derivative that can be found at play here. In the local discourse, services from continental Canada are regularly deplored to be too sparse, leaving the island in a precarious situation with respect to essential transport and goods. At the same time, services to the smaller offshore islands from mainland Newfoundland are constantly targeted as a superfluous drain of local tax dollars.[163] This is remarkable already insofar as stopping regular ferry services to the smaller islands means island residents will have to resettle to mainland Newfoundland. Resettlement of isolated communities, in turn, has been among the procedures of social engineering for modernization in the post-confederation era that have left permanent scars in the local societal fabric (Matthews 1978; Courtney 1974). Postulating the discontinuation of inner-Newfoundland ferry services does not only ignore the trauma of resettlement, however, but lacks the understanding that public services from Canada to mainland Newfoundland are equally unprofitable and, hence, highly subsidized, too. Indeed, the questioning of services for offshore islands could easily be transferred to the Newfoundland main island and refuel the discussion of "how many, if any, people should live [here]" (Alexander 1976, 56).

The discrepancy between the widespread lack of empathy with offshore islanders on the one hand and the stress on the vulnerability of all Newfoundlanders as islanders on the other acquires enhanced comprehensibility if viewed in light of the mainland-island ambivalence.[164] The ambivalent conception of the place, I suggest, corrupts the capability to switch between island and mainland perspectives because both conceptions are simultaneously relevant and neither can be ignored. The inability to take turns and see the respective other then makes acknowledging the

[163] The St. Brendan Ferry, with the highest *per capita* costs for the province, is arguably the most contested (Roberts 2017).

[164] Remember that my focus is on the island part of the province of Newfoudland and Labarador.

parallels in offshore island and main island scenarios difficult. Arguably, those difficulties are also related to the widespread unawareness of the island-mainland ambivalence or its dismissal as unremarkable. As unawareness precludes embracement, yet embracement is required for tapping ambivalence's creative potential, as argued in Chapter Two, this also helps explain the absence of productive discussion in this context.

***

The manifestations and effects presented in this section include several creative and desirable appearances, as well as an inhibiting and undesirable one. Strategic relevance, creative representations, global attention, and an unorthodoxly liberal societal organization have a clearly positive tenor. They can be related to the observation that the simultaneous relevance of the two opposing concepts was acknowledged and embraced in the related contexts, thus meeting the precondition for tapping ambivalence's creative potential. The inconsistent local discourse on ferry services, on the other hand, is clearly undesirable because it inhibits productive approaches to any of the related issues, such as unprofitability, inadequate schedules, or disproportionate vessel sizes, among others. As suggested above, this negative outcome can be understood as an indicator of Newfoundlanders' widespread unawareness of the mainland-island ambivalence. While both mainland and island terminology with regard to Newfoundland is ubiquitous in the local discourse, the parallels in the role and situation of the main island and the offshore islands it implies appear to be little acknowledged.

8.5 Correlations with Instances of Cultural Ambivalence Studied in Previous Chapters

Newfoundland's centre-periphery ambivalence interlocks with all five culturally ambivalent contexts studied in previous chapters. This establishes the final ambivalent context in my case study as another central node in the web of cultural ambivalence, whose implications will be discussed further below in section 8.6.

British Ambivalence Towards Settlement

The centre-periphery ambivalence of Newfoundland and the ambivalence of British stakeholders towards settlement on the island can be correlated in two ways and directions. One

is through understanding the island's centrality as its closeness to Britain, as "an extension of the West of England" (Matthews 1973, 229), a "fish basket" or training facility of Britain. This perspective implied that the island did not require an independent society and should, indeed, not have one to warrant full control by and maximum benefits for the stakeholders in the metropolis. Newfoundland's marginality or distance from the centre as an overseas territory, such as Nova Scotia or Maine, on the other hand, meant that settlement was required to secure British claims of possession lastingly. These opposing views mirror the Crown's major arguments pro and contra settlement presented in Chapter Three, thus revealing how the particular geographic situation of the island and the centre-periphery ambivalence it induced spurred the ambivalence towards settlement.

The other correlation is of a psychological nature in the sense that it involves the ambivalent conception of the place rather than its ambivalent physical situation or in-betweenness. This view links advocating settlement with centrality and opposing settlement with marginality in the following way. Unauthorized settlers lead lives on the margins not only spatially but also societally, and without proper rights to own land and shape their future, the sense of permanence and focus on the new home are inhibited. If settlement is supported, on the other hand, settlers are encouraged to build their own society and culture as the new centre of their lives. In Newfoundland, these correlations have also been observed by Shane O'Dea (1994). Hence, when British stakeholders simultaneously advocated and opposed settlement on the island in much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, conceptions of the place as centre and periphery were simultaneously induced for those who lived there. Given that the British ambivalence was fostered by the island's ambivalent location, this shows how the conceptual or psychological centre-periphery ambivalence with respect to the island was ultimately also propelled by the physical or situational one.

Autonomy–Dependence Ambivalence

Newfoundland's centre-periphery ambivalence can be linked to the ambivalence of autonomy and dependence in modern outports once we acknowledge that the more comprehensive concurrence of centrality and marginality was a key factor in creating a conceptual centre-periphery ambivalence at the outport level. The island's ambivalent position as both backyard of Britain (that is, part of the centre) and peripheral overseas territory, I

argue, was at the heart of the emergence and persistence of the particular settlement pattern with a myriad of small fishing villages dotting its shores. As part of the centre, Newfoundland originally featured a whole series of British trading and service hubs along its east coast that facilitated the ever-further spread of small fishing communities (Handcock 1989; Pope 2004). As a peripheral overseas territory of uncertain status until 1824 and an underdeveloped and unforgiving place long after, the island's original socioeconomic organization – and with it its settlement pattern – endured when similar schemes vanished in other places, which had equally been opened for European colonization by the Atlantic fishery (Pope 2004). Notably, the specific settlement pattern outlasted the migratory fishery. In its demise, Newfoundland outports became increasingly isolated places, as described in Chapter Four. Small and isolated as they were, these modern outports were clearly peripheral, which, in turn, engendered their inhabitants' sociopolitical dependence and powerlessness.[165] At the same time, modern outports, through their seclusion, represented the undisputed centre of life for the rural population. The focus on the local community, together with the lack of interference from outside, then allowed for a high level of autonomy in local societal and cultural affairs, at least as long as subsistence was secured. The quality of the outport as both centre and periphery can, thus, be matched with concurrent experiences of autonomy and dependence. As already noted in Chapter Four, these observations reflect the desolation-sovereignty ambivalence inherent to isolated locales more generally (Crocker 2017). In sum, the correlation between centre and periphery on the one hand and autonomy and dependence in modern outports on the other is such that the centre-periphery ambivalence of the island has informed the emergence and endurance of outports, which were characterized by another centre-periphery ambivalence, which, in turn, induced the sociocultural ambivalence of autonomy and dependence of their inhabitants.

Besides this empirical correlation, there is also a conceptual linkage between the two cases of cultural ambivalence because centrality goes hand in hand with autonomy and marginality with dependence. This is another indicator in favour of the hypothesis floated in Chapter Seven that the island is susceptible for autonomy-dependence ambivalence more generally, beyond the modern outport. An example given there was the juxtaposition of

[165] As introduced in Chapter Four, modern here refers to the most recent variant of outport society from ca. 1830 until 1940, when central elements of the original variant of these settlements – the focus on the production of saltfish and a largely cashless commercial system – were still in operation.

Newfoundlanders' individualism and autonomy in immediate matters as opposed to their propensity for relying on strongman politics on larger scales. Taking the place's centre-periphery ambivalence as a starting point, we can identify another context that was shaped by the concurrence of autonomy and dependence: Newfoundland within the Atlantic Triangle. As a central node in this early international trading network, the island was an autonomous partner within the "fish into wine" economy (Pope 2004) with an emerging local society that provided all the services that an international maritime trading network required: trading opportunities and storage facilities, boat repair and construction, supplies, and accommodation for crews. The very existence of this thriving society in the resource periphery, however, was heavily dependent on external supplies, European and American markets, as well as international politics, as the variations in demand and prices for salt cod in war times or the impact of granting local fishing rights to foreign fleets attest.

Yet another scenario where autonomy-dependence ambivalence appears to have been at play is the dynamic that subjected Newfoundland to a wide range of systems of governance over the course of its settler history: from vernacular and military rule over British colony and Dominion within the Commonwealth to "ward of the Crown" (Jackson 1984, 7) under Commission of Government, to province of Canada. Rather than a linear evolution towards increasing autonomy (or decreasing dependence), we see dependence gaining weight again after periods of greater autonomy. Notably, the only period characterized by wide-ranging state autonomy – Dominion status after the 1931 Statute of Westminster – was short-lived, ending in 1934 when the Commission of Government took over, and Newfoundland fell back to an ill-defined, colonial status of dependence that arguably best compares to pre-1832 times.[166] Undulating between different degrees of political and territorial autonomy and dependence, the different systems can be considered as reflecting the continued relevance of both poles in Newfoundland. Given the conceptual link between autonomy and centre on the one hand and dependence and periphery on the other and taking the centre-periphery ambivalence into account, then, what has been identified as an anomalous history of governance (Crocker 2016; Jackson 1984; Long 1999) acquires enhanced logic and intelligibility.

[166] Note that Newfoundland became a Dominion already after the Great War. However, this status did not imply legal autonomy until the Statute of Westminster came into effect in 1931.

Modernization–Cultural Preservation Ambivalence

The concurrent emphasis on modernization and cultural preservation in post-confederation Newfoundland is linked with the centre-periphery ambivalence of the place in an arguably quite straightforward manner. As described in Chapter Five, Newfoundland, as an underdeveloped socioeconomic periphery, was predestined for a rushed modernization after metropolitan blueprints. Its centrality, as developed in this chapter, on the other hand, implied rich influences from a wide range of places and the development of a distinct culture, of which Newfoundlanders were clearly aware by the time of confederation.[167] This is why I suggest that the island's concurrent marginality and centrality provided fertile ground for the ambivalence of modernization and cultural preservation to develop in the post-confederation period.

In this context, it is worth noting that postcolonial modernization has been identified as the result of the urge to overcome the "irreconcilable dichotomous" centre/periphery divide between metropolis and postcolonial locale (Crocker 2000, 85). Given the centre-periphery ambivalence of the island developed here, one might say that, in Newfoundland, this divide has, in fact, already been challenged (and partially replaced by ambivalence) with the rise of the awareness of the historical centrality of the island, which was arguably equally well advanced by the mid-twentieth century, at least in intellectual circles. Hence, when Joey Smallwood began modernizing the new province along Canadian models, this was against a background of ambivalent centre-periphery conceptions of the island rather than conceptions of marginality alone. Taking this ambivalence into account then exposes his government's efforts of cultural preservation as an integrated part of his politics from the beginning rather than a response to modernization and the fear of losing a traditional way of life in its wake, which developed in the process. This distinguishes Newfoundland from other postcolonial locales.

Affection–Abuse Ambivalence Towards the Land

Newfoundlanders' ambivalent relationship with the land is linked with the ambivalent perception of the place as centre and periphery in two ways and directions. The island's role as the centre of attention and activity can arguably be viewed as fostering a sense of responsibility and attachment, which can be viewed as precursors of emotional affection. Its

[167] Newfoundlanders can be assumed to become aware of their distinct culture during World War Two at the latest, when they were confronted with the culture of the Canadian and American troops that flocked to the island in which they "found much to resist and also much to envy and copy" (MacLeod 1986: 1).

perception as a periphery, on the other hand, means it falls out of focus or attention. If it is moreover considered a resource frontier – as Newfoundland has constantly been with respect to changing industries – tendencies of exploitation, carelessness, and the approval or sanctioning of potential environmental damage are more likely to occur. Hence, perceiving the island of Newfoundland as both centre and periphery can be viewed as propelling both the affection for and the abuse of the land. That link can also be inverted. Abusing the land requires or implies marginalizing it, whereas loving the place puts it at the centre of attention. From this perspective, the concurrence of abuse and affection fosters an ambivalent perception of the place as both central and peripheral.

Colonizer–(Post)Colonial Subject Ambivalence

Finally, there is also a correlation between the centre-periphery ambivalence of the place and settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalent colonial position. Indeed, there is a two-fold link, as both colonial positions can be associated with concurrent conceptions of the place as centre and periphery. As settler-colonizers, settler Newfoundlanders can be assumed to have once viewed the island as both a periphery with regard to the mother country and as the centre of their lives. This centre-periphery ambivalence is inherent to settler colonial locales more generally and can be translated into the observation that both the colony and the mother country are conceived as home (Veracini 2010). As (post)colonial subjects, on the other hand, the island was (and is) the sole home and undisputed centre of settler Newfoundlanders' lives, but one that they continue to experience being marginalized by external powers and forces. The ambivalent role of settler Newfoundlanders as colonizers and (post)colonial subjects can, thus, be understood as a dual stimulant for the ambivalent conception of the place as centre and periphery to develop.

8.6 The Web of Cultural Ambivalence

The correlations traced in the previous section complete the web of cultural ambivalence spanned by the different ambivalent contexts within Newfoundland society and culture that I have studied. A diagrammatic visualization of the web is shown in figure 8.7. The links are numbered in the order they were developed in this study. A list with brief descriptions of each correlation can be found in Appendix 2.

Generalizing the way I have described a number of correlations in the course of this study, I have adopted the pattern of thinking of three different types of links, which could be termed causal, psychological, and conceptual and are coloured in blue, orange, and magenta respectively in figure 8.7. I speak of a causal correlation if one type of ambivalence can be assumed to have fostered, propelled, or otherwise helped to engender another. A conceptual correlation signifies abstract theoretical links between the poles of the two cases of ambivalence at hand (such as centre and autonomy on the one hand and periphery and dependence on the other). Two instances of ambivalence are deemed psychologically correlated if the poles are related through feelings, propensities, or perceptions. Finally, if a correlation can be traced via shared effects of two cases of ambivalence, I conceive it as secondary and have coloured it in grey.

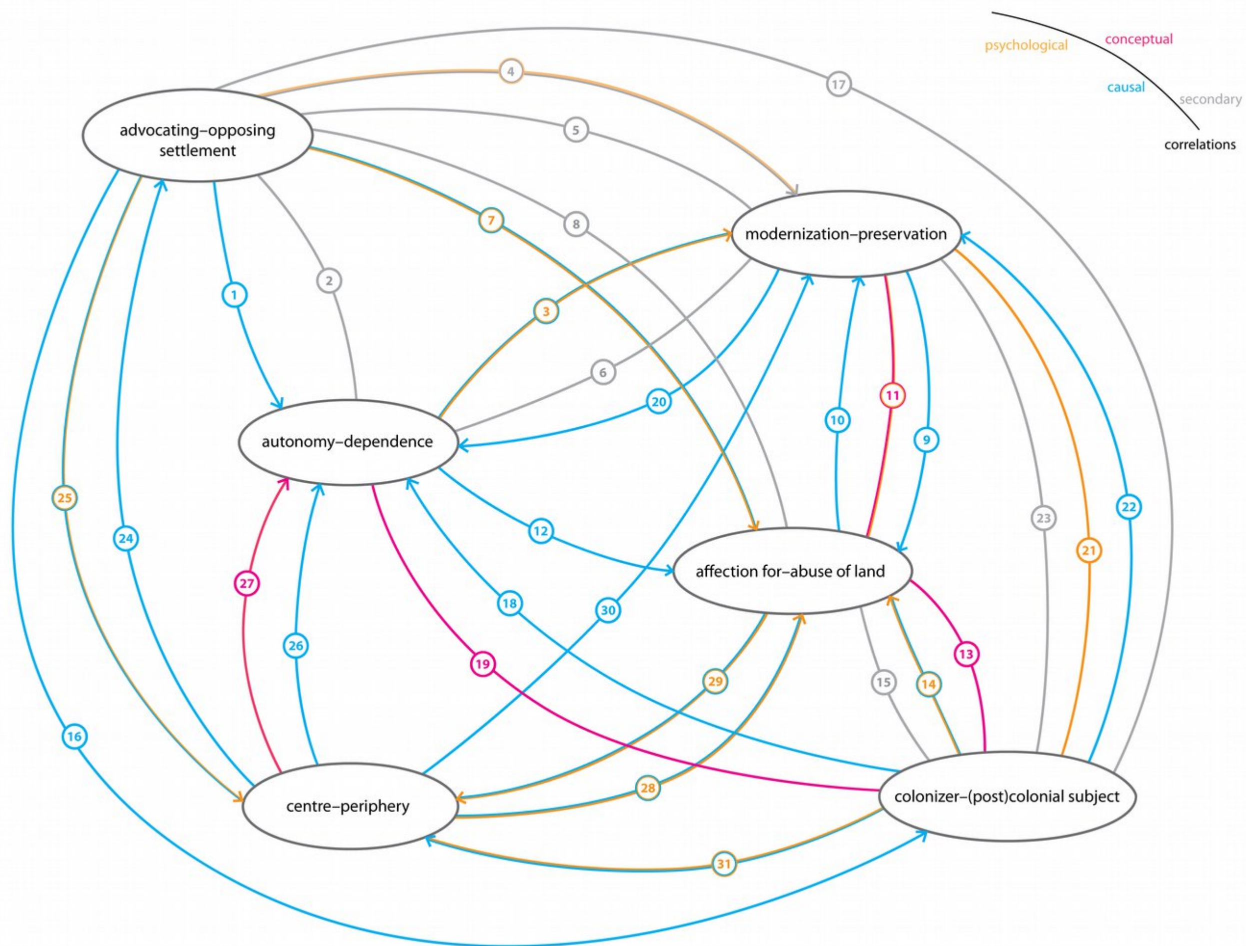


Figure 8.7: The web of cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland. The numbered links are listed in Appendix 2.

Clearly, this classification of links is not always clear-cut and, in some cases, potentially debatable. This is best reflected in the occurrence of hybrid types presented in bi-colour. Indeed, most psychological links also carry a causal element in the sense that one case of ambivalence has induced propensities for another and, hence, they are coloured orange-blue. Classifying a link as conceptual can be equivocal, too, as a conception or abstraction can imply a psychological process, which is why we also see a magenta-orange link. Less equivocal than the assignment of a type or colour is that of a direction by adding arrowheads to selected correlations to indicate that, in one way or another, one ambivalence can be viewed as having favoured, spurred, or creating fertile ground for the other. Both causal correlations and hybrid ones with a "causal share" are depicted as directed links by carrying an arrowhead.

The limited viability of the classification of links reflects the more general circumstance that diagrams or "evidence displays" (Tufte 2006) in qualitative research are necessarily oversimplifications that focus on specific aspects of the analytical evidence while neglecting others. The gain of diagrams is their capacity to reduce the complexity of a copious description for the sake of a synoptic view. Moreover, visual information devices avoid technical jargon, which is why Deleuze and Guattari have valued diagrams as "transdisciplinary agents of thought" (Vellodi 2019, 118). Finally, as Edward Tufte (2006) points out, "*the point of evidence displays is to assist the thinking of producer and consumer alike*" (9, emphasis in original). Indeed, I found the diagrammatic representation of the web of cultural ambivalence helpful for getting a better idea of the number, distribution, and direction of correlations between individual cases, which then prompted a number of conclusions presented in the following.

Implications of the Web

What first catches the eye in figure 8.7 is the high connectivity of the web. Not only do we find a large number of correlations, they also tie each node with all others, thus creating a densely woven, rhizomatic structure. This demonstrates the robustness of the web and can be understood as an indicator of the resilience of the climate of cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland. Moreover, it suggests cultural ambivalence as an integral element of the local society and culture.

Besides these general findings, figure 8.7 facilitates several more specific observations. One is that the affection-abuse ambivalence towards the land has arrows from all other instances

of cultural ambivalence pointing at it. This means that it has been nurtured, fed, or propelled by the entire spectrum of ambivalence governing the island and reflects the shaping impact of ambivalence across contexts and time. Similar observations hold for the ambivalence of modernization and cultural preservation, which has been argued to have outlived post-confederation times (Bannister 2021), although one arrow pointing towards it is a secondary one. This ties in with the observation in Chapter Six that modernization-preservation ambivalence and affection-abuse ambivalence are correlated in a particularly strong way by fostering each other in a sort of feedback loop. The loop itself is reflected by the two blue arrowheaded links that lead from either node to the respective other (links 9 and 10).

Finding a wide spectrum of ambivalent contexts that have played into the ambivalent relationship with the land – dating back to the times of early settlement and running through settler Newfoundland history to the present day – is a strong argument for its solid basis as well as its entrenchment. Moreover, facilitated by the diagrammatic presentation of the web, several leverage points to approach this problematic relationship (which has mostly undesirable effects, as discussed in Chapter Six) can be identified. Besides the kinship with concurrent practices of modernization and preservation, settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalent colonial position is clearly related as well. This means that there is reason to assume that ceasing to suppress or ignore either the colonizer or the (post)colonial subject role and embracing the ambivalent identity can also help to overcome tendencies of denial at play in the context of the tension-laden conception and treatment of the environment. The same holds for acknowledging the ambivalence of Newfoundland as centre and periphery, the island's quality of sitting at the intersection yet also falling between the cracks of two continents and “worlds.” Identifying concrete avenues for encouraging such acknowledgement and developing recommendations for addressing critical issues related to the land-related affection-abuse ambivalence or the ambivalence regarding settler Newfoundlanders' colonial position as the two cases that are of particular momentum and impact today is beyond the scope of this study. What this study does is preparing new ground for such endeavours, as I will argue in more detail in Chapter Nine.

Comparing the number of directed links pointing at or away from individual nodes, the centre-periphery ambivalence of the place, the British ambivalence towards settlement, and the ambivalent colonial position of its settler population stand out as having fostered other instances of cultural ambivalence more than they were fostered by them. This is not too big a surprise for

the British ambivalence towards settlement because it was the first in the chronology of contexts studied and has long ceased to exist. What is more remarkable is its lasting impact to the present day, as suggested by the causal correlations with autonomy and dependence in modern outports, settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalent relationship with the land, and their ambivalent colonial position as colonizers and (post)colonial subjects. The colonial ambivalence, as a condition that runs through Newfoundland's settler history, then fed all other instances of cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland.

Looking at the centre-periphery node, we find that the three arrows pointing towards it belong to perceptions of the place by settler Newfoundlanders. Ignoring these psychological links for the moment, we find that the centre-periphery node, understood as reflecting the special geographical or situational in-betweenness of the island and its implications, has five arrows pointing to other nodes and none pointing towards it. This means that the (situational) centre-periphery ambivalence features prominently in causing or informing other instances of cultural ambivalence without being informed by them. The only case that was not directly informed or propelled by the centre-periphery ambivalence is settler Newfoundlanders' colonial ambivalence. With the colonial ambivalence clearly fostered by the ambivalence of British stakeholders towards settlement, however, which was itself spurred by the centre-periphery ambivalence of the island, there is a distinct indirect link with the colonial ambivalence. This means that the centre-periphery ambivalence, together with the British ambivalence towards settlement, can be considered the dual root or origin of the web of cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland.

It thus turns out that the two instances of cultural ambivalence that frame my case study as the historically earliest and the only ahistorical ambivalent context are bracing the entire web of ambivalence. Moreover, we find that geographical in-betweenness and colonialism can be understood as the spheres where cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland took its beginnings. While the British ambivalence towards settlement is a particularity of Newfoundland (which is related to its ambivalent geographic situation), the impact of this ambivalence is clearly also owed to the more general ambivalence inherent to settler colonies, notably settlers' ambivalent position as marginalized representatives of the mother country (Ashcroft et al. 2013; Memmi 2003). This commends the lens of cultural ambivalence as a promising device for developing a better understanding of settler-colonial locales with "in-between" or borderland geographies more generally.

8.7 Conclusion

The situation of the chapter on the centre-periphery ambivalence of Newfoundland at the end of this case study is owed to its ahistoricity and the natural way the other (historical) cases studied could be arranged into a sequence. This chapter order acquired extra meaning when the assessment of the freshly completed web of cultural ambivalence, as depicted in figure 8.7, revealed that the concurrence of centrality and marginality, together with the British ambivalence towards settlement that it spurred, can be considered the roots (or the dual source) of cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland. This means that the two types of cultural ambivalence that can be understood as having sprouted the ambivalent condition in the other four contexts studied, now bracket my case study.

Other observations derived from the finalized web include the resilience of cultural ambivalence in the local settler society and the deep entrenchment of settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalent relation to the land. Moreover, the connectivity exposed by figure 8.7 convincingly recommends that, in order to better understand and approach issues related to one ambivalent context, the other instances studied ought to be taken into account as well.

***

Regarding the analysis of the place's centre-periphery ambivalence itself, I want to highlight several findings. One is the observation that, due to the strategic relevance the ambivalence engendered, Newfoundland has repeatedly enjoyed increased international attention when upheavals, be they prompted by technological revolutions, political or environmental crises, or war (or a combination thereof), have unsettled the Global North. Prominent examples of this pattern include the stipulation of the Atlantic Charter in World War Two and the 9/11 terror attacks, and it also resonates with the recent buzz around the island as a candidate for clean and safe energy production in times of climate change and geopolitical reorganization.

Another observation I made was that, in early modern times, when Newfoundland was both a resource periphery and a trading hub in the Atlantic Triangle, the enhanced freedom from moral restrictions and class divisions, together with above-average wages and the availability of little luxuries for everyone, created a “modern” climate that preceded more general developments of that kind by at least a century. Viewed in conjunction with Newfoundland's lasting underdevelopment and the constant urge to catch up it created – as discussed in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven – the place's role as a predecessor for modern

societies may appear curious. Yet, it resonates with the concept of non-synchronicity Stephen Crocker (2000) has applied to post-confederation and post-moratorium Newfoundland. Originally developed by Ernst Bloch (1977 [1932]) to explain the appeal of National Socialism in the late Weimar Republic, non-synchronicity (or nonsynchronism, from German *Ungleichzeitigkeit*) describes the coexistence of "futuristic and archaic moments of economy, technology, and social life" (Crocker 2000, 81), which can also be found in (post)colonial contexts. As such, the phenomenon clearly applied to mid-twentieth century Newfoundland, where "[h]ippies escaping from the fast food and electricity of urban America could be found living among the newly modernized population of Placentia Bay, who were enjoying the same things for the first time" (86). The coexistence of a super-modern, commercial trawler fishery and an "almost medieval" family fishery (Brox 1972, 6), as mentioned in Chapter Five, is another manifestation of non-synchronicity at the time.

If we widen the concept of non-synchronicity to include the phenomenon of one society being out of sync with other related societies besides characterizing uneven circumstances within a single society, non-synchronicity can also be used to describe Newfoundland's peculiar modernity in the era of the Atlantic Triangle. Moreover, it can be identified in the rough pattern of the place's centrality when the Global North faces unsettled and unsettling times (and its marginality in more settled times). With centrality and attention often engendering enhanced economic stability, Newfoundland was repeatedly better off when others faced times of crisis. A prominent example is the base-building boom in Newfoundland during the Second World War, which consolidated the local economy (Neary 1980). When the affairs of the Global North entered calmer waters again after the war, the island's strategic centrality between North America and Europe turned into a position of marginality, which left its economy vulnerable again. On a more ideational note, Newfoundland became an epitome of safety and human warmth when the Western world was shaken by the 9/11 terror attacks. As both Newfoundland's early modernity and the tendency of its enhanced centrality and stability in times of widespread upheaval can be traced to the island's centre-periphery ambivalence, I argue that this ambivalence is another trigger of non-synchronicity besides (post)coloniality.

I also introduced the ambivalent conception of the place as both mainland and island as an expression or subtype of the centre-periphery ambivalence. Viewing what might otherwise be assigned to a mere shift in perspective (towards continental Canada or the offshore islands,

respectively) through the lens of ambivalence proved helpful in making sense of the inconsistent local discourse on ferry services. The unproductive discussion can, in parts, be attributed to the lack of recognition that the main island and the offshore islands occupy comparable positions regarding mobility and supply, if with respect to different reference points. That lack, I have argued, is best explained by a conceptual mainland-island ambivalence because the simultaneous relevance of both conflicting perspectives compromises the ability to switch between the two and, hence, to acknowledge the parallels between the positions of main islanders and offshore islanders. Clearly, the ability to acknowledge those parallels is further inhibited by the unawareness or ignorance of this ambivalence, which is arguably widespread.

Finally, based on conceptual links between centre and autonomy on the one hand and periphery and dependence on the other, the hypothesis of the more general applicability of autonomy-dependence ambivalence in Newfoundland beyond the outport, as launched in the previous chapter, has been further substantiated. It was illustrated by the rich series of different governance systems the island has witnessed over time since European colonization and the observation that it undulated with respect to the amount of autonomy rather than exhibiting a continuous increase. This complex history of governance in the field of tension between autonomy and dependence, I suggest, presents the status of Newfoundland as a province within a federal state – with the provincial autonomy and the federal dependencies and liabilities it implies – as a plausible form of governance for the place.

As a closing remark backed by my own experience, I suggest that the centre-periphery ambivalence has not only inspired artist Marilyn Koop and geographer Clarence Brown who conceived a Newfoundland-centred world map but appeals to creative minds more generally. While the stunning landscape is regularly given as *the* source of artistic inspiration,[168] the quality of the place as being both central and marginal or remote is arguably an equally stimulating, if perhaps not always entirely acknowledged factor. In any case, my response to Josh Lepawsky, Chrystal Phan, and Rob Greenwood's (2010) (indirect) question of how creative talent can be attracted and retained in the province would be to expand on the centre-periphery ambivalence of the place. Indeed, the authors appear to recognize that asset, if only for the capital city, when

[168] Compare, for instance, the observations of Irish artist-curators John Fairleigh and Chris Wilson (1995) and local artist Craig Francis Power (2015), or Martina Seifert's characterization of Gerald Squires' work. Moreover, the central role of the Newfoundland landscape for artistic inspiration figures prominently in many of the letters of thanks by visiting artists to the Pouch Cove Foundation (https://www.pouchcove.org).

they speak of the “dual character” of St. John's as “both metropole and margin” (325). However, they consider the city's marginality as the reason why many creative talents eventually leave for larger and better-connected places, despite the stimulation of cross-disciplinary exchange and experimentation experienced here. What Lepawski et al. note only in passing, however, is the fact that many of the creative players who leave eventually find their way back to Newfoundland. Moreover, residency programs like that by The Rooms and Parks Canada, the Pouch Cove Foundation, the Tilting Recreation and Cultural Society, and, since 2010, the globally advertised program of Shorefast Foundation's Fogo Island Arts have put the island on the map for national and international artists. The fact that many of them have returned after their residencies and more than a few (myself included) have made their home on the island reflects the lasting attractive impact the place has on them, an impact that, I contend, is spurred by the concurrence of peripherality and centrality besides scenic beauty and hospitality. Newfoundland's peripherality sets it apart while making it comfortable to settle down and at an affordable price. The island's centrality, on the other hand, keeps the place's appeal from palling by opening ever-new angles and prompting constant flux on all levels in this borderland that is also a crossroads. This main/island or is-mainland, this Ambivaland.

***

With my case study of settler Newfoundland through the lens of cultural ambivalence now complete, Chapter Nine will summarize and further evaluate my findings within and across individual contexts analyzed. Further, it assesses the applicability of cultural ambivalence as a device for fostering actual change and provides suggestions for future research.

Chapter Nine:
Conclusion

This research project was born out of my wish for a better understanding of why the place I had come to love continued to both baffle and inspire me. After launching the hypothesis that ambivalence might be at the core of my Newfoundland experience, I first found myself confronted with the wide range of the concept's understanding and application and, in fact, its vagueness and underappreciation. The first step was, thus, to develop ambivalence as a distinct concept and lens and expose its productive implications, a process described in Chapter Two. Equipped with a clear understanding of ambivalence and its application to cultural contexts, I then directed that focus at Newfoundland as a case study. In Chapters Three to Eight, I have presented evidence for cultural ambivalence at work as a shaping force within a diverse spectrum of unsettled cultural contexts reaching from the time of colonization to the present. This allowed me to develop new viewing angles and interpretations of contexts that have been subject to intense research before. For instance, it enabled me to revisit questions of agency in the frameworks of European colonization and outport society under the truck system.[169] Moreover, I was able to enhance our understanding of the Smallwood government's uneven politics and develop new understandings of their consequences. Ambivalence was also shown to be at work in less studied contexts, such as settler Newfoundlanders' relation to the physical and metaphorical place as land, resource, and home, as well as their colonial self-conception and identity. For instance, the analysis provided valuable insights into mechanisms of justification for environmental abuse and pressure put on environmentalists in Newfoundland. Settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalent colonial identity as colonizers and (post)colonial subjects, then, gave meaning to dynamics of self-othering and the entrenchment of the urban/rural divide, among other things. Finally, the island's location in-between worlds and continents has been shown to have engendered its ambivalent status and perception as both centre and periphery. Besides other findings, this centre-periphery ambivalence prompted me to conclude that the settler Newfoundland society and culture have exhibited non-synchronicities on multiple levels.

[169] The truck system was a cashless trading system based on the provision of supplies and gear on credit and the settlement of debt by means of a processed staple. In Newfoundland (and originally in the British transatlantic colonies more generally), that staple was cured codfish.

Identifying a common force behind what would otherwise look like a rather eclectic collection of contexts and phenomena, I was able to trace correlations between them that had hitherto gone unnoticed. The resulting web of ambivalence functions as a potent alternative explanatory grid. The irritating concurrence of affectionate and abusive propensities regarding the physical environment, for instance, was found to interlock with the ambivalent colonial identity of settler Newfoundlanders, which could, in turn, be traced to the British ambivalence that governed the early days of settlement. Moreover, I observed that the love-hate relationship with the land mirrors a society and culture in the field of tension between autonomy and dependence and is, in turn, reflected in continued efforts to both modernize at all costs and preserve the local nature-based heritage and way of life, as well as in the clashing cultural emphases on both British or Irish ties and regional distinctness. Even the coexistence of lightheartedness and graveness – one of my early experiences – loses its puzzling aspect if seen against the background of the local colonial history and the ambivalent identity it has prompted. In turn, the colonial ambivalence, too, ties in with place attachment and abusive resource extraction. In sum, recognizing the integral role of ambivalence in the Newfoundland society and culture, the place's development and appearance today acquire enhanced coherence and comprehensibility. Moreover, cultural ambivalence adds a robust and reliable facet to a place that has otherwise been described as being "always on the cusp of going somewhere, becoming something" (Bannister 2012, 212).

***

After briefly revisiting the process of grinding my analytical lens, the following pages will retrace central findings that cultural ambivalence enabled me to develop and assemble them across contexts and chapters. This will then allow me to draw several further conclusions and suggest avenues for future research.

9.1 My Analytical Lens

The hypothesis that the inspiring yet conflicting experiences I originally had in Newfoundland are related to ambivalence sent me on an investigative intellectual journey when I realized the heterogeneity and vagueness in the concept's understanding, as well as the vast spectrum of its application. Tracing and mapping the notion's origins, etymology, and use across contexts and disciplines in Chapter Two, I arrived at what could be called a distillate of a definition: ambivalence is what arises if two opposing concepts or values are simultaneously

relevant for an individual or within a collective, situation, or structure. What I call "cultural ambivalence" is the non-individual variant of the condition, that is, the simultaneous relevance of two opposing concepts or values within a collective, situation, or structure. With this concise yet comprehensive definition at hand, I was able to distinguish ambivalence from other concepts it is at times conflated with, such as ambiguity, indifference, dichotomy, or hybridity. Moreover, I distinguished our understanding of the concept from Zygmunt Bauman's approach (1991). At the same time, the definition enabled me to acknowledge the overlap ambivalence has with paradox, (Hegelian) dialectics, (Derridean) aporia, and "janusian thinking" (Rothenberg 1971). Based on the proposed definition of ambivalence and its situation within the conceptual canon, the central yield of the chapter, besides ambivalence's conceptual clarity, was the recognition of its close kinship with creativity and, hence, its positive connotation. Revealing an actual overlap of the two concepts was achieved by revisiting different theories of creativity and their descriptions of the creative process. As a result, we arrived at a deeper understanding of ambivalence as a dynamic condition with a strong potential for creative outcomes. To provide us with a more intuitive idea of this condition, I illustrated ambivalence with acts of pondering and balancing or the dynamic equilibrium within an energetic field. These illustrations also revealed that embracing ambivalence is a necessary condition for tapping its creative potential.

Equipped with the small set of criteria to be scrutinized for exposing the presence of ambivalence, the recognition of its creative potentiality, and familiarized with its workings, I felt well prepared for applying it as a focus and research prism, through which I would study Newfoundland culture and society. The variety of contexts that responded to my scanning for cultural ambivalence and the alternative pathways of interpretation and understanding that opened up in the sequel proved exciting.

9.2 A Shaping Force of Culture

This section is dedicated to collecting the manifold expressions and effects of cultural ambivalence I have identified within the different contexts studied in Chapters Three to Eight. They present ambivalence at work as a force that has shaped settler Newfoundland culture in multiple ways and on various levels. Building on the effects presented here, the following sections (9.3, 9.4, and 9.5) evidence ambivalence's more sweeping impact within and across contexts, as well as its value as a widely applicable and potent interpretive device.

Ambivalence, as the simultaneous relevance of opposing concepts or values, has infused the local settler society and culture from their early days. Prompted by emerging imperialism, the nature of the Atlantic fishery, and Newfoundland's location between continents, British stakeholders were ambivalent regarding settlement on the island during most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as described in Chapter Three. This ambivalence expressed itself in a legislative tangle regarding Newfoundland's economic and residential affairs. As a result, the development of a settled society was protracted compared to typical early modern settler colonies. Another effect was early Newfoundlanders' tendency to baffle the administrative order, which was originally vague and largely unenforced. The emergence of an efficient system of governance from the legislative tangle attests to the commitment and creativity of all parties of the emerging Newfoundland society, including merchants, residents, and naval administrators. Further, Britain's ambivalence towards Newfoundland fuelled a lasting ambivalence of Newfoundlanders towards the mother country that exceeded the general ambivalence of settlers towards the metropolis. Today, this ambivalence is palpable in coexisting tendencies of cherishing a British, Irish, or Scottish heritage on the one hand and engaging in a strong particularism on the other. Finally, I have argued that the uncertainty created by the British ambivalence was fertile ground for the development of propensities for endurance and conservatism.

The ambivalence of autonomy and dependence in modern Newfoundland outports studied in Chapter Four had a lasting impact on the local culture as well. It was, for instance, involved in the development of the distinct social organization of outports, which combined competition with camaraderie and individualism with egalitarianism, as captured in Melvin Firstone's (1967) study *Brothers and Rivals*. The simultaneous relevance of autonomy and dependence also left its traces in outport language. By downplaying adversities or inverting them linguistically, the exposure to harsh living conditions and a precarious industry was met with an unflinching and, at times, nearly satirical air, thus reflecting the combination of admitting powerlessness and taking control. The further propulsion of the propensity for conservatism was another cultural feature fuelled by the autonomy-dependence ambivalence because it was a way to protect spaces of autonomy in an otherwise largely powerless position. In the process, outporters cultivated a cyclic rather than a progressive worldview, which allowed them to optimize the existing ambivalent system and situation for their own benefit.

Post-confederation Newfoundland, as shaped by the concurrence of modernization and cultural preservation described in Chapter Five, was full of expressions and products of cultural ambivalence. Some took problematic forms, such as the highly subsidized and mechanized yet structurally fossilized “capricious“ Atlantic fishery, or a “tandem” approach at Memorial University, which honoured the Newfoundland idiom while purging it from students. Moreover, ambivalence facilitated the social divide between those who embraced the newly available welfare payments as another source of income in a traditionally plural economy and those who considered that attitude as betraying the local culture of self-sufficiency. Collective ambivalence towards outport life as both the locus of Newfoundland identity and a source of deprivation was another expression of the modernization-preservation ambivalence, as was the coexistence of pride in the local culture and ideas of inferiority regarding the more “developed” mainland Canada. Another undesirable outcome related to the ambivalence of the time was the emergence of overpopulated outports as a result of an early resettlement scheme, whose inconsistency can be traced to concurrent elements of respecting and rejigging traditional outport culture. Finally, the focus on modernizing urban structures and preserving rural culture further entrenched the urban/rural divide of the local society. However, the concurrence of efforts to modernize and efforts to preserve the local culture in the Smallwood era had multiple creative effects, too. They include the emergence of the Newfoundland Studies Movement, a highly creative and interdisciplinary school of thought at Memorial University that produced an impressive body of expertise on all things Newfoundland, and the stimulation of an artistic *renaissance* on the island that reached across disciplines. The positioning of Memorial as a true people's university that was concerned with and about Newfoundlanders can be traced to the ambivalence of the day as well. A less encompassing yet undoubtedly culturally enriching move fuelled by the modernization-preservation ambivalence was the reopening of the Newfoundland Museum as a locus for local cultural history and the promotion of the new province's natural resources and modern industries alike.

Unsurprisingly, settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalence of loving and abusing the land has left a strong mark on the local culture, too, as described in Chapter Six. A common trend in places that are (or are conceived as being) close to the frontier, I argued that the ambivalent relation to the land was and is particularly distinct in Newfoundland because of the specific colonial history and physical geography of the island. Its manifestations include the conception

of the physical environment as friend and foe and the trend of building “dream homes on gravel pits,” which exposes the puzzling logic of erasing stretches of forest in order to immerse oneself in them. The emergence of what has been called a “schizoid petroculture” (Polack 2017) in Newfoundland (a local society that depends on oil on multiple levels yet has not entirely subscribed to the industrialized way of life oil stands for) can equally be traced to the concurrence of attachment to the environment on the one hand and ruthless exploitation on the other. Not surprisingly, the environmental ethic prevailing in Newfoundland reflects the ambivalence towards the land as well. Newfoundlanders' utilitarian approach to nature (e.g. Cadigan 1999; Faris 1969; Fusco 2007b) and the related so-called “symbiotic ideology” (Stoddart and Graham 2018) combine exploitative and affectionate elements, if in less incompatible variations than in actual ambivalence. The general desirability of this approach, I suggest, is unclear. Depending on the specific situation, it can foster healthy practicality or hypocrisy and deference. A more mediate effect of the ambivalence towards the land is the further propulsion of Newfoundlanders' capacity for endurance. This link is exposed if we acknowledge that resorting to either loving or ravaging the land can function as a safety valve that helps to persevere when the pressure of operating precarious industries in an unforgiving environment becomes too high. Finally, there is also a clearly creative effect of settler Newfoundlanders' love-hate relationship with the land, namely the artistic and notably literary output it inspires. A paragon is Patrick Kavanagh's (1996) novel *Gaff Topsails*, which is conceived around the counterpoints of a spiritual and physical union between people and land on the one hand and a deep, violent rift between them on the other.

Chapter Seven exposed the shaping impact of settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalent colonial position as colonizers and (post)colonial subjects. While in principle inherent to any settler society, the Newfoundland colonial ambivalence has been shown to be particularly distinct. As a result of widespread deference, its expressions and effects are undesirable throughout. One of them is multifaceted self-othering, where settler Newfoundlanders figure on both ends of the colonial process. Settler Newfoundlanders othered themselves as colonial subjects when they declared themselves incapable of self-governance and voluntarily returned to the *de facto* status of a British colony under Commission of Government in 1934. Other cases include exoticizing their own culture and the disappearing of people in the context of tourism. As these types of self-othering are largely imposed on the rural population by St. John's-centred

authorities and stakeholders, they reveal a rift through the local society that follows and further entrenches the urban/rural divide. Enhanced capacities for pessimism and the local culture of blaming can equally be traced to the colonial ambivalence because settler Newfoundlanders' confidence was compromised on both sides of the colonial coin: with a lastingly precarious, if not failing, economy, they were unsuccessful in terms of typical colonizer logic and aims; as largely powerless subjects in the colonial periphery, they suffered from exploitation and underdevelopment. This can be considered a dual motive for losing optimism and resorting to blaming as a verbal form of self-defence. Enhanced pessimism and a propensity for blaming (others and themselves), then, are arguably bad advisors for productive communication and negotiation with external parties. The only positive effect of the colonial ambivalence, if debatable, is associated with the culture of blaming. Like loving and ravaging the land, it can be understood to serve as a safety valve when economic or psychological pressures become unbearable, thus further propelling the local capacity to endure.

As the only non-historical case in the ambivalent canon, the ambivalence of the island of Newfoundland as both centre and periphery was already at play at the beginning of the settler history in Newfoundland and continues to shape the place today. In fact, as described in Chapter Eight, together with the British ambivalence towards settlement, the centre-periphery ambivalence can be viewed as the origin of cultural ambivalence in Newfoundland. This is testified by the numerous causal links that could be traced with the other culturally ambivalent contexts I have studied. These causal links, as well as conceptual and psychological correlations, are visualized in the web of cultural ambivalence shown in figure 8.7.

The centre-periphery ambivalence has been found to engender one unproductive and several favourable outcomes. The highly inconsistent and unproductive discourse on ferry services on the island and, by extrapolation, on logistics more generally – which can be conceived as a consequence of the ambivalent conception of the place as both island and mainland and the inability to separate the two perspectives – is clearly undesirable. In contrast, the appreciation of the central-peripheral place as a highly strategic site in times of upheaval represents a positive effect. The attention that a strategic position raises often generates economic benefits. This was the case when Canadian and U.S. American military bases sprung up on the island in World War Two and again in the wake of the 9/11 terror attacks in which Newfoundland figured as a shelter and counter-concept to aggression and violence. Clearly, the

island's strategic relevance also enhanced its centrality on the world map, as exemplified by 9/11 and the stipulation of the Atlantic Charter by Churchill and Roosevelt in the summer of 1941 in Placentia Bay. The island's ambivalent nature as a resource periphery and trading hub in the context of the Atlantic Triangle had the effect of making it the scene of enhanced modernity, which appears curious if we think of persistent conceptions of backwardness and the continued urge to catch up. And yet, in early modern Newfoundland, seasonal, transient, and permanent residents enjoyed particular freedom from Old World moral confinements and class divisions long before similar processes emerged in the mother country. Last but not least, the ambivalent feeling of centrality and remoteness that the island radiates has inspired and continues to inspire artists from around the globe.

This concludes the summary of the cultural impact of ambivalence within individual contexts studied. In what follows, I will use a cross-contextual reading to develop further angles and insights besides highlighting and substantiating selected earlier observations.

9.3 Enhanced Agency and Creativity

A cross-contextual cultural phenomenon in Newfoundland induced by ambivalence that follows from selected individual expressions and effects is the generation of hitherto unrecognized opportunities for enhanced agency and creativity. In early settler Newfoundland, that is, in the period of colonization from Europe, the ambivalence regarding settlement in Newfoundland has been shown to act as an energy drain for British stakeholders, which opened up spaces for agency and creativity on the island. The exploitation of these spaces undermined existing power hierarchies, thus challenging widely accepted understandings of dominance and suggesting enhanced contentment of early residents with their “unsettled” status. Moreover, common ideas of compromised creativity due to constant hardship and struggle were debilitated and replaced by the recognition of the capacity to develop productive approaches to precarious circumstances. Together with Newfoundlanders' enhanced ambivalence towards an ambivalent mother country, this modifies the picture of life in early settler Newfoundland, providing it with greater symmetry and balance with regard to the relations between colony and metropolis, as well as a more cheerful palette.

Fast forwarding two centuries and directing the lens of ambivalence at the modern Newfoundland outport as shaped by isolation and a largely cashless economic system in which

fishing families bartered salted codfish for supplies and gear opens alternative views as well. What is still often conceived and painted as a sphere dominated by exploitation, desolation, and struggle was also an elaborate sociocultural construct that fishing families, who embraced the existing ambivalence of autonomy and dependence, have actively helped to establish and maintain. This reveals agency and creativity where they have often been denied (e.g. O'Dea 1994; O'Flaherty 1975; Poole 1982).

Enhanced creativity and productivity could also be found as a result of the ambivalent politics and mindsets in post-confederation Newfoundland, besides failed aspirations. Here, as in earlier ambivalent contexts, and in accordance with identifying acknowledgement as a necessary condition for tapping ambivalence's productive potential, creativity was prompted when the ambivalent situation or mindset was embraced and mined. This reveals the period as one of tapped potential as much as missed chances, rather than characterized by failed visions alone, as it is arguably still widely perceived.

Embracing ambivalence as a necessary condition for creative outcomes to emerge implies their absence when the ambivalence at hand remains unrecognized or unacknowledged. This was and is largely the case within the context of Newfoundlanders' ambivalent relationship with the land where the abusive pole is arguably never fully embraced. The result is societal tensions and pressures. Even Newfoundlanders' legendary affection for their home island acquires an unpleasant overtone as justifying environmental destruction or, at least, sanctioning it. An exception is art, where the collective love-hate relationship can be and has been embraced as an inspiration for creative endeavours. Examples I have presented include Patrick Kavanagh's novel *Gaff Topsails* (1996) and Jean Claude Roy's painting *Francois* (2009).

Similar observations hold for settler Newfoundlanders' ambivalent colonial identity as colonizers and (post)colonial subjects. As a source of tension between two decidedly uncomfortable roles, the ambivalence is generally ignored or avoided, rather than embraced. This avoidance is then reflected by the lack of creative cultural output based on the colonial ambivalence. An exception is again the artistic realm, where novels such as Wayne Johnston's *The Colony of Unrequited Dreams* thrive on the postcoloniality of a settler locale by "[replacing] the 'certainty' of a singular, authoritative history with a problematic plurality" (Chafe 2003b, 325).

In the ahistorical context of the ambivalent character and conception of Newfoundland as both centre and periphery, non-creative outcomes can arguably be traced to the unawareness of that

ambivalence, which implies the absence of its acknowledgement. Notably, the island-mainland ambivalence of Newfoundland is apparently widely ignored, perhaps because it is, at first sight, perceived as a banality. The appreciation of the centre-periphery ambivalence, on the other hand, prompted artworks, such as Marilyn Koop's *Map of the World* (see figure 8.6), and originality of thinking, as reflected in the geography department's visualization of the Newfoundland-centred world (compare figure 8.5).

9.4 New Views on Old Myths

Besides tracing spaces for agency and creativity, or rationalizing their absence, the lens of cultural ambivalence enabled me to debunk a number of empty myths and to provide others with rationale and actuality. In other words, using the lens of ambivalence, I was able to separate recurring yet unfounded claims and tropes from narratives or assertions that carry factual content.

The myth of constant neglect by Britain in early colonial times and, notably, the dismissive element it is arguably assumed to imply was debunked based on our understanding of the process and dynamics of ambivalence. The continued tackling of the question of whether settlement in Newfoundland should be supported or discouraged, as described in Chapter Three, represented an energy drain for Whitehall, which, at times, exceeded their capacities and had to be shelved as more immediate issues had to be dealt with. There is no need to assume resentment or active disregard to explain this attitude.

The myth of “struggles and vicissitudes” between early residents and West Country merchants has been debunked before as an unwarranted generalization of John Reeves' 1793 assessment of the merchants' reservation regarding the development of a settled society (including a full administrative body) to settlement *per se* (Pope 2004). Nonetheless, it can still be found within the local public discourse. The finding that early Newfoundland residents enjoyed enhanced spaces of agency and were likely more content with their “unsettled” status than is generally assumed, as argued in Chapter Three, further debunks ideas of a strict antagonism between the two groups. The same can be said of the observation that, through their enhanced mobility, residents also contributed to the protraction of a settled society themselves.

The myth of backwardness that has long stuck with the Newfoundland economy and society, notably until confederation, is problematic for several reasons. First of all, backward is

a clearly derogatory term and does, moreover, suggest that those affected have actively contributed to creating it. What was really at the roots of the deficit in living standards and economic thriving in pre-confederation rural Newfoundland was sweeping underdevelopment and can largely be traced to colonial exploitation and mismanagement by the political and economic elite. This is all well-known (e.g. Alexander 1974; Overton 1996). What my study adds to further rebut the myth is that, while Newfoundlanders have suffered from (post)colonial resource exploitation and underdevelopment, their culture and lifestyle, which have been perceived and described as "backward" by outsiders, also reflected active choices made. This is suggested by the enhanced agency in early settler Newfoundland. Strong individualism and the meticulous organization of outports are further indicators. Choice of lifestyle also resonates in comedic statements (which have to strike a nerve to reach the audience), such as "Newfoundlanders are the once and future hippies" (Guy quoted in Overton 1996, 33) because an essential element of the hippie movement was the insistence on self-determination.

A myth or trope, which I have provided with actual meaning, is that of Newfoundland's and Newfoundlanders' propensity for conservatism. Conservatism has been found to make sense in the face of the uncertainty created by the British ambivalence towards settlement studied in Chapter Three. If one cannot be sure what to expect next, one is not inclined to add to the insecurity by experimenting or taking risks. The propensity of conservatism was then further propelled within the context of the modern outport, which was shaped by the concurrence of autonomy and dependence, as described in Chapter Four. With saltfish the only marketable staple, fishing people had to stick to making fish, and they commonly had no choice but to rely on the local merchant for its marketing either. The fact that the production was highly autonomous added to the mindset of defending the status quo. Of course, conservatism, as practical or prudent as it may be in certain contexts, can also become entrenched, which is when it can compromise the confidence in local creative capacities and inhibit necessary change. This was, for instance, the case with regard to the fishery in post-confederation times. Moreover, entrenched conservatism – or an impaired faculty to enact change – has arguably propelled the propensity for pessimism that arose in that period.

Distinct conservatism can be the result or expression of an enhanced capacity for endurance, as I suggested in Chapter Three. Indeed, an enhanced capacity for endurance is another recurring trope in characterizations of Newfoundlanders. Cultural ambivalence helped us make

sense of this phenomenon. In the early days of settlement, endurance was a worthwhile strategy because the British ambivalence and the wavering legislation it prompted offered hope for betterment in times of hardship. Due to the harshness of the environment and the precarious nature of the Atlantic fishery, the capacity to endure remained important for fishing people into the twentieth century. It was enhanced by specific practices related to cultural ambivalence, including an irrational relationship with the land (be it love or hate) and the culture of blaming, as described in Chapters Six and Seven, respectively. Both phenomena can be understood as metaphorical safety valves for releasing mental strain so endurance can be upheld.

Another trope with almost mythical dimensions is the impact of the battle of Beaumont Hamel on local ideas of national identity. Acknowledging it as another context besides the British ambivalence towards settlement that engendered an ambivalent stance of Newfoundlanders towards Britain (as both mirror image and Other, compare Chapter Three), the event loses its stand-alone status and becomes a more integrated part of the local culture shaped by cultural ambivalence. At the same time, its significance for the Newfoundland identity is substantiated.

Finally, the claim that settler Newfoundlanders were or are colonized can also be considered a local myth if we acknowledge the recurrence, with which it has been expressed. One might be inclined to think that this myth was substantiated when I provided the (post)colonial experience in settler Newfoundland with a solid foundation in Chapter Seven. However, the claim or assertion – as rooted in sentiment and imagination rather than reason and reality – cannot and must not be equated with actual experiences and the related cultural climate. Rather, I suggest that the colonized claim is part of what could be called the "myth of the victimization" of Newfoundlanders. It is based on the narrative that the place and its people are haunted by a past of failures and oppression that they cannot escape, as described in Chapter Six. While that narrative was debunked at least twenty years ago (Bannister 2003a), it still lingers in the local culture and has arguably more recently been fuelled again by the insistence of some settler Newfoundlanders on their colonizer-invader position alone. The victimization myth neglects the enhanced spaces for agency in Newfoundland that ambivalence helped us uncover, as does the myth of backwardness. Other than the myth of backwardness, however, the myth of victimization, and with it the colonized claim, originated within the settler Newfoundland society and culture, instead of being assigned to Newfoundlanders from outside.[170]

[170] Note, however, that the myth of backwardness was eventually also embraced by Newfoundlanders themselves, as attested by the lasting urge to catch up with metropolitan trends.

9.5 Newfoundland Time

The title of this section does not refer to the island's own time zone half an hour ahead of the Maritime Provinces. Instead, it refers to the particular rhythm and conception of time in Newfoundland – manifest in a series of chronological irregularities within the cultural fabric of the place – which cultural ambivalence helps me trace and construe.

In my study of the modernization-preservation ambivalence in Chapter Five, I came across first indicators for the phenomenon of non-synchronicity when I referenced strong discrepancies in the development of Newfoundland's economy after confederation with Canada.[171] These discrepancies were most vividly reflected in the coexistence of a traditional family fishery, which operated along "almost medieval" (Brox 1972, 6) lines, and a highly technologized commercial trawler fleet. In the context of the island's centre-periphery ambivalence studied in Chapter Eight, I then observed that the phenomenon of non-synchronicity – if widened from describing uneven developments within a single society to developments between different yet related societies – is not confined to specific periods, such as post-confederation or post-moratorium Newfoundland, for which it was identified by Stephen Crocker (2000). Rather, non-synchronicity seems to be a more general characteristic of the culture and society of the place. The reason for non-synchronicity's more encompassing occurrence in Newfoundland is its facilitation not only by the place's postcoloniality, as observed by Crocker, but also by the island's ambivalence of being both central and peripheral. It is this ambivalence that brought modernity to Newfoundland in the era of the Atlantic Triangle, long before it was introduced to more "advanced" places, which Newfoundland has later felt the urge to catch up with. Moreover, the centre-periphery ambivalence positions the island as a highly strategic place that provides shelter and actual or anticipated stability when other parts of the world are shaken by crisis or upheaval. Examples I gave in Chapter Eight are World War Two, 9/11, and, more recently, the re-emergence of territorial wars in Europe. In all three contexts, Newfoundland, as a place shielded from the events that rippled (or ripple) the global fabric, was (or is) played as a joker. Another scene following this pattern of asynchronicity is Newfoundland and Labrador's transformation between 2005 and 2011 "by the greatest [oil] boom in Canadian economic history...[w]hile all the other provincial and territorial governments faced challenging conditions brought on by the worst crisis since the 1930s" (Sweeney 2018, 279).

[171] The concept of non-synchronicity (German *Ungleichzeitigkeit*) was first developed by Ernst Bloch (1977 [1932]) to explain the appeal of National Socialism in the late Weimar Republic.

The leap from neglecting settler Newfoundlanders' colonizer role to emphasizing this role at the expense of their role as (post)colonial subjects, which occurred within only a few years (compare the conclusion of Chapter Seven) can also be considered a chronological irregularity in the local settler culture. Going from one extreme to the other without more extended transition periods represents a discontinuity that can prompt missing out on chances that may have opened along a more continuous trajectory. In the context of the understanding of colonial history and identity in Newfoundland, Susan Manning (2018) suggests that the potential for enhanced solidarity between Indigenous and settler Newfoundlanders is such a missed chance.

The cyclic time conception induced by the annual cycle of the fishing year, as described in Chapters Four and Seven, may at first be considered a paragon of continuity. However, if we look beyond a single year and acknowledge that, independent of the economic success of the fishing year, fishing people's clocks were virtually set back to zero in the spring, a systemic discontinuity is exposed: from the wealth of a good year, fishing people largely fell back to nothing. Or they got a fresh start from the indebtedness incurred by a bad fishing year.[172]

The cyclic time conception as the dominant trend in the era of the modern outport has since given way to a very different prevalence of conceiving the course of time in Newfoundland. In fact, the shift in the collective perception of time, which occurred with the transition from a largely cashless, preindustrial economy to one shaped by fully fledged capitalism and industrialization, was quite radical and and can be understood as representing another discontinuity in the course of cultural development on the island. While the cyclic system and conception were characterized by a focus on the now and the infliction (or freedom) to largely factor out the future and the past, the dominant trend since confederation – and likely longer in urban spheres – is a view of time that neglects the present in favour of the past and the future. As Jerry Bannister observed in 2002, Newfoundlanders "tend to be either captured by [their] past or fixated on [their] future, but [they] have difficulty imagining the present" (175). Since then, we have seen different scenarios in the province. During the premierships of Danny Williams and Kathy Dunderdale (2003–2014), unprecedented optimism governed the otherwise pessimism-laden place after its transition from "have-not" to "have" status when the oil industry first delivered in "the greatest boom in Canadian

[172] Of course, debts were generally not simply cancelled at the beginning of the fishing year in spring but could accumulate. Nonetheless, the provision of supplies and gear despite existing debts allowed for the pursuit of the fishery in the upcoming summer and implied the chance-in-principle to break free from the debt spiral. Moreover, if there was a stretch of bad fishing years, merchants did not have much choice but eventually cancel debts because settlement became illusory.

economic history” mentioned above. Regardless of whether Newfoundlanders looked into the future with optimism or pessimism, though, and what weight was given to the past, their focus continued to be on becoming rather than being. As already quoted at the outset of this chapter, “Newfoundland and Labrador...is forever on the cusp of going somewhere, becoming something” (Bannister 2012, 212), an observation Bannister (2021) has more recently rephrased as “always in the making, never made” (no page number).

Of course, neglecting the present in favour of focusing on the past and/or future is not unique to Newfoundland. As Lorenzo Veracini (2010) observes, that tendency is favoured by settler-colonialism more generally because it helps settlers “hide behind the [past] emigrant and the future citizen” (14). However, I argue that the propensity to neglect the present is further enhanced by settler Newfoundlanders' specific colonial ambivalence. (Post)colonial subjects, too, can be viewed as prone to neglecting the present when they focus on past struggles and injustices and wait for redemption to materialize. Hence, there is a dual basis for this tendency in settler Newfoundland. Furthermore, tendencies to neglect the present can be viewed as already seeded by the British ambivalence towards settlement studied in Chapter Three. The inconsistent legislation of the time, which followed from that ambivalence, and the uncertainty it induced often rendered the present conditions difficult for early residents. At the same time, it directed their views towards the future, as the vacillating regulations gave reasonable hope that affairs would improve again before too long. Finally, the rather abrupt transition (around the time of confederation) from a cyclic time conception with a focus on the now as the dominant trend to neglecting the present is procedurally reminiscent of the sudden change in focus from colonized to colonizer roles. This suggests that, like the opposing colonial positions, both contrasting time conceptions – the cyclic one with its focus on the now and the neglect of the present – are deeply rooted in the local cultural fabric, even if one is clearly prevailing at any given point in time. Those dual roots would explain the observation in Chapter Seven that Newfoundlanders appear to accept the boom and bust cycles in the highly volatile oil and gas sector with relative ease. Moreover, it resonates with the popularity of megaprojects and the related persistence of the “focus on the progressive present,” acknowledged by Bannister (2021, no page number) in contrast to his other arguments for a tendency to neglect the present. I suggest that we might, indeed, be facing yet another case of cultural ambivalence, where time conceptions that neglect the present and those with a focus on the now are simultaneously relevant. This hypothesis is all the more plausible given the high

connectivity of the web of cultural ambivalence and the fact that we touched upon different instances of ambivalence for deriving it.

Further analysis into an ambivalence with regard to the conception of time and its potential implications will be left to future research. My point here is that the lens of cultural ambivalence enabled us to identify multiple irregularities in the rhythm and conception of time in Newfoundland, and, at the same time, it provided us with an explanatory grid for our observations. As a bottom line, I suggest ambivalence be taken into account whenever discontinuities or non-synchronicities are exposed.

9.6 Enhanced Solidarities?

In section 9.2 above, I have briefly revisited the manifestations and effects of cultural ambivalence in the Newfoundland culture, as they were identified during my case study. Subsequent sections traced observations regarding the opening of spaces for agency and creativity, new insights on various myths, and the complex rhythm and conception of time in Newfoundland across chapters. This section is more speculative. Focusing on problematic cultural aspects in contemporary Newfoundland associated with ambivalence and the observation that they involve a number of antagonistic groups, it asks whether and how the lens of cultural ambivalence, by stimulating new perspectives and increased differentiation, might be helpful for mitigating rifts and enhancing solidarities. While the thoughts presented are largely hypothetical, they suggest the capacity of the lens of cultural ambivalence for forging change and encourage future research and engagement.

In Chapter Eight, I have described the inconsistent discourse on ferry services as an expression of the unacknowledged mainland-island ambivalence in the local conception of the place. The related unsympathetic position of main islanders who call for the discontinuation of costly intraprovincial ferry services, which means offshore islanders will have to relocate, can be considered as having prompted a rift between the two groups. A promising way for enhancing the solidarity between them, I suggest, is fostering the awareness of the mainland-island ambivalence, as it would propel the recognition that main islanders are in a similar position with respect to mainland Canada as the offshore islanders are with respect to mainland Newfoundland. Notably, both groups depend on unprofitable services. Recalling that mainland (settler) Newfoundland has, indeed, repeatedly been the subject of discussions about relocating

its entire population could equally help raise that awareness. Finally, underlining that relocation is merely another term for resettlement might spur empathy for offshore islanders, too, because traumatic repercussions of post-confederation resettlement programs are still palpable across Newfoundland today.

Another antagonism within the Newfoundland society, which came up in our study of Newfoundlanders' affection-abuse ambivalence towards the land in Chapter Six, is the gulf between industry proponents (including large parts of the population, industry stakeholders, labour representatives, and government) and environmentalists.[173] The vision for an enhanced solidarity between these antagonistic camps has also been expressed by David Collins (2008), who asked whether "it [might] be possible for community democracy and ecological activism in the island of Newfoundland [...] to bring about a lasting balance, turning foes into friends, and providing for people's needs whilst protecting the fragility of nature" (35). While he counted on "sympathetic industrial and government responses" to achieve this goal, the lens of cultural ambivalence suggests that we do not need to involve these parties to interrupt the antagonizing dynamics, but that this can be accomplished, or at least begun, on the level of the people alone. As my analysis in Chapter Six has shown, the love of the place is a shared value of both groups and, hence, a promising basis to build upon. Moreover, my study exposed the existing but arguably little-acknowledged solidarity of local environmentalists with industry proponents among the population. Local environmentalists' verve to fight unsustainable or destructive practices, I argued, is compromised by empathy for fellow islanders and their wish to make a decent living on their home island. Creating a greater awareness of Newfoundland environmentalists' empathy for the needs of their industry-proponent fellow islanders, I suggest, would help mitigate antagonisms and enhance conversation. Moreover, it would propel the appreciation that environmental activism is not necessarily synonymous with making uninformed blanket allegations, as was the case in the context of the Greenpeace sealing campaign.

Clearly, creating satisfactory work in environmentally less problematic sectors than resource-extracting industries can also be assumed to curtail widespread reservations with respect to environmentalism and environmentalists, as they stand for the opposition to resource extraction. What cultural ambivalence could contribute to this endeavour is the following. We

[173] Note that labour representatives and industry stakeholders figure on the same side of the equation here. Note, moreover, that environmentalism is here understood as biocentric, that is, as focusing on the protection of nature for its own sake, in contrast to more utilitarian, anthropocentric approaches (Elliott 2023).

found that the widespread ambivalence towards the land can be assumed to arise from a mechanism where the approval of radical resource exploitation for job creation is justified by the love of the place and the deep wish to live and work on the island. Raising the awareness of this correlation between love and abuse and its ethical dubiousness, I contend, would raise the repute and acceptance of labour in non-extractive and less traditional industries, which have been deemed limited in post-moratorium Newfoundland (Sullivan 1994). Politicians and labour representatives can then be assumed to change their focus away from extractive industries, too, and protecting the integrity of the land could become a greater priority for all Newfoundlanders. Stakeholders and representatives of extractive industries – who are largely from outside Newfoundland anyway – would simply lose in influence. In brief, highlighting commonalities (the love of the land) and existing if as yet one-sided empathy, together with creating increased satisfaction with non-traditional labour by exposing the affection-abuse ambivalence's justification mechanism, makes enhanced solidarity between environmentalists and industry proponents in Newfoundland a conceivable prospect.

The urban/rural divide, which can be traced to the eighteenth century when St. John's emerged as the sole and undisputed centre of the island with respect to political and economic affairs, figured twice in this study. In Chapter Five, I have described how the cultural ambivalence of the Smallwood government has contributed to that divide by an overemphasis on rural culture and a neglect of urban heritage, a phenomenon that can still be observed in Newfoundland today. The study of settler Newfoundlanders' colonial ambivalence in Chapter Seven revealed another process of entrenching the rift between the urban and rural populations. The collective self-othering, which was identified as an expression of that ambivalence, manifests itself (among other things) in the othering of the rural population by urban decision-makers. Rural Newfoundlanders have been exoticized and “disappeared” by private and public tourism stakeholders to attract visitors to the region. These circumstances suggest that enhanced attention to urban heritage and replacing the iconization of traditional outport culture with more contemporary approaches to rural living and sustainability could serve as leverage points for mitigating the urban/rural divide. As a result, a more balanced picture of the place would emerge, which does not rely on fabricating a timeless and exotic rural Newfoundland as the main seat of the local culture. The establishment of St. John's as a film industry and festival hub, and the

Bonavista Biennale,[174] which bridges rural settings and often urban angles of contemporary art, are powerful steps in that direction. Clearly, the creative form of self-othering, where one puts oneself in the position of the other rather than one group within a collective othering another, would be a promising strategy, too, notably for urban stakeholders who tend to commodify rural Newfoundland and rural Newfoundlanders.

Individual self-othering would also help mitigate the rift between what I called the colonizer and colonized camps – settler Newfoundlanders who vehemently insist on either their colonizer or their colonized position – in Chapter Seven. However, this appears to be a big step, given the entrenchment of these camps. I suggest that it could be preceded and prepared by working towards greater recognition and acceptance of the colonial ambivalence of settler Newfoundlanders. With regard to those who focus on their colonizer role and are arguably mostly members of the urban intellectual elite, acknowledging the colonial ambivalence might also help resolve a solidarity-related irony I noted in a footnote in Chapter Seven. While the focus on the colonizer position is closely related to striving for decolonization and increased solidarity with Indigenous groups, with all the actual and potential pitfalls it implies (D'Arcangelis 2022), similar expressions of solidarity with the continually marginalized rural settler population appear to fall short. Clearly, being marginalized is not being colonized, but both groups are underprivileged, if to different extents and with respect to different means. This is why I suggest that, given the empathy for one of those marginalized groups, developing a greater empathy for the other ought to be considered, notably against the background of colonial ambivalence in settler Newfoundland.

To complement my own thoughts on enhanced solidarities, let me briefly return to Susan Manning's (2018) vision of increased solidarity between Indigenous and settler Newfoundlanders mentioned in Chapter Seven. She argued that a precondition or requirement for realizing this vision is a greater balance of diverging colonial narratives. The lens of cultural ambivalence, I argue, can contribute to enhancing that balance, as the recognition of the colonial ambivalence of settler Newfoundlanders implies acknowledging both poles.

Besides fostering new solidarities, embracing the colonial ambivalence could also enable settler Newfoundlanders to come to terms with their heritage and open new avenues for conceiving

[174] Inaugurated in 2019, the Bonavista Biennale is a public art event that presents contemporary art "alongside the complex and compelling histories, economies, geological features and environments that shape the Bonavista Peninsula" (Bonavista Biennale n.d., no page number).

their future. As Paul Chafe (2003b) suggests in his study of *The Colony of Unrequited Dreams*: “A postcolonial reading of Johnston’s characters will demonstrate how their ambivalence, and the failure to establish a singular Newfoundland identity, may actually empower Newfoundlanders” (323) and represent “an act of liberation..., an emancipatory break from the 'unbroken history of struggle'” (333). Indeed, the capacity of the lens of cultural ambivalence to reveal enhanced spaces of agency and creativity in colonial Newfoundland (Chapters Three and Four) testifies to the emancipatory potency of acknowledging ambivalence. While it was not explicitly the ambivalent colonial identity of settler Newfoundlanders we were studying at that point, the strong correlations of all instances of cultural ambivalence with the colonial variant imply that the latter is relevant for the re-conception of the local historical narrative, too.

***

The above thoughts expose that recognizing cultural ambivalence in the Newfoundland culture creates new access points for (re)addressing a number of charged contexts and bears the potential in principle for enhanced solidarities. These observations complement the general conclusion that cultural ambivalence is an integral and pervasive element within the local cultural fabric, as vividly reiterated by the synoptic perspective of this chapter. Given the pervasiveness of cultural ambivalence and its robustness – as evidenced by the connectivity of the web presented in figure 8.7 – I suggest that ambivalence, as a resilient dynamic force, complement the physical environment, which has long been considered *the* shaping factor of Newfoundland culture and identity (Overton 1988).

Clearly, for a wider intellectual and practical benefit to emerge from the cultural centrality of ambivalence in Newfoundland that I have evidenced, the concept and the idea of its creative potentialities need to enter the wider public discourse. My contribution to this will include talks and presentations about cultural ambivalence in academic and other cultural contexts. Besides promoting the lens, I hope to find and connect with scholars and cultural practitioners pursuing overlapping or otherwise related visions. Moreover, I plan to set up a dedicated online platform. To enhance the experience of that website and to present “Ambivaland” in real-space and online exhibitions, I will further develop still and moving image works to illustrate the intellectual findings. Last but not least, I envision the conversion of this thesis into a book.

9.7 Closing Remarks

The study presented in this thesis is not exhaustive, and it cannot be. The role and influence of cultural ambivalence across the local society and culture is too encompassing to be captured and mapped in its entirety. As I write this conclusion, I keep coming across project-relevant input and information, and the list of references continues to grow. Nonetheless, I have achieved my objectives because, by establishing and applying the lens of cultural ambivalence, I have developed a better understanding of the complex dynamics that govern the culture of this place. I see contexts and phenomena in a different light and recognize connections and potentialities where there appeared to be none. Hoping I was also able to convey this experience to the reader, I suggest that further zooming in the lens of cultural ambivalence on selected aspects merely touched upon here – as the coexistence of strong societal cohesion and deep rifts, or the discrepancy of neglecting the present and focusing on the now, among others – or directing it at aspects of the local society and culture not included here – like Labrador, the various Indigenous cultures, or gender/ed aspects – would be worthwhile. Moreover, I recommend applying cultural ambivalence as a research lens to contexts and locales beyond Newfoundland (and Labrador). Given the quality of Newfoundland as a borderland with complex colonial histories, places with similar markers can be expected to prove responsive to the lens of ambivalence as well.

***

I would like to close by sharing some thoughts about the experience and process of writing this thesis. Given that the individual chapters of the Newfoundland case study cover separate contexts, I had initially wondered whether to attempt publishing one or more of them as separate papers before the completion of the thesis. I had seen this successfully done by other doctoral students. However, I abandoned the idea when my chapters began to inform and stimulate each other, and the project developed holistically rather than in a modular or serial manner. This interplay of chapters and contents reflects the connectivity of the web of ambivalence, which is why I am, in fact, excited with that observation. Moreover, the interplay of individual elements mirrors my experience in the arts, where a work is likewise not assembled from a series of modular parts but evolves in phases of cross-work progress and improvement.

The parallels in conceiving and writing this thesis and creating an artwork extend to the overall experience: it was challenging, time-consuming, sometimes frustrating, and, at times,

overwhelming. However, the experience was also horizon-widening and highly rewarding. It was hard to let go, but, at some point, the product had to be declared ready for release. As with an artwork first presented to the public, I am nervous about the feedback this thesis will provoke, yet eager to receive it. Most important is that there be feedback at all. The project, which will outlive this thesis, will further evolve most effectively with distinct and ideally constructive critique. Of course, I hope there will be encouragement and approval, too. Most of all, however, I hope the work will stir a discussion about Newfoundland culture and about cultural ambivalence. A creative product – whether it is a work of art, a doctoral thesis, or a different genre – only comes to life when it is actively received.

Bibliography

ACOA Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency. 1993. *Agenda for Argentia: Argentia Naval Facility Re-Use Study*. St. John's: Strategic Concepts Inc.

Albert, Stuart and David Whetten. 1985. “Organizational Identity.” In *Research in Organizatonal Behavior*, Vol. 7, edited by L.L. Cummings and B.M. Staw, 263–295. Greenwich CT: JAI Press.

Alcock, Sir John and Sir Arthur Whitten Brown. 1969. *Our Transatlantic Flight*. London: William Kimber.

Alexander, David. 1974. “Development and Dependence in Newfoundland, 1880–1970,” in *Acadiensis* 4, no. 1: 3–31.

———. 1976. “Newfoundland’s Traditional Economy and Development to 1934,” in *Acadiensis* 5, no. 2: 56–78.

Amulree Report. 1933. *Newfoundland Royal Commission Report*. Presented by the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs to Parliament by command of His Majesty. London: HMSO.

Antle, Angela. 2018. “Gander's Ripple Effect: How a Newfoundland Town's Kindness Made it to Broadway.” *CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, August 18. 2018. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ newfoundland-labrador/broadway-gander-9-11-new-york-musical-theatre-documentary-1.4777839.

Antle, Rob. 2021. “Secrets and Liabilities.” *CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, November 9, 2021. https://newsinteractives.cbc.ca/longform/secrets-and-liabilities.

Arlin, Patricia. 2011. “Dialectical Thinking: Further Implications for Creative Thinking.” In *Encyclopedia of Creativity, Vol.1.*, 2nd edition, edited by Steven R. Pritzker and Mark A. Runco, 383–86. London, Burlington, San Diego: Academic Press.

Arnold, Martin. 2013. “Imagining Vinland: George Mackay Brown and the Literature of the New World.” *Journal of the North Atlantic* 4: 199–206.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. 2013. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. London and New York: Routledge.

Ashforth, Blake, Kristie Rogers, Michael Pratt and Camille Pradies. 2014. “Ambivalence in Organizations: A Multilevel Approach.” *Organization Science* 25, no. 5: 1453–78.

Baker, Melvin. 2014. “Challenging the 'Merchants’ Domain': William Coaker and the Price of Fish, 1908–1919.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 29, no 2: 189–226.

Bal, Mieke. 2002. *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities: A Rough Guide*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bannister, Jerry. 2002. “Making History: Cultural Memory in Twentieth-century Newfoundland.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 18, no 2: 175–94.

———. 2003a. “The Politics of Cultural Memory: Themes in the History of Newfoundland and Labrador in Canada, 1972-2003.” In *Collected Research Papers of the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening our Place in Canada*, 119–66. St. John's: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

———. 2003b. *The Rule of the Admirals: Law, Custom, and Naval Government in Newfoundland, 1699–1832.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 2012. “A River Runs Through It: Churchill Falls and the End of Newfoundland History.” *Acadiensis* 41, no. 1: 211–25.

———. 2021. “The Return of History? Newfoundland & Labrador after the Oil Boom and the Hydro Bust.” Online lecture presented at the Newfoundland and Labrado Historical Society, April 14, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YPUrJIHjPik.

Banoub, Daniel. 2021. *Fishing Measures: A Critique of Desk-Bound Reason*. St. John's: Memorial University Press.

Barthels, Dennis and Alice Barthels. 2005. “Mi’gmaq Lives: Aboriginal Identity In Newfoundland.” In *Walking a Tightrope: Aboriginal People and their Representations*, edited by Ute Lischke and David McNab, 249–80. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Bartels, Dennis and Olaf Uwe Janzen. 1990. “Micmac Migration to Western Newfoundland.” *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 10, no. 1: 71–94.

Bateman, Fiona and Lionel Pilkington, eds.. 2011. *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity and Culture*. New York: Palgrave.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1991. *Modernity and Ambivalence*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Beaudoin, Matthew. A. 2013. “A Hybrid Identity in a Pluralistic Nineteenth-Century Colonial Context.” *Historical Archaeology* 47, no. 2: 45–63.

Belbin, Bruce. 2003. “A Changing View: The Rooms Will Alter the Skyline.” *The Telegram*, August 27, 2003: A6.

Bell, Avril. 2014. *Relating Indigenous and Settler Identities: Beyond Domination*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bennett, John W. 1976. *The Ecological Transition: Cultural Anthropology and Human Adaption*. New York: Pergamon Press Inc.

Berger, John. 1988. "Credibility and Mystery."*The Threepenny Review* 32: 3.

Berlin, Isiah. 1969. *Four Essays On Liberty*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blackmore, Gerard. 2003. "Sense of Place: Loss and the Newfoundland and Labrador Spirit." In *Collected Research Papers of the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening our Place in Canada*, 341–87. St. John's: The Royal Commission.

Blake, Raymond and Melvin Baker. 2019. *Where Once They Stood: Newfoundland's Rocky Road Towards Confederation*. Regina: University of Regina Press.

Bleuler, Eugen. 1979 (1914). Die Ambivalenz. In *Beiträge zur Schizophrenielehre der Züricher Psychiatrischen Universitätsklinik Burghölzli (1902-1971)*, edited by Manfred Bleuler, 85–97. Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft.

Bloch, Ernst. 1977 (1932). "Nonsynchronism and the Obligation to Its Dialectics." *New German Critique* 11, no. 11: 22–38.

Boehmer, Elleke. 2011. "Where We Belong: South Africa as a Settler Colony and the Calibration of African and Afrikaner Indigeneity." In *Studies in Settler Colonialism*, edited by Fiona Bateman and Lionel Pilkington, 257–71. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bonavista Biennale. n.d. "About Bonavista Biennale," Bonavista Biennale website. Accessed on February 8, 2024. https://bonavistabiennale.com/about.

Botella, Marion, Frank Zensani and Todd Lubart. 2018. "What Are the Stages of the Creative Process? What Visual Art Students Are Saying." *Frontier in Psychology* 21: 1–13.

Bourgon, Lyndsie. 2023. "Bay du Nord: The $16 billion oil project that could make or break Newfoundland." *MacLean's*, March 2, 2023A. https://macleans.ca/longforms/bay-du-nord-oil-gas-newfoundland.

Bradley, James. 2009. "Beyond Hermeneutics: Peirce's Semiology as a Trinitarian Metaphysics of Communication." *Analecta Hermneutica* 1: 56–72.

Brantley, Ben. 2017. "Review: 'Come From Away,' a Canadian Embrace on a Grim Day." *The New York Times*, March 12, 2017. Archived from the original on May 1, 2017. https://web.archive.org/web/20170501142110/https://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/12/theater/come-from-away-review.html.

Brantlinger, Patrick. 2018. "The Beothuk and the Myth of Prior Invasions." In *Tracing Ochre: Changing Perspectives on the Beothuk*, edited by Fiona Pollack, 133–51. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Breen, Katie. 2016. "Public Muskrat Falls Meetings: Methylmercury, Dam Breach Concerns Centre Stage." *CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, November 3, 2016. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/muskrat-public-meeting-1.3834163.

Brown, Clarence. 1977. *The Newfoundland Centred World*. Memorial University of Newfoundland, Dept. of Geography, 1977.

Brown, Drew, ed. 2018. "The Rock in a Hard Place." *The Deep.* https://thedeepmag.ca/therockinahardplace.

Brox, Ottar. 1972. *Newfoundland Fishermen in the Age of Industry: A Sociology of Economic Dualism*. St. John's: ISER, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Budgel, Richard. 1992. "The Beothuks and the Newfoundland Mind." *Newfoundland Studies* 8, no. 1: 15–33.

Buss, Sarah and Andrea Westlund. 2018. "Personal Autonomy." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2018 edition), edited by Edward N. Zalta. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2018/entries/personal-autonomy.

Bussey, Gordon. 2000. *Marconi's Atlantic Leap*. Coventry: Marconi Communications.

Byron, Reginald. 2003. "Introduction." In *Retrenchment and Regeneration in Rural Newfoundland*, edited by Reginald Byron, 3–13. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Cadigan, Sean T. 1992. "The Staple Model Reconsidered: The Case of Agricultural Policy in Northeast Newfoundland, 1785-1855." *Acadiensis* 21, no. 2: 48–71.

———. 1995. *Hope and Deception in Conception Bay: Merchant-Settler Relations in Newfoundland, 1785-1855*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 1999. "The Moral Economy of the Commons: Ecology and Equity in the Newfoundland Cod Fishery, 1815-1855." *Labour* 43: 9–42.

———. 2004. "Review: Power and Agency in Newfoundland and Labrador's History." *Labour* 54: 223–43.

———. 2009a. *Newfoundland and Labrador: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 2009b. "Not A Nation! (Or Why Newfoundland Nationalism Doesn't Make Historical Sense)," *Newfoundland Quartlery* 102, no. 1: 40–43.

Calder, Ryan S.D., and Amina T. Schartup, Trevor Bell, and Elsie M. Sunderland. 2021. "Muskrat Falls: Methylmercury, Food Security, and Canadian Hydroelectric Development." In *Muskrat Falls: How a Mega Dam Became a Predatory Formation*, edited by Stephen Crocker and Lisa Moore, 81–109. St. John's: Memorial University Press.

Caldwell, Ethan. 2017. “Blackness at the Margins of Empire: African American Soldier-Okinawan Civilian Relations and the Colonizer-Colonized Paradox.” PhD diss., Northwestern University.

Carter, Angela and Leah M. Fusco. 2017. “Western Newfoundland’s Anti-Fracking Campaign: Exploring the Rise of Unexpected Community Mobilization.” *Journal of Rural and Community Development* 12, no. 1: 98-120.

Carter, Angela, and Graeme Wynn. 2020. *Fossilized: Environmental Policy in Canada’s Petro-Provinces*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Carter, Ian. 2019. “Positive and Negative Liberty.” In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2019 edition), edited by Edward N. Zalta. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2019/entries/liberty-positive-negative.

Cassidy, Frederic G. and Robert B. Le Page, eds. 1967. *Dictionary of Jamaican English*. Cambridge: The University Press.

CBC. 2010. “Land and Sea Remembered – Newfoundland Part 1.” *GEM*. Aired October 26, 2010. https://gem.cbc.ca/media/land-and-sea-network/s10e09.

CBC. 2016. “Vale Pleads Guilty, Fined $30K for Polluted Water from Voisey's Bay Mine.” *CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador*, August 23, 2016. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/vale-guilty-for-polluting-voiseys-bay-mine-and-fined-1.3732137.

———. 2017. “Historic Richmond Cottage Demolished.” *CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador*, June 25, 2017. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/historic-richmond-cottage-torn-down-1.4177101.

———. 2018b. “N.L., Equinor Announce $6.8B Offshore Deepwater Oil Project.” *CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador*, July 26, 2018. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/oil-gas-announcement-premier-dwight-ball-1.4762299.

———. 2018c. “Faulty valve blamed for massive oil spill off Newfoundland.” *CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador*, November 20, 2018. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/hebron-back-online-1.4912582.

———. 2021a. “Nalcor Energy to Be No More: Crown Corporation Being Folded into N.L. Hydro.” *CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador*, June 23, 2021. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/nalcor-press-conference-june-23-1.6076644.

———. 2021b. “Come By Chance Refinery Finds an Owner with Plans to Switch to Renewable Fuel, Says Union President.” *CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador*, July 27, 2021. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/come-by-chance-sold-cresta-1.6119183.

CBC. 2021c. “After Massive Oil Spill, Spotlight Shifts to Agency Regulating N.L. Offshore Industry.” *CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador*, November 21, 2021. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/cnlopb-question-after-spill-1.4914163.

———. 2022. “N.B. Mi'kmaw Chiefs Join Challenge to N.L.'s Bay du Nord Project.” *CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador*, July 12, 2022. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/mi-kmaw-bay-du-nord-1.6518036.

———. 2022a. “With Bryn Mawr Cottage in Ruins, Great-Grandson of Original Owner Says Loss Was Inevitable.” *CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador*, December 10, 2022. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/bryn-mawr-cottage-reaction-1.6680482.

———. 2023a. “Bay du Nord On Hold For Up To 3 Years.” *CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador*, May 31, 2023. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/bay-du-nord-on-hold-1.6860387.

———. 2023b. “Equinor Hires Drill Rig to Keep Looking for Oil Off Newfoundland's East Coast.” *CBC News Newfoundland and Labrador*, August 14, 2023. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/equinor-hires-drill-rig-to-keep-looking-for-oil-off-newfoundland-s-east-coast-1.6935985.

———. 2023c. “London’s Calling — and Here’s How St. John’s Wooed WestJet for a Direct Flight.” *CBC News*, November 15, 2023. https://www.cbc.ca/player/play/2283217987703.

Chafe, Paul. 2003a. “Hey Buddy, Wanna Buy a Culture?” In *Culture + The State* 3: *Nationalisms*, edited by James Gifford and Gabrielle Zezulka-Mailloux. 68–76. Edmonton: CRC Humanities Studio.

———. 2003b. “'The scuttlework of empire': A Postcolonial Reading of Wayne Johnston's The Colony of Unrequited Dreams.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 19, no. 2: 322–46.

———. 2008. “'Only an Artist Can Measure Up to Such a Place': Place and Identity in Contemporary Newfoundland Fiction.” PhD diss., Memorial University of Newfoundland.

———. 2016. “'a terrain of jagged, fearful aspect': Reconsidering Patrick Kavanagh's Gaff Topsails.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 31, no. 1: 37–77.

Chiras, Daniel D. and John P. Reganold. 2010. *Natural Resource Conservation: Management for a Sustainable Future,* 10th ed. San Francisco: Benjamin Cummings/Pearson.

Choi, Sung. 2017. “French Algeria,1830-1962.” In *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, edited by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini, 201–14. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

City of St. John's. 2018. *Monument Inventory Report*. Dept. of Public Works, Parks Services Division.

C-NLOPB. n.d. “Well Operations.” Accessed on September 5, 2022. https://www.cnlopb.ca/legislation/well.

Coaker, William F. 1932. *Past, Present and Future: Being a Series of Articles Contributed to the Fishermen’s Advocate, 1932. Together with Notes of a Trip to Greece 1932*.

Coles, Megan Gail. 2019. *Small Game Hunting at the Local Coward Gun Club*. Toronto: Anansi.

Collins, David. 2008. “Foe, Friend and Fragility: Evolving Settler Interactions with the Newfoundland Wilderness.” *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 21, no. 1: 35–62.

Collins, Jeffery and Scott Reid. 2015. “'No More Giveways!' Resource Nationalism in Newfoundland: A Case Study of Offshore Oil in the Peckford and Williams Administrations.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 30, no. 1: 91–114.

Conway, Shannon. 2021. “Post-Confederation Newfoundland(er) Identity.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 36, no. 2: 217–58.

Cooke, Dervila. 2013. “Tradition, Modernity, and the Enmeshing of Home and Away: The Shipping News and Proulx’s 1990s Newfoundland.” *Studies in Canadian Literature* 38, no. 1: 190–209.

Cooke, Ryan. 2023. “Meet the Players Behind 8 Companies Pitching Green Hydrogen Projects in N.L.”*CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, May 31, 2023. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/hydrogen-companies-energy-nl-1.6859573.

Copes, Parzival. 1970. “The Fishermen's Vote in Newfoundland.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 3, no. 4: 579–604.

Côté, Isabelle, and Yolande Pottie-Sherman. 2020. “The Contentious Politics of Resettlement Programs: Evidence from Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 53, no. 1: 19–37.

Coulthard, Glen Sean, 2014. *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Courtney, David.1974. “The Newfoundland Household Resettlement Programs.” In *Perspectives on Newfoundland Society and Culture*, edited by Maurice A. Sterns, 47–9. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Christman, John. 2020. “Autonomy in Moral and Political Philosophy.” In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Fall 2020 edition), edited by Edward N. Zalta. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2020/entries/autonomy-moral.

Crocker, Christopher. 2020. “What We Talk About When We Talk About Vínland: History, Whiteness, Indigenous Erasure, and the Early Norse Presence in Newfoundland.” *Canadian Journal of History* 55, no. 1: 91–122.

Crocker, Stephen. 2000. “Hauled Kicking and Screaming Into Modernity: Non-Synchronicity and Globalization in Post-War Newfoundland.” *Topia* 3: 81–94.

———. 2008. “Filmmaking and the Politics of Remoteness: The Genesis of the Fogo Process on Fogo Island, Newfoundland.” *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures* 2, no. 1: 59–75.

———. 2016. “Exception, Emergency, and Experiment in Late Imperial Newfoundland.” In *Regime Changes in 20th Century Europe. Reassessed, Anticipated and in the Making*, edited by Marja Vuorinen, Tuomas Kuronen and Aki-Mauri Huhtinen, 49–76. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

———. 2017. “‘The Castaway Medyett Goodridge’s Unvarnished Tale of Shipwreck and Desolation’: Print Culture and Settler Colonialism in Newfoundland.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 32, no. 2: 429–60.

———. 2021a. “Introduction: How a Public Utility Became a 'Predatory Formation'.” In *Muskrat Falls: How a Mega Dam Became a Predatory Formation*, edited by Stephen Crocker and Lisa Moore, 1–33. St. John's: Memorial University Press.

———. 2021b. “Because Financialization: How Muskrat Falls Can Succeed as an Investment and Fail as a Public Utility.” In *Muskrat Falls: How a Mega Dam Became a Predatory Formation*, edited by Stephen Crocker and Lisa Moore. 133–49. St. John's: Memorial University Press.

Cronon, William. 1996. “The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature.” *Environmental History* 1, no. 1: 7–28.

Crow, Matthew. 2017. “Atlantic North America From Contact to the Late Nineteenth Century.” In *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, edited by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini, 95–108. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Crowley, John E. 1989. “Empire versus Truck: The Official Interpretation of Debt and Labour in the Eighteenth-Century Newfoundland Fishery.” *The Canadian Historical Review* 70, no. 3: 311–36.

Crummey, Michael. 2003. *River Thieves*. Edinburgh, London: Canongate.

Curtis, Tony. 2019. *This Flight Tonight: Captain John Alcock & Lieutenant Arthur Whitten Brown's non-stop transtlantic flight from Newfoundland to Ireland 14th – 15th June 1919*. Aghabullogue: Occasional Press.

Dale, Brigt and Danine Farquharson. 2022. "Dispatches from two cold water oil cultures: Norway and Newfoundland and Labrador." In *Cold Water Oil: Offshore Petroleum Culture*, edited by Fiona Pollack and Danine Farquharson,137–55. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

D'Arcangelis, Carol Lynne. 2022. *The Solidarity Encounter: Women, Activism, and Creating Non-Colonizing Relations*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Day, Richard. 2000. *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Deleuze, Gilles. 1990 (French 1969). *The Logic of Sense*. Translated by Mark Lester and Charles Stivale, edited by Constantin V. Boundas. New York: Columbia University Press.

Deleuze, Gilles. 1994 (French 1968). Difference and Repetition. New York: Columbia University Press.

Deleuze, Gilles and Félix Guattari. 1987 (French 1980). *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Delisle, Jennifer B. 2006. "Nation, Indigenization, the Beothuk: A Newfoundland Myth of Origin in Patrick Kavanagh's Gaff Topsails." *Studies in Canadian Literature* 31, no. 2: 23–45.

———. 2013. *The Newfoundland Diaspora: Mapping the Literature of Out-Migration*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Department of Education, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. 2010. *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies: Selected Topics*. St. John's: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Department of Finance, Government of Canada. 2011. "Equalization Program." Modified December 19, 2011. https://www.canada.ca/en/department-finance/programs/federal-transfers/equalization.html

Derrida, Jacques. 1981 (French 1972). *Dissemination*. Translated by Barbara Johnson. London: The Athlone Press.

———. 1981 (French 1972). *Positions*, Translated by Alan Bass. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1993. *Aporias*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Devlin Trew, Johanne. 2005. "The Forgotten Irish? Contested Sites and Narratives of Nation in Newfoundland." *Ethnologies* 27, no. 2: 43–77.

DFO. 2022. *Review of the Environmental Impact Statement for the Equinor Bay du Nord Development Project*. DFO Canadian Science Advisory Secretariat, Science Response 2022/003.

Dreese, Donelle N. 2002. *Ecocriticism: Creating Self and Place in Environmental and American Indian Literatures*. New York: Peter Lang.

Duley, Margaret. 1977. *Highway to Valour*. Toronto: Griffin House.

Eagan, Mireille. 2015. "The Form of the Seasons, the Proportions of Life." In *Christopher Pratt: The Places I Go*, by Christopher Pratt, Vicky Chainey Gagnon, and Mireille Eagan. 29–36. St. John's: The Rooms, Provincial Art Gallery Division.

Eddy. Matthew Daniel. 2021. "Diagrams." In *Information: A Historical Companion*, edted by Ann Blair, Paul Duguid, Anja-Silvia Goeing and Anthony Grafton, 397–401. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021.

Elliot, R.M. 1980. "Newfoundland Politics in the 1920s: The Genesis and Significance of the Hollis Walker Enquiry." In *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, edited by James Hiller and Peter Neary, 181–204. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Elliott, Lorraine. 2023. "environmentalism." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Last updated October 3, 2023. https://www.britannica.com/topic/environmentalism.

English, L. E. F. 1955. *Historic Newfoundland*. St. John's: Newfoundland, Dept. of Tourism.

Equinor. n.d. "The Bay du Nord Project." *Equinor*. Accessed September 17, 2022. https://www.equinor.com/where-we-are/canada-bay-du-nord.

Equinor Canada Ltd. 2020. *Bay du Nord Development Project – Environmental Impact Assessment*. Prepared by Wood Environment & Infrastructure Solutions and Stantec Consulting. St. John's, NL Canada.

Ernst, Joseph A. 1990. "'The Labourers Have Been the Greatest Sufferers': The Truck System in Early Eighteenth Century Massachusetts." In *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, edited by Rosemary Ommer, 16–35. Fredericton; Acadiensi Press.

Fairleigh, John and Chris Wilson. 1995. *Land and Sea: Eight Artists From Newfoundland*. St. John's: Dicks and Company Limited.

Fanon, Frantz. 1968. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Faris, James. (1966) 1973. *Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement*. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 3. St. John's: ISER, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Feehan, James P. 2011. "Smallwood, Churchill Falls, and the Power Corridor through Quebec." *Acadiensis* 40, no. 2: 112–27.

Felt, Lawrence. 2009. "A Tale of Two Towns: Municipal Agency and Socio-economic Development in Akureyri, Iceland, and Corner Brook, Newfoundland." In *Remote Control: Governance Lessons for and from Small, Insular, and Remote Regions*, edited by Godfrey Baldacchino, Rob Greenwood and Lawrence Felt, 148–69. St. John's: ISER Books.

Field, Henry M. 1866. *History of the Atlantic Telegraph*. New York: C. Scribner & Co.

Fife, Wayne. 2006. "National Parks and Disappearing People: Romantic Landscapes and the Urbanization of Rural Spaces in Newfoundland." In *Galicia & Terranova & Labrador: Comparative Studies on Economic, Political and Socio-cultural Processes*, edited by Xaquín S. Rodríguez Campos and Xosé Santos Solla , 31–54. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela Press.

———. 2010. "Internal Borders as Naturalized Political Instruments." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 17: 255–79.

Fife, Wayne and Sharon R. Roseman. 2015. "Where North America Ends." In *The Tourism Imaginary and Pilgrimages to the Edges of the World*, edited by Nieves Herrero and Sharon R. Roseman, 141–78. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Firestone, Melvin M. 1967. *Brothers and Rivals: Patrilocality in Savage Cove*. Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 5. St. John's: ISER, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Fischer, Ernst Peter. 2005. *Einstein trifft Picasso und geht mit ihm ins Kino - Die Erfindung der Moderne*. Munich: Piper Verlag GmbH.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. 2014. "What You Should Know About Megaprojects and Why: An Overview." Project Management Journal, 45, no. 2: 6–19.

Food First NL. n.d. "What is Food Security? Food Security Issues in Newfoundland & Labrador." *Food First NL*. Accessed April 19, 2022. https://www.foodfirstnl.ca/what-is-food-security.

Foucault, Michel. 1994. *Dits et écrits II (1970–1975)*. Paris: Gallimard.

Fraser, John. 1988. "A Modest Proposal Concerning the Atlantic Canada Problem." *Saturday Night* 103, no. 5: 9–10.

Michael, Frede. 1999. "The Sceptics." In *Routledge History of Philosophy, Volume II: From Aristotle to Augustine*, edited by David Furley, 253-86. New York: Routledge.

Freilich, Morris. 1977. “The Meaning of Sociocultural.” In *The Concept and Dynamic of Culture*, edited by Bernardo Bernardi. 89–101. The Hague: Mouton.

Freud, Sigmund. (1917) 1957. “Mourning and Melancholia.” In *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol 14.* Translated and edited by J. Strachey, 239–58. London: Hogarth Press.

Fusco, Leah. 2007a. “Offshore Oil: An Overview of Development in Newfoundland and Labrador.” *Oil, Power and Dependency*. Accessed on February 25, 2022. http://www.ucs.mun.ca/~oilpower/documents/NL%20oil%207-25-1.pdf.

———. 2007b. “The Invisible Movement: The Response of the Newfoundland Environmental Movement to the Offshore Oil Industry.” M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

———. 2020. “Crude Regulations: Environmental Assessments and the Newfoundland and Labrador Offshore Oil Industry.” PhD diss., University of Toronto.

Gale, Frank. 2020. “Corridor Resources' Oil and Gas Drops Extension on Exploration License for Old Harry.” *Saltwire – Avalon & Eastern Newfoundland*, February 3, 2020. https://www.saltwire.com/atlantic-canada/news/provincial/corridor-resources-oil-and-gas-drops-extension-on-exploration-license-for-old-harry-406275.

Garcia, David, and Daniel Huffman. 2019. *Hundred Largest Islands of the World*. New Zealand: Mapmaker.

Gartner, Hana. 1986. “Ironworkers from Newfoundland: Walking Iron.” *The Fifth Estate* YouTube channel. Accessed on March 26, 2023. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nIYdystZDJ4.

Gavrov, Sergei and Igor Klyukanov. 2015. “Sociological Theories of Modernization.” In *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, edited by James D. Wright, 707–13. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Geertz, Clifford. 1959. “Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example.” *American Anthropology* 61, no. 4: 991–1012.

Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gilles, Heather. 2022. “Canada-Germany Hydrogen Deal Could Be 'Game Changer,' Though Skepticism Remains.” *CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, August 24, 2022. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/hydrogen-deal-canada-germany-reaction-1.6560538.

Gilroy, Paul. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Goldie, Terry. 1989. *Fear and Temptation - The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian and New Zealand Literatures*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Government of Canada. 1979. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Newfoundland Transportation Volume 2*. Minister of Supply and Services Canada. February 1979. Hull: Canadian Government Publishing Centre. https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2016/bcp-pco/T22-37-1978-2-1-eng.pdf.

Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. 1966. *Newfoundland: Canada's Happy Province*. London: Galleon Printers Ltd.

———. 2001. "Receiving the World: Celebrating Communications – Statement by Kevin Aylward, Minister of Tourism, Culture and Recreation." *News Releases*. April 9, 2001. https://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/2001/tcr/0409n04.htm.

———. 2009. "Order of Newfoundland and Labrador Recipients Invested at Government House." *News Releases*. December 11, 2009. https://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/2009/exec/1211n02.htm.

———. 2016. *The Way Forward: A Vision for Sustainability and Growth in Newfoundland and Labrador*. Accessed on March 4, 2023. https://www.gov.nl.ca/thewayforward/files/the_way_forward.pdf .

———. 2017. "Heart's Content Cable Station Provincial Historic Site Added to Canada's Tentative List for World Heritage." *News Releases*. December 20, 2017. https://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/2017/btcrd/1220n09.aspx.

———. 2018. *Advance 2030: The Way Forward on Oil and Gas*. Accessed on November 16, 2021.https://www.gov.nl.ca/iet/files/advance30-pdf-oil-gas-sector-final-online.pdf.

Graham, Mark W. 2018. "Settler Colonialism from the Neo-Assyrans to the Romans." In *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, edited by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini, 11–24 Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Greene, John P. 1999. *Between Damnation and Starvation: Priests and Merchants in Newfoundland Politics, 1745-1855*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Gutting, Gary and Johanna Oksala. 2021. "Michel Foucault." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2021 edition), edited by Edward N. Zalta. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/ sum2021/entries/foucault.

Gulliver, Mekaela. 2014. "Preserving the Best: Newfoundland's Cultural Movement 1965–1983." PhD diss., Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Gwyn, Richard. 1999. *Smallwood – The Unlikely Revolutionary*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart.

Gwyn, Sandra. 1976. "The Newfoundland Renaissance." *Saturday Night* 92, no. 2: 38–45.

Hämäläinen, Pekka, and Samuel Truett. 2011. "On Borderlands." *The Journal of American History* 98, no. 2: 338–61.

Hall, Pam. 2017. *Towards an Encyclopedia of Local Knowledge: Excerpts from Chapters I and II*. St. John's: ISER Books.

Hallett, Vicki S. 2004. "Janus Faced Woman: A Search for Newfoundland Identity." M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

———. 2014. "A Class unto Itself: Phebe Florence Miller's Outport Literary Salon." In *Creating This Place: Women, Family, and Class in St John's, 1900-1950*, edited by Linda Cullum and Marilyn Porter, 47–70. Montreal: McGill- Queen's University Press.

———. 2017. "Seafaring Cowboys and Ersatz Indians: Settler Colonialism Meets Reality Television in Newfoundland." *Topia* 38 (Fall): 5–24.

Halpert, Herbert and George M. Story, eds. 1969. *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthroplogy, Folklore and History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Handcock, Gordon. 1989. *So Longe as There Comes noe Women: Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland.* St. John's: Breakwater Books.

——— . 1994. "The Commission of Government's Land Settlement Scheme in Newfoundland." In *Twentieth Century Newfoundland: Explorations*, edited by James Hiller and Peter Neary, 123–51. St. John's: Breakwater Books.

Hanrahan, Maura. 2012. "Journeying Back: Understanding, Reclamation, and Recovery through Research with Indigenous People." *Morning Watch* 40, no. 1–2: 1–10.

Hardin, Garrett. 1968. "The Tragedy of the Commons." *Science* 162: 1243–48.

Harding, Robert J. 2006. "Glorious Tragedy: Newfoundland's Cultural Memory of the Attack at Beaumont Hamel, 1916-1925." *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 21, no. 1: 3–40.

Harris, Joanne. 2019. "That's Not My Newfoundland: Unsettling the Newfoundland Narrative to Tell a Ktaqamkukwag Mi'kmaq Story." M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Harris, Leslie. 1968. *Newfoundland and Labrador: A Brief History*. Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons.

Harris, R. Cole, ed. 1987. *Historical Atlas of Canada, Volume 1: From the Beginning to 1800*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Harvey, Kenneth J. 2008. *Blackstrap Hawco: Said to Be About a Newfoundland Family*. Toronto: Random House Canada.

Hausman, Carl. 1975. *A Discourse on Novelty and Creation*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Head, C. Grant. 1976. *Eighteenth Century Newfoundland: A Geographer's Perspective*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Hernáez Lerena, María Jesús, ed. 2015. Afterwords – Giving Voice to Newfoundland and Labrador: Some writers Speak. In *Pathways of Creativity in Contemporary Newfoundland and Labrador*. 293–330. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Higgins, Jenny. 2007. "19th Century Cod Fisheries." *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador*. https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/19th-century- cod.php.

———. 2011. "The Voisey's Bay Mine." *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador*. https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/voiseys-bay.php.

———. 2017 (2007). "Megaprojects." *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador*. https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/politics/mega-projects.php.

Higgins, Jenny and Melanie Martin. 2018 (2006). "The Come By Chance Oil Refinery." *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador* website. Updated January 2018. https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/politics/come-by-chance.php.

Hiller, James. 1980. "Confederation Defeated: The Newfoundland Election of 1869." In *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, edited by James Hiller and Peter Neary, 67–94. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 1990. "The Newfoundland Credit System: An Interpretation." In *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, edited by Rosemary Ommer, 86–101. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press.

———. 2007. "Robert Bond and the Pink, White, and Green: Newfoundland Nationalism in Perspective." *Acadiensis* 36, no. 2: 113–33.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger. 2012. *The Invention of Tradition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hofstadter, Albert. 2009. "On the Dialectical Phenomenology of Creativity." In *The Idea of Creativity*, edited by Michael Krausz, Denis Dutton and Karen Bardsley. 205–12. Boston, Leiden: Brill.

Holland, Robert. 1998. "Newfoundland and the Pattern of British Decolonization." *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 14, no. 2: 141–53.

Holm-Hadulla, Rainer. 2013. "The Dialectic of Creativity: A Synthesis of Neurobiological, Psychological, Cultural and Practical Aspects of the Creative Process." *Creativity Research Journal* 25, no. 3: 293–99.

Holm-Hadulla, Rainer and Alexander Wendt. 2020. "Dialectical Thinking: Further Implications for Creativity." In *Encyclopedia of Creativity, Vol.1, Third Edition*, edited by Steven R. Pritzker and Mark A. Runco, 332–38. London, Burlington, San Diego: Academic Press.

Holly, Donald. 2003. "A Historiography of an Ahistoricity: On the Beothuk Indians." *History and Anthropology* 14, no. 2: 127–40.

Horning, Audrey. 2015. "Comparative Colonialism." In *Rethinking Colonialism: Comparative Archaeological Approaches*, edited by Craig Cipolla and Katherine Howlett Hayes, 234–46. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Horwood, Harold. 1966. *Tomorrow Will Be Sunday*. Garden City: Doubleday.

House, Douglas and Cle Newhook. 1987. *But Who Cares Now? The Tragedy of the Ocean Ranger*. St. John's: Breakwater Books.

House, Douglas. 2018. "Did Smallwood Neglect the Fisheries?" *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 33, no. 2: 436–58.

Hynes, Ron. 2013 (1978). "Back Home on the Island." *NewfoundlandMusicMan* YouTube channel. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZqWxAQrGcw.

Innes, Stephen. 1990. "Commentary." In *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, edited by Rosemary Ommer, 303–8. Fredericton; Acadiensis Press.

Innis, Harold A. 1954. *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy*. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Iverson, Noel and D. Ralph Matthews. 1968. *Communities in Decline: An Examination of Household Resettlement in Newfoundland*. St. John's: ISER, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Jackson, F.L. 1984. *Newfoundland in Canada: A People in Search of a Polity*. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. 1999. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Janelle, Donald G. 2014. "Time–space convergence." In *Handbook of Research Methods and Applications in Spatially Integrated Social Science*, edited by Robert Stimson. 43–60. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Johnston, Wayne. 1999. *The Colony of Unrequited Dreams*. New York; Toronto: Doubleday.

———. 2009. *The Old Lost Land of Newfoundland: Family, Memory, Fiction, and Myth*. Edmonton: NeWest Press.

Jones, Andy. 2021. "Future Possible, Possibly Horrible." In *Future Possible: An Art History of Newfoundland and Labrador*, edited by Mireille Eagan, 41–44. St. John's: The Rooms, Goose Lane Editions.

Jones, Ernest. 1955. *Sigmund Freud: Life and Work, Vol II: Years of Maturity, 1901–1919*. London: Hogarth Press.

Jones, Allison and Kuni Jenkins. 2008. Rethinking Collaboration: Working the Indigene-Colonizer Hyphen. In *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. 471–486. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Karl, Terry Lynn. 1997. *The Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Kavanagh, Patrick. 1996. *Gaff Topsails*. Toronto: Viking.

Kelly, Ursula A. and Elizabeth Yeoman. 2010. *Despite This Loss: Essays on Culture, Memory and Identity in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's: ISER Books.

Kennedy, RM. 2010. "National Dreams and Inconsolable Losses: The Burden of Melancholia in Newfoundland Culture." In *Despite this Loss – Essays on Culture, Memory and Identity in Newfoundland and Labrador*, edited by Ursula A. Kelly and Elizabeth Yeoman,. 103–16. St. John's: ISER Books.

Keough, Sara Beth. 2013. "Examining the Cultural Imprint of Newfoundlanders in Fort McMurray, Alberta." *The American Geographical Society's Focus on Geography* 56, no. 1: 23–31.

Keske, Catherine M., ed. 2018. *Food Futures: Growing a Sustainable Food System for Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's: ISER Books.

King, Ruth and Sandra Clarke. 2002. "Contesting Meaning: Newfie and the Politics of Ethnic Labelling." *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 6, no. 4. 537–58.

King-Campbell, Sharon, dir. and Michael Worthman, prod. 2016. *A Grand Affair*. Theatre Play. Heart's Content: Mizzen Heritage Society.

Knöbl, Wolfgang. 2003. "Theories That Won't Pass Away: The Never-ending Story of Modernization Theory." In *Handbook of Historical Sociology*, edited by Gerard Delanty and Gerard Engin Isin, 96–107. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Közegi, Margit, Zsolt Bottlik, Tamas Telbisz and Laszlo Mari. 2015. "Human-environment Relationships in Modern and Postmodern Geography." *Hungarian Geographical Bulletin* 64, no. 2: 87–99.

Kolodny, Annette. 2012. *In Search of First Contact: The Vikings of Vinland, the Peoples of the Dawnland, and the Anglo-American Anxiety of Discovery*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Korneski, Kurt. 2016. *Conflicted Colony: Critical Episodes in Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland and Labrador*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Kuitems, Margot, Birgitta L. Wallace, Charles Lindsay, Andrea Scifo, Petra Doeve, Kevin Jenkins, Susanne Lindauer, Veronique Forbes, Caroline Vermeeren, Ronny Friedrich, Michael W. Dee and Pinar Erdil. 2022. "Evidence for European Presence in the Americas in AD 1021." *Nature* 601: 388–91.

Latour, Bruno. 2005. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Latour, Bruno and Isabelle Stengers, Anna Tsing and Nils Bubandt. 2018. "Anthropologists Are Talking – About Capitalism, Ecology, and Apocalypse." *Ethnos* 83, no. 3: 587–606.

Layman, Grace. 1997. *From Then On*. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications.

LeBlanc, Richard D., commissioner. 2020. *Muskrat Falls: A Misguided Project*. St. John's: Commission of Inquiry Respecting the Muskrat Falls Project.

Leopold, Aldo. 1970 (1949). *A Sand County Almanac – With Essays on Conservation from Round River*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Lepawsky, Josh and Chrystal Phan and Rob Greenwood. 2010. "Metropolis on the Margins: Talent Attraction and Retention to the St. John's City-Region." *The Canadian Geographer* 54, no. 3: 324–46.

Letto, Douglas M. 1998. *Chocolate Bars and Rubber Boots: The Smallwood Industrialization Plan*. Paradise: Blue Hill publishing.

Lewis, Robert M. 1990. "The Survival of the Planters' Fishery in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Newfoundland." In *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, edited by Rosemary Ommer. 102–13. Fredericton; Acadiensis Press.

Lewis-Simpson, Shannon. 2003. *Vinland Revisited, the Norse World at the Turn of the First Millennium: Selected Papers from the Viking Millennium International Symposium, 15–24 September 2000, Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's,: Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, Inc.

Linebaugh, Peter and Marcus Rediker, 2013. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Linge, Nigel and Bill Burns. 2016. "The Cable that Wired the World." *The Journal of the Institute of Telecommunications Professionals* 10, no. 2: 41–45.

Living Heritage. 2016. *An Oral History of Heritage Conservation in NL with Shane O'Dea*, podcast hosted by Dale Jarvis. March 3, 2016. https://podcasts.google.com/feed/aHR0cHM6Ly9hbmNob3IuZm0vcy9kZWI1ZjBjL3BvZGNhc3QvcnNz.

Lodge, Thomas. 1939. *Dictatorship in Newfoundland*. London, Toronto, Melbourne: Cassell & Co.

Long, Gene. 1999. *Suspended State: Newfoundland Before Canada*. St. John's: Breakwater Books.

Loo, Tina. 2019. *Moved by the State: Forced Relocation and Making a Good Life in Postwar Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Lubart, Todd. 2001. "Models of the Creative Process: Past, Present and Future." *Creativity Research Journal* 13, no. 3–4: 295–308.

Lüscher, Kurt. 2011. "Ambivalenz weiterschreiben: Eine wissenssoziologische-pragmatische Perspektive." *Forum der Psychoanalyse* 27, no. 4: 373–93.

Luthe, Heinz Otto and Rainer Wiedenmann, eds. 1997. *Ambivalenz – Studien zum kulturtheoretischen und empirischen Gehalt einer Kategorie zur Erschließung des Unbestimmten*. Opladen: Leske & Budrich.

Macdonald, David A. 1990. "They Cannot Pay Us In Money: Newman and Company and the Supplying System in the Newfoundland Fishery, 1850–1884." In *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, edited by Rosemary Ommer, 114–28. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press.

MacDonald, Ron. 1989. "A half-hour ahead of our time: CODCO comedy crawls ashore." *CINEMA Canada* 159, January 1989: 10–14.

Mackey, Eva. 2016. *Unsettled Expectations: Uncertainty, Land and Settler Decolonization*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.

MacLeod, Malcolm. 1986. *Peace of the Continent*. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications.

Magnusson, Magnus. 1965. *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Malpas. Jeff. 2022. "Hans-Georg Gadamer." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2022 edition), edited by Edward N. Zalta and Uri Nodelman. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2022/entries/gadamer.

Mamdani, Mahomood. 1998. "When Does a Settler Become a Native? Reflections of the Colonial Roots of Citizenship in Equatorial and South Africa." *Citizenship Rights in Africa Initiative*. Lecture given on May 13, 1998. https://citizenshiprightsafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/1998/05/mamdani-1998-inaugural-lecture.pdf.

Manning, Susan M. 2017. "'It's the Best Place on Earth': Newfoundland Women's Outmigration, Diaspora and the Myth of Return." *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* 24, no. 10: 1460–79.

———. 2018. "Contrasting Colonisations: (Re)storying Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk as Place." *Settler Colonial Studies* 8: 314–331.

Mannion, John. 1977. "Introduction." In *The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography*, edited by John Mannion, 1–13. St. John's: ISER Books.

Marland, Alex. 2014. "Conclusion." In *First Among Unequals: The Premier, Politics, and Policy in Newfoundland and Labrador*, edited by Alex Marland and Kerby, 265–80. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Martin, Cabot. 2014. *Muskrat Madness*. Self-published.

Martin, Cabot. 2022. "GNL Rushing into Another 'Scheme'." *Uncle Gnarly* blog. August 29th 2022. https://unclegnarley.ca/2022/08/gnl-rushing-into-another-scheme-cabot-martin.

Mathews, Mitford M., ed. 1951. *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Matthews, Keith. 1973. *Lectures on the History of Newfoundland, 1500–1830*. Maritime History Group. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

———. 2001 (1978). "Historical Fence Building." *Newfoundland Studies* 17, no. 2: 143–65.

Matthews, Keith and E. Rex Kearly and Paul Dwyer. 1984. *Our Newfoundland and Labrador Cultural Heritage*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada.

Matthews, Ralph, 1976. *There's No Better Place Than Here – Social Change in Three Newfoundland Communities*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates.

———. 1978. "The Smallwood Legacy: The Development of Underdevelopment in Newfoundland 1949–1972." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13, no. 4: 89–108.

Maunder, John E. 1991. "The Newfoundland Museum: Origins and Development." *Museum Notes* 2 (Fall 1991). St. John's: Newfoundland Museum.

Maybee, Julie E. 2020. “Hegel's Dialectics.” In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2020 edition), edited by Edward N. Zalta. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/hegel-dialectics.

McBride, Michelle, Gregory S. Kealy and Sean Cadigan. 2002. “Jobs at Any Costs.” In *The Resilient Outport: Ecology, Economy and Society in Rural Newfoundland*, edited by Rosemary E. Ommer, 265–88. St. John's: ISER Books.

McCay, Bonnie J. and James M. Acheson. 1987. *The Question of the Commons: The Culture and Ecology of Communal Resources*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

McEwen, Alexander C. 1978. “Newfoundland Law of Real Property: The Origin and Development of Land Ownership.” PhD diss., University of London.

McGrath, Desmond, Katherine Pennell, Gordon Inglis, and Bill Parsons. 1978. *“Now that we've burnt our boats...”: The Report of the People's Commission on Unemployment, Newfoundland & Labrador*. St. John's: Creative Printers and Publishers Ltd.

McKay, Ian. 1994. *The Quest of the Folk*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

McLeod, James. 2017. “James McLeod lauds N.L.'s nationalist identity, outlines impending poverty struggles.” *Saltwire*. November 17, 2017. https://www.saltwire.com/newfoundland-labrador/news/james-mcleod-lauds-nls-nationalist-identity-outlines-impending-poverty-struggles-162850.

McLintock, Alexander H. 1941. *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783–1832: A Study of Retarded Colonization*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

Mellin, Robert. 2003. “The Destruction of Urban and Architectural Character in St. John's, Newfoundland.” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 3, no. 4: 55–62.

———. 2005. *Residential Heritage Conservation in St. John’s*. St. John’s: Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Memmi, Albert. (1965) 2003. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. Translated by Howard Greenfeld. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

Mercer, Keith 2021. *Rough Justice: Policing, Crime, and the Origins of the Newfoundland Constabulary, 1729–1871*. St. John's: Flanker Press.

Merton, Robert K. 1976. *Sociological Ambivalence and Other Essays*. New York: Free Press.

Miller, Arthur I. 2001. *Einstein, Picasso: Space, Time, and the Beauty that Causes Havoc*. New York: Basic Books.

Miller, James. 2000 (1989). *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*, 3rd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mizutani, Satoshi. 2011. *The Meaning of White: Race, Class, and the "Domiciled Community" in British India 1858–1930*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Mocan, Gabriela Ioana. 2022. "Self-Othering and Redemptive Narratives." *Rhetoric and Communications* 50: 66–78.

Momatiuk, Yva and John Eastcott. 1998. *This Marvellous Terrible Place: Images of Newfoundland and Labrador*. Willowdale: Firefly Books.

Montaigne, Michel de. (~1570–1592) 1743. *Essays - In Three Books with Notes and Quotations*. Second Volume, 6th ed. Translator Charles Cotton. London: B. and B. Barker.

Moore, Jason W. 2015. *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital*. London: Verso.

Moore, Lisa. 2011. "Notes from Newfoundland." *The Walrus*. Updated August 8, 2020. http://thewalrus.ca/notes-from-newfoundland.

Moore, Mike. 2022. "'Hydrogen Alliance' Formed as Canada, Germany Sign Agreement on Exports." *CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, August 23, 2022. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/canada-germany-hydrogen-partnership-nl-1.6559787.

Moreton, Julian. 1863. *Life and Work in Newfoundland: Reminescences of Thirteen Years Spent There*. London: Rivingtons.

Morton, Henry V. 2016. *Atlantic Meeting: An Account of Mr. Churchill's Voyage in H. M. S. Prince of Wales, in August, 1941, and the Conference with President Roosevelt which Resulted in the Atlantic Charter*. Slinby: Methuen.

Müller, Simone M. 2016. *Wiring the World: The Social and Cultural Creation of Global Telegraph Networks*. Wiring the World. New York: Columbia University Press.

Muir, John. (1911) 1992. "My First Summer in the Sierra." Reprinted in *John Muir: The Eight Wilderness Discovery Books*. London: Diadem; Seattle: Mountaineers.

Mullin, Malone. 2018. "Oil Vessel Off the Newfoundland Coast Spills 250,000 Litres of Crude." *CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, November 16, 2018. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/newfoundland-tanks-oil-spill-husky-1.4909859.

———. 2024. "WestJet's St. John's-to-London Route Goes Live – Sparking Anger Over Affordable Air Travel Within N.L." *CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, May 3, 2024. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/westjet-gatwick-1.7191751.

Murphy, Rex. 1990. "Foreword." In *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, edited by George Story, William Kirwin and John Widdowson, vii–xii. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

National Gallery Of Canada. n.d. "Christopher Pratt: Boys Dipping Capelin." Accessed July 25, 2022. https://www.gallery.ca/collection/artwork/boys-dipping-caplin.

Nav Canada. 2009. "NAV CANADA and the 9/11 Crisis." Archived from the original April 18, 2012. https://web.archive.org/web/20120418034929/ http://www.navcanada.ca/NavCanada.asp Language=EN&Content=contentdefinitionfiles %5Cnewsroom%5Cbackgrounders%5C911crisis.xml.

Neary, Peter. 1980. "Party Politics in Newfoundland, 1949–71: A Survey and Analysis." In *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, edited by James Hiller and Peter Neary, 205–245. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 1988. *Newfoundland in the North Atlantic World, 1929–1949.* Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

———. 1997. *White Tie and Decorations: Sir John and Lady Hope Simpson in Newfoundland, 1934–1936.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Neis, Barbara. 2005. *Changing Tides: Gender, Fisheries and Globalization*. Halifax: Fernwood.

Newfoundland and Labrador Tourism. n.d. Tourism marketing website of the Department of Tourism, Culture, Arts and Recreation, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. https://www.newfoundlandlabrador.com.

Newfoundland Ferry Services Study: Marine Ferry Services Connecting Newfoundland to Off-Shore Islands and Labrador. 1974. System Analysis Branch, Canadian Transport Commission, Ministry of Transport, Government of Canada. Toronto: Acres.

Newman, Katherine and Elisabeth Jacobs. 2010. *Who Cares?: Public Ambivalence and Government Activism from the New Deal to the Second Gilded Age*. Princeton: Princeton University Press..

Nichol, Donald W. 2017. "Revisiting The Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador." *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 32, no. 2: 461–93.

NobelPrize.org. n.d. *The Nobel Prize in Physics 1909*. The Nobel Prize Outreach website. https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/physics/1909/summary.

Nolte, Paul. 2015. "Modernization and Modernity in History." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, edited by James D. Wright, 700-6. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

O'Dea, Shane, 1994. “The Development of Cultures on the Margins.” *Newfoundland Studies* 10, no. 1: 73–81.

———. 2000. “Beating Down Belvedere,” in *The Trident*, February edition: 1–2.

O'Flaherty, Patrick. 1975. “Looking Backwards: The Milieu of the Old Newfoundland Outports.”*Journal of Canadian Studies* 10, no. 1: 3–9.

———. 1979. *The Rock Observed: Studies in the Literature of Newfoundland*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 2005. *Lost Country: The Rise and Fall of Newfoundland, 1843–1933*. Long Beach Press.

Ommer, Rosemary E. 1989. “Merchant Credit and the Informal Economy: Newfoundland, 1919–1929.” *Historical Papers - Canadian Historical Association* 2, no. 1: 167–89.

———. 1990. “The Truck System in Gaspé, 1822–77.” In *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, edited byRosemary Ommer, 49–72. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press.

Omohundro, John T. 1994. *Rough Food: The Seasons of Subsistence in Northern Newfoundland*. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Ormsby, Robert and Michelle King. 2020. “The Newfoundland Tempest: Theatre of the Cultural Revival, the LSPU Hall, and Shakespeare.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 35, no. 2: 7–50.

OSRL Oil Spill Response Limited. n.d. “Our Members.” *Oil Spill Response Limited*. Accessed on September 16, 2022. https://www.oilspillresponse.com/membership/our-members.

Overton, James. 1978. “Uneven Regional Development in Canada: The Case of Newfoundland.” *The Review of Radical Political Economics* 10, no. 3: 106–116.

———. 1988. “A Newfoundland Culture?,” in *Journal of Canadian Studies* 23, no. 1–2: 4–22.

———. 1995. “Moral Education of the Poor: Adult Education and Land Settlement Schemes in Newfoundland in the 1930s.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 11, no. 2: 250–82.

———. 1996. *Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development in Newfoundland*. St. John’s: ISER Books.

Owen, David. 2016. Foreword. In *Atlantic Meeting: An Account of Mr. Churchill's Voyage in H.M. S. Prince of Wales, in August, 1941, and the Conference with President Roosevelt which resulted in the Atlantic Charter*, by Henry V. Morton. 1–5. Slinby: Methuen.

Paavola, Sami. 2012. *On the Origin of Ideas: An Abductivist Approach to Discovery, Revised and Enlarged Edition*. Saarbrücken: Lap Lambert Academic Publishing.

Paine, Robert. 1997. “In Praise of the Locative (with Revolving Doors).” In *The University As it is/As it could be*, edited by James R. Black, 57–70. St John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Parks Canada. n.d. “Communication: flags, cables and de-coders.” *Signal Hill National Historic Site.* Accessed March 12, 2024.https://parks.canada.ca/lhn-nhs/nl/signalhill/culture/histoire-history/comm.

Passenheim, Antje. 2023. “Kanada-EU-Gipfel in Neufundland beginnt: Krieg, Klima und Wirtschaft im Fokus.” *Deutschland Radio*, November 23, 2023. https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/kanada-eu-gipfel-in-neufundland-beginnt-krieg-klima-und-wirtschaft-im-fokus-dlf-0b84b900-100.html.

Pasternak, Shiri, 2017. *Grounded Authority: The Algonquins of Barriere Lake Against the State.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Peckford, Brian A. 1983. *The Past in the Present: A Personal Perspective on Newfoundland’s Future*. St. John’s: Harry Cuff Publications.

Penashue, Elizabeth and Elizabeth Yeoman. 2018. “'The Ones That Were Abused': Thinking about the Beothuk through Translation.” In *Tracing Ochre: Changing Perspectives on the Beothuk*, edited by Fiona Pollack, 75–93. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Pierson, Stuart. 1997. “Medieval Survivals: Reflections on Ron Hynes' 'Cryer's Paradise'.” *Newfoundland Studies*13, no. 1: 30–78.

Pittman, Al. 1974. “Death of an Outport.” In *Baffles of Wind and Tide: An Anthology of Newfoundland Poetry, Prose and Drama*, edited by Clyde Rose. 45–50. St. John's Breakwater Books.

Pittman, Ken, dir. and Barry Cowling, prod. 1982. *Shanaditti: Last of the Beothuks*. 20:22 min. Montreal: National Film Board of Canada Quebec and Atlantic Studio.

Plato. 1993 (ca. 380 BC). *Republic*, translated by Robin Waterfield. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Pocius, Gerald. 1991. *A Place to Belong: Community Order and Everyday Space in Calvert, Newfoundland*. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press.

Polack, Fiona. 2017. “Is Newfoundland and Labrador a Petroculture?” In *Asking the Big Questions: Reflections on a Sustainable Post Oil-dependent Newfoundland and Labrador*, edited by Rosemary Ommer, Barabara Neis and David Brake, 19–23. Canadian Electronic Library distributor. St. John's: Royal Society Atlantic.

Poole, Cyril. 1982. *In Search of the Newfoundland Soul*. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications.

Pope, Peter. 1997. *The Many Landfalls of John Cabot*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. 2000. "Build The Rooms… But not on top of Fort Townshend." *The Gazette*, Nov. 2: 2.

———. 2004. *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Pope, Peter and Shannon Lewis-Simpson. 2013. *Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands*. Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology Monograph 8. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Porter, Marilyn. 1985. "'She Was Skipper of the Shore-Crew:' Notes on the History of the Sexual Division of Labour in Newfoundland." *Labour* 15: 105–23.

Power, Craig Francis. 2015. "Landscapes and Narrative." In *Pathways of Creativity in Contemporary Newfoundland and Labrador*, edited by María Jesús Hernáez Lerena, 271–78. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Pushie Report. 1967. Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic Prospects of Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's: Queen's Printer.

Pradies, Camille, and Michael Pratt. 2010. "Ex Uno Plures: Toward A Conceptualization of Group Ambivalence." In *Annual Meeting Proceedings (Academy of Management),* 1–6.

Pratt, Christopher and Joyce Zemans. 1985. *Christopher Pratt, a Retrospective*. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery.

Pratt, Christopher, Josée Drouin-Brisebois, and Jeffrey Spalding. 2005. *Christopher Pratt: All My Own Work*. Vancouver: National Gallery of Canada in association with Douglas & McIntyre.

Price, Jacob M. 1990a. "Conclusion." In *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, edited by Rosemary Ommer, 361–73. Fredericton; Acadiensis Press.

———. 1990b. "Discussion." In *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, edited by Rosemary Ommer, 135–37. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press.

Proulx, E. Annie. 1994. *The Shipping News*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Prowse, Daniel Woodley. 1896. *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.

Raboy, Marc. 2016. *Marconi: The Man Who Networked the World*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Razinsky, Hili. 2016. *Ambivalence: A Philosophical Exploration*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield International.

Reardon, Jenny and Kim TallBear. 2012. “'Your DNA Is Our History': Genomics, Anthropology, and the Construction of Whiteness as Property, Author(s).” *Current Anthropology* 53, no. S5: S233–45.

Rees, Laura, Naomi Rothman, Reuven Lehavy, and Jeffrey Sanchez-Burks. 2013. “The Ambivalent Mind Can Be a Wise Mind: Emotional Ambivalence Increases Judgment Accuracy.” *Journal Experimental Social Psychology* 49, no. 3: 360–67.

Reeves, John. 1793. *History of the Government of Newfoundland*. London: Printed for J. Sewell, Cornhill; J. Debrett, Piccadilly; and J. Downes, No. 240, Strand.

Reid, John G. and Thomas Peace. 2017. “Colonies of Settlement and Settler Colonialism in Northeastern North America, 1450-1850.” In *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*. , edited by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini, 79–94. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Reid, Scott and Jeff Collins. 2012. *Oil, Politics and Public Policy: A Case Study of Newfoundland and Labrador*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association. https://cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2012/Reid-Collins.pdf.

Rendell, Susan. 2010. “Below the Bridge: An Audio Book Experience of St. John's Lost South Side,” in *The Trident*, Fall edition: 8.

Rennie, Rick. 1998. “Labour Organizations and Unions,” in *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador.* Accessed April 5, 2021. https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/economy/labour-movements.php.

Riche, Edward. 2022. “It Takes a Lot of Time and Effort to Get to N.L. Our Tourism Strategy Should Embrace the Hardship.” *CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*. October 2, 2022. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/ed-riche-tourism-the-rock-1.6595972.

Rieti, Barbara. 1991. *Strange Terrain: The Fairy World in Newfoundland*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rifkin, Mark. 2013. “Settler Common Sense.” *Settler Colonial Studies* 3, no. 3–4: 322–40.

Roberts, Edward. 2016. “Unchanging Verities: Studies of Newfoundland Politics, 1949–2015.” *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 31, no. 1: 181–209.

Roberts, Terry. 2017. “$6M Ferry Service for 114 People: But Don't Mention Resettlement on St. Brendan's.” *CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, October 30, 2017. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/ferry-service-costly-1.4364449.

Roberts, Terry. 2019. “Muskrat Falls: A Story of Unchecked Oilmen and Their Boondoggle Hydro Project.” *CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, April 19, 2019. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/muskrat-boondoggle-reasons-1.5088786.

———. 2022. “N.L. Airports Part of 'Significant Air Bridge' as Weapons, Other Supplies Flow to Ukraine,”*CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, June 28, 2022. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/ukraine-newfoundland-airports-1.6504012.

———. 2024. “The Come By Chance Refinery is Producing Fuel Again. This time, it's a Different Type of Oil,”*CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, February 22, 2024. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/braya-production-start-1.7122162.

Roseman, Sharon and Elizabeth Yeoman. 2024. “Enunciating Outrage: Sidewalk mobility Injustice and activism.” Mobilities. Published online: 17 Apr 2024. https://www.tandfonline.com/eprint/WSQEPYN48BKKJVXSVW8P/full?target=10.1080/17450101.2024.2316111.

Rothenberg, Albert. 1971. “The Process of Janusian Thinking in Creativity.” *Archives of General Psychiatry* 24, no. 3: 195–205.

———. 1976. “Homospatial Thinking in Creativity.” *Archives of General Psychiatry* 33, no. 1: 17–26.

Ryan, Shannon. 1980. “The Newfoundland Salt Cod Trade in the Nineteenth Century.” In *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation*, edited by James Hiller and Peter Neary, 40–66. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Said, Edward, 1994. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books.

Sanger, Chesley W. 1978. “Evolution of Sealing and Spread of Settlement.” In *The Peopling of Newfoundland: Essays in Historical Geography*, edited by John Mannion, 136–51. St. John's: ISER Books.

Sayers, Sean. 1985. *Reality and Reason: Dialectic and the Theory of Knowledge*. Oxford; NewYork: Blackwell.

Seifert, Martina. 2009. “Foreword.” In *Where Genesis Begins*, by Tom Dawe and Gerald Squires. 5–20. St. John's: Breakwater Books.

Shields, Rob. 1990. *Places on the Margin: Alternatives Geographies of Modernity*. London: Routledge Chapman Hall.

Sider, Gerald, 1986. *Culture and Class in Anthropology and History: A Newfoundland Illustration.* Cambridge University Press.

Sierra Club Canada Foundation. 2022. "Letter to Cabinet: Reject Bay du Nord and Focus on a Fair Transition for Newfoundland and Labrador." *Sierra Club Canada Atlantic Chapter*. March 2, 2022. https://www.sierraclub.ca/en/atlantic-chapter/2022-03-02/letter-cabinet-reject-bay-du-nord-and-focus-fair-transition-newfoundland.

Sigurdsson, Gisli. 2008. Introduction. In *The Vinland Sagas*, translated by Keneva Kunz. ix–xxxviii. London: Penguin Classics.

Simpson, Audra, 2016. Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Simpson, Leanne. 2017. *As We Have Always Done*. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press.

Sinclair, Peter. 1985. *From Traps to Draggers: Domestic Commodity Production in Northwest Newfoundland, 1850–1982*. St. John's: ISER Books.

———. 1993. "Coping on the Margin: Social Change on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland." *North Atlantic Studies* 3 no. 2: 38–48.

Singh, Inayat. 2022. "In Fight Against Bay du Nord Oil Project, Environmental Groups Turn to Courts and Norwegian Public." *CBC News*, August 9, 2022. https://www.cbc.ca/news/science/bay-du-nord-oil-activists-1.6544464.

Skolnik, Michael L. 1968. "Resettlement: Some Economic Comments." In *Viewpoints on Communities in Crisis*, edited by Michael L. Skolnik, 1–10. St. John's: ISER, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Sloterdijk, Peter, 2013. *In the World Interior of Capital.* London: Polity.

Smallwood, Joseph R. 1968. *The Book of Newfoundland*. 6 vols. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson Printers

———. 1969. *To You with Affection from Joey*. St. John's: Publication Division for the Action for Joey Committees.

———. 1974 (1937). "Newfoundland Today." In *By Great Waters: A Newfoundland and Labrador Anthology*, edited by Peter Neary and Patrick O'Flaherty, 190–96. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Smallwood, Joseph R., George M. Story, Cyril Poole, and Robert D.W. Pitt, eds. 1981–94. *Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador*. 5 vols. St. John's Harry Cuff Publications.

Smellie, Sarah. 2019. "What N.L. Could Learn from the Worst Offshore Oil Disaster in U.S. History." *CBC News Newfoundland & Labrador*, August 24, 2022. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/deepwater-horizon-commissioner-comparisons-to-nl-1.5253251.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London; New York: Zed Books.

Smith, Philip E.L. 1987. "Transhumant Europeans Overseas: The Newfoundland Case." *Current Anthropology* 28, no. 2: 241–50.

Sneddon, Andrew. 2013. *Autonomy*. London, NewYork: Bloomsbery Academic.

Sodero, Stephanie, with Mark Stoddart. 2015. "A Typology of Diversion: Legitimating Discourses of Tourism Attraction, Oil Extraction and Climate Action in Newfoundland and Labrador." *Environmental Sociology* 1, no. 1: 59–68.

Spencer-Rogers, Julie, Elise Anderson, Christine Ma-Kellams, Carol Wang, and Kaiping Peng. 2018. "What Is Dialectical Thinking Conceptualization and Measurement." In *The Psychological and Cultural Foundations of East Asian Cognition: Contradiction, Change, and Holism*, edited by Julie Spencer-Rogers and Kaiping Peng, 1–34. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Steele, James, and Robin Mathews. 2006. "Canadianization Revisited: A Comment on Cormier's 'The Canadianization Movement in Context'." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 31, no. 4: 491–508.

Stevenson, Angus, ed. 2015. *Oxford Dictionary of English*, 3rd ed. Web. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stichweh, Rudolf. 1997. "Ambivalenz, Indifferenz und die Soziologie des Fremden." In *Ambivalenz: Studien zum kulturtheoretischen und empirischen Gehalt einer Kategorie der Erschließung des Unbestimmten*, edited by Heinz Otto Luthe and Rainer E. Wiedenmann, 165–84. Opladen: Leske & Budrich.

Stoddart, Mark, and Paula Graham. 2018. "Offshore Oil, Environmental Movements, and the Oil-Tourism Interface: The Old Harry Conflict on Canada's East Coast." *Sociological Inquiry* 88, no 2: 274–96.

Stoddart, Mark, Alice Mattoni, and John McLevey. 2020. *Industrial Development and Eco-Tourisms: Can Oil Extraction and Nature Conservation Co-Exist?* Cham, Switzerland: Springer Nature Switzerland.

Stoler, Ann Laura. (2002) 2010. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 2016. *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Time*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Story, George M. 1969. "Fishermen, Hunters, Planters, and Merchants." In *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland*, edited by George M. Story and Herbert Halpert, 7–33. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Story, George M. 1997. *People of the Landwash: Essays on Newfoundland and Labrador*, edited by Melvin Baker, Helen Peters, Shannon Ryan. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications.

Story, George M., William J. Kirwin and John D. A. Widdowson, eds. 1982. *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sullivan, Lisa M. 1994. "No Part of Our Life: Local and Official Constructions of Meaningful Work in Contemporary Newfoundland." *Labour* 34 (Fall): 189–209.

Szwed, John. 1966. *Private Culture and Public Imagery: Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society.* Newfoundland Social and Economic Studies No. 2. St. John's: ISER, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Tarrant, Donald R. 2001. *Marconi's Miracle: The Wireless Bridging of the Atlantic*. St. John's: Flanker Press.

Taylor, Alan. 1990. "'A Struggle of Finesse': Creditors and Debtors on the Northeastern Frontier, 1780–1820." In *Merchant Credit and Labour Strategies in Historical Perspective*, edited by Rosemary Ommer, 290–302. Fredericton; Acadiensis Press.

Taylor, Lucy. 2018. "Global Perspectives on Welsh Patagonia: The Complexities of Being Both Colonizer and Colonized." *Journal of Global History* 13: 446–68.

TeleGeography. n.d. "Submarine Cable Map." *TeleGeography*. Accessed on April 19, 2022. https://www.submarinecablemap.com.

The Newfoundland Quarterly. 1957. "Newfoundland Museum Supplement," in *The Newfoundland Quarterly* 56, no. 1: 25–28.

Thoreau, Henry David. 1937. "Walking." In *The Works of Thoreau*, edited by Henry S. Canby. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Thorne, Cory W. 2015. "Obituary for Quinnipiac," in *The Trident*, Winter-Spring edition: 1–2, 4.

Tilley, Susan. 2010. "Researching Ties to Home: 'Troubling' Notions of Identity." In *Despite this Loss – Essays on Culture, Memory and Identity in Newfoundland and Labrador*, edited by Ursula A. Kelly and Elizabeth Yeoman. 127–36. St. John's: ISER Books.

Town of Gander. 2023. "History of Gander: A Legacy of Flight." https://www.gandercanada.com/recreation-activities-and-visitors/history.

Trahey, John A. 2000. "Development and Destruction in Downtown St. John's: The Embodiment of Cultural Values in Architecture, a Case Study of Urban Development and Heritage Preservation in St. John's, Newfoundland, 1977-1997." M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Traupman, John C. 1966 . *The New College Latin & English Dictionary*. New York: Bantam Books.

Troutt Powell, Eve M. 2003. *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain, and the Mastery of the Sudan*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Tuck, Eve and Marcia McKenzie. 2014. *Place in Research: Theory, Methodology, and Methods*. Routledge.

Tufte, Edward. 2006. *Beautiful Evidence*. Cheshire: Graphics Press.

U.S. Coast Guard. 2011. *On Scene Coordinator Report, Deepwater Horizon Oil Spill, Submitted to the National Response Team, September 2011*. Retrieved from the website of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, United States Departmentt of Commerce. https://repository.library.noaa.gov/view/noaa/283.

Varga, Somogy and Charles Guignon. 2020. "Authenticity." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2020 edition), edited by Edward N. Zalta. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2020/entries/authenticity.

Vellodi, Kamini. 2019. "Diagrammatic Transdisciplinarity: Thought outside Discipline." In *Deleuze, Guattari and the Problem of Transdisciplinarity*, edited by Guillaume Collett, 105–31. London: Bloomsbury.

Veracini, Lorenzo. 2010. *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Verheul, Jaap. 2021. "The Atlantic Charter: Genesis of the Transatlantic World Order." *Atlantisch Perspectief* 45, no. 6: 42–6.

Vodden, Kelly, Godfrey Baldacchino, and Ryan Gibson. 2015. "Development in Place: A View from the Periphery." In *Place Peripheral: Place-Based Development in Rural, Island, and Remote Regions*, edited by Kelly Vodden, Godfrey Baldacchino, and Ryan Gibson, 3–20. St. John's: ISER Books.

Wadel, Cato. 1969. *Marginal Adaptations and Modernization in Newfoundland: A Study of Strategies and Implications in the Resettlement and Redevelopment of Outport Fishing Communities*. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Wallace, Birgitta. 2003. "The Later Excavations at L'Anse aux Meadows." In *Vinland Revisited – The Norse World at the Turn of the First Millennium: Selected Papers from the Viking Millennium International Symposium, Newfoundland, 15-24 Sept. 2000*, edited by Shannon Lewis-Simpson, 165–80. St. John's: Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Wallace, Birgitta. 2009. "L'Anse aux Meadows: Different Disciplines, Divergent Views." In *Viking Settlements and Viking Society, Papers from the Proceedings of the Sixteenth Viking Congress, Reykjavík and Reykholt, 16th -23rd August*, edited by S. Sigmundsson, 448–68. Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press.

Walsh, Des and Susan Jamieson, eds. 1995. *Gerald Squires, Newfoundland Artist*. St. John's: Breakwater Books.

Weaver-Hightower, Rebecca. 2017. "'Do We Reverse the Medal?': Settler Guilt, the Indian Speech, and the Untold Side of the Story." *Western American Literature* 52, no. 1: 25–53.

Webb, Jeff A. 2015. *Observing the Outports: Describing Newfoundland Culture 1950–1980*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Webb, Jeff A. and Terry Bishop-Stirling, 2012. "Pioneers in Community Engagement: MUN Extension, 1959-1991." *Newfoundland Quarterly* 104, no. 4: 45–7.

Weisbrode, Kenneth. 2012. *On Ambivalence – The Problems and Pleasures of Having it Both Ways*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Wenner-Gren Foundation. n.d. "About Us: Our Mission." Accessed June 16, 2023. https://wennergren.org/about-us#mission.

Westcott, Bill. 2003. "The Rooms Diminishes Famous Landmark." *The Telegram*, October 3, 2003: A6.

Whitaker, Ian. 1967. "Sociological Preconditions and Concomitants of Rapid Socio-Economic Change in Newfoundland." In *Report of the Royal Commission on the Economic State and Prospects of Newfoundland and Labrador,* 369–95. St. John's: Creative Printers and Publishers, Office of the Queen's Printer.

Whitbourne, Richard. 1620. *A Discourse and Discovery of New-Found-Land, with Many Reasons to Proove How Worthy and Beneficall a Plantation May There Be Made, after a Better Manner Than Now It Is : Together with the Laying Open of Certaine Enormities and Abuses Committed by Some That Trade to That Countrey and the Means Laid Downe for Reformation Thereof*. Imprinted by Felix Kyngston for William Barret.

Whitehead, Alfred North. (1929) 1978. *Process and Reality: An Essay in Cosmology,* edited by David Griffin and Donald Sherburne. New York: Free Press.

Withers, George. 2016. "Reconstituting Rural Communities and Economies: The Newfoundland Fisheries Household Resettlement Program, 1965–1970." PhD diss., Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Williams, Raymond. 1960. *Culture and Society: 1780–1950*. Garden City: Anchor Books.

Williams, Raymond. 2015 (1983). *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wolfe, Patrick. 1999. *Settler Colonialism and The Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event*. London; New York: Cassell.

———. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4. 387–409.

Wolf, Eric R. (1982) 2010. *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Woodruff, Paul. 2023. "Plato's Shorter Ethical Works." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2023 edition), edited by Edward N. Zalta and Uri Nodelman. https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2023/entries/plato-ethics-shorter/.

Wright, Miriam. 2003. "Newfoundland and Labrador History in Canada, 1949–1972." In *Collected Research Papers of the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening our Place in Canada*. 119–66. St. John's: Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Appendix 1

Seasonal Variations of the Experience of Autonomy-Dependence Ambivalence in Modern Outports

Based on the understanding of modern outport economy and society developed in sections 4.2 and 4.3 of Chapter Four, I will here trace what can be considered the varying levels of fishing families' awareness (composed of immediate experience and acquired knowledge) of autonomy and dependence in the economic and societal realms of modern outports over the annual cycle. These levels of awareness, understood as reflecting the relevance of the related condition for outporters, will then be combined to develop an idea of the varying experience of ambivalence resulting from the concurrent levels of relevance of the opposing conditions. In a third step, this allows me to provide an informed qualitative breakdown of the seasonal variations of the overall experience of the autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports, which is visualized in figure A1.3. Although this breakdown and its visualization are not necessary for my argument of the presence of collective ambivalence (compare section 4.4.), they provided me with a better "feel" for the ambivalent climate in modern outports. This is why I also wanted to share them with the reader.

A.1.1 The Economic Sector

During the fishing season, outport fishers' life was dominated by economic autonomy, as argued in section 4.3. This immediate experience, however, has to be seen in conjunction with the awareness of the systemic and predictable dependence on the local merchant, notably at the time of trading cured cod to settle debt and acquire supplies in the fall. Immediate experience and knowledge acquired over time can, thus, be argued to have combined to create a high relevance of autonomy and a low but non-vanishing relevance of dependence in the summer. With an unequal relevance of the two opposing conditions, ambivalence would have been weak.

In winters of good fishing years, when outporters were supplied with victuals paid with saltfish in the fall, their immediate experience in the economic sector was equally dominated by autonomy. Outport families knew, however, that the moment of depending on the provision of

supplies on credit would unmistakably come up in the spring. This is why, similar to summers, their awareness of dependence could not be factored out completely in winters either, which induced a low but non-vanishing experience of ambivalence. The difference was that winters did not feature a gradual increase in the experience of dependence (and, therefore, of ambivalence) towards the moment of interaction with the merchant because the prospect of regular and active dependence at the season start did not overshadow the immediate experience of autonomy, as the passive dependence in the fall did.

In winters of bad fishing years, the experience of dependence on open credit can be assumed to have shaved the immediate experience of autonomy to an extent that depended on the credit situation. If full winter credit was granted, the experience of dependence would have been moderate, as physical well-being continued to be warranted. Thus assuming a moderate experience of dependence and the experience of autonomy diminished but not significantly compromised, neither of the two were fully developed or relevant. As a consequence, ambivalence would not have been fully-fledged either. When credit was cut and food shortages arose, the experience of dependence would easily have grown to a point where it clearly dominated over the experience of autonomy. As autonomy remained a key feature of the economic system, which could be expected to be re-established in the upcoming fishing season, however, the autonomy-dependence ambivalence would not have been absent altogether but merely weak.

Considering moments of immediate dependence on the merchant in spring and fall, I argue that, even then, autonomy remained a central aspect of the reality of modern outport life. In the spring, the provision of supplies and gear on credit was a regular element of the economic system and in the interest of both economic parties. Merchant and outporters dealt largely at eye level, and hence, the autonomy experience of the latter would not have been effectively undercut. With strong experiences of both autonomy and dependence, the resulting ambivalence would have been fully developed in the spring. In the fall, when cured fish was priced and exchanged for the settlement of debt and the provision of winter supplies, the experience of dependence was particularly pronounced. I argue that, in good fishing years, this experience of dependence was so distinct exactly because autonomy still strongly resonated after outporters had just successfully completed a fishing season as independent entrepreneurs. After a bad season, however, when the fish produced could not fully settle the debt acquired in spring or afford sufficient winter supplies, the experience of autonomy in the fall would have been reduced by the uncertainty of whether and to

what extent winter credit would be provided. At the same time, the experience of dependence was further enhanced. Hence, fall would have been a moment of fully or lesser developed ambivalence depending on the success of the preceding fishing season. Based on the understanding we have of the life reality in modern outports and the informed assumptions it allows us to make, we thus find that both autonomy and dependence were at play in fishing people's economic lives throughout the annual cycle, if with varying levels of relevance. The result was a seasonally varying yet non-vanishing experience of ambivalence year-round.

Comparing good and bad fishing years, I argue that the ambivalence outporters were exposed to was significantly reduced in the fall of bad years because the experience of dependence would have been clearly prevailing when spring credits could not be settled. As a consequence, despite the slightly increased ambivalence in winters of bad years without credit cuts traced above (winters with cuts, I argued, saw no increase because dependence prevailed as much as autonomy prevailed in good years), we find that bad years would have been overall less ambivalent than good years. This may be counter-intuitive, notably if one still conceives ambivalence as an undesirable condition. It makes sense, however, once we realize that, in bad years, the net ambivalence in the economic sector of modern outports would have been lowered by the prevalence of experiences of immediate dependence over those of autonomy in the fall, whereas the two opposing experiences would have been more balanced in good years.

Considering two consecutive fishing years, I argue that a bad fishing season affected the level of ambivalence in the subsequent year. When open winter credit and the provision of gear and victuals on credit in the spring created cumulative debt, the experience of immediate dependence easily outweighed that of autonomy and weakened the ambivalence. The enhanced dependence due to cumulative debt would then also have weakened the immediate experience of autonomy during the following summer. This enhanced the experience of ambivalence, but not drastically, as neither of the poles was fully developed. Good seasons, on the other hand, did not resonate in the subsequent year. After a year of good catches, fair weather, and favourable markets, the clock measuring outporters' experience of autonomy and dependence in the economic sector was set back to zero by the start of the next economic cycle. This resonates with observations that, because surplus production in one year barely carried over to the next, economic growth and the accumulation of wealth were inhibited in outport Newfoundland (e.g. Cadigan 1995; O'Flaherty 1979; Pocius 1991).

A breakdown of the above observations regarding the different seasonal levels of the relevance of autonomy and dependence in the economic sector of modern outports and the deducted experience of ambivalence is given in table A1.1. "Spring" refers to the beginning of the fishing season when supplies and gear were provided on credit, and "fall" refers to the end of the fishing season when cured cod was priced and exchanged to settle the debt. Clearly, the table is an oversimplification. However, with this limitation in mind, the clarity of the tabular representation helps to expose the potentially confusing logic that fully-fledged ambivalence implies high relevance of both opposing poles. Equal but merely moderate relevance does not evoke a fully developed experience of ambivalence but one of moderate strength. Opposite levels of autonomy and dependence do normally not generate ambivalence at all. However, as a result of the acquired knowledge of the relevance of both autonomy and dependence within the economic system, ambivalence was never completely absent. This is why opposite levels of immediate experiences of autonomy and dependence can be understood as resulting in a low experience of ambivalence rather than the absence of that experience.

Table A1.1: Breakdown of seasonal levels of the relevance of autonomy and dependence and the experience of ambivalence in the economic sector of modern outports

Economic sector	**Spring**	**Summer**	**Fall**		**Winter**	
			good year	bad year	good year	bad year
Relevance of **Autonomy**	high moderate*	high less high*	high	moderate	high	moderate low**
Relevance of **Dependence**	high high*	low less low*	high	high	low	moderate high**
Experience of **Ambivalence**	high less high*	low less low*	high	less high	low	moderate low**

*situation following a bad fishing year
**situation with credit cuts

A1.2 The Societal Sector

Based on the common understanding of modern outport society, I have argued in Chapter Four that outporters generally enjoyed great autonomy within the community sphere but that this internal autonomy was paired with the awareness of political and societal powerlessness with regard to affairs that lay beyond that sphere. The major experience of powerlessness, I have

reasoned, occurred in the fall when the merchant took on the dried cod produced over the summer to settle debts from the spring and provided winter supplies if there was a surplus. As the internal societal autonomy can be assumed to have remained intact during that moment of heavy external dependence, fall would have been a time of strong experiences of ambivalence regarding autonomy and dependence in the societal realm.

Summers in modern outports can be assumed to have been dominated by societal autonomy, as political powerlessness stood back during the bustle of the fishery, and hence, ambivalence would have been weak. The interaction with the merchant in the spring, which was a key moment of dependence in the economic sector, did not carry a similar meaning in the societal realm. Notably, the active dependence (or reliance) on the provision of supplies on credit hardly affected the internal societal autonomy, as this practice was a key element in the functional organization of the local society for all parties. Moreover, it did not evoke an enhanced experience of the external powerlessness because prices for supplies were often only set in the fall. In cases when they were set straightaway, the numerical amount of the credit meant little to fishing families until the price for their fish was determined at the end of the fishing season. As a consequence, ambivalence in the societal sector would have been weak in spring.

Looking at the winter, the immediate experience of the dependence on external forces would have been low in good years as well as in bad years with full open winter credit. At the same time, the immediate experience of internal societal autonomy can be argued to have been high and, hence, the emerging ambivalence weak. In case outporters depended on externally set and chronically low government relief, however, physical want easily reduced the capacity and experience of immediate societal autonomy and perpetuated the experience of political powerlessness. The result was a moderate experience of ambivalence. In sum, we find that there is reason to assume that, in good fishing years as well as in bad years with full open winter credit, the ambivalence of autonomy and dependence in the societal realm was strong in the fall and weak otherwise. In contrast, bad years with cut credit and dependence on relief featured an increased ambivalence in the winter. This implies that, contrary to the situation in the economic realm, the ambivalence of autonomy and dependence in the societal sector was more pronounced in times of economic distress than in times of relative prosperity, including bad years with full open winter credit. As far as repercussions of the previous season were concerned, physical need due to restricted winter credit only ended when new supplies were provided in spring. Hence, the

immediate experience of autonomy would have remained reduced, that of political powerlessness enhanced, and ambivalence moderate until then.

Following the same conventions as in table A1.1, table A1.2 gives a breakdown of the above observations regarding the different seasonal levels of the relevance of autonomy and dependence, as well as the resulting experience of ambivalence in the societal sector of modern outports.

Table A1.2: Breakdown of seasonal levels of the relevance of autonomy and dependence and the experience of ambivalence in the societal sector of modern outports

Societal sector	Spring	Summer	Fall	Winter	
				good year	bad year
Relevance of **Autonomy**	high moderate*	high	high	high	high moderate**
Relevance of **Dependence**	low moderate*	low	high	low	low moderate**
Experience of **Ambivalence**	low moderate*	low	high	low	low moderate**

*situation following a bad fishing year with credit cuts
**situation with credit cuts

A1.3 The Cumulative Experience

The observations regarding the experience of ambivalence of autonomy and dependence in economic and societal sectors of modern outports developed in the previous sections can be combined to delineate the seasonally varying cumulative experience of that ambivalence. From the entries of tables A1.1 and A1.2, we find that the cumulative ambivalence in modern outports was at a maximum in the time around the critical moment of exchange between fishing families and the merchant in the fall when both individual instances of ambivalence were fully developed. In contrast, in the summer, ambivalence was regularly low in favour of the strong immediate experience of autonomy in both the societal and economic realms. The same holds for winters of good fishing years. In bad years, the cumulative ambivalence rose to an intermediate level no matter whether full winter credit was provided or not: in winters with full credit, autonomy clearly prevailed and ambivalence was low in the societal realm. In the economic sector, the experience of pretended rather than factual economic autonomy created a moderate level of ambivalence. Bad years with credit cuts featured a moderate level of ambivalence in the societal sector, whereas in

the economic realm, dependence clearly prevailed over autonomy, and the net experience of ambivalence was weak. Finally, at the beginning of the season in spring, ambivalence in the economic realm was fully developed. Together with the clear prevalence of autonomy in the societal realm, which rendered the level of ambivalence in that sector low, we observe another yet higher intermediate level of cumulative ambivalence at the season's start. In the spring following a bad fishing year, when ambivalence was reduced in the economic sector and enhanced in the societal realm, the cumulative ambivalence turned out at a similar level. In summers following a bad year, the cumulative ambivalence would slightly rise due to the moderate increase in ambivalence in the economic realm.

A diagrammatic visualization of the relative variations of the cumulative levels of ambivalence of autonomy and dependence resulting from the economic and societal realms over the annual cycle is shown in figure A1.3. The colour scheme of the timeline is adapted from tables A1.1 and A1.2. Notably, the period shaded in orange represents the summer and largely overlaps with the fishing season for most parts of the island of Newfoundland, as identified by Chesley Sanger (1978). Based on my understanding of modern outport economy and society and the qualitative analysis given above, and informed by the qualitative content of tables A1.1 and A1.2, the graph is of a purely qualitative nature itself. Consequently, no scaling is given in the vertical direction. All that is illustrated are relative attributes, like higher, lower, increasing, decreasing, maximum and minimum levels of ambivalence.[175]

Figure A1.3: Breakdown of the relative annual variations of the cumulative experience of autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports

[175] Please note that the graphical representation given here is a choice I made. Many other diagrammatic visualizations could be used to convey the same qualitative content, like a colour spectrum for varying levels of ambivalence or the varying density of a pattern or crosshatching.

The extra value of the graph, as compared to another table, is its capacity to represent transitions between seasons, which are clearly demarcated by columns in tabular representation. Notably, figure A1.3 allows me to capture the gradual increase in ambivalence in the economic sector as the fall moment of exchange drew closer, which cannot be represented in a table. Furthermore, the graph allows continuous differentiation regarding the level of ambivalence where a table is confined to a discrete set of entries, such as high, moderate, and low. It is important to be aware, however, that because of the qualitative nature of the analysis, the level at any given time carries meaning only in relation to the entire graph.

Finally, as mentioned in Chapter Eight with respect to the visualization of the web of cultural ambivalence (figure 8.7), it has to be kept in mind that graphs or diagrams in qualitative research are necessarily oversimplifications. The gain they offer is their capacity to cut the potential for confusion inherent to a copious analysis for the sake of a synoptic view. The same can be said of tables.

Appendix 2

List of Correlations Between Individual Cases of Cultural Ambivalence

The list below is a synopsis of the correlations between individual instances of cultural ambivalence and reflects the order, in which they were developed in Chapters Three to Eight and numbered in the web shown in figure 8.7. The acronyms stand for individual types of ambivalence:

AO = Advocating-Opposing settlement (Chapter Three)
AD = Autonomy-Dependence (Chapter Four)
MP = Modernization-Preservation (Chapter Five)
AA = Affection for-Abuse of the land (Chapter Six)
CC = Colonizer-(post)Colonial subject (Chapter Seven)
CP = Centre-Periphery (Chapter Eight)

Please note that the descriptions given here are oversimplified to keep them brief. A more accurate description of individual entries can be found in the "Correlations" section of the chapter that studies the case of cultural ambivalence indicated first. For instance, AD–AO can be found under "Correlations" in "Chapter Four: Autonomy and Dependence in Modern Outports" and CP–AD in the same section of "Chapter Eight: The Island of Newfoundland as Centre and Periphery."

1. AD–AO: Palliser's Act, as a manifestation of the British ambivalence, was instrumental in the creation of the family fishery, which was a central feature of modern outports and their distinct climate of autonomy and dependence.

2. AD–AO: Both types of cultural ambivalence can be understood as having fostered the development of conservatism in Newfoundland.

3. MP–AD: Vulnerable, politically powerless outporters were susceptible to copying the modernity of prosperous, democratic societies. At the same time, they protected the local culture as the autonomous realm of their life reality.

4. MP–AO: The endurance fostered by the British ambivalence towards settlement bears the potential for inducing both confidence in the local resourcefulness and conservatism in the sense of doubting one's creative capacities to evoke change. This can be considered to

have created a favourable climate for the emergence of concurrent tendencies of insisting on a distinct cultural identity and copying mainland models for modernization.

5. MP–AO: The conservatism fostered by the British ambivalence towards settlement ultimately contributed to the emergence of the "capricious fishery" in the Smallwood era.

6. MP–AD: By further enhancing the local propensity for conservatism, the autonomy-dependence ambivalence equally contributed to the emergence of the "capricious fishery."

7. AA–AO: The prolonged impermanence induced by the uncertainty resulting from the British ambivalence towards settlement fostered the abuse of the land. The enhanced heteronomy created by the British ambivalence propelled place attachment.

8. AA–AO: Both the affection-abuse ambivalence towards the land and the British ambivalence towards settlement can be considered as propellants for the capacity for endurance.

9. AA–MP: Industrialization as an essential part of modernization can be understood as informing tendencies of abuse; preservation fosters pride in and affection for the place.

10. AA–MP: Existing propensities for land abuse facilitated radical modernization; place affection fostered cultural preservation (Note: If 9. and 10. are combined, we find a kind of feedback loop, as one instance of ambivalence is fostering the other.)

11. AA–MP: Affection-abuse and modernization-preservation ambivalence both overlap with rural settler Newfoundlanders' love-hate relationship with outport life.

12. AA–AD: Dependence can create the need for radical exploitation, autonomy creates space for feelings of affection.

13. CC–AA: Colonizing implies the exploitation of foreign lands. Colonial subjects are, by their conception, belonging to and forming a part of those foreign lands.

14. CC–AA: Colonizers feel entitled to exploit. Experiences of being colonized enhance the attachment to the immediate surroundings as a space of local governance.

15. CC–AA: By facilitating mechanisms for releasing pressure and frustration, both types of cultural ambivalence can be understood as enhancing the capacity for endurance.

16. CC–AO: Supporting settlement fostered colonization, impeding it created experiences of being colonized for island residents.

17. CC–AO: Both types of cultural ambivalence can be viewed as enhancing the capacity for endurance, the former through a "safety-valve mechanism," the latter through fostering realistic chances for the betterment of adverse conditions.

18. CC–AD: The autonomy-dependence ambivalence in modern outports can be viewed as reflecting outporters' colonial ambivalence.

19. CC–AD: Colonizers act largely autonomously, (post)colonial subjects are disempowered in the process of colonization.

20. MP–AD: The modernization-preservation ambivalence spurred the Newfoundland Renaissance, which is a paragon of the simultaneous relevance of (artistic) autonomy and the reliance (or dependence) on the local heritage.

21. CC–MP: Colonizers are eager to modernize, (post)colonial subjects defend their culture. The inverse can also be argued: (post)colonial subjects feel the urge to modernize in order to catch up, colonizers cherish and reproduce their culture.

22. CC–MP: The above suggests that the ambivalent colonial role fostered the modernization-preservation ambivalence in a dual way. To expose this particularly strong connection, I have added a separate causal correlation rather than merely adding an arrowhead to the psychological link traced in point 21.

23. CC–MP: Both the colonial and the modernization-preservation ambivalence inform and further the urban/rural divide.

24. CP–AO: If "central-peripheral" is conceived as "close-distant" from Britain, Newfoundland as a British extension or fishing station does not need (and should not have) permanent residents. Newfoundland, as a (distant) overseas territory, needs settlers.

25. CP–AO: Opposing settlement marginalizes residents; supporting settlement helps residents to conceive their place of residence as home and centre of their lives.

26. CP–AD: The centre-periphery ambivalence of the place informs the durability of the settlement pattern of small, isolated outports, which are equally characterized by centre-periphery ambivalence. That localized centre-periphery ambivalence fostered the autonomy-dependence ambivalence of outporters.

27. CP–AD: The conceptual match of centrality and autonomy on the one hand and marginality and dependence on the other is another indicator of the island's predisposition for the concurrence of autonomy and dependence more generally. An example beyond the modern outport is Newfoundland's centre-periphery ambivalence within the Atlantic Triangle, which created an ambivalence of autonomy and dependence in the early society.

28. CP–AA: The conceived backwardness of the periphery fosters radical exploitation. The place conceived as centre implies focus and stewardship, and, ultimately, attachment.

29. CP–AA: Abusing the land implies marginalizing it, affection for the land implies putting it at the centre of attention.

30. CP–MP: Marginality fosters mimicked modernization, centrality propels the emergence of distinct culture and the wish to preserve it.

31. CP–CC: The ambivalent colonial role of settler Newfoundlanders is a two-fold stimulant for the ambivalent conception of the place as centre and periphery. First, for settler-colonizers, the colony is both home, and hence, central, and a marginal outpost with respect to the mother country. Second, colonial subjects see the centre of their lives marginalized by the colonial power.